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Investigating the psychological health and well-being of survivors impacted by state violence

'Jeju April 3rd.'

Kim, Jimin

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**Investigating the psychological health and well-being of survivors impacted by state violence:
'Jeju April 3rd.'**

Thesis submitted for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychological Medicine by
Jimin Kim

Department of Psychological Medicine
Institute of Psychiatry, Psychology & Neuroscience
King's College London

Abstract

This research aims to study the psychological impact on survivors of severe state violence, focusing explicitly on the case of Jeju April 3rd, known as Jeju Sasam in Korean. Jeju Sasam occurred on Jeju Island, a volcanic island located south of the Korean peninsula. Jeju Sasam is one of the most prominent representations of state violence in modern Korean history, which has severely disturbed Jeju people's lives over an extended period. The authorities conducted atrocities such as torture, imprisonment, harassment, arson, forced migration and sexual violence against Jeju people under the justification of political ideology. The death toll due to the Sasam is conservatively estimated to be at least 25,000 people. Despite a large number of deaths, Jeju Sasam was not acknowledged nationally or globally. Further, there is relatively little research that addresses the long-term psychological impact on Jeju Sasam survivors. Therefore, the current study explored the impact of Jeju Sasam on survivors' psychological health by considering appraisal, culture and gender.

An elderly sample of Jeju Sasam trauma survivors (Total N=50; female N=28, male N=22, aged 82 – 98 at the time of the interview) and currently living on Jeju Island completed semi-structured qualitative interviews. Thematic analysis was used to identify and analyse themes from survivors' narratives. As a result, seven themes emerged: 1. Cultural memory and ceremony, 2. Social and cultural interdependence, 3. Self-concept and traumatised self, 4. External attribution, 5. Physical and psychological trauma, 6. Emotional and psychological trauma symptoms, 7. Recovery and adjustment. This thesis developed a model for understanding the trauma resilience mechanism based on the seven themes. The model describes the interconnectivity of culture, self-appraisal, cognitive appraisal and social elements for the trauma resilience of Jeju Sasam survivors. This model for a trauma resilience mechanism can contribute to developing appropriate coping strategies for state violence survivors and ultimately promote their psychological wellbeing.

Preface and acknowledgements

Younger generations of South Koreans, especially on the mainland, have mainly learned fleetingly about Jeju Sasam from history textbooks, while the survivors and bereaved families continue to be directly exposed to Jeju Sasam issues daily. It was a shock to the author when she first found out the facts of Jeju Sasam and realised the absence of any opportunity to learn about Jeju Sasam from compulsory education until high school, and even then, at only a basic perfunctory level. Shock changed into anger: a feeling of fury that the authorities had violated her rights of education, to know her own history, and this became the first motivation to conduct research on Jeju Sasam. Then shame became another motivation, when reflecting upon one's ignorance of other people's tragedies.

The Korean peninsula is currently in an ideological armed conflict, only contained by a fragile ceasefire of the Korean War. For this reason, the authorities have historically used ideology as their main weapon of rule. The threat of North Korea and communist ideology have been portrayed as the main enemy of South Korea, which has been used to justify state violence. Therefore, potential threats will always exist until Korean society is free from ideological conflict; and so it is regarding the Jeju Sasam issue. The collective memory of Jeju Sasam is still a critical issue that is sometimes responded to with suspicion, hostility and sometimes violence. Such conflict may inevitably persist because Jeju Sasam was related to political ideology.

Right-wingers still state that the Jeju Sasam was an illegal riot against the authorities by communists, and those who were killed by the authorities should never be mourned at a national memorial. So as for the bereaved families, they view them as bereaved family members of communists, or of people who supported the communists, and thus should never be eligible for social benefits.

Some episodes from the recruitment process illustrated the complexity of Jeju Sasam in the community and the necessity of civil society's interests in such state violence issues. When the author was conducting the research recruitment, a question was received; 'is it okay to call Jeju Sasam state violence?'. It was from

a senior citizen in the community centre, who was ineligible to participate in the research due to his age, but still showed his interest in this research. When he saw the term 'state violence' on the participant information sheet (PIS), he worried that the author could be arrested for referring to Jeju Sasam thus. However, an even more concerning situation was met in another village. The author visited a senior community centre and introduced the research with the PIS, but minutes later was ejected from the centre and verbally abused. The reason was that the current research referred to Jeju Sasam as state violence.

This thesis focused on the aspects of state violence and its traumatic atrocities that disturbed people's lives and health. To define the Jeju Sasam as state violence is to blame the authorities' for their wrongdoings and pinpoint their responsibility for atrocities. However, those who hold right-wing views believe that those atrocities were inevitable tragedies in order to suppress the riots, and to protect what they view as a democratic society from the communists who were the main enemy and who had to be eliminated.

This right-wing belief of dehumanisation, that it is justifiable to kill fellow citizens in massive numbers, explains why someone was worried about me, and the other was apoplectically angry at me. It is both appalling and interesting to understand that some people treat their fellow citizens as their main enemy under the justification of ideology. However, such beliefs can threaten society; the authorities should act lawfully rather than resort to massive killing that has resemblances to genocide both in its scale and targeting of a people. Therefore, the ultimate recovery and reconciliation of the Jeju community can only come about if accompanied with the resolution of ideological conflict in South Korean society.

In other words, bringing peace to the Korean peninsula is essential to recover from the state violence which was and still is justified under ideology. Furthermore, as the origin of the Jeju Sasam was preservation of a unified Korean nation and society, Jongmin Kim¹ also stated that the Jeju Sasam could be defined as a unification movement by its nature (Moon & Choi, 2021). Fully embracing this

¹ A former expert member of the National Committee for the Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3rd

definition has the potential to reduce the gap between opposing elements, decrease ideological conflict, and achieve peace on Jeju Island and the Korean peninsula.

The personal and emotional bonding to the topic makes the issue difficult to fully resolve. The absence of such a resolution is a critical risk factor for psychological impairment and recovery from it. However, continuous efforts by civil society and its members could solve this problem. The author has already witnessed the power of solidarity and empowerment from grass-root movements in the Jeju community. From observations made within the victim community as an outsider, solidarity within civil society is a critical value to empower, motivate, and ultimately to bring about justice. Furthermore, it can prevent similar events to Jeju Sasam in the future. Through this thesis the author hopes to inspire state violence victims and contribute to their well-being.

As most PhD students might feel, the journey of this research was lonely, especially when faced with uncertainties about the future of the research. It was a challenge to begin this research as a young woman, especially having no prior relationship with the Jeju community. At times when it became difficult to recruit participants, the weight of loneliness was felt equally to that of the responsibility I felt to conduct research on this important topic. An additional challenge was to find previous studies that had a psychological approach to this population. Thank you to the former researchers and citizens who kept asking questions and studying Jeju Sasam trauma. I hope this research can be another brick in the building of Jeju Sasam studies, and can be of help to anyone having a similar research interest in the future.

Thank you to my supervisors Professor Edgar Jones and Dr. Alberta Engelbrecht, for giving the best support for and comments on this thesis. Also massive thanks to many individuals and groups in South Korea and the United Kingdom who greatly helped and supported me in finishing this thesis. I especially acknowledge the Association for 4.3 Victims and Bereaved Families for being a gatekeeper for this research, by allowing me to advertise the research and recruitment at the memorial events and meetings and introducing me to suitable individuals. I would like to list here all those who gave their great support, but in the interests of the

safety of certain individuals, I trust the reader will understand that some identities cannot be publicly revealed.

And thank you to my friends and family, especially to my mother, father and Bokku, who always gave me their patient and loving support to finish my journey as a PhD student.

Lastly, thank you to all the Samchoon (a Jeju word akin to ‘aunts and uncles’ used affectionately for older people) on Jeju Island, who were willing to speak to me, despite the personal challenges of revisiting their painful and traumatic experiences, and who gave me such a warm welcome. When I visited the senior community centre in the mornings, lunch time would follow immediately after finishing the interviews, and I would be invited to join their lunch by the president and members of the community centre. It can be considered rude to refuse the offers by an elderly person in Korean culture, so I used to sit at a corner of the table having lunch with them. The members knew nothing about me, but always welcomed me to their lunch, and this was in every senior community centre on the island I visited. I will never forget the warmth of these people during those shared meals. I particularly recall one of the Samchoon’s words to me: “who are you? Well, I don’t care. Whoever you are, it is important not to starve.” The idiom that ‘it takes a whole village to raise a child’ is applicable to me: all the Jeju villagers I had the pleasure and honour of encountering raised this PhD student with warm hearts and warm rice.

Finishing the thesis in East London, England

April, 2022

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Terminology

38th parallel	Latitude thirty-eight degrees north. The line roughly divided the Korean peninsula in half, demarcating South Korea and North Korea.
Bbalgaengi	Bbalgaengi or Ppal-gaeng-i simply refers to 'Reds' or 'Commies'. It is used as a general term in South Korean society as an expression of hate, to justify the social and political exclusion.
Bonpuri	Simbang's narration during the rite, describing not only the myth or legend of a certain god's history, but also historical events like Jeju Sasam
CES-D	The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale
CESD-R	The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale Revised
Chongryon	The general association of Korean Residents in Japan', read 'Chongryon' or 'Jochongryon' in Korean. The association was used to infer a connection to North Korea.
Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence (CPKI)	Grew from People's Committee, was established by Yeo Un-hyeong and some others right after the liberation.
Dang	Places serving for native gods or village's guardian god.
Eokulhada	Korean expression of feeling regarding unfairness, falseness or dejection.
Guilt-by-association system	Also known as the involvement system to punish or disadvantage, targeting the people who have an association with an offender.
Gut	The rite performed by a shaman, comes from Korean folk religious belief. The purpose of Gut is to pray for the people's wishes or to comfort dead souls in their grief.
Gwendang	Jeju Island's culture, referring to kinship, including paternal, maternal and spousal sides of the family.
Haenyeo	Traditional female divers. Culture of Jeju Haenyeo is registered as UNESCO heritage.
Halla mountain	'Hallasan' in Korean, the highest mountain of South Korea. It is a shield volcano which forms the majority of the Jeju Island.
Halmang	'Grannies' - a generic term for any elderly female in Jeju language.
Han	Korean cultural concept of emotion (or can be regarded as feeling or sentiment). It describes the combined emotions of regret, sorrow, dejection, frustration, renunciation, sadness, lamentation and anger.

Han-puri	Resolving 'Han', relieving the stressful mind.
Jeol	Temple for Buddha.
Jesa	Jesa is a form of traditional rite based on Confucianism. Families gather and serve their ancestor's Jesa on the anniversary of their death, believing that their spirits return home for meals.
K-CESD-R	Korean version of the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale Revised
Mukyo	Korean culture's folk belief religion, shamanism.
Myun	Unit for administrative division. Larger than Ri.
Northwest Korean Youth Association	'Seobuk Cheongnyun-dan' in Korean. The right-wing group originally from the northern side of the Korean peninsula. One of the perpetrator groups during the Jeju Sasam.
Palzha	Comparable concept to 'destiny' in western culture.
People's Committee	The political party of Jeju Island acting like a government after the liberation before the arrival of the US military government.
PTSD	Post-traumatic stress disorder
Ri	Unit for administrative division.
Saemaul Undong	'New Village Movement', a government national campaign aimed at developing rural villages in the 1960s.
Salamsimin Salajinda	The phrase in Jeju language, meaning 'you can live the life if you live it anyway'.
Samchon	Or can be pronounced as Samchoon as well. Samchon generally refers to uncle on the mainland, but it can refer to both uncle and aunt in Jeju language. Samchon implies a close relationship with the elderly, although this need not be a blood relationship.
Simbang	Jeju Island's traditional shaman.
Sunurum	Known as a cooperative labour sharing system on Jeju Island, that is similar to 'Dure' culture on the mainland.
Tomak	The temporary housing which was made from soil.
USAMGIK	The United States Military Government in Korea.
YeongaeUlim	'Crying of souls' through the Simbang, which means that the Simbang cries for souls, by souls and of souls.
Yeongmowon	Memorial place which commemorates specially both the police and civilian victims who died during Jeju Sasam.

Chapter 1. Introduction

This research specifically focuses on the severe state violence perpetrated by South Korean authority against Jeju citizens known simply as Jeju April 3rd or Jeju Sasam. It is also referred to as the Jeju 4.3 Incident or the Jeju 4.3 People's Uprising and Massacre ('4.3' represents April 3rd, read as 'Sasam' in Korean). Jeju Sasam occurred on Jeju Island, which is a volcanic island located on the southern part of the Korean peninsula. The authorities perpetrated atrocities such as torture, imprisonment, harassment, arson, forced migration and sexual violence. According to the Truth Investigation Report (Task Force of Preparing Investigation Report of Jeju April 3 Incident (Truth Investigation Report), 2003), the death toll is conservatively estimated to be at least 25,000 to 30,000 people (p.366), though the exact number can never be calculated. Now believed by many to be far greater. The following Table 1 shows the registration status of 4.3 victims and bereaved families. The numbers only show the cases confirmed by self-reporting to the register, so the number of registered deaths shown is smaller than the estimated numbers (Yang et al., 2019).

Table 1. Victims and Bereaved Families registration status (December 2019)²

Victims					Bereaved Families
Killed	Missing	Disabled survivors	Imprisoned survivors	Total	Total
10,389	3,610	164	279	14,442	72,845

Note. Adapted from "Jeju 4.3 Incident Follow-up Investigation Report I" by Yang et al., 2019, p.71, Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation

As the Jeju Sasam is an accumulative extreme trauma event, it has severely disturbed the Jeju people's lives over an extended period. So, the current thesis regards the Jeju Sasam as an example of extreme trauma that can cause severe psychological changes and outcomes. Jeju Sasam has a large number of deaths

² After the 4.3 Special Law was established, the definition of 'victim' and 'bereaved family' was published. Based on the 'Special Act on Discovering the Truth of the Jeju 4.3 Incident and the Restoration of Honour of Victims' (4.3 Special Law), the following is the definition of our research target population: 'victim' is a person who died, gained a disability or was imprisoned because of the Jeju April 3rd incident. A member of a 'bereaved family' is a person who is the spouse of the victim, or a lineal ascendant or descendant. The opportunity for registration applying is irregular, and the latest opportunity was in 2021, therefore the latest registration status data has not been included in this thesis.

that were not recognised nationally and globally. Also, research on the psychological impacts faced by the survivors and bereaved families is lacking, despite extensive scrutiny of Jeju Sasam. What happened during Jeju Sasam and how did it impact survivors and others on Jeju Island? What kind of changes have survivors and communities undergone through the long period of their traumatic experiences? The historical background will help to define and understand the nature of the Jeju Sasam in this thesis. By following the historical background, we will discuss the genocidal elements of Jeju Sasam, which the follow-up Truth Investigation Report described as 'massacre', 'insurgency' and 'counter-insurgency'. Later, the research background, objectives and the context of each of the chapters will be introduced.

1. What is Jeju Sasam and what happened?

How was the Korean state able to kill its own people? The state violence of Jeju Sasam was justified by the claim that it was eliminating a supposed communist insurgency on Jeju Island. In modern South Korean history, the number of victims due to Jeju Sasam is second only to the Korean War, which killed an estimated 137,899 military personnel and 373,599 civilians (Park, 2014). Unlike the Korean War, Jeju Sasam occurred in a single province, and began prior to the first election of a South Korean government.

The Special Law for Investigation of Truth about the Jeju 4.3 Incident and Honoring Victims (the 4.3 Special Law) defined Jeju Sasam as follows. (Truth Investigation Report, 2014, English version, p. 50)

A disturbance which occurred on March 1st of 1947 and developed on April 3rd of 1948 and as a following armed conflict and suppression until September 21st of 1954, during which many Jeju citizens were killed (Article 2)

As described above in the beginning of this chapter, the authorities conducted several forms of crimes against humanity and violated the human rights guaranteed by the Constitution. The atrocities destroyed the foundations of the Jeju people's lives. The investigation revealed the following forms of atrocity in

detail. First, the social infrastructure was massively destroyed. About 20,000 houses were destroyed due to state endorsed arson attacks on the island. As well as houses, administrative facilities and schools were also destroyed, which contributed to a depression in Jeju Island's industry, agriculture, livestock production, fisheries and trade. The lives of many Jeju people became desperate, with 28.8% of the population unemployed in 1949 (Truth Investigation Report, 2003, p. 531).

The Truth Investigation Report confirmed that violence against the Jeju Islanders was a systematic strategy designed to destroy the community. The authorities' stated aim was to eliminate a communist threat, but it eventually resulted in the killing of massive numbers of Jeju people. For instance, if a family member had gone missing from a household, especially if it was a youth, the remaining members, including infants, were indiscriminately killed as the authorities suspected that the missing family member had joined the guerrillas in the mountains. Also, the authorities forced people to confess their past 'wrongdoings', saying that such confessions would spare them from reprisals. So, many people admitted, or were forced to admit, working for the communist party, participating in the March movement, supporting the communist guerrillas or supplying food for them. However, the authorities broke their promises and killed these people too.

The authorities also entrapped people by masquerading as communist guerrillas and visiting households randomly to ask for support. If the people showed support or offered food to them, they were immediately killed. Furthermore, the authorities killed the people who escaped to the mountains, regarding them as communist guerrillas without any evidence except their location. Lastly, revenge killing was another form of killing innocent people. When the communist guerrillas successfully attacked a village or an authorities' facility, the authorities killed any family with a missing family member (Jemin Ilbo 4.3 Team, 1994). All the strategies that the authorities adopted, entrapping and killing people without proper interrogation, show that their primary aim was to 'cleanse' the island, which they considered to be a 'Red [communist] island' of opposing elements (Yang, 2008). The entrapped people were either killed or sent to mainland prisons.

The people imprisoned on the mainland were now confirmed as massacred or missing because the Korean War broke out during their imprisonment.



Figure 1. Inmates waiting in line to be interrogated (November 1948)
(Source: the US National Archive and Records Administration, Truth Investigation Report, 2003)



Figure 2. An interrogation team screens defectors in a schoolyard (April 1949)
(Source: Photo album 'History of the 2nd Regiment on Jeju Island,' Truth Investigation Report, 2003)

The state's surveillance and wrongdoings even continued during the Korean War. During this period, preventive detention became another form of mass killing on the island (Truth Investigation Report, 2003, p. 340). Preventive detention, originally, was supposedly aimed at preventing crime, by imprisoning a person who had some relationship to criminality, or was perceived as having the potential

to commit a crime (Lee, 2000a). It started with the Japanese Imperial Army's occupation, when they captured people who were against Japanese authority. The policy was immediately abrogated after the US military government occupied the Korean peninsula. However, after martial law was declared, the policy was instituted again by the military.

In addition to carrying out mass killings, the authorities also destroyed villages and property. On the 17th of October 1948, the authorities ordered the evacuation of the villagers living in the mountains. This forced migration was aimed to distinguish between enemy and civilians by area, because the guerrillas mainly occupied the central mountainous area. Villages were burned down and many were completely destroyed, and have never been rebuilt.³ Land within five kilometres of the coastline was the only area where people were officially allowed to live. This forced migration resulted in degrading people's quality of life. Refugees took asylum in places such as school classrooms, or warehouses, or moved to live with their relatives living in coastal areas. The discrimination by some local villagers, lack of food and surveillance by the authorities inevitably made the refugees desperate.

The refugees were able to return home from the end of August 1949. However, poor environmental factors such as housing and food supplies hardly improved. It was difficult to obtain building supplies, so temporary housing was provided. The community tried to rebuild their villages by organising committees, but the outbreak of The Korean War on the mainland made this difficult. About 148,000 refugees relocated to Jeju Island from the mainland, so offering proper support both to Jeju locals and mainland refugees became impossible. The lack of housing and food shortages were inevitable, which hindered the rebuilding of the villages. Due to the Korean War on the mainland and the authorities' massacres, the work of rebuilding the villages was assigned to women and children.

³ The operation was called 'Scorched-earth campaign', operated from mid-November of 1948. Martial law was declared on November 11th.



Figure 3. A photo of Nohyeong-ri, Jeju-eup

Reconstructed in the 1950s. The village, which had been destroyed by the suppression forces, was officially confirmed in 2019 to have suffered the most casualties at the time of the Sasam, and the number of casualties from this village alone amounts to 538.

(Source: Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, Truth Investigation Follow-up Report (2020))



Figure 4. Representation of Hamba-house (poverty house)

4.3 site of wall at Nakseondong, Seonhul-ri, Jocheon-eup. The house was built for temporal stay.

(Source: the author)

Sasam refugees had to live in such poor conditions for up to five years. In Tomak, for example, temporary housing was made from soil. From 1954, relocation was easier than before, and village rebuilding gained speed as well. As the definition of Jeju Sasam described above, 1954 was the year when the restriction on

entering the Halla mountain area was lifted. Therefore, those who originally came from the mountain villages could return to their home areas. For a further fifteen years, the refugee relocation programme continued for the rebuilding of the villages. Apart from direct physical violence or witnessing of atrocities, the desperate environment was another risk factor to the survivors and bereaved families. Why then did the Jeju communities experience such extreme trauma, and how have they lived through the aftermath? How was the Korean state able to commit this kind of state violence against its own people?

2. Historical background

To understand the nature of Jeju Sasam, it is essential to review the complex historical background. Jeju Sasam began prior to the establishment of the first government of South Korea, and, therefore, identifying the event has been controversial until now. The ideological conflict is a sensitive issue in South Korean society, while the Korean War is still technically on-going on the Korean peninsula. The ideological conflict has been used as a justification for state violence in modern Korean history. Ideology is central to the culture of South Korea and has also impacted Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families.

2.1. The occupying US Military governments and ideological conflict on the Korean peninsula

Following the end of World War II when the Japanese Empire fell, the Korean peninsula was liberated from colonial rule. However, the Korean peninsula was almost immediately occupied by US military forces. The United States Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) governed from 1945 to 1948, till the first South Korean government was established (Song, 1995). Soon the Korean War broke out in 1950, and the country was divided into South Korea and North Korea along the 38th parallel by the 1953 ceasefire.

The ideological conflict on the Korean peninsula did not start with the Korean War. The presence of the US and Soviet Union on the Korean peninsula was part of their foreign policies that became the Cold War between these two new

superpowers (Song, 1995). Prior to the war, Korean society had been presented with a straight choice between the ideologies of the two foreign occupying powers who ruled over the peninsula after liberation from Japanese colonisation. The US military government had occupied the Korean peninsula and thwarted the Korean people's attempts at self-rule, and eventually the division of the country, as described above, led to the formation of the state of South Korea. The US military government and the Soviet Union had formally agreed to establish a trust for the Korean peninsula to successfully establish 'in due course' an independent reunited country (Jung, 2014).

However, the foundation of this trust by the superpowers made the Korean situation complex. It was made more confusing because Koreans believed that they had been liberated, but soon discovered that only the occupying foreign country had changed, from Japan to the United States in the south and the Soviet Union in the north (Kim & Jeong, 1995). Regardless of the ideological differences, people were already prepared to run the country: securing territory, educating the people, and preparing for the new Korean nation. A US military government survey in 1946 found that socialism was the most popular economic ideology (70%) among the Korean population. Both capitalism and communism were much less popular. The surveys showed the Korean society was in favour of right wing political parties (right 50% left 30%), however, depending on methodology and location, people showed support for differing ideologies (Park, 2018c). From here, one can ascertain that Korean society was not strictly divided between democracy and communism.

However, on the 14th of November 1947, the UN discussed the Korean peninsula issue and decided to conduct general elections in both South and North Korea to establish a government in Korea, and for the cessation of military governments under the UN's supervision. However, the Soviet Union refused to accept and denied the UN committee's entrance to the North to deliver the UN's decision. So the UN conference resolved to conduct the general election where it was possible, i.e. the South, on 16th of February 1948 (Song, 1995). Politicians like Gu Kim, Kyu-sik Kim and others opposed the UN's decision, demanding that elections should be conducted for the whole unified nation, not an election for South Korea

only. But eventually Korean efforts to unify the nation failed. In this era preceding division, the heavily US influenced authorities in the south decided to elect a South Korean government without reference to the northern side on 10th of May 1948.

Jeju Island also experienced a similar ideological conflict as the mainland. The US military government had occupied Jeju Island as well, albeit later than on the mainland. Many people returned from labour in Japan to their homes on Jeju Island following the end of Japanese rule. The US military government lasted until 15th of August 1948, the period that includes the beginning of Jeju Sasam, and its control effectively continued with the newly installed South Korean government acting as its client. The US military government was responsible for surveillance of the armed conflict in Korean territory and allowed and facilitated the South Korean authorities and militias violence against the Jeju islanders. In fact, the US military government received the reports of the situation on Jeju Island and kept contributing to manage the situation. Jeju Sasam was one of their main concerns whilst the Cold War as threatening to democracy (Cumings, 1981).

When the US military government arrived on the island, there were already self-ruling organisations and youth parties established there. After liberation, the people eagerly participated in the development of their new nation as described above. Volunteer people's groups and parties were established as candidates for the new government. Jeju Island also had an established 'People's Committee' which was used for security measures in the community that the non-functional police could not carry out. People's Committees were originally the branches of the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence (CPKI), established for building the new nation of Korea after liberation (Meade, 1951). Most of the social committees tended to exclude the people who had been sympathetic to Japanese rule during colonisation. People who were admired and accepted by their communities became the leaders of their committees (Yang, 2008). So, prior to the arrival of the US military government (9th of November, 1945), Jeju Island was already under the control of Jeju people from both right- and left-leaning parties.

However, the US military government disbanded the People's Committees and reinstated collaborators with the Japanese colonial government into their former roles in policing and administration, thus failing to gain the trust of the Jeju people. The former collaborators had conducted atrocities on their own people on behalf of Japanese authorities, and, therefore, the majority of Jeju Islanders inevitably viewed the US military government with hostility. The US military government also failed to control the free market, especially for the price of rice (Park, 2005). It worsened the hardships of the Jeju people and led to severe food shortages and starvation in 1946 (Truth Investigation Report, 2003, p. 99).

Due to the controversial policies delivered by the US military government, there was an understandable tension between the authorities and the Jeju people. Also, following the tension of the Cold War, left wing groups were finding it harder to maintain their power. In March 1947, the entire nation prepared for the memorial of the Independence Movement of 1st of March 1919. Jeju Island also organised an event, led by the left-wing parties. The event was primarily intended to commemorate the independence movement, but it was also a chance to protest in support of the unification of the country. However, the very first tragedy began here. During the protest, a mounted policeman hit a child and then ignored the injuries. Witnesses chased the police officer, but the authorities interpreted this as an attack on their station. The police shot at the public, resulting in six deaths and six serious casualties (Truth Investigation Report, 2003, p. 109). This event is regarded as the very first point of raising tensions between the authorities and the Jeju people, which the Jeju 4.3 Special Law defined as the beginning of Jeju Sasam.

2.2. People's uprising and the authorities' atrocities

The tyrannical behaviour of the authorities on Jeju Island meant that they faced demonstrations by the Jeju people. They failed to communicate with the islanders and offered no apologies for the shootings on 1st of March and the resulting casualties. Rather, they started to intensively control the community. On 10th of March, the Jeju community organised a strike to protest against the police. The

strike was supported across a wide spectrum of society, including those working in governmental organisations, telecom facilities, transport, factories, and schools. They were joined by students, civil workers, and labourers, and even those working for the military government. However, the police arrested and tortured people in their search for leaders of the strike and its supporters.

The oppression by the authorities continued, and left-wing groups decided to uprising on 3rd of April in 1948. The armed uprising began by attacking police stations, under the slogan of 'uprising against oppression'. By experiencing people's movement, the authorities labelled Jeju Island as a 'Island of Reds (Truth Investigation Report, 2014, p. 150)' and sent reinforcements of military and police from the mainland, including mercenaries from far-right youth civilian organisations. They were one of the main groups who conducted atrocities, and they were allowed to carry them out with impunity. Between 1948 and 1949, massacre were widespread across the island. Jeju Sasam includes the aspects of the people's uprising and genocidal elements, but also the hardships of survivors and bereaved families post Jeju Sasam. The number of armed rebels was estimated at 300 (Truth Investigation Report, 2003, p. 176), but the military operation used to suppress the armed rebels in the Jeju area resulted in over 25,000 deaths.

The Peace Negotiation was once attempted on 28th of April 1948. The commander of the 9th Regiment, Ik-ryeol Kim, and the organiser of the armed resistance group, Dal-sam Kim agreed to the following conditions (Truth Investigation Report, 2014, English version, p. 251):

Battles should completely cease within 72 hours; sporadic conflicts are considered due to communication problems, but battles that occur after five days from today will be regarded as a breach of faith.

Disarmament shall be conducted gradually. If either side violates the agreement, however, battle will be resumed immediately.

If people disarm and descend from the mountain peacefully, the safety of leaders of the uprising will be guaranteed.

However, the arson at Ora-ri played a critical role in breaking the negotiation. The arson was perpetrated by the right-wing youth association at the Yeonmi village

of Ora-ri. However, the police report blamed the arson on the resistance, while the commander Ik-ryeol Kim concluded that responsibility lay with the right-wing association. Commander Kim's report was ignored, and the US military government replaced him with lieutenant colonel Jin-gyeong Park.



Figure 5. Leading members of the US Military Government in Korea arriving at Jeju Airport
From the second on the left, Military Governor Major General Dean, an interpreter, Jeju Military Governor Mansfield, Civil Administrator Ahn Jae-hong, Commander-in-chief Son Ho-seong, Commissioner of the National Police Agency Jo Byeong-ok, Commander of the 9th Regiment Kim Ik-ryeol, and Commissioner of the Jeju Police Inspection Agency Choi Cheon. (May 5th, 1948).
(Source: the US National Archive and Records Administration, Truth Investigation Report, 2003)



Figure 6. Ora-ri burning in an image
Filmed from a US reconnaissance plane which also appear in a documentary film (May 1st, 1948).
(Source: Documentary Film 'May Day on Jeju-do,' Truth Investigation Report, 2003)

The general election on 10th of May (known as the 5.10 general election) failed due to lack of votes on Jeju Island. Communist guerrillas led the strike against the general election that was to be held only in the southern part of the peninsula. One of the main demands of the uprising was unified government elections leading to unification of the country. Villagers, including those in the mountainous interior, who agreed with these demands, joined the strike and boycotted the poll. So Jeju Island was the only place to boycott the general elections. A supplemental election was scheduled for the following month of June, and the US Military government was eager to ensure that this election be successful. The authorities (including the US Military government) expected to suppress the armed uprising, but eventually failed. Inevitably, the scheduled election was also unable to proceed. Due to these protests, the intensive policy of suppression was initiated. The decision-makers and the leaders of the groups responsible for these atrocities were mostly from the mainland (Hong, 2015a).

People were forced at short notice to move from the mountainous interior to villages located within five kilometres of the coastline. It was part of the Scorched Earth military operation, described above, which treated the people who were left in their villages in the mountains as communist guerrillas or sympathisers. The authorities burned their villages to get rid of the resources that communists in the mountains could use. The forcibly migrated people were dislocated to makeshift concentration camps in schools or warehouses. The coastal villages were also overwhelmed with those forced out of the inland villages. However, the orders failed to deliver safe evacuation for everybody. Some people who failed to evacuate in time, including children and the elderly, were victims of arson or even killed.

To protect the village from the guerrilla attacks, walls were built surrounding the villages and the houses were built inside stone walls. Guard duty was also assigned to the people, regardless of gender and age. Figure 8 shows the stone walls surrounding a village.



Figure 7. People descending from the mountain (May 1948)

(Source: the US National Archive and Records Administration, Truth Investigation Report ,2003)



Figure 8. Stone walls (January 1949)

Stone walls were built in coastal villages to protect the villages from the armed guerrillas

(Source: Photo album 'History of the 2nd Regiment on Jeju Island,' Truth Investigation Report, 2003)

2.3. Anti-communism and discrimination

Anti-communism is an important cultural ideology in South Korean society. This ideology was justified as necessary for national security. Anti-communism and

Bbalgaengi (or Ppal-gaeng-i)⁴ led to a false dichotomy used to question whether a person could be identified as South Korean or not. It was close to a distinction between 'good and evil'. Therefore, Jeju Sasam was also justified under the ideology of anti-communism (Joo, 2017). The spread of anti-communism was led systematically by the authorities (Kang, 2013). It is well-known that President Rhee strongly endeavoured to develop and maintain anti-communism in South Korean society (Joo, 2016; Seo, 2010).

Furthermore, at the time of the 5.16 military coup d'état in 1961 by Park Chung-hee, the new military dictatorship's first 'revolt' article was, 'anti-communism is the first national policy'. This shows anti-communism to be a policy central to the rule of the new military government, which utilised a national spirit for social unity. This ideology was taught in schools, and a national rally was regularly organised. The authorities systematically organised national anti-communism branches in every village. This social atmosphere of anti-communism in South Korea continued into the early 1990s, when the Cold War ended, and it still influences national politics and public discourse (Woo, 1995).

The Jeju people were especially vulnerable in an anti-communist society. Jeju Island was the place where Jeju Sasam occurred, which was considered to be a communist riot. Also, there were refugees who escaped to Japan during Jeju Sasam, so inevitably there were many people on Jeju Island who had relatives living there. If the individual was known to have received a letter or money from a relative in Japan connected to 'The general association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryon)', the association was used to infer a connection to North Korea. It was easy, therefore, to frame them for spies from North Korea. The Jeju relatives were also suspected of being spies and were prosecuted for violation of the National Security Law. As a result, the Jeju people were tried as North Korean spies and imprisoned (Jin, 2021). These convictions contributed to confirming the South Korean people's belief in anti-communist ideology (Kim, 2020d). Under this social atmosphere, Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families were unable to

⁴ Bbalgaengi simply refers to 'Reds' or 'Commies'. Kim and Kang (2021) explained that Bbalgaengi is used as a general term in South Korean society as an expression of hate, to justify the social and political exclusion.

reveal their traumatic experiences, nor accuse the authorities of committing atrocities (Kim, 2018a).

Also, discrimination against survivors and bereaved families continued systemically at a governmental level. The guilt-by-association system, also known as the involvement system, was able to punish or disadvantage anyone who had a relationship with the offender. The system also targeted the bereaved family members as the authorities regarded Jeju Sasam victims as criminals. The disadvantages were most frequently administrative restrictions, such as preventing the issue of travel documents, entrance to military academies or job promotions within governmental organisations. However, surveillance of those listed was also rife, and in the most extreme cases the system resulted in judicial and extra-judicial atrocities of murder and torture. During Jeju Sasam, the system could unjustly punish those who were connected with someone who had died or been imprisoned due to the uprising, simply because their family members were suspected of being involved with communist guerrillas.

2.4. Current status of Jeju Sasam survivors

More recently, formerly silent survivors have been able to talk about their experiences. This has happened thanks to the gradual change in the social atmosphere brought about by the democratic movement and the efforts of the Jeju civil society. After the 4.3 Truth Investigation Report had been published, President Roh Moo-hyun made formal apologies to victims and bereaved families of Jeju Sasam (Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, 2003). It was a significant historical moment, since no former president had apologised officially to the Jeju people.

Also, official memorial events for the victims could now be organised publicly. Through the 4.3 Special Law, the memorial Peace Park for Jeju Sasam (4.3 Peace Park) was built, with the Peace Foundation responsible for running the memorial park and maintaining efforts to remember Jeju Sasam. This memorial park has a monument for the Sasam victims, tablets with victims' names and a cemetery area of gravestones for missing victims. The memorial park was opened in 2008, since when an annual memorial ceremony, organised by the

government, has been conducted. Memorials were conducted before 2008, but the official ceremony at the 4.3 Peace Park is considered to be a more fitting memorial, conducted in a purpose-built place with space provided for exhibits related to educating people about Jeju Sasam.

During Jeju Sasam, the dead victims were often buried in mass graves or were abandoned where the massacres took place, so it can be hard to find the bodies. This is especially true for the victims who were sent to mainland prisons. Efforts for exhumation continue on Jeju Island. This includes the collection of DNA samples from bereaved families to facilitate identification through matching samples. Korean culture values the morality of serving the dead properly, from the funeral to the rites that follow it. Also, the belief in the existence of dead souls is powerful in Korean society that it can affect the living. Many Koreans feel that it is important to treat the dead with honour and respect. Therefore, a memorial place with a gravestone is very precious to the survivors and bereaved families of Sasam (Kim, 2019c).

The surviving victims who were formerly tried to get their cases retried in order to regain their honour. Both civilian court and military court victims sued the government and won their cases. Finally, they could have their criminal records removed and be compensated by the government (Choi, 2019b). Other victims and bereaved families tried to sue the government using the original cases as precedent. Their victory and the courts' admissions of past injustices was a huge success for the victims' societies, especially regarding their identity as victims of state violence.

In December of 2021, the amended 4.3 Special Law was passed at the national congress. It included the decision to offer compensation to the victims and the criteria to decide who may be entitled to it. The amount of compensation for each victim is ninety million Won (approximately 55,478 in Pound sterling). If the victims are unable to receive the compensation due to being dead or missing, the bereaved family can nominate a successor who will receive the compensation. The amended law does not define the compensation as a form of reparation. The use of 'compensation' could imply that Jeju Sasam's atrocities are still legitimate, while 'reparation' implicitly admits that Jeju Sasam was an example of state

violence. The process for the disbursement of compensation will start from the latter half of 2022.

3. Memorial of Jeju Sasam

The memorial for Jeju Sasam victims on Jeju Island shows well the aspect of the collective trauma of Jeju Sasam and the importance of social acknowledgment. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the memorial of Jeju Sasam in detail. Every April there are many Sasam related events on Jeju Island. In the case of the commemoration event on 3rd of April at the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park, it is a memorial event organised by the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation and Jeju Special Self-Governing Province, where over thirty thousand people participate. The president or prime minister participate in the event and make their apologies to the victims. Apart from this specific memorial event, the bereaved families memorialise their families in several forms of traditional ritual culture. The association for 4.3 victims and bereaved families also organise the pre-event rite, that is based on 'Jesa'. Jesa is a form of traditional rite based on Confucianism, which was the main quasi-religious philosophy from the Chosun dynasty, dating from the late fourteenth century. Families gather and serve their ancestor's Jesa on the anniversary of their death, believing that their spirits return home for meals. It is a moment for mourning and sharing memories.

Also, each village organises their own memorial and rite for the victims from their community. These are smaller than the one held in the Peace Park; however, they are important ways to help the communities deal with their collective trauma. The memorial date is slightly different for each village, because the massacres did not start and end on one certain day. The villagers decide when the memorial events should be conducted. Every ritual has a moment to share the ritually appropriate foods, which provides a place and opportunity to collect the memories within the community.



Figure 9. Jesa serving by the association for 4.3 victims and bereaved families
(Source: the author)



Figure 10. Haewonsangsaeng-Gut serving by Jeju Simbang
(Source: the author)

The artistic community on Jeju Island organises the rite called ‘Gut’ which is led by a shaman, known as Simbang in the Jeju language. It is based on a traditional religious belief, and Jeju culture cannot be discussed without an understanding of its traditional religion, Mukyo (무교) which is shamanism. There is an expression ‘five hundred dang and five hundred jeol’ which means that Jeju Island has five hundred places for native gods and five hundred temples for Buddha.

Most villages have a 'dang' for their village's guardian god. It is possible to imagine that the Jeju culture has a strong relationship with religious belief (Kim, 2003c).

Bonpuri (본풀이) is the Simbang's narration during the rite. Jeju Island's Bonpuri maintains its original form and structure and is now the only place to do so in Korea. The narration describes not only the myth or legend of a certain god's history, but also historical events like Jeju Sasam (Cho, 2020; Moon, 2011). Moon (2011) stated that the Gut can be therapeutic: affording the opportunity to cry and offer purification of 'Han-puri', which refers to relieving the stressful mind. Gut can play a crucial role for trauma therapy and social therapy for collective trauma. As mentioned above, Gut is a highly combined multi-artistic performance, representing the trauma of survivors. One of the procedures in Gut, the YeongaeUlim (영계울림) is the 'crying of souls' through the Simbang, which means that the Simbang cries for souls, by souls and of souls. The bereaved families can cry together, which can achieve therapeutic aims. This is also regarded as a way of communication, where the narration of the Simbang is crucial for the relief of Han (Han is a cultural emotion in Korea and will be explained in detail following this chapter) and the transition of history to the next generation (Kim, 1991, 1998, 2013c).

The memorial can represent a reconciliation between the perpetrators and the victims' groups on Jeju Island. The monument called 'Yeongmowon' is the place which commemorates the police, military and civilian victims who died during Jeju Sasam. It can be regarded as making an initial step towards community's recovery and reconciliation between the groups, and the commemoration event at the monument has continued since its establishment in 2003 (Ha, 2017). However, the efforts at reconciliation have still yet to fully convince either the perpetrators or the victim groups. Even 'Yeongmowon' aimed to reconcile but did not allow the names of victims who were communists as with the memorial stones in Jeju 4.3 Peace Park.

It was interesting to find that the legal definition of victim does not distinguish between police, military personnel and civilians. However, the communist guerrillas were not considered to be victims of Jeju Sasam. As a result, the dead

police and military service personnel are recognised as victims of Jeju Sasam and their names appear on the memorial tablets in the 4.3 Peace Park. However, the names of communist guerrillas were removed from the memorial park after right-wing groups protested that their names be removed because communists were not legitimate victims of Jeju Sasam. They believe Jeju Sasam was a communist riot against the government, and, therefore, justified the massacres as a legitimate strategy of suppression.

Therefore, in this thesis, the term ‘survivor’ is used to define our research participants, rather than ‘victim’. The term ‘survivor’ can cover the individuals who were ineligible or chose not to register themselves as a victim, as well as bereaved families. Therefore, the victim society or victim community in this thesis refers to survivors and bereaved families of Jeju Sasam but excludes the individuals from the perpetrator groups.



Figure 11. 4.3 Peace Park, Missing victims' headstones
(Source: the author)



Figure 12. Yeongmowon
(Source: Jeju 4.3 Archives)

4. How do we define Jeju Sasam?

The definition of Jeju Sasam remains controversial in South Korean society since it cannot be summed up in a single word or short phrase in which different sections of society can agree. The 4.3 Special Law and Truth Investigation Report officially named Jeju Sasam as the ‘Jeju 4·3 Incident’. The term ‘incident’ is vague and does not offer an accurate definition of Jeju Sasam’s characteristics. It is essential to know the historical background of Jeju Sasam in modern Korean history to be able to understand its complexity and help to define it accurately. However, the socio-political atmosphere toward Jeju Sasam changes over time and this includes differences in the ways language is used and understood. It is, therefore, unsurprising that Jeju Sasam remains difficult to define.

Table 2. Changes of Jeju Sasam narratives over time

Chronology	Group	Naming
Immediate response after the armed uprising on 3 rd of April, 1948	Authorities (USAMGIK, Police)	Immediately defined as Pokdong (riot)
	Newspapers (Right wing)	Accepted the authorities’ naming; Pokdong (riot)
	Right wing groups	Pokdong (riot)
	Jeju local newspapers, Neutral, Left-leaning	A disturbance (Soyo sageon), a comparatively

	newspapers, Left wing parties	moderate description or an armed uprising, the Jeju Island's people's uprising
Peace agreement attempt (1948 April-May)	National Security Army	An attempted peace agreement, naming the armed uprising as a tragedy between one people
	Police	Paused any strong descriptions
	Newspapers	Tried to use sensitive descriptions: disturbance, Jejudo Satae or Sageon (Jeju Island's situation or incident)
Decision of strong suppression (October 1948 – February 1949)	Authorities	Defined as Pokdong again
	Newspapers (except for right wing)	Still tried to maintain a neutral and objective view; described as 'incident'
	Legal circles	4.3 'incident'; tried to access as an objective view, the first official naming as 'incident'
After the foundation of Republic of Korea -declaration of martial law (17 th of November, 1948) -period of media suppression and surveillance	Authorities	Following the declaration of martial law, Jeju Sasam was recognized as a 'rebellion' to be suppressed
Post Jeju Sasam -4.19 (April 19 th) Revolution, 1960 : the democratic movement by students' demonstrations, demanding justice for 3.15 (March 15 th) rigged election and impeachment of President Rhee. The current constitution of Republic of Korea clearly states that the law inherits the spirit of 4.19 Revolution's democracy.	Victims and bereaved families	Reveal the experience of Jeju Sasam to the public
	National Congress	Yangmin Haksal Sageon (innocent civilian massacre incident); the investigation team assigned to investigate massacres during the Korean War. The team for Kyeongnam province also charged with responsibility for Jeju Island
5.16 (May 16 th) Coup d'état of 1961	Authorities	Forced silence about Jeju Sasam for 20 years, under the military government's dictatorship. Strong anti-communists atmosphere, guilt-by-association. Ministry of Defence published the history of

		the Korean War (1967); described the Jeju Sasam as Jejudo Pokdong (riot)
Since 1974	History textbooks	Pokdong (Since 1974); followed the authorities' description
End of 1980s - 1990s Era of democratic movement	Jeju National University student union	Organised first memorial event for victims since Jeju Sasam: clearly stated Jeju Sasam as a people's uprising.
	Jeju Sasam related researchers and grassroots movement groups	Adopted the view as people's uprising and Jeju people's view
	Jeju people	Still appraise as unsolved case, a situation of massacre
1988 - 1990s	Authorities	Still maintain as a riot (or armed riot), also maintained in history textbooks
2000s	Authorities including the Committee on Discovering the Truth of the Jeju 4.3 Incident and the Restoration of Honor of the Victims	Established the Jeju Sasam Special Law and accepted the truth investigation report: incident
	History textbooks	Removed the description as a riot

*The table contents are summaries derived from Park (2018), Chapter 11, p.489-522

** The table contents of newspapers can be found in: Jeju 4.3 Incident Investigation Data Collection (Newspapers), volume 2 by Committee on Discovering the Truth of the Jeju 4.3 Incident and the Restoration of Honor of the Victims

Table 2 shows how the definition of Jeju Sasam has changed over time and the various groups supplying these definitions. Since the people's uprising on April 3rd 1948, the authorities and right-wingers have consistently referred to it as Pokdong (a riot) and insist that the rioters were communist mobs (Committee on Discovering the Truth of the Jeju 4.3 Incident and the Restoration of Honor of the Victims, 2001, p. 31)⁵. Until the 1960s, the anti-authority riot and a rebellion that required suppression were common narratives. The narrative of Pokdong was based on an anti-communist ideology and provided the justification for the atrocities of state violence (Yang, 2008). However, when the 4.19 Revolution

⁵ "Riot (Pokdong) occurred against the General election on Jeju Island on 4th (of April)", Donga Ilbo, 6th of April, 1948. The scanned version of original newspaper article can be found from Jeju 4.3 Archives: http://43archives.or.kr/data/getRecord.do?record_no=10

succeeded, the narrative was changed. The survivors and bereaved families were able to speak out about their memories of Jeju Sasam. The National Congress also gave its attention, regarding Jeju Sasam as 'Haksal', which refers to massacre, but narratives used the term 'innocent civilians (Yangmin Haksal)' in the contexts of the massacres, which can be interpreted as distinguishing the victims who were considered as innocent and those who supposedly deserved to die. Additionally, it justifies the state's atrocities as an overreaction, not a crime (Truth Investigation Report, 2003; Yang, 2008).

Nevertheless, with the 5.16 Coup d'état the military dictatorship solidified the ideology of anti-communism, which led the narratives of Jeju Sasam back to Pokdong and forced silence. The anti-communist social atmosphere lasted until the 1980s. During the 1980s, an era of democratic movements had begun (Kim, 2019d). By following this new social atmosphere, the Jeju community was able to demand that the truth about Jeju Sasam be told, and Jeju Sasam started to be called 'Jeju 4.3 Hangjaeng', which means Jeju Sasam people's uprising. Park (2018a) explained there were gaps between the narratives of researchers and social activists and survivors and bereaved families. Research was influenced by the view that it was an uprising; however, the survivors and bereaved families' testimonies were mainly focused on their memories of massacres (p. 512-513). Also, until the end of the 1990s, the authorities still maintained the view of it as a riot, and this was reflected in the history text books (Jemin Ilbo 4.3 Team, 1994).

After several years of formulation, the 4.3 Special Law was eventually passed in 1999 and established on 12th of January 2000. The 4.3 Special Law aimed to investigate the truth of the Jeju Sasam and restore the honour of the victims. The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju 4.3 Event was organised for investigation under the 4.3 Special Law on 28th of August 2000. Thereafter, the truth investigation followed, and the report was published in 2003. The committee investigated by collecting data from authorities such as the National Assembly, the Ministry of Defence, the National Archives, and the police. In addition to South Korea, the literature review was conducted in countries such as the USA, Russia and Japan. The investigation abroad included collecting data, for example, from the US National Archives and Record Administration (NARA).

Furthermore, the oral history collection was one of the most important tasks of the committee. They collected testimony from five hundred and three people, which were then verified and analysed by comparing with the historical data, documents and literature.

In an attempt to adopt a neutral term, the report defined Jeju Sasam as an 'incident', but this only added to the controversy regarding the various definitions. Nonetheless, the report was accepted and President Roh gave the official political apology on 31st of October 2003. Even though the President apologised, and the government accepted the report, several right-wing elements strongly protested, stating their aim to cancel the President's apology by constitutional appeal. The right-wing movement against the Jeju Sasam issue has continued since that time.

The truth investigation report focused on describing 'what happened' rather than studying the impact of Jeju Sasam. Supported by testimony, it contains the historical background of and damage caused by state-sponsored atrocities (Truth Investigation Report, 2003). The survivors and bereaved families' narratives help others to imagine how their experiences can be crucial to their quality of life and psychological wellbeing, but the report did not conduct specific research on psychological impact or outcomes. Also, the report introduced several aspects of Jeju Sasam, including the moment of uprising and massacres along a time scale, but lacked any clear definition of Jeju Sasam.

So far, the historical changes of Jeju Sasam's definition were introduced. The ideological conflict involved in defining Jeju Sasam meant that it is rarely referred to using the legal term of 'genocide (제노사이드)'. The Truth Investigation Report did not define Jeju Sasam as 'genocide' or 'uprising and massacre' but as Jeju 4.3 'Incident' as described above. The report only admitted in conclusion that the authorities violated the principles of international law by mentioning the Convention of Genocide Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the Geneva Conventions (Truth Investigation Report, 2003).

However, normally the massacre is translated as 'Haksal' and genocide is written as 'genocide' itself in Korean or translated as 'Haksal' or 'Jibdan Haksal (collective massacre)' in Korean. Both terms share the word 'Haksal', which

means 'kills people or living things brutally and cruelly'. The possibility of mixed term usage between the massacre and genocide can be problematic and can lead the readers to misunderstand the concept of genocide. Sometimes genocide is widely used as a representative metaphor of massacre or massive killings, however it is a legal concept having a definition and conditions. Jeju Sasam contained mass killing by the authorities, which was conducted only in one particular province. Also, the Truth Investigation report admitted that Jeju Sasam contained the elements of genocide. Then, is Jeju Sasam eligible to be called a genocide?

Genocide is often perceived as requiring millions of murders, like those that took place during the Holocaust. However, the size of the death toll is not a necessary condition for an event to be defined as genocide. Genocidal acts are described as follows in the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UN General Assembly, 1948, Article II, p. 3):

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

However, the genocide convention excluded 'political' groups from the definition because, if they were included, many acts of state violence would be classified as genocide. Many studies have criticised the limitation on the UN Convention's definition (Dadrian, 1975; Drost, 1959; Horowitz, 1987), especially stating the need to broaden the definition to include 'political' groups in their criteria (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Kuper, 1981; Lemkin, 2005; Whitaker, 1985). Lemkin (2005) who is credited with first coining the term 'genocide', also included the attacks on political and social institutions in his definition of genocide.

In light of this view, the 'intent' of the perpetrator is another crucial element for genocide. Kuper (1981) analysed the motives of perpetrators as 'to enforce or fulfil a political ideology (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990, p. 17)'. The anti-communist ideology in the case of Jeju Sasam would seem to qualify. As described in the historical background, the authorities intended to destroy the Jeju community by conducting atrocities against the Jeju people. They treated them as potential communists, and, therefore, the enemy at that time. The Jeju Island was labelled as 'Island of Reds', implying that Jeju society was overrun by communists, although this was arguably a subterfuge to brand any opponent to foreign rule and division of the peninsula as the enemy. The communists, 'Bbalgaengi', threatened the security of the authorities in South Korea and so became a target to be killed or imprisoned (Kang, 2013). They were subject to dehumanisation a policy that links with Fein (1984) idea of victims of genocide: groups who are identified as outside the sanctioned universe of obligation. Furthermore, the devaluation of victims is a precondition of genocide (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990).

In October 1948 there was a rebellion by armed forces in Yeosu and Suncheon on the mainland, who were waiting to be deployed to Jeju Island to help suppress the Jeju uprising. The members of the rebellion believed the order to suppress the people on Jeju Island (i.e. by use of mass killings) was wrong, so they refused the order to deploy. Another massacre was conducted in the Yeosu and Suncheon area, under the justification of eliminating the rebellions. Therefore, the authorities took these insurrections as huge threats to their position as the first government of South Korea. It was essential to make an example of them, therefore, anti-communism became the main ideology of the society, and they used it to justify the atrocities of Jeju Sasam. Therefore, this political intent to eliminate a specific group points to the characteristic of genocide (Kim, 2009). If the definition of genocide were broadened to include political groups as the victim groups, Jeju Sasam would meet this definition.

From the survivors' eyewitness testimonies from the Truth Investigation Report, the massacres contained the characteristic of revenge, especially when perpetrated by members of the authorities. The issue of revenge was explored by Roger W. Smith (1987) as one of the elements of genocide. Around ten per

cent of the victims were killed by the communist guerrillas, and some villages were severely damaged by them. For this reason, the actions of members of the police or a right-wing organisation, whose family had been killed by communist guerrillas may have been motivated by personal agony and hate (Yang et al., 2019). The authorities allowing personal revenge to occur using the justification of anti-communist ideology is reprehensible.

While the authorities insisted that Jeju Sasam was essentially counterinsurgency, it is true that the hatred of communists played a crucial role in contributing to the mass murders. The right-wing organisations such as the Northwest Korean Youth Association were initially civilian groups unlike the military or police personnel. The majority of members of the group were originally from the north area of the Korean peninsula, now the territory of North Korea. They had a strong hatred of communists, and anti-communism became their prime ideology (Kim, 2010c). President Rhee made them join the reinforcements heading to Jeju Island, where their killing rampages were allowed, or deliberately ignored, under the justification of 'red hunts'. The state tactically used the hatred against a particular group, which manifested itself in elements of genocide.

Yet neither the UN nor the South Korean government has recognised Jeju Sasam as genocide. Opinions on Jeju Sasam vary within South Korean society as well. Again, this happens because different groups cannot agree on how Jeju Sasam should be defined. Jeju Sasam lasted seven years and seven months. In the beginning it was a people's uprising in support of a unified Korea, but by the end, the guerrillas (or believed as guerrillas) also harmed civilians, which was against the initial spirit of uprising. Regardless of the various aspects of Jeju Sasam, it is obvious that it has elements of genocide. Also, it is true that certain aspects of genocide were extremely traumatic for the survivors.

Lee (2017a) admits the difficulties in defining Jeju Sasam as genocide, because of the limitation of the UN Genocide convention's strict criteria for defining genocide. Therefore, Lee (2017a) also stated that 'crimes against humanity' is a feasible and appropriate term to describe the criminal actions and apportion responsibility. 'Genocidal massacre' can be an alternative term to use in cases

that do not perfectly fit the definition of genocide (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Kuper, 1981).

The definition of genocide recognised by the UN Convention is limited in its ability to define Jeju Sasam as genocide since reasons for it, and justification for it were political. Furthermore, the systemic discrimination against Jeju Sasam victims continued beyond the physical massacre. The whole process of Jeju Sasam and the life of survivors, both during and in its aftermath, was an unexpected and extremely traumatic event for everyone affected. Therefore, even though Jeju Sasam cannot be defined as genocide, this thesis admits that Jeju Sasam's genocidal elements could have influenced the survivors.

5. Research background

First, the study explores the individuals' appraisals of their Jeju Sasam experiences. The appraisal is a core process used to interpret situations and events, and help to determine the individual's emotional responses and coping strategies. One's subjective interpretation of the event can vary the appraisals. The appraisal theory introduces personal and environmental variables that can influence different appraisals (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Therefore, exploring the appraisal is critical for understanding the research population and their coping strategies.

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) suggests belief in self and in one's world variables. Self is one of the core elements in understanding the individual's relationship with other people, so is their world view. The definition of 'self' can be elusive because it has various aspects that need to be explained. It can predict the individual's behaviour (Ludwig & Maehr, 1967), so it is useful to understand the self-process and is crucial to deal with the therapeutic approach to individuals. Studies on self-psychology have been widely conducted regarding the development of the self (Kohut, 1977; Mahler, 1985; White & Weiner, 1986). The constructivist self-development theory explains the impact of trauma on the development of self. The theory is composed of: frame of reference (one's overarching ways of viewing self and the world), psychological needs, ego resources, the memory

system, and self-capacities (McCann & Pearlman, 1990; Pearlman, 1997; Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995a, 1995b).

Then what else influences people's appraisal of their traumatic experiences? The stress appraisal theory also focused on the culture as one of the environmental variables (Lazarus, 1966; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Therefore, in this thesis, culture is another interesting area of research, as cultural differences can cause variations in the interpretation of one's traumatic experiences (Wilson & Tang, 2007). Culture is, therefore, espoused as another essential element that impacts the individuals' appraisal and, ultimately, the psychological outcomes of trauma resilience. One's culture is composed of shared beliefs, values and attitudes, and so can provide a sense of belonging to members within a group (Van Der Kolk, 1988). Through cultural discrepancy, the divergence of cultural values and practices, trauma can be interpreted differently in relation to trauma adjustment and appraisal. Culture enables members to appreciate their self-worth and helps to make them feel that they belong within the group (Chung & Bemak, 2002). Through shared membership of a community or society, individuals can define their purpose of life or determine their behaviour within the group. Their beliefs, values, and behaviours are related to the rules and norms of the group, which also provide a sense of identity to their personal existence. Furthermore, a worldview can also be clarified through culture (Ibrahim, 1985). A worldview consists of; attitudes, values, beliefs, opinions, and concepts, and affects an individual's ways of thinking, decision making, behaviour, definition and appraisal of events (Sue et al., 2019). Culture is important regarding collective memories, because it is learned and transmitted from generation to generation (Kagawa-Singer & Chung, 1994; Pedersen, 1991).

This aspect of culture can help interpret the group members' behaviour and their resilience to the trauma. Buse et al (2013) pointed out the cultural context factors in relationship to resilience as follows: emotion regulation, somatisation, locus of control, self-enhancement, dissociation, family/community support and rituals or ceremonies. Survivors' ways of expressing their emotions can be associated with trauma resilience. Locus of control shows different levels of resilience depending on the culture. Weisz et al (1984) insisted that in eastern cultures, Japan for

example, the internal locus of control may not play a pertinent role in resilience. The acceptance of fate is more likely to bolster attitudes of people from eastern cultures. Rituals or ceremonies are also important components of the cultural identities that can be related to the resilience of trauma survivors (Eisenbruch, 1991).

Therefore, the aspect of collective trauma is also critical, since the coping strategy should be considered from the individual level to the communal level to mitigate harmful effects both to individuals and communities. The community is a place where the individual can interact with people, seek help and support, either emotional or physical. The relationship within the community plays an important role in developing the self-appraisal of survivors after their traumatic experiences.

Having the culture's influence in mind, it is interesting to consider the Jeju culture as well. Jeju Island is a volcanic island, having the 1,950 metre high Halla mountain at its centre. The dry soil and rocks were a naturally difficult environment for agriculture. The lack of food and other resources were factors in people's lives that contributed to Jeju culture (Hyun, 2003). The island was historically used as a prison by the central government for detaining political prisoners (Kim, 2003c). Traditionally Jeju had a naturally rooted culture in the lives of the Jeju people.

Jeju Island has some terms, such as 'Gwendang', specific to its culture. 'Gwendang (귤당/켄당)' is from the Jeju language and refers to kinship in general. It has developed as Jeju Island's core cultural factor (Jeon, 1983; Kim, 1992, 2010a, 2010b, 2011; Kim, 1999). Therefore, it is worth studying in detail. 'Gwendang' refers to kinship in simple terms, and the concept of kinship can exist anywhere. However, the concept of 'Gwendang' implies more than just kinship. It has a broader meaning than is understood on the mainland, where it is based on patrilineage. Unlike on the mainland, the range of the 'Gwendang' network on Jeju Island includes all connections through paternal, maternal and spousal sides of the family. These networks have stronger impacts on political elections (Han & Yeom, 2006).

As well as the Gwendang culture, the Jeju community relies on a social culture called 'Sunurum (수눔)' . It is known as a cooperative labour sharing system on Jeju Island, that is similar to 'Dure (두레)' culture on the mainland. Both Sunurum and Dure culture are aimed at better productive labour, however, Sunurum is deeply attached to the collective effort to survive in a poor agricultural environment. Because of the insufficient land for agriculture, the concept of landholder and tenant farming could not dominate Jeju agriculture. In contrast, villages co-owned land for farming (Hong, 2015a). The environment of Jeju Island is connected to the inhabitants' community centred culture for overcoming financial hardships, poor productivity, and natural disasters (Kim et al., 2014).

Also, cultural backgrounds can vary emotions. The emotion called 'Han' is frequently observed in Korean people's narratives. It describes the combined emotions of regret, sorrow, dejection, frustration, renunciation, sadness, lamentation and anger (Choi, 2011). Han normally occurs in situations that one is unable to resolve and leads to the feeling called 'Eokulhada' which can be translated as dejection. Thinking oneself unfairly treated or discriminated against can trigger feelings of resentment, which ultimately settles as Han in the mind. Also, unhappy situations, such as a family bereavement, can trigger the Han. Lastly, making a mistake that one is unable to put right can trigger Han as well.

Choi and Kim (1993) explained the three stages of Han. First, once the reason for Han has occurred, one experiences frustrated desire and feelings such as anger, hostility and vengeful thoughts. One might externally attribute the reason for their Han to the person believed to be responsible for it. In the second stage, one might blame oneself for the state of one's own personal affairs, and the resentment can become internalised. The feeling of frustrated desire changes to helplessness and the vengeful thoughts change to blaming oneself and one's lot. The final stage is a psychologically reflective stage which might blame on one's 'Palzha'. 'Palzha' is comparable to 'destiny' in western culture. It is the belief that one's entire life is subject to predestination determined by the date and time of one's birth (The National Academy of the Korean Language, 2008). In this stage, one feels the complex negative emotions such as sadness and feeling upset

caused by reflecting on what one has experienced. The feelings of 'Han' remain as time passes.

Added to the effect of a culture, the resources survivors have in their community can be an environmental variable that might affect their appraisals (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). The World Health Organisation (CSDH, 2008) also considers resources as part of the social determinants of health used to estimate health outcomes. The idea of social determinants of health includes both useful and harmful resources. Studies found that social determinants can vary the outcomes on health, including mental health outcomes (Braveman & Gottlieb, 2014; Taylor et al., 2016). The social determinants have links to the experience of Jeju Sasam survivors. Social discrimination is one of the elements especially regarded as social determinants of health, and this connects to the guilt-by-association of Jeju Sasam survivors. Additionally, the forced migration and the destruction of villages resulted negatively in terms of their physical environment and quality of life.

Lastly, resilience and coping strategies are essential considerations for the trauma survivors. Resilience is defined as the capability to adapt to the present risk or ongoing adversity. The practice of resilience can include abilities such as adaptation, overcoming, adjustment and facing and handling stress. Eventually after their traumatic events, individuals maintain their health, with the abilities to deal with social relationships and through social support (Meichenbaum, 2012). Ultimately, trauma survivors need coping strategies to help deal with the adversity of their traumatic experiences. Several factors can influence building their resilience, which can lead to improved psychological health. Additionally, resiliency can point the way to ideal therapy for the trauma survivors. Resilience is the ultimate goal for trauma survivors.

In this thesis, culture and its impact on self, the appraisal and signs of resilience will be investigated through the narratives of Jeju Sasam survivors. By way of cross-cultural psychology, the cultural differences of perception of the individual's self-appraisal and of their traumatic events can show other features in our research population. This then can suggest a significant foundation considering culture as an important element in interpreting the impact of trauma, and so lead

to their recovery, because people's appraisal of their own experience lies in their cultures, while coping with the trauma as well (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

6. Research rationale and research questions

In light of the above, and to explore the impact of Jeju Sasam on psychological health, this thesis considers appraisal, culture and gender with specific research questions:

- 1) In what ways have the survivors dealt with the traumatic events and their lives thereafter within their culture and community?
- 2) How do the survivors appraise their traumatic experiences, and what affects their appraisals?
- 3) In what ways have the survivors' life experiences been affected by gender differences?
- 4) Do the survivors have their own ways of coping and developing resilience strategies?

By answering the questions above, the key points of this thesis are to research the survivors' resilience and contribute to the promotion of their psychological wellbeing, which can help the relative population as well. As described above, the field of psychological studies has expanded, bolstering the understanding of how traumatic events can cause severe and lasting psychological consequences.

However, the dearth of psychological approaches to the study of Jeju Sasam survivors and the impact on the Jeju community led this research to study the survivors' mental health and wellbeing. Research on the trajectories of Jeju Sasam trauma impacts, not only at the level of the individual, but also at that of the community, needs to be conducted regarding the collective trauma perspectives. Also, considering the cultural context of Jeju Island, the discussion on cultural factors also requires attention, to indicate the characteristics of the culture and to seek appropriate coping strategies for the victims.

It is also important to consider the social and environmental factors that affect Jeju Sasam survivors. Some people on the mainland disdain the Jeju Sasam

issue and the Jeju people, which previous governments had cemented by framing the victims and bereaved families as reactionary elements. Also, the authorities had discriminated against them by using guilt-by-association. These are other forms of state violence against the Jeju community in which the authorities systemically concealed their atrocities. Inevitably, the survivors and bereaved families could not get the proper treatment for their impairments.

However, not all trauma survivors develop psychiatric disorders or mental illnesses, since their vulnerability and resilience can differ depending on various factors. The transitional mechanism from traumatic event to psychological disorder contains etiological factors such as: other life events, biological traits, past experiences, support, personality, coping style, family history and environmental response (Van Der Kolk, 1988). In other words, the possibilities that Jeju Sasam survivors have learned their resilience within their community and environment are worth giving attention to in the study of survivors of similar extreme trauma events.

To address the research questions above, this thesis is organised by the following chapters. The previously studied theories and models will be covered in the Literature review chapter. Also, previous Jeju Sasam related research was investigated using an interdisciplinary approach focusing on psychological matters. The Methodology chapter introduces the qualitative research approach that this thesis conducted with the participants, i.e. the semi-structured interview. The research analysis was thematic analysis, where the rationale to use this methodology of semi-structured interview and analysis was introduced. The detailed recruitment strategy is described, which was the core strategy to study the vulnerable population who are the survivors of state violence and atrocities, especially those who are now the elderly population. The following Results chapter shows the research findings from the fifty interviews, in which seven umbrella themes were raised. Some interviews were directly quoted to help the readers to easily understand the seven themes in detail and the survivors' experiences. The Discussion chapter discusses the impact of Jeju Sasam on survivors psychologically, focusing on four elements: the self-appraisal, cognitive appraisal, social elements and culture. These four elements were found as the

resilience mechanisms of Jeju Sasam survivors' traumatic experiences. Lastly, the Conclusion chapter summarises the thesis and gives the last insights of Jeju Sasam trauma. The authorities' wrongdoings and their crimes against humanity that violated the guaranteed human rights enshrined in the Constitution are emphasised. Additionally, the chapter includes the limitation of the current study. Furthermore, the thesis suggested other areas to study and sustainable way to research of Jeju Sasam in the future.

Chapter 2. Literature review

Trauma is an emotional reaction following any disturbing experience. The following is the definition of trauma in the dictionary of the American Psychology Association (APA, 2022c).

any disturbing experience that results in significant fear, helplessness, dissociation, confusion, or other disruptive feelings intense enough to have a long-lasting negative effect on a person's attitudes, behaviour, and other aspects of functioning. Traumatic events include those caused by human behaviour (e.g., rape, war, industrial accidents) as well as by nature (e.g., earthquakes) and often challenge an individual's view of the world as a just, safe, and predictable place.

The idea that exposure to trauma can have mentally adverse consequences was asserted by various researchers; for example, Freud's notion of hysteria as traumatic in origin, Janet's dissociation after trauma exposure (Yehuda & McFarlane, 1995), and shell shock first observed among soldiers in World War I (Jones, 2010). The symptoms of trauma experienced by veterans of the Vietnam War, which had ended in 1975, began to be widely acknowledged, and posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) was finally conceptualised into DSM-III in 1980 (APA, 1980). Since then, PTSD has become widely known as a psychological outcome (psychiatric disorder) following a traumatic experience (Friedman et al., 2014; Kucharska, 2017).

The traumatic experience is enough to cause the stress, and commonly results in a negative emotional response (Amstadter & Vernon, 2008). PTSD is not the only negative effect of trauma; other consequences can be found, such as depression, grief and anxiety (Pai et al., 2017). Those emotional responses are normal reactions following trauma, and there are other multiple domains that can be disturbed following trauma, as described above. For example, the changes in attitudes or behaviours can produce other effects, including improved emotional regulation.

Appraisal can explain how traumatic experiences are processed to have possible outcomes, either positive or negative. Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) stress-appraisal and coping model explains how one interprets an experience as a

stress and how to cope and adapt. They defined stress as not limited to only extreme trauma, such as natural or man-made disasters, imprisonment, torture, severe illness, and loss of loved ones, but also to include the 'universal stressors' of life in general: 'a particular relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his or her resources and endangering his or her wellbeing (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 19).'

To achieve a positive psychological outcome and wellbeing, Lazarus and Folkman focused on exploring cognitive appraisal and coping. Appraisal is the assessment based on one's cognition, which can be the decision maker of the emotion, attitude, belief or way of thinking. The appraisal theory of Lazarus and Folkman (1984) found 'person' and 'situation' factors as influencing factors to appraisal: 'appraisal of person-environment relationships are influenced by antecedent person characteristics such as pattern of motivation (e.g. values, commitments, and goals), beliefs about oneself and the world, and recognition of personal resources for coping such as financial means, social and problem solving skills, and health and energy (Folkman & Lazarus, 1988, p. 310).'

The model suggested the next stage to appraisal is coping, which is 'the process through which the individual manages the demands of the person-environment relationship that are appraised as stressful and the emotions they generate (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 19).'

The domains of appraisal can be linked to self; for example, evaluating and conceptualising self. Furthermore, they are not limited to cognition on an individual level. Interaction with surroundings, including people, is important to appraisal domains, including self-appraisal because the appraisal mechanism combines with how the gathered information is interpreted, based on one's cognition. In this thesis, self-appraisal mainly refers to psychological evaluation and conceptualisation, such as the self-concept or self-blame.

Furthermore, understanding the appraisal process can be extended to the domain of trauma resilience. Resilience is the 'process and outcome of successfully adapting to difficult or challenging life experiences, especially through mental, emotional, and behavioural flexibility and adjustment to external

and internal demands (APA, 2022b).’ For better resilience, coping strategies can be practised, especially when aided by experts in the relevant fields. Therefore, the detailed elements of Jeju Sasam survivors’ appraisal process should be studied to develop tailored strategies for trauma recovery. The appraisal theory explains the context of ‘how one processes the trauma (information of the stressor) and decides the response’ that can connect to coping from trauma (Folkman et al., 1986; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). More details on the appraisal theory will be introduced later in this chapter.

Studies of Jeju Sasam as an event extreme trauma are rare. Before conducting the research on Jeju Sasam survivors, the literature review was conducted both on psychological topics in general, the core elements of this thesis’s research interest, and the related contexts from the studies of Jeju Sasam. Studies were carried out on models and theories that are relevant to the research interests: appraisal, culture, gender and resilience. The psychopathological studies with a similar population were reviewed. As Jeju Sasam has shares some elements of genocide and characteristics of state violence, studies relating to survivors of genocide and ideologically based state violence were reviewed as well.

1. Literature reviews of Jeju Sasam

This review found that there were only a few studies that have been conducted with a psychopathological approach to the Jeju Sasam victims and bereaved families, however, Jeju Sasam has been an inspiration for the creation of literature, from academic research to novels. It is worth giving attention to how dangerous it could be to conduct research on Jeju Sasam during the time when it was normal to criminalise Jeju Sasam related activities. The novelist Hyun, Ki-young was tortured by the authorities for writing ‘Aunt Suni (순이 삼촌)’ in 1987, the first novel to reveal what occurred during Jeju Sasam to the public. The book was banned in South Korea for fourteen years.

Most Jeju Sasam studies were produced after the late 1980s. The democratic movement of this period seemed to influence the studies and impact the Jeju Sasam social movement. The civil society’s demands for truth also made a

comparably safe environment for academic approaches to Jeju Sasam. Regardless of the responsibilities of the authorities and academia, the fact is that research interest on the Jeju Sasam issue is muted considering the severity of the atrocities, number of victims and its impact on society.

1.1. Main sources for the Jeju Sasam studies

The Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation keeps digital archives for Jeju Sasam ranging from historical records to literature, including academic journal articles and dissertations. The research titles are listed, including the anthology series published by Jeju 4.3 Research Centre, a non-governmental organisation which consistently promotes the research interests of the Jeju Sasam issue. Their series called '4.3 and History' collected experts' or scholars' articles from various fields. The collection is not a peer-reviewed journal; however, it does enable easy access to the introductory opinions of the Jeju Sasam issue from multidimensional perspectives.

Research articles were also studied from the following databases: the National Assembly library, RISS (Research Information Sharing Service), and KCI (Korea Citation Index). The search keywords were 'Jeju 4.3' or 'Jeju Sasam' in Korean. The keyword mapping was purposely broad so as not to limit the results as much as possible, because the relevant articles were already reviewed from the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation's digital archive.

The search results yielded interdisciplinary themes on Jeju Sasam topics. The studies have usually been interested in seeking the truth about 'what happened' and 'who experienced what kind of atrocities'. The truth investigation also defined the characteristics of Jeju Sasam, indicating the wrongdoings of the authorities. Then the discussions on 'memory' of Jeju Sasam became one of the themes in Jeju Sasam studies. This discussion is also related to defining the characteristics of Jeju Sasam and the social appraisal of Jeju Sasam (Gwon, 2001, 2004) and the memorial (Hyun et al., 2019), implying the concept of trauma in the victims' society. Gender was also a theme, mostly applying to the importance of women's studies within the victims' society, and its scarceness.

Regardless of the academic fields, the studies shared the common appraisal of Jeju Sasam from the survivors' oral histories and testimonies: it was a serious trauma and severely disturbed the life of survivors and bereaved families, and their community as well. This thesis explores how their traumatic experiences impacted them. In addition to the previous studies of Jeju Sasam, the current thesis focused specifically on the studies with psychological approaches in the following sub chapter.

1.2. Psychological approach to Jeju Sasam

The Jeju community and scholars have described the trauma impacted by Jeju Sasam as 4.3 mental illness (Moon, 2011), or 'Red' complex (Yang, 2008). Since the mid-2000s, the psychological approach to the Jeju Sasam trauma has been conducted, quantifying the survivors' and bereaved families' levels of psychological outcomes. Kim Moon-Doo's investigation with Jeju CBS (Christian Broadcasting System) was, as far as this review can ascertain, the first psychological study conducted (Kim, 2008). Yet this study's written report was not made available to the public; its results were only announced via radio news and in news articles. The researcher contacted the Jeju CBS reporter who was in charge at the time and could confirm the data and results. The investigation was conducted with survivors who were registered as disabled victims; 68.6% of disabled survivors showed PTSD symptoms and 54.3% showed symptoms of depression. Among the disabled survivors with PTSD symptoms, problems with self-esteem and anxiety symptoms were also observed, indicating high levels of chronic anxiety.

A few years later in 2015, the Jeju Special Self-Governing Province Mental Health Center conducted a survey of Jeju Sasam survivors (n=110) and bereaved families (n=1,121) (Jeju Special Self-Governing Province Mental Health Center, 2017). Participation was limited to those who were over sixty-one years old. However, the survey only distinguished the registration status of survivors and bereaved families and did not specifically focus on the ages at the time of the

experiences. The survey had a mixed population of child and adult survivors of Jeju Sasam.

Based on this survey, Jun et al. (2016) published their article on the Jeju Sasam survivors' symptoms of PTSD and depression. The study found that their samples showed higher PTSD symptoms than other survivors of extreme violence in Korea (e.g., in the Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Uprising). Correspondingly, higher levels of PTSD symptoms showed higher depression symptoms as well. These are important findings from the references in the psychological approach to Jeju Sasam survivors. However, this study has a limitation in that they only conducted it with Sasam victims and bereaved families without any comparison groups. Jung and Kim (2018) later supplemented this by including results from comparison groups. The research found significant differences of depression, suicidal ideation and attempted suicides, which were higher in survivor groups. Also, the survivors' depression scale scores were significantly related to high risks of suicide. The study mentioned the limitation that the main risk factors related to suicidal behaviour in aging individuals were not considered.

Jung and Kim (Jung & Kim, 2020; Kim & Jung, 2021a, 2021b) continued to investigate the long-term psychological impact in a series of studies with 110 surviving victims and 1,011 bereaved family members. Jung and Kim (2020) confirmed that 10.8% of their sample had comorbid PTSD and depression, while only 3% had PTSD and 24.3% had only depression. The research also explored factors that affected health-related quality of life (Kim & Jung, 2021b). Health-Related Quality of Life was classified into four domains, measured by WHOQOL-BREF (World Health Organization Quality of Life assessment): physical health, psychological health, social relationships and environment. This assessment identified negative associations with the following factors among the survivors who exposed to Jeju Sasam: the elderly, women, those with poor socioeconomic status, and those with severe levels of PTSD and depression. The research further stressed the strong association between the level of perceived social support and health-related quality of life. The connected study on resilience also implied this aspect (Kim & Jung, 2021a). In their findings, high resilience is associated with high levels of perceived social support (Kim & Jung, 2021a).

Likewise in the previously mentioned study (Kim & Jung, 2021b), males, currently employed, and those with a higher education level were positively associated with high resilience.

Qualitative studies were conducted by Kim Yu Kyung (Kim, 2018c, 2019f, 2021e; Kim et al., 2012). Her main research interest is the trauma of Jeju Sasam survivors. Kim et al. (2012) introduced art therapy as a tool for improving survivors' mental health. One male and one female survivor were selected for final participation in the original project, while the published article only included the female participant's analysis. The art therapy process confirmed the remaining trauma of the survivor and enabled understanding of how her life history was impacted by Jeju Sasam. The survivor appraised art therapy as one of her motivations to change, which calmed her mind. Self-expression through art was useful for the participant to reveal her deeper memories and emotions.

The next study of Kim (2018c) was conducted with sixteen participants and described their detailed trauma status with thematic analysis. The themes found the representative status of trauma survivors, such as enduring unforgettable traumatic memories, showing PTSD symptoms, and long-lasting regrets of victims manifesting as survivor's guilt. Kim (2019f) was focused on female survivors: a rarity within Jeju Sasam studies. It described the negative and positive mental health changes through the survivors' life histories. The study confirmed that Jeju Sasam impacted the female survivors' lives in many ways. However, once Jeju Sasam was admitted by society, it also impacted their security and happiness. Ultimately, the establishment of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law allowed the female survivors to express themselves. Even though the participants were only two survivors, the study is still valuable in suggesting the importance and necessity of the studies on survivors' mental health. Her connected work of art therapy (Kim, 2021e) reconfirmed that speaking about Jeju Sasam helped the participant's sense of relief. She also emphasised the importance of archiving details of the Jeju people's identity, to share their memories while there are still so many which could not be hitherto shared.

As Kim (2018c) mentioned, the crucial role of qualitative research is to capture the detailed understandings of survivors' trauma from their narratives that

quantitative surveys can miss. Both quantitative and qualitative research can supplement each area's weakness, so ultimately the survivors can receive appropriate treatment and support for their mental health. Jun et al. (2016) and Jung and Kim (2018, 2020) introduced the severity of the Jeju Sasam survivors' psychological outcomes from the Jeju Sasam. Also, their studies found the factors that impact Jeju Sasam survivors' health-related quality of life and resilience (Kim & Jung, 2021a, 2021b). They admitted the limitation of sample and their recall bias, but their continued studies with over a thousand participants are valuable research that attempted to describe the survivors' current status. The qualitative approaches to studying survivors' trauma by Kim (Kim, 2018c, 2019f, 2021e; Kim et al., 2012) showed the importance of the deeper understanding of survivors' mental health from their lived experiences of over seventy years.

From grey literature to published academic works, description of the impact of Jeju Sasam has been consistently attempted in various academic fields. The studies agreed to the idea that Jeju Sasam is an extreme trauma that disturbed various elements of individual's life, including the psychological wellbeing. They were mostly negative impacts on the psychological health of survivors and bereaved families, while Kim and Jung (2021a) found the associated factors to resilience. Furthermore, the Jeju Sasam also disturbed the social relationship within the community, therefore, the studies stated the need for future studies for the recovery of Jeju communities.

2. The psychopathology of state violence

Physical or psychological trauma can develop and persist long after the event (Green et al., 1994; Labinsky et al., 2006; McFarlane & Van Hooff, 2009; O'Rourke et al., 2018; Yule et al., 2000). Exposure to extreme trauma can lead to various psychological outcomes, such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression and suicide attempts (Pedersen, 2002; Rugema et al., 2015; Schaal et al., 2011; Schaal et al., 2012; Stammel et al., 2013; Yehuda et al., 2009). Stressful experiences disturb the somatic, emotional, cognitive, behavioural and

characterological functions (Cole & Putnam, 1992; Kroll et al., 1989; Van Der Kolk, 1988, 1996). State violence can simultaneously expose the victims to multiple traumatic atrocities which can be referred to crimes against humanity, such as mass killings, torture, imprisonment, and sexual violence. Therefore, one can face cumulative traumas concurrently and intensively. Additionally, the long-term impact of trauma can cause aggressiveness against self and others and create problems with social attachment (Scharf, 2007). Furthermore, trauma can be internalised and result in negative impacts on identity, relationship with others and excessive interpersonal sensitivity (Van Der Kolk, 1996). Additionally, trauma can be transmitted to later generations, which is linked to the community's collective trauma (Der Sarkissian & Sharkey, 2021).

Genocide is often an extreme manifestation of state violence and has been associated with severe and persisting mental ill health. A meta-analysis of the Holocaust survivors' psychopathological outcomes confirmed PTSD symptoms and reduced physical health and cognitive functioning, and resulted in fewer stress-related physical measures than their comparison group, with non-Holocaust backgrounds (Barel et al., 2010). The research of Rwanda genocide survivors also confirmed psychological impacts, such as somatic panic-attacks, PTSD and depression (Hagengimana et al., 2003; Lacasse et al., 2014). Data on child survivors revealed high levels of psychological impact (Neugebauer et al., 2009; Neugebauer et al., 2018). The Cambodian Khmer Rouge genocide also consistently reported the high level of PTSD, including the psychological outcomes of refugees from Cambodia (Esala & Taing, 2017; Schaak et al., 2011; Stammel et al., 2013).

2.1. Psychopathology of Korean cases

The Korean War and the ensuing ideologically motivated state violence have, for several decades, have been responsible for historical trauma to the Korean people. Choi (2008) warned that Korean society could have severe trauma due to the state violence through the Korean War, the division of the peninsula, and other actions of the government. Jeong et al. (2015), studied 406 victims and bereaved families of state violence post Korean War under extreme anti-communist ideology where the survivors were denied their right to speak and their

forced silence became Han in their minds. The study found 23.1% (n=94) of participants were diagnosed as having PTSD. However, reconciliation between the nation, society and individuals has not yet been achieved, and, therefore, neither has healing of the victims' trauma (Eom, 2013).

Many studies on the psychopathology of state violence in Korea are focused on the Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Uprising⁶. Shin et al. (2011) found that 16.8% of 113 victims and bereaved families were diagnosed as having PTSD. The samples with PTSD reported more serious level of depression, anxiety, sleep disturbance, anger, social withdrawal and life stress. The study found the collective trauma and its transmission among the first and second generation of bereaved families. Socio-cultural elements were influences on the psychological process and the victims' behavioural responses (Kim, 2021d). Kim and Kang (2017) confirmed that the aftermath of the uprising caused psychological and mental problems, economic hardship and the frustration of social relationships. As well as the samples of victims and bereaved families, Kim (2021a) found PTSD or complex PTSD characteristics of avoidance and re-experience in front-line responders. The study was important as it suggested the idea that a broader range of 'victim' should be considered regarding the trauma impact, just as Kim (2021c) emphasised regarding the Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Uprising as a historical and collective trauma.

3. Appraisal

3.1. 'Self' and trauma

Experiencing extreme trauma like genocide and state violence can have severe negative consequences for the victims. Physical violence, mental abuse and sudden changes to the victims' environment can have detrimental effects on their self-appraisals and world views. The experience can change one's self-related

⁶ A democratic uprising in Gwangju city from 18th to 27th of May 1980. The military forces violently suppressed the people's protest and isolated the city. There were 5,517 victims including the dead, missing, injured and imprisoned victims. Details can be found from The May 18 Gwangju Memorial Foundation: <https://518.org/nsub.php?PID=010103>

contexts. Also, as it is a core element for one's appraisal process, the self is inevitably to be studied: how self is relevant to one's appraisal and decision-making for behaviour. The concept of self can be divided into various streams, so it is essential to understand that self has multi-dimensional elements. Self relates to the individual's cognition; the inconsistent self can exist within one individual. The phenomenal self explains this aspect of the inconsistent self well in that it raises one's awareness in a series of given moments. The self can be understood as being rooted in three main streams: experience of reflexive consciousness, interpersonal selfhood and executive function of the self as a decision-maker (Gilbert et al., 1998). Another example of the abundant factors relevant to understanding the self is the social structure such as social class and ideas of race (Wylie, 1979). So the individual and the society have a relationship that affects one's self-conceptualising (Ralph, 1976).

As the history of self-theory is well-established in psychology, the theories also explain the self-concept varieties. Cooley (1902a) described the self as every designation of oneself, and in addition, Mead (1934) included the idea of the social group's influence on the self. Sullivan et al. (1953) stressed the influence of culture to self, that one can transmit the value of culture. James (1890) is also a representative scholar in self theories, regarding the idea of 'extended self', that the concept of self-identity can be expanded to larger boundaries than the individual, such as family and country. Additionally, to structure an identity, attitudes or behaviour to a certain extent can be decided upon in order to attain a desired identity, akin to playing a role on a stage (Goffman, 1959, 1963, 1967). So by answering the question 'who am I?', one can continuously develop one's self-concept by reflecting upon feedback from others (Burns & Dobson, 1984).

This thesis especially relies on the idea that the self can be interdependent and interactive to social surroundings and society. Regarding the influence of social surroundings, it also adopts the idea of dimensional comparison theory (Möller & Marsh, 2013) which originated from social comparison theory by Festinger (1954). Furthermore, the social cognitive theory explains human adaptation by the interdependence of behaviour, individual factors, and environment (Bandura, 2005). In line with the self-concept and identity, the sense of belonging to the

social group should also be considered. Social identity theory was introduced by Tajfel (1974), in which the individual's sense of membership to a certain group shares their values and emotions. Identity has a characteristic of continuous shaping and re-shaping (Moghaddam & Kavulich, 2007). It can alter one's health outcomes, including mental health (Mossakowski, 2003).

Other self-psychological theories are also raised regarding the complex elements that can influence the impacts of trauma and the self. The constructivist self-development theory lies on this idea of individuals' different adaptations to trauma. The theory emphasizes that individuals are the subject of creating and structuring their own reality (Mahoney & Lyddon, 1988; McCann & Pearlman, 1990). Adaptation to trauma is another core element for trauma recovery, achieved by complex interdependence between life experiences, such as personal history, specific traumatic events, and the social and cultural context, and the developing self, for example self-capacities, ego resources, psychological needs, and cognitive schemas about the self and the world. In addition, the social and cultural context is essential in considering one's psychological systems (McCann & Pearlman, 1990, p. 6):

- (1) the meanings that society ascribes to the particular event of which the client is a victim
- (2) the historical and social circumstances and meanings of the event, and
- (3) the individual's experience of his or her position in society as described by demographic variables such as socioeconomic status, race, and gender.

In line with this psychological systems, the self implies various elements which enable management of traumatic memories, for example, self-capacities from self-psychology perspective by Kohut (1977). Epstein's cognitive-experiential self-theory (1985) supports elements of the above major psychological systems (McCann & Pearlman, 1990). Then what about the relationship between their appraisal of self and their surrounding factors?

3.2. Self and public appraisal

As mentioned above, the transactional model of stress is based on the idea that appraisals can be influenced by two factors: situation and person. The situation factor is indicated by predictability, duration and ambiguity of the stressor. The person factor implies commitment and belief. Belief can be rooted in pre-existing notions of reality that are personally shaped or culturally shared. Appraisal creates meaning even from damaging life experiences, and enables maintaining hope (Koss & Burkhart, 1989; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Appraisal serves an important role in an individual's experience of stress. Cognitive appraisal is one's interpretation of whether the traumatic situation is stressful or not by assessing three types of appraisal: primary appraisal, secondary appraisal and reappraisal (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Appraisals ultimately classify the traumatic event or situation as positive, negative or irrelevant, and inspect one's resources and strategies to face up to and cope with the situation. Also, appraisal is related to the individual's belief in self and the world, identified by theories such as cognitive experiential self-theory (Epstein, 1973, 1990).

PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder) is one of the psychological outcomes following trauma and lots of studies were focused on it. The cognitive model of PTSD lies in the idea of appraisal and trauma relationship (Ehlers & Clark, 2000). Engelbrecht and Jobson (2016) revealed trauma appraisal's influence on self and the evidence of cross-cultural difference between non-western and western cultures. The study indicated the self and public appraisal's impact on the individual's beliefs and values, where the current thesis is in line with its idea to explore the research population's appraisal of their traumatic experiences and their impact upon them. Additionally, the maladaptive appraisal is suggested as a core element of PTSD. The meta-analysis study found that self-appraisal showed a large effect size in the adult population, while the appraisal of world showed medium, and self-blame was small (Gómez de La Cuesta et al., 2019).

So the individual who has experienced trauma can change their appraisal of the world and their self-appraisal negatively (Janoff-Bulman, 1992). The incongruity

between a pre-existing worldview and adversity from the atrocities in the real world can disturb one's mental health (Armour, 2010). Armour (2010) pointed out the importance of 'meaning making' among Holocaust survivors, i.e., seeking answers about why and what happened or seeking to benefit from the trauma. Meaning making can be regarded as part of the appraisal of traumatic events and of self-appraisal. As for the continuity of appraisal between pre- and post-traumatic events, individuals face several meaning-related contexts, for instance, finding their function in their world, appraisal of situation and assigning its meaning to themselves and seeking self-worth by comparing within the global context. Ultimately, successful meaning making can make one adapt better to traumas (Park, 2013).

To further understand survivors' appraisals of traumatic events, attribution theory introduced by Fiske and Taylor (1991) is also involved. This theory explains how information is gathered and combined for one's judgement. It is explained by two causes; internal and external attributions (Heider, 1958). The internal attribution is also known as dispositional attribution and external is situational attribution. In other words, internal attribution finds the cause from oneself, for example, the personality. In contrast, external attribution finds the cause from situational or environmental factors rather than internal ones. So, attribution plays a core role in appraising the event or situation to help develop coping strategies. Culture plays an important part in determining one's attribution: a collectivistic cultural background tends to externally attribute while an individualistic culture tends to lead to internal attribution (Betancourt et al., 1992; Peng & Knowles, 2003; Wong et al., 2006).

3.3. Appraisal and coping

In this subchapter, the appraisal and the coping will be reviewed. How does extreme trauma as a stressor relate to one's appraisal and coping? In the case of the Korean population, a few studies were found conducting research with Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) appraisal and coping model. Oh and Shin (2008) conducted the Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Uprising survivors and bereaved

families by stress coping strategies, which is a comparable population to the current research population. The study used a Korean version of Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) appraisal and coping model, which was simplified by the authors to measure the coping style of the research population. The study showed that daily stress can negatively impact PTSD and their coping style also can negatively impact stress related health. However, the study was a quantitative study with a simplified scale; therefore, there were limitations to understanding the state violence survivors' coping strategies in detail.

Choi et al. (2015) studied coping styles based on Lazarus's and Folkman's theory, specifically focused on Hwa-byung, which is a cultural symptom resulting from stress. However, their research population was ordinary people who visited the authors' clinics. They were patients with stressful experiences, but not particularly the population who experienced state violence. Results showed that the patient and control groups had no significant difference regarding their coping styles. However, the research focused on the communication style as well, showing a significant relationship between the coping and communication styles among the Hwa-byung patients' group. From this study, the stress appraisal is not always driven to the coping styles known from the original framework; there are further elements that lead to the recovery from the stress responses. A cultural symptom like the Hwa-byung is especially important for the understanding of the appraisal approach. Further details about the appraisal process are needed, rather than a simplified version of the quantitative measurement.

Social support is confirmed by various studies as a significant element for reducing stress. Lee and Um (2013) researched social support and its influences on the progress of adaptation by studying single mothers. As this group is vulnerable to social stigma and lack of resources, the idea connects to the hardships of female survivors who became single mothers due to bereavement during Jeju Sasam. Lee and Um (2013) emphasised the importance of social welfare services and policies for coping with stress. In other words, according to the characteristics of the group and the social atmosphere surrounding them, social support can impact their appraisal and coping, though individual resources

can never fully support their recovery. Therefore, the social framework is an essential element for a vulnerable population's coping and resilience strategy.

There were studies of occupational stress in occupations that are frequently exposed to traumatic stress, such as firefighters and nurses. They found that firefighters showed that occupational identity and peer support impact quality of life through active coping (Lee & Jung, 2018). The study suggested strengthening the active coping among the firefighters: educating about misconceptions around trauma and the stigma associated with trauma and counselling both pre- and post- trauma experiences. Another occupation that was regarded as having a high level of traumatic experiences was nursing, and their coping with stress also showed that social support was one of the positive factors to lower their PTSD risks (Kim & Choi, 2020).

Also, regarding the population who are exposed to the violence at an early age, the school violence victims showed social support as a significant element to their mental health (Kim, 2016b). The cognitive appraisal of security after violent experiences was not particularly significant to their mental health; however, social support as an appraisal of social interconnectivity value was a core element of their mental health.

As the studies reviewed above showed, social support is a critical element of coping to achieve psychological wellbeing. However, most of the studies were quantitative studies measuring stress-coping styles. As shown in the psychopathology-based studies reviewed earlier in this chapter, most of the studies on state violence survivors' psychological wellbeing are also mostly based on quantitative research methods, especially focusing on their level of PTSD.

At least one study found that the state violence survivors of Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Uprising also showed the possibility of the appraisal-based theories to their trauma recovery (Lee & Um, 2013). However, there are Jeju Sasam studies based on the oral history of victims and bereaved families, not particularly focused on their trauma mechanism based on appraisal. Furthermore, the state violence survivors who had an especially long history of endurance may require

more detailed narratives to explore their complex issues entangled in their life's history as state violence victims. Therefore, the current thesis aims to further explore through a more detailed investigation on the Jeju Sasam survivors' traumatic experience, posttraumatic cognitive appraisal, and further to capture their signs of resilience from their trauma.

The current domains from trauma related appraisals mainly focused on emotional regulation, and worldview. Those domains are useful to open the research areas on appraisal especially for the trauma survivors, however there was a lack of details from variables that explain the appraisal. Furthermore, most of the trauma-related appraisal studies mainly connect to PTSD outcomes or its development (Ehlers & Clark, 2000). It is important to study PTSD as a negative psychological impact; however, research should give attention and extend to further areas such as psychological resilience. It is a pitfall to be captured only in the psychological outcomes that fit a certain diagnosis; it can limit possibilities to extend the research area and can strengthen stereotypes of the victims. In other words, while PTSD is a good measure to show the severity of the trauma survivors, it can give the impression that if PTSD is absent or reduced, it means the survivors are fully recovered or less impacted, which could have the unfortunate consequence of downplaying the perpetrators' responsibilities for their atrocities. Before reading further into this research, readers should know that PTSD is not an absolute indicator of the severity of trauma outcomes.

Various studies, including those by Folkman herself, stressed the importance of further research on stress appraisal and coping. The original emotion-focused and problem-focused coping styles were dominant in appraisal and coping research. However, other styles should also be considered, such as future-oriented coping, interpersonal coping and religious and spiritual coping. Folkman (2012) stated that further extended coping styles share similarities with the original study (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984); however, they were more extended versions from various populations and, therefore, further research is inevitably required to develop the understanding of human resilience. The previous studies reviewed in this chapter, mostly studies specifically of Korean populations, narrowly focused on the dichotomy of coping styles and its sub-elements, as

suggested in the original framework by Lazarus and Folkman (1984). The long-term impact of a certain trauma can differ from the standard framework; therefore, exploring the Jeju Sasam survivors' trauma related appraisal and coping, in order to research their resilience mechanisms, is important to expand discussion of trauma-related appraisal and coping.

4. Culture

Culture is a shared idea, value or belief that shapes one's behaviour (Brislin, 1990; Pedersen, 1991, 1999). As described above, culture is intrinsic to the context of appraisal, so is one of the core elements in this thesis. Culture is defined as the '...complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor, 1871, p. 1).' In this thesis, culture is attached to social elements like social atmosphere, custom, art and the behavioural patterns and habits of members of the Jeju community or South Korean society.

Cognition can differ when framed by a person's cultural background, such as the appraisal of a certain moment or event. This can reveal trauma outcomes and resilience differently. As Jobson and O'Kearney (2009) note, while PTSD is a universal phenomenon, maintenance of PTSD is culturally sensitive. As described in the Introduction chapter, Jeju Island has similar but different cultural elements to those of mainland South Korea. Therefore, their values and patterns of behaviour can be attached to their culture, such as their use of language or expressions of their traumatic stress appraisal.

As the effects of the Jeju Sasam endured over many decades, survivors' appraisals of emotions were constantly in a state of flux, as were their environments which include their views on the world. Additionally, culture within a community can be subject to the community's own way of thinking, emotional regulation and acceptance of the members' traumatic experiences. The culture-based approach to trauma acceptance and recovery is important because the diagnosis and treatment of psychological outcomes, especially for PTSD, are mostly researched in western based cultures, while our population is a non-

western population. Several culture-based contexts are hard to capture through quantitative study, but narrative data can suggest the information such as new concepts or different points of view on future research.

4.1. Appraisal and coping under cultural contexts

Cultural contexts such as identity and background can be powerful tools to help understand one's psychological appraisal process, ultimately to improve a survivor's recovery. However, cultural differences are yet to be considered widely for appraisal and resilience in psychological studies (Wong et al., 2006). The cross-cultural approach is important because western culture centred theories and psychological concepts can limit the understanding of the population from different cultural backgrounds. So, as Kim (2021c) pointed out, the limited approach of Western cultural theories' psychological concepts is not enough to understand the complex collective trauma of state violence victims and bereaved families such as those of the Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Uprising.

In line with the cross-cultural approach, the dimensions of individualism and collectivism can contribute to the development of coping strategies (Hofstede, 1980). The understanding of the individual's internal world and relationship to their external world can help to understand their decision making and their way of thinking. Markus and Kitayama (1991) relied on this cultural orientation idea, introducing the individual's view of themselves by the terms; 'independent' and 'interdependent' self-construal. Self-construal is a critical element in forming the individual's cognition, emotion and motivation. Studies have identified self-construal with the individual's coping strategies (Chun et al., 2006; Yeh et al., 2006).

Added to the view of self, the use of language can also contribute to coping strategies. For instance, one study found that the Rwanda genocide survivors also used language as part of their culture-based resilience progress (Zraly & Nyirazinyoye, 2010; Zraly et al., 2013, p. 413):

kwihangana (intrapsychic creative process of drawing strength from within the self in order to withstand suffering), *kwongera kubaho* (affirmation of the reestablishment of the existential conditions for being) and *gukomeza*

ubuzima (the moving forward in life by accepting ongoing struggles and fighting for survival).

This is important in understanding the trauma survivors' appraisal of psychological distress or emotion in a language that is familiar to them.

Kidron and Kirmayer (2019) also emphasised the importance of the cultural idiom in helping the patients to better understand their conditions. They criticised the western researchers' mistranslated terms, fixating on western psychological concepts and diagnoses. They focused on the cultural idiom of distress, 'baksbat' in Cambodian, that can cover a larger range of experiences rather than PTSD (Chhim, 2012, 2013; Kidron & Kirmayer, 2019).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in the case of Korean cultural emotion, 'Han' is the representative expression of complex psychological distress that can include anger, disappointment, and lamentation (Choi, 2011). Even the feeling of loss can be included in this concept of cultural expression. Lee (1978) described his findings from the literature that found that 'Han' was deeply embedded in Korean culture. He compared 'Han' to the culture of 'Won' (원, can be translated to grudge in English) from Japan, but 'Han' is closer to the emotional response to the frustration of dreams and desires, while 'Won' is more like the emotion engendered by harbouring a grudge and wishing revenge. Therefore, 'Han' is not a vengeful culture, but is a culture based on relieving the 'Han', for example, by using shamanistic rites. Also, illness that is related to psychological distress can be another factor to impact the individual's health outcomes within a cultural context. 'Hwa-byung' is one of the cultural syndromes, defining psychological distress without a certain reason for complaint. It is a strong emotion of depression and anger. However, the emotional condition can be relieved by settlement or forgetfulness of Han (Choi, 2011).

The Jeju dialect also has expressions for describing their way of thinking. For instance, 'Salamsimin Salajinda (살암시민 살아진다)' or 'Sanan Salatju (사난 사랏주)' are expressions in Jeju language that do not exist on the mainland. They imply an attitude: enduring hardships and getting on with their lives anyway (Heo, 2017; Hong, 2015b). Therefore, especially in the case of the Jeju community, the

Jeju language can differ from language used in other disaster cases. The Jeju language is a core part of Jeju culture, which can be a barrier to mainlanders approaching the population. Therefore, the local community can support each other using the same language and dialects of the island. They can distinguish people they consider to be outsiders, and this can be a barrier to seeking help.

4.2. Collective memory and the memorials

Memory can be understood from different approaches in a variety of academic fields. For example, the following categories of memory were introduced by psychologists: episodic memory, which refers to memory of specific past or personal events, and semantic memory, which mainly stores memories about the world. Memory can also be classified according to the information processing: sensory memory, short-term memory and long-term memory. The processing explains the framework of human memory: first, encoding the information, then storing it and finally retrieving the information at a future time (Sutton et al., 2010). Memory also plays a key role in Freud's central domains of psychoanalysis: desire, instinct, dream, association, neurosis, repression, repetition and the unconscious. He argued that memory acts as an agent to treat traumas, by its capacity to disrupt existing memories (Terdiman, 2010).

Memory processing is not limited to the individual level; there are multiple levels of memory: collective, local, regional, institutional, national and global. Depending on the substance, a memory can also be historical, cultural, social or political. Maurice Halbwachs (1992) argued that it is impossible to separate an individual's memory from those of a society. Collective memory is 'related to social phenomena such as ethnicity, nationalism, and cultural identity, which build on shared understandings of the self (Ego) over and against the other (Alter) (Verovšek, 2016, p. 532).' So collective memory is attached to social contexts, by the interaction between individuals and society. The social context mediates the meaning to an individual's memory and draws on the historical imagination (Verovšek, 2016). Since collective memory relies on shared understandings and communication within social interactions, memories can be selected, distorted,

silenced or even develop into ‘false memories’ (Davis, 2005). If a memory is rooted in a traumatic experience, certain aspects may be absent, while for others an over-focus can occur (Terdiman, 2010).

Even though collective memory is a shared recollection within a group or community (APA, 2022a), it is different to history. Both history and collective memory share the domain of the past. However, history should confirm the facts, while collective memory focuses on understanding of past events (Gibson, 2004). In other words, how a past event is remembered is a core element of collective memories, which can have political power. In line with this, the memorial of Jeju Sasam in this thesis conveys the importance of collective memory and its political power. The power to manipulate memory can result in memory imbalances or conflicts between groups, or even nations.

Studies have identified the role of monuments and commemoration events for trauma survivors and their collective memory (Kasabova, 2008; Savage, 2007). A memorial, ritual, or monument can contribute to forming the collective memories of a certain historical figure or event. A monument serves to strengthen the identity of a group and solidifies specific points of view for political purposes. Although it represents the past, it functions as a means to reinforce a heritage from the past, such as values or identities. For example, in Korean society serving the country and parents has been a strong social value. Monuments showing examples of loyalty strengthen the ideals of nationalism and patriarchy. Monuments such as ‘Yeol-nyeo-bi’ or ‘Bul-mang-bi’ were representative examples of social values, especially during the period of Joseon dynasty. ‘Yeol-nyeo-bi’ was a memorial for the ladies who completed their lives after the loss of a husband. It referred to their strong will to protect their chastity which related to the ruling ideology of a patriarchal society. So historically, monuments can be useful tools, for strengthening the collective identities and the authorities’ ruling ideologies (Park, 1997; Won, 2007).

In some cases, including Jeju Sasam, the existence of memorials, monuments, graves and the site of memories, which are open to the public, can have significant meanings. Showing the past representatively is significantly important to a victim society. For example, the Statue of Peace, a statue of a girl sitting on

a chair staring towards the Japanese Embassy in Seoul, represents the issue of women and girls drafted into military sexual slavery from 1930 to 1945, euphemistically called 'comfort women' (Korean Council, 2022b).

The statue is calmly protesting for sincere apologies and reparations by staring at the Embassy, and has an empty seat next to her, which both represents those who have departed and also invites those who observe the statue to join the protest (Kwon, 2019). The official name of the statue is Peace Sonyeosang, which means the girl statue of peace. The name also implies the survivors' hopes for world peace, by passing on historical lessons and saying to citizens of the world through the statue 'never again' to war and its associated crimes (Korean Council, 2022a). Replicas and variants of the Sonyeosang statue have been erected in several other cities, in South Korea and globally, to spread widely the message of 'never again' and offer the opportunity to make known the history of the Japanese Imperial Army's crime of sexual slavery.

However, the statues have been threatened by right-wing groups in Japan. In 2015, the Japanese and South Korean governments even announced an agreement to settle the 'comfort women' issue, without consulting the survivors or their campaign groups, which included a campaign to remove the statues. The Japanese government attempts to remove the statues globally have resulted in the removal of some statues (Berkman, 2022; Park, 2021). By seeking to remove the statues, they attempted to deny or to airbrush out the existence of the 'comfort women'. Concealing past crimes and wrongdoings and maintaining a positive national memory in relation to World War II and the former empire is still important to Japanese ruling ideology. The extreme nationalism of the country's leaders can be confirmed from their annual visit to the Yasukuni Shrine to pay respect to their war 'martyrs', who are classified as Class A War Criminals by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East in Tokyo. Chinese and South Korean governments have long protested the veneration of War Criminals, but their objections have not been accepted. From this example, the memory conflict against a certain event or period through a monument or memorial is a critical matter between the countries involved, because it represents their national identities.

4.3. Narratives and collective trauma

Furthermore, narratives of Jeju Sasam have forms as collective memory. Narratives of traumatic experience are generally known as a contributor towards the survivor's recovery (e.g. narrative trauma therapy). Kim (2013a) hypothesised the narrative as a method to help treat collective trauma, focusing on the Korean War. As shown in the Introduction chapter, narratives of Jeju Sasam played their role during ritual events (e.g., 'Gut') for memorialising the victims of Jeju Sasam. The narratives are directly or indirectly playing their roles describing and helping victims to face the trauma. The Jeju 4.3 research centre regularly organises an event for survivors to give their narratives. The event provides the community with an opportunity to share their experiences on a personal level.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, one featured cultural form on Jeju Island was the commemoration and memorial event for Sasam victims. The ritual ceremony conducted by the shaman (Simbang in Jeju language) is one of the core parts of the commemoration which deals with the collective trauma needs of the community members to support their solidarity and recovery (Hyun, 2000). In the ritual aspect, Esala and Taing (2017) found that testimony therapy reduced adverse mental health issues within the survivors of Khmer Rouge torture across Cambodia. The shaman acts as a truth teller of the traumatic event, where the survivors were unable to speak out since they were threatened by state violence (Kim, 2018b).

4.4. Gender issues

Added to the cultural context, gender difference is another interest of this thesis. Psychological outcomes such as PTSD show different features according to gender. Normally, females are regarded as having a higher risk of suffering psychological outcomes such as depression (Salk et al., 2017), or PTSD (Punamäki et al., 2005; Rosner et al., 2003; Zlotnick et al., 2001). A gender difference was noted by Rugema et al. (2015), showing that female survivors experienced levels of depression, PTSD, anxiety and suicidal attempts that were generally twice that of men. Regarding the narratives of trauma, studies indicated

that women better at recognising emotions than men, which could be related to the recovery from trauma (Fujita et al., 1980; Kessels et al., 2014; Kirouac & Doré, 1983; Rigon et al., 2016; Wade et al., 2016). Women were more vulnerable to specific examples of violence. Sexual violence against women is strategically used as a weapon of war (Buss, 2009), for example, the cases in Rwanda (Mullins, 2009; Nowrojee, 1996), Cambodia (Chung, 2001), former Yugoslavia (Salzman, 1998) and Darfur (Kaiser & Hagan, 2015). Similarly, sexual violence and forced marriage were also reported as forms of atrocities towards women during Jeju Sasam (Yang, 2008).

The female survivors of Jeju Sasam not only experienced multiple pains physically and emotionally, but also experienced hardships in their post-traumatic lives. The misogynistic society put pressure on them to bear their multiple imposed identities (Gwon, 2011, 2014; Kim, 1998; Yoo, 2004). A similar phenomenon was reported from the Indonesian massacre 1965-66, where the women were left to support their families under economic vulnerability, and societal and cultural pressure (Pohlman, 2013). So (2021) also found that the consequences of The Korean War, such as bereavement, economic hardship, loss of education and domestic violence, were more frequently suffered by women. Kim (2021c) also found the gender difference regarding the impact on bereaved families of Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Uprising.

The women's studies focused on women's lives after the Jeju Sasam through their oral histories of hardships. It was interesting that female survivors distinguished between memories that can be shared with the public and memories that should remain secret. It was related to one's position in society and society's responses to women survivors and their narratives. The studies emphasised that the previous mainstream of Jeju Sasam studies treated the women's life hardships as consequences of their individual lives, rather than treating them as results of the aftermath of Jeju Sasam. By this example, one's memory can be selective based on the appraisal of oneself and the interaction with the society (Kim, 2016a; Park, 2019).

Normally, in the case of health outcomes and health behaviour, Asian women have health related issues because they have cultural beliefs and stigmas that

result in negative impacts on their health (Kramer et al., 2002). In line with gender-based illness, even from the cultural syndromes (e.g., Hwa-byung, see the description above), gender difference is observed. Hwa-byung, especially, is more diagnosed in women patients than in men (Park et al., 2002).

Korean society is rooted in patriarchy and misogyny, and psychological outcomes can result from such a culture based on discrimination. Accordingly, every society has the social identity of a woman, mother, daughter or sister having societal expectations and norms which are attached to these social values. For instance, Park et al. (2002) indicated a risk factor for Hwa-byung is that women's lives in a patriarchal society can lead to enforced social roles. Furthermore, Zraly et al. (2013) studied motherhood and resilience among Rwandan genocide-rape survivors. The study showed diverse responses from participants regarding their identity as a mother. Motherhood is also a social norm in Korean society, for example, the value attached to family, especially for childbirth and motherhood. Studies from the Jeju Sasam community raised the importance of focussing on women survivors and their life histories (Gwon, 2011, 2014; Yoo, 2004).

5. Resilience

5.1. Resilience and coping

In light of the appraisal and coping strategies reviewed above, resilience is clearly essential for trauma recovery. The concept of resilience is critical not only to recover from trauma but also to manage and prevent future trauma. Like appraisal, resilience is also widely used and has dynamic concepts. Once resilience was treated as a personality trait and developed as a process to overcome adversities or to have better positive outcomes (Greene, 2010; Rutter, 2006, 2012). According to the point of view, resilience can be defined differently. Furthermore, resilience can be focused by various dimensions depending on the fields to which it applies.

The current thesis suggests focussing on resilience as a process of trauma recovery and adjustment, since the aim of the research is to explore the Jeju

Sasam survivors' trauma-related appraisal and observe the signs of developing their trauma resilience from their life histories. There are views on resilience as a positive 'outcome' from the trauma experience. The current thesis will be open to the possibility of a positive outcome being regarded as a resilience mechanism, but not essentially as full recovery from the trauma. Furthermore, resilience is related not only to coping strategies (Macía et al., 2021), but also to various internal and external resources, such as individuals' views of the world or social support (King et al., 1999; Luthar et al., 2000; Rioli et al., 2002). For instance, Prot (2012) interviewed Holocaust survivors, and concluded that social support and raising a family after a traumatic experience were crucial elements for survival. The relationship between individuals, families, and the community were crucial to the extreme trauma survivors, even after long periods of traumatic experiences (Greene, 2010). The domains of resilience can be confused with other elements of the research interests; especially with coping, as it is also related to recovery from trauma. If appraisal is a process to assess whether their stressful experience is harmful, threatening or challenging, then coping is a method for managing stress based on the appraisal. Lastly, resilience can be understood as an ability to recover from stress by sharing the area of appraisal and the coping process.

As reviewed above in this chapter, appraisal and coping processes are changeable depending on the relationship between the person and their environment. Additionally, resilience is linked to the domains of appraisal, based on the idea of Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) stress appraisal process. Emotional regulation, as well as the cognitive appraisal progress, is a core part of resilience, and ultimately is important for one's mental health (Southwick et al., 2011). For instance, the Positive Appraisal Style Theory of Resilience (PASTOR) suggested positive appraisal as a key factor for the resilience mechanism (Kalisch et al., 2017; Riepenhausen et al., 2022). Positive cognitive reappraisal was especially critical to resilience. The resilience factors can vary, as the PASTOR indicated that people could have their own ways of appraising their stress, which can be biased by an habitually appraised tendency (Riepenhausen et al., 2022).

Studies have found an influence of resilience on people's psychological outcomes. From the South Korean examples, Kim et al. (2020) confirmed that a higher level of resilience can be a protective factor to lower suicidal ideation. Self-appraisal is also related to resilience; levels of self-esteem and resilience were directly proportional (Choi, 2019c). Furthermore, Choi (2019c) found that social support systems can contribute not only to self-esteem but also to resilience. The result of showing the relationship between resilience and social support is confirmed by the results from the study with Jeju Sasam victims by Kim and Jung (2021a) above. Resilience among the trauma survivors is not equated to their pains and feelings as being abnormal or overestimated. Whilst some can recover from their trauma, the pains should be considered separately. One should allow for the individual's aspects of personal resilience, which is important in identifying which factors and in what ways they influence mental health and survival. By exploring the resilience of survivors, it can help and support others in their recovery from trauma.

The traumatic experience and the psychopathological outcome are not an inevitable cause and effect to all people. There are people whose resilience is explained by other factors such as certain genetic elements or emotion regulation skills (Berntsen et al., 2012; Bonanno et al., 2006; Feder et al., 2009; Galatzer-Levy & Bonanno, 2012, 2014; Riepenhausen et al., 2022). However, trauma-related stressors can persist long-term and can be chronic depending on their nature or characteristics, which can limit trauma recovery. As the current research population's Jeju Sasam related traumatic experiences also have long-term impacts on their lives, the signs of resilience should be discussed, exploring their trauma-related appraisal process.

The following subchapter reviews the resiliency of coping strategies from several studies of trauma impact, and their therapy interventions of the trauma recovery. The resilience studies revealed protective factors for reduction of risk to their mental health: personal disposition such as self-esteem and supportive models from family and social environment (Garmezy, 1991; Greene, 2010; Richardson, 2002).

Appropriate therapies to treat the genocide survivors' mental health are essential for coping with their trauma. Therapies from various fields applied to the survivors were studied. As mentioned above, appraisal is a key element of a trauma survivor's mental health, and it is also a key element of their healing. Cognitive-behavioural therapy (CBT) is widely known as therapeutic treatment for trauma survivors. Bichescu et al. (2007) had a similar research population to this thesis: survivors of political violence who had been imprisoned and tortured. The study pointed out that even though the traumatic events were experienced forty years ago, the psychological impact remained and introduced a narrative of exposure therapy.

Art therapy was also found to be a way to approach survivors' trauma by revealing their internal world, which can help them to understand themselves (Israeli et al., 2021). Chu (2010) pointed out that art therapy can have benefits not only for healing, but also to engage with the survivors' culture. Art therapy was also applied to Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families. Kim et al. (2012) showed art therapy's narrative aspect of facing the traumatic event as a healing process. The participants assessed that their art therapy contributed positively to their emotions.

Extending the idea of resiliency, Fossion et al. (2013) proposed a model of resilience that showed that it could be reinforced through therapy for survivors of multiple traumas, since the experience of severe trauma can make people appraise their world negatively (Armour, 2003; Greene & Graham, 2009). Also, the study by Kim et al. (2019) found that research participants felt better emotionally when they were able to point out the authorities' responsibility for their atrocities during Jeju Sasam, and received apologies following the efforts of the democracy movement in Korean society. It was important that this is regarded as their resilience, because they can finally appraise their traumatic events by meaning making and externally attributing the origin of their traumatic experience.

Regarding the multidisciplinary approach to the concept of resilience, Southwick et al. (2014) introduced interesting points from the panel discussion: the interactivity between biological, psychological, social and cultural factors for resilience. The definition of resilience implies the possibility of resilience from a

multidimensional approach to adapt to the adversity of trauma: resilience as a continuum that exists across the 'multiple domains of life' (Pietrzak & Southwick, 2011). This thesis also agrees with the idea that resilience is formed at different points along the life span, as seen in the elderly research population.

Also, resilience can change from time to time following interaction with the environment (e.g., Kim-Cohen and Turkewitz (2012)). It is essential to identify the risk factors of their surroundings. Social determinant factors are also important to indicate the positive or negative elements influencing their health outcomes. The Commission on Social Determinants of Health (CSDH) (2008) introduces the social determinant factors as follows: income and social protection, education, unemployment and job insecurity, working life conditions, food insecurity, housing, basic amenities and the environment, early childhood development, social inclusion and non-discrimination, structural conflict and access to good quality affordable health services. Social determinants are important to the perspectives of this thesis as well because the authorities' atrocities destroyed the basics of people's lives, in almost every factor. For instance, Cohen et al. (2011) found the HIV care settings in Rwanda services also played an important role in indicating the people's psychological outcomes.

Even though the Holocaust survivors showed more negative outcomes (e.g., PTSD symptoms) than the comparison groups, the survivors exhibited resilience and adaptation to trauma (Barel et al., 2010). Regarding Holocaust survivors, the family was a core element in their resilience (Greene, 2010; Greene & Graham, 2009). Family support works as a main tool for trauma survivors and is important for genocide survivors as well. Based on the idea of Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory, the approach from family level to governmental level can be interconnected (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Broadening the range of supportive groups from family, the community offers an important role and environment for the trauma survivors' recovery. Therefore, the ecological approach to understanding survivors is essential to develop the mechanism of their resiliency. Im (2017) also supported the usefulness of Bronfenbrenner's ecological approach for healing the Jeju community. The ecological theory can inspect the various aspects surrounding the survivors.

5.2. Community based intervention

As resilience elements originate in various dimensions such as personal traits and the social environment, the community should also work as a core element for resilience. Therefore, the interdependence between the individuals and the communities was focused on empowering resilience (Harvey, 1996; Harvey, 2007; Norris & Thompson, 1995). Social support for trauma survivors is essential to their coping strategies and to bolstering their resilience to the effects of the trauma, as reviewed above (Robinaugh et al., 2011). The community is the place where they have survived and continue to survive from their trauma and is also the foundation of their resilience. The models focusing on the potentialities of community as the origin of resilience are frequently witnessed in the UN's strategies for coping within the communities and individuals who have survived disasters including war and genocide. The potentiality of community-based models is their ability to transform the wider population, not only the elderly but also the second and third generations of survivors. It is essential to discuss the intergenerational approach victims' communities and future research needs to give attention to this aspect, and to the impact of genocide on the community as a whole.

The Self-trauma model is one of the approaches to treat trauma survivors based on the following elements: safety, support, therapeutic feedback, and working through the trauma (Briere, 1996). The approach can cover childhood to adulthood trauma survivors, including torture survivors or combat veterans. The model suggests a similar element to this thesis's approach to the trauma survivors from Jeju Sasam by studying the self-capacities that include the abilities of: location of an internal sense of self from which to operate in the world, tolerance and reduction of painful internal states, and formation of meaningful, nurturing relationships. Also, the trauma-informed care model is based on a community level of support by the significant members of the community (i.e., behavioural health practitioners or organisations) and develops the trauma-sensitive or trauma-responsive services (Ingabire et al., 2017).

Furthermore, community-based therapy should consider the social support of one of the therapeutic approaches as a governmental policy to heal the community,

which can make a difference to the survivor's psychological outcomes as mentioned above (Robinaugh et al., 2011). For instance, Pearlman (2013) applied collective approaches to psychological recovery for genocide survivors by restoring the self in community. Staub et al. (2005) also focused on the community to promote healing. Community-based intervention is frequently applied to trauma survivors. It was observed in the Rwanda community, for instance, in genocide survivors who have similar extreme traumatic experiences to the current research population. It is natural to start from the individual's treatment, but it is also important to consider conducting community-based intervention, because one of the characteristics of genocide (or similar forms of state violence) is that the range of impact is large.

It was possible in Rwanda to use community-based intervention to support the survivors. Rwanda also has a collectivistic cultural aspect (Thomas & Rahschulte, 2018), and showed that the community played an important role in trauma recovery. The community resilience model (CRM) was applied to the Rwandan community for skill training in trauma healing and significantly improved mental health within the community (Habimana et al., 2021). The model is especially useful for communities which have a lack of resources and understanding of treatment. Grayson (2017) confirmed the positive growth from Rwandan samples under collective resources such as political, cultural and therapeutic resources. Here again, the evidence of the community's role in an individual's psychological outcomes is confirmed. Community reconciliation was mentioned as well, another factor to consider for community-based recovery for the survivors.

In this review, the previously conducted studies on Jeju Sasam survivors' mental health confirmed their psychopathological severity. The theories and models from various populations were also reviewed so the research could bolster the research interest: appraisal, culture and resilience. The similarities to Jeju Sasam survivors were found, for example, the Holocaust have some characteristics in common regarding their experience of traumatic events that happened over seventy years ago. They have lived similar lengths to the research population. In the case of the Rwanda genocide, there are also similarities to Jeju Island. Like

Jeju Island, Rwanda also showed forms of collectivistic culture (Nicely, 2019; Rugerinyange, 2016; Thomas, 2015; Thomas & Rahschulte, 2018).

Also, Rwanda experienced a destroyed section of the community, and there have since been efforts at reconciliation between the perpetrator and victim groups. The community-based interventions have been applied to this community, which can be an example for the Jeju community. In the case of the Cambodian Khmer Rouge genocide, there was a similarity to Jeju Sasam in that the perpetrators have not been investigated or punished for a long time since the event.

Other examples of state violence were considered for review such as Korean War or Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Uprising, however, there was a lack of psychological approaches in these cases. Especially the research that studied the in-depth mechanism from survivors' psychological impact to their resilience are rare, whilst the previous studies mentioned the necessity of in-depth research. Therefore, the psychological mechanisms of individuals and their resilience should be studied in-depth to achieve a more successful recovery of the Jeju community.

The trauma recovery is not limited to rely on therapeutic treatments, it is important to consider the environment and relationship to the outside of the world. Herman (1992) suggested three stages of trauma recovery (p.155): 'establishment of safety', 'remembrance and mourning', and 'reconnection with ordinary life'. She also emphasised the importance to interact with the other people, as the trauma recovery is unable to fully achieve by own. Ultimately, the interconnection with the people can create strong trauma resiliency. As described above, the theories and models about appraisal, coping, and resilience of the trauma universally emphasised the importance of interconnectivity between the individual and the surrounding environment. Therefore, it is crucial to explore the relationship between the Jeju Sasam survivors and their environment by investigating their trauma-related appraisal.

Chapter 3. Methodology

A qualitative approach, complemented by quantitative surveys, was identified as the most effective way of addressing the research aims of the project. The semi-structured interview was the main data collection method of this study. The surveys were socio-economic statistics for general information, depression and PTSD levels as psychological health data.

1. Research population

The target population of this research is survivors of the Jeju Sasam. The definition of 'survivor' in this research is a person who lived on Jeju Island during the period of the Jeju Sasam, which lasted from March 1947 to September 1954. The research population is described as 'survivors' and not as 'victims' for the following reasons. First, the authorities targeted Jeju Island itself geographically (see the description of 'Red Island' or 'Island and Reds' in the Introduction chapter), and the people of Jeju were framed as belonging to a certain ideological group.

Secondly, as mentioned in the Introduction chapter, the definition of a victim by the 4.3 Special Law is limited. It classifies people into two categories: victims and bereaved family members. Based on the 'Special Act on Discovering the Truth of the Jeju 4.3 Incident and the Restoration of Honour of Victims' (4.3 Special Law), the definition is as follows: a victim is a person who died, became disabled or was imprisoned because of the Jeju Sasam, and a member of a bereaved family is a person who lost their spouse, a lineal ascendant or descendant. In the case of there being no spouse or lineal ascendant or descendant to the victim, the Act admits the loss of a sibling as qualifying for the classification of a bereaved family member. Further, even if the dead victim had no siblings, then the person who is a collateral relative, that is a person with the same ancestor but through a different line, within the fourth degree of consanguinity, and also who serves Jesa and manages the victim's grave, can be accepted as a bereaved family member by law.

This thesis rejects the idea of 4.3 Special Law's range of victims. Also, it acknowledges that there are still those who were unable to register as victims or bereaved family members despite disabilities due to genocidal violence or loss of a family member: people who could not meet registration criteria due to lack of evidence. There are also those who do not have severe wounds or damage, prison records, or a family member killed because of Jeju Sasam, who nevertheless experienced and lived through all aspects of it. Furthermore, the registration basically relies on self-reporting, and, therefore, there are survivors who are still afraid of stigmatisation and feel they cannot trust the authorities, so decide not to report themselves as victims or members of bereaved family members. In conclusion, the research population was defined as 'survivors' of Jeju Sasam, not as 'victims' of it.

The age minimum limit was eighty-two years old at the time of data collection. The limitation was set to distinguish between adult and child survivors. The target population was those who were adults, or became adults, during the seven years and seven months of the Jeju Sasam. Among the reasons why the survivors who 'became' adults during the Jeju Sasam period should be considered in our sample is that the atrocities, including massacres, were not limited to adults only. There are many youth victims who died during Jeju Sasam.

The survivors' testimonies from the government's Truth Investigation Report stated that the perpetrators called out people who were fifteen years old or over when they wanted to interrogate them, or before conducting a massacre (p.399). Also, in cases of imprisonment, the report confirmed that people over fifteen years old were considered to be guerrilla suspects, and so were prosecuted in courts martial (p.461). The recent statistics of victim registration by Jeju Special Self-Governing Province (2017) also confirmed that ninety-three imprisoned victims were eleven to twenty years old when they were jailed in 1948-1949.

Therefore, it is worthwhile including the survivors who became adults in the population who have significant experience of Jeju Sasam. Adult survivors were prioritised over child survivors, bearing in mind the limited time left for this more elderly group. Any survivors suffering a health condition that made it impossible

for them to take part in the interview was excluded. Former members of the police and military during Jeju Sasam were also excluded.

1.1. Estimating the total size of the research population

It is a challenge to confirm the total number of the research population. For the following reasons, the research population size is calculated approximately. First of all, no database recognises the accurate number of ‘survivors’. The only data that can confirm the people who were impacted by Jeju Sasam is the registration of victims and bereaved family members based on the 4.3 Special Law. The following table shows the registration status of 4.3 victims and bereaved family members, which was the latest version of the categories at the time of the research.

Table 3. 4.3 Victims and Bereaved Family Members registration status (2017)

Victim					Bereaved Family Members				
Dead	Missing	Disabled survivors	Imprisoned survivors	Total	Spouse	Lineal ascendant and descendant	Siblings	collateral blood relatives	Total
10,245	3,575	164	248	14,232	1,694	52,141	5,126	465	59,426

Note. Adapted from online public information board of Jeju Special Self-Governing Province page. Currently, the version of 2019 is available, which includes the registration status of 2017.

As the table shows, the dichotomic classification oversaw the population’s identity as survivors from the era of Jeju Sasam. So, the total population of survivors is unable to be recorded accurately. However, there are several ways to make the number as close to the definition of our target population as possible. The current number of survivors of the Jeju Sasam is based on the victim and bereaved family member registration statistics calculated by the Jeju Special Self-Governing Province (2017) and the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation's medical support registration records. There are 164 disabled survivors, and 248 imprisoned survivors considered to be surviving victims of Jeju Sasam shown in Table 3.

However, Table 3 has its limitations in distinguishing the survivors from bereaved family members because the system merged survivors themselves with descendants who are in the next generation of survivors. Therefore, it is necessary to use other options in the calculation. According to the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, 9,945 bereaved family members who were born before 1954 and

living on Jeju Island are registered for medical support. Because none of the databases distinguishes them as survivors of Jeju Sasam, this medical support registration is the only data from which we can presume the number of survivors who were directly or indirectly exposed to, or impacted by, Jeju Sasam. Therefore, the total survivor population size, regardless of their age, is 10,357 approximately. The Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation does not have a statistical database which classifies registration by year of birth, but it accepted a personal inquiry by the researcher to calculate the number of people on the register who are eighty-two years old or above (i.e., born before 1936). The Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation confirmed that 2,858 of bereaved family members are confirmed as being born in 1936 or earlier. In total, 2,858 is the estimated number of the research population meeting the criteria.

2. Sample size

A total of fifty interviews were aimed at recruiting an equal number of men and women. However, reflecting in part the gender-differentiated survival rate and average life expectancy, more female participants than male were recruited. Unlike quantitative research, it is hard to calculate the sample size for qualitative research, since the purpose of qualitative research is mostly to gain deep understanding of particular research questions or in-depth analysis of phenomena rather than to reflect the whole population. There are no detailed rules to decide which sample size is sufficient for qualitative studies. However, there are a number of reliable suggestions to justify the particular sample sizes as follows.

According to World Health Organization (2004), forty informants can be considered a comparatively large study in qualitative research. Ritchie and Lewis (2003) suggested that the number of interviews should not exceed fifty because of the complexity of managing analysis. Furthermore, Britten (1995) stated that qualitative studies with fifty to sixty interviews are often considered as a relatively large study. Also, Morse (1994) suggested thirty to fifty interviews in cases using grounded theory. From this point of view, interviewing fifty participants can be

considered as sufficiently large. Therefore, it was decided that fifty interviews would be conducted in this research.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) mentioned the concept of saturation for achieving appropriate sample size. Accepting the theoretical saturation of qualitative analysis, if data has reached saturation the interviews can stop. So, when fifty interviews have been conducted, it would be necessary to check the data for saturation. However, if the data seems not homogeneous and is expected to collect more new themes and information, the qualitative data collection will continue with over fifty informants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). However, while keeping this in mind, this research in the end conducted the set maximum of fifty interviews, in consideration of the target population's age. The experiences that were to be studied from this population are valuable to research, and therefore the researcher conducted as many interviews as possible, within the pre-set limit.

The survey was also conducted prior to the interviews as a general complementary survey to collect the data on demographic details and depression in our research population. Recruitment for the survey was aimed at a minimum of one hundred participants. From the research population of 2,858, this research aims to recruit a minimum of one hundred people for a cross-sectional survey. Referring to the depression prevalence from a previous study (Jeju Special Self-Governing Province Mental Health Center, 2017), 48.2% of survivors reported symptoms of depression. Based on the previous study's depression proportion, the sample size for the survey was calculated. With a ninety-five per cent confidence level and a margin of error of ten per cent, a sample size of ninety-three was obtained. The online calculator was used by Creative Research Systems (2021).

The sample size also followed the suggestion by Israel (1992), reflecting the combination of: size of population and sample size under various levels of precision (also known as sampling error) with ninety-five per cent confidence level. Ninety-five per cent for a population of two thousand and ninety-seven per cent for that of three thousand showed a $\pm 10\%$ precision level. Furthermore, environmental consideration is needed for the time allowance for data collection

and the fact that only a single researcher will collect the data. Therefore, this study will target a minimum of one hundred subjects.

3. Recruitment

The main strategy for the recruitment was 'snowballing'. The stakeholders were willing to offer recruitment opportunities during their social or memorial events or introduce the researcher to potential participants in person. A few community leaders, such as village leaders or senior citizen group leaders, became the gatekeepers for this research and helped with recruitment. The recruitment aimed to collect two or more people from each of the twelve administrative areas of the island shown on the map (Figure 13) below (Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, 2018). This decision was made because the entire island was the target of the authorities. The researcher tried to recruit proportionately more participants if the area was known to have been significantly more affected. The death toll can also be found in the map. The detailed recruitment strategy is as follows.

3.1. Snowballing strategy

Snowballing is a strategy to recruit participants from person to person (Goodman, 1961), and, as stated, was the main recruitment strategy of this research. The idea of approaching from person to person is the reason for adopting snowballing as a primary strategy. The participant becomes a recruiter after the interview, inviting others to the study, thus increasing the number of participants. The reason for adopting this strategy was that Jeju society has a 'Gwendang' culture, which is a relationship based on blood-related family, similar to a tribal culture. In other words, Jeju communities have tightly-knit relationships that outsiders can sometimes find hard to penetrate at first. However, this culture can be a powerful connection in terms of recruitment. Therefore, snowballing is an efficient strategy for recruiting people who know their community members well. Participants will inevitably have a better understanding than the researcher of other potential participants in their community, so can recommend those most suitable for the study, which proved to be the case in this research. It was a particularly useful

recruitment method because the researcher is from the mainland, with no family or friends on the island.

3.2. Gatekeepers

There were individuals and organisations who acted as gatekeepers for this research, mainly to facilitate the recruitment. They were mostly community leaders (or former leaders): for example, a village leader or a head of a regional bereaved family association. They introduced potential participants through social groups or senior community centres, making it comparatively easy to approach the target population, and reducing any insecurities on the part of the participant or the researcher. Also, it was easier to access potential participants through the gatekeepers so the researcher could earn the trust of potential participants. Gatekeepers also joined by snowballing, and, for the main part, were introduced by the Association for 4.3 Victims and Bereaved Families. Seven people contributed to the recruitment as gatekeepers, introducing the researcher to the potential participants, normally in community centres for senior citizens.

3.3. Visiting community centres for seniors or communal events

Lastly, the researcher visited the community centres for seniors to recruit further participants. This was to be the last method of recruitment if the snowballing strategy did not provide enough participants. Senior community centres are located in every village, providing a space for social activities to their senior members. When visiting a senior community centre, it was essential to ask the president of each such organisation for their cooperation. Also, the researcher visited communal events to recruit participants, such as memorials for victims and bereaved family members. Those events were normally organised by the 4.3 Victims and Bereaved Family Association, or by each village's bereaved family association themselves. Therefore, the researcher visited the events and asked

for cooperation on village memorial days, which were mostly anniversaries of massacres.

Figure 13. Map of victims of Jeju 4.3

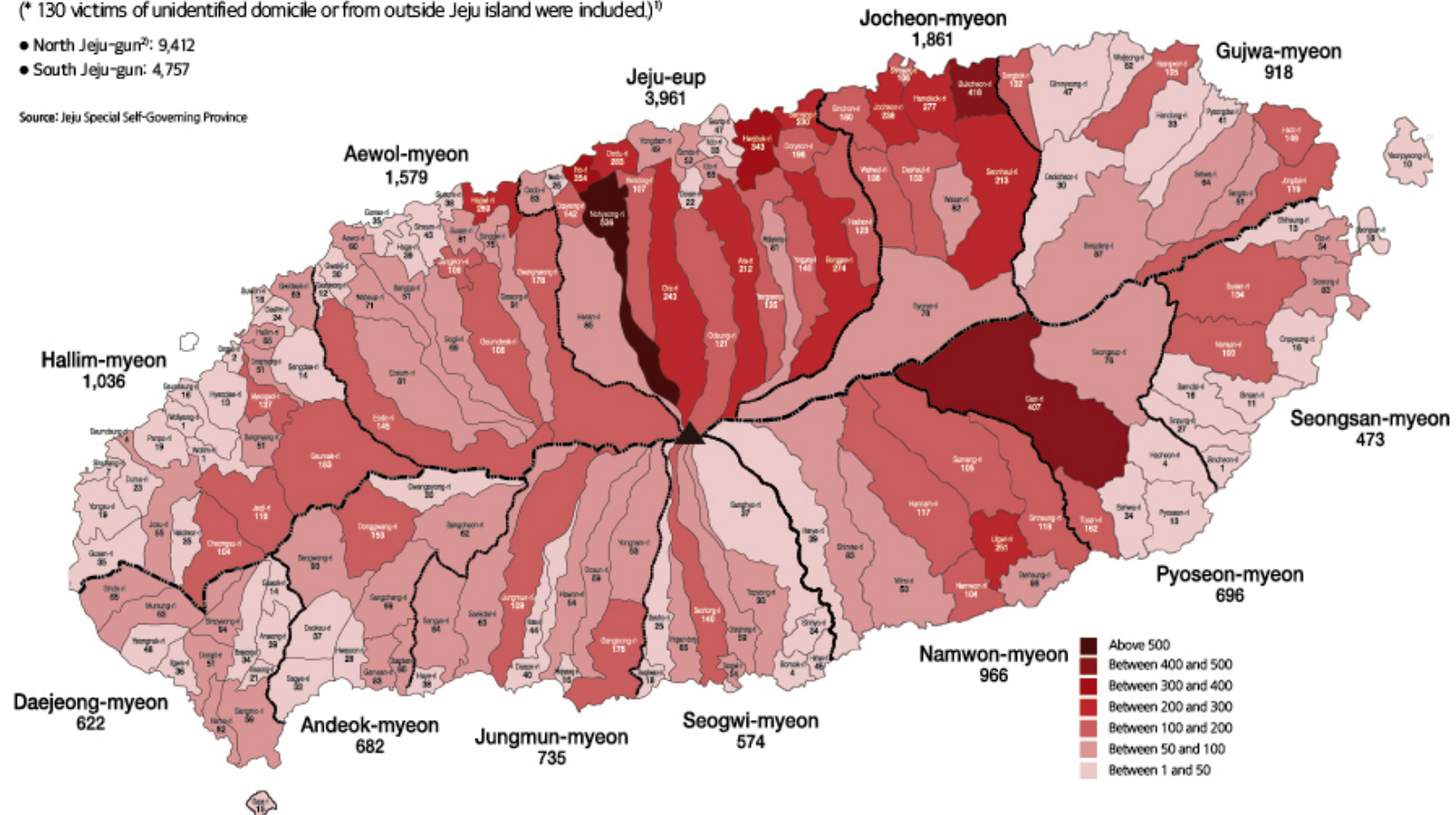
Victims of Jeju 4.3

Total identified victims: **14,232** (As of 2017)

(* 130 victims of unidentified domicile or from outside Jeju island were included.)¹⁾

- North Jeju-gun²⁾: 9,412
- South Jeju-gun: 4,757

Source: Jeju Special Self-Governing Province



Note. Adapted from Jeju 4.3 by Numbers, by Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, 2018 (<http://jeju43peace.org/home-2/numbers-more/>)

4. Data collection

4.1. Pilot interview

The pilot interview is one of the strategies used to avoid information bias and improve the quality of interviews. Therefore, the researcher ran the instrumentation process with the field interviewees to prevent information bias. The pilot interview is also another option to improve quality. If the situation is not conducive to pilot interviews with potential participants, the investigators can conduct a mock interview amongst themselves. However, the current thesis research investigator is the author herself, who can complete the interview in Korean. Instead of conducting a pilot interview with potential participants, the interview questions were previously shown to gatekeepers in South Korea who have extensive experience interviewing the Jeju Sasam survivors. Comments from the reviewers revealed that a few terms could be hard to understand for participants. Rather than amend the questions, the interviewer prepared instructions to help participants easily understand specific terms or concepts.

4.2. Data collection process

All participants had a pre-session with the researcher to explain the nature of the study and their role as a subject. A participant information sheet was provided, including the contact details of the researcher. They had at least twenty-four hours to consider their participation and directly deliver their decision to the researcher, not to a gatekeeper. This protocol was delivered to minimise any pressure on potential participants from their gatekeepers. Even if they agreed to participate at the pre-meeting, the researcher reconfirmed their willingness before commencing their interviews.

The participants were expected to have two sessions: the first one for a survey and the other for the semi-structured interview. If they only agreed to answer the survey questionnaire, then the semi-structured interview was not delivered. The participants were given sufficient time for asking their questions about the research before the session. A consent form was offered before the session, and

the participants could refuse to sign, in which case the session would be immediately cancelled. The researcher read the consent form loudly to the participants before they signed, explained the terms and conditions and asked if they wanted anything to be clarified.

After conducting the survey session, if the participant agreed to the further interview session to share their experiences in depth, the session for the semi-structured interview was scheduled for another day. The two sessions were never conducted on the same day. Each session was limited to two hours maximum, and even if the questionnaire was not completed, the session could be postponed to another day if the participants wanted to do so. The participants were made aware that they could stop the session at any time without stating a reason, and that they had the right to ask for their data to be deleted from the study. However, none of the participants contacted the researcher to request removal of their data.

4.3. Survey questionnaire

For descriptive analysis of the research population, the general socioeconomic status and presence of depression symptoms were investigated. The questionnaires were originally meant to be self-administered; however, the researcher read the questionnaire to the participants, considering their age. The survey sessions also functioned as a time for developing a rapport with the participants for the next interview sessions. Their age, gender, marriage status, education level and the 4.3 victims and bereaved family registration status were asked as socioeconomic status questions.

The K-CESD-R was conducted for indicating the presence of depression symptoms. The scale was validated by Lee et al. (2016), with a cut-off score of thirteen. The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) was developed initially by Radloff (1977). Eaton et al. (2004) revised CES-D in 2004 (CESD-R). This tool was internationally used to assess depression symptoms. The symptoms that can be measured with twenty questions are as follows: sadness, loss of interest, appetite, sleep, thinking/concentration, guilt, tiredness, movement, and suicidal ideation. Scoring range is between zero and sixty. K-

CESD-R is a Korean version of CESD-R, with a validation study that showed good reliability and validity (Lee et al., 2016).

Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) was measured by using PCL 5 - 8 items version (Price et al., 2016). Studies found that eight items from the original twenty items from PCL 5 showed firm reliable results (Martínez-Levy et al., 2021). The shorter version of measurement can be easier to apply for the elderly population, reducing their time spent on the questionnaire. The longer questionnaire can disturb their concentration, especially if the research requires several measurements, and this can lead to inaccurate responses. Therefore, the shorter version of PCL-5 is recommended for conducting research with an elderly population. The traumatic event for this measurement was limited to asking their experience of Jeju Sasam, as the previous survey did with the population of Jeju Sasam victims and bereaved families (Jeju Special Self-Governing Province Mental Health Center, 2017).

4.4. Interview questions

The interview design was a semi-structured interview. The priority of the current research was to explore the participants' Jeju Sasam and life experiences. Therefore, the interview questions should not strictly limit the content sharing of the interviewees. The semi-structured interview allows flexibility when questioning interviewees but is still helpful in organising the interview session on specific topics (Kallio et al., 2016). If the participants' answers needed further explanation, the semi-structured interview allowed additional questions to clarify their answers. Therefore, it can be a powerful tool for collecting more detailed and fruitful data from the participants. Additionally, most participants did not have many experiences of sharing their life stories, especially with strangers. Therefore, having only open-ended interview questions could make them feel lost, and closed questions might make them feel frustrated, as it can feel like an investigation or interrogation.

At the beginning of the interview, the general health status of the participants was asked as an ice-breaking question. The interview questions were mainly asking

about their experiences in the context of Jeju Sasam. The time points of the experiences were divided into during and after the Jeju Sasam. Also, understanding the social atmosphere towards Jeju Sasam and its victim community was essential. As Jeju Sasam is associated with social discrimination based on an ideological conflict in South Korean society, their experiences of or witness to guilt-by-association were further enquired into.

Another part of the interview session was for exploring the trauma-related appraisal. As described in the Literature Review chapter, values, beliefs and world views are core elements of appraisal, which inevitably relate to the surrounding environment, society and culture (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). The Public and Communal Self Appraisal Measurement (Engelbrecht & Jobson, 2014) was referenced to develop the interview questions, because it is a well-developed trauma-associated appraisal research tool, the uses of which include examining the impact of culture upon appraisal.

As the interview aimed to explore the participants' cognitive appraisals of Jeju Sasam, the following were mainly asked. Firstly, they were asked about changes in their beliefs since this could help understand not only their appraisal but also their cultural backgrounds, such as their religious beliefs: "Do you think that your beliefs have changed since the Jeju Sasam? If so, how?" Secondly, they were asked to identify any changes in their worldview, as this is one of the core elements for their appraisal. The question about worldview was critical in exploring their social environments under the anti-communist atmosphere, which was hostile to the Jeju Sasam issue: "How has your thinking changed following Jeju Sasam? Would you mind telling me details about how you feel about your place in the world?" Those two questions are also to explore the potential dysfunctional cognitions by external causes (i.e. Jeju Sasam) (Engelbrecht & Jobson, 2014). Additionally, their social relationships with others were asked about in order to explore their communal appraisal, which can be their resilience element: "What typical thoughts do you have following the Jeju Sasam experience about your relationships with others?" Lastly, they were questioned about changes to their values in life, to explore the categories of disintegration

from their cultural/social roles (Engelbrecht & Jobson, 2014): “How have your values changed following Jeju Sasam experience?”

The appraisal is critical to the trauma survivors' psychological wellbeing, trauma adjustment and recovery. Especially since negative cognition can worsen psychological outcomes, such as PTSD (Ehlers & Clark, 2000). Therefore, it is critical to understand the individual's trauma-related appraisal for their recovery. However, the current literature on Jeju Sasam lacks a detailed investigation into the survivors' trauma resilience, especially in studying the self and their public appraisal. Therefore, the interview questions gave broad attention to their contexts of appraisal. The interview questionnaire can be viewed in the Appendix 1.

5. Data analysis

The qualitative study was conducted using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a popular analytic method in qualitative research (Braun & Clarke, 2012). An inductive approach was taken in conducting thematic analysis; this allows data-driven analysis, which is the main reason why inductive thematic analysis was chosen. This approach helps the researcher to recognise any unexpected issues arising from the participants, which can be a characteristic of qualitative research since the semi-structured interview allows them to be raised. Also, this approach is less limited by previous research models, which could prevent potential interesting developments. Thematic analysis aims to find themes from the data: that is, observed patterns based on the participants' narratives. It not only has to capture the commonly mentioned concepts or issues from the participants, but also needs to be more in depth to recognise underlying meanings and information from them. Transcription was completed in Jeju language and standard Korean, and then translated into English by the researcher for analysis. NVivo 12.0 was used for data coding. A total of three researchers had a discussion after coding the data to achieve the reliability of the research. Code book can be found in Appendix 2.

6. Research ethics approval clearance

This research was approved by King's College London (HR-18/19-8261) and the Korean Institutional Review Board (P01-201906-23-009). The primary approval was cleared by the researcher's organisation King's College London, which is the normal process of the research. However, the researcher considered another approval from the Korean organisation, as the data collection is in the Korean language. The topic of Jeju Sasam is sensitive in Korean society, and therefore the second ethics approval was requested from and approved by the Korean Institutional Review Board.

Chapter 4. Results

The current research conducted fifty interviews and completed the thematic analysis. The results found links to the core elements of the research interests: self, appraisal, culture and gender. Seven themes with thirty-four sub-themes were raised from the analysis, including some that the researcher did not expect to face. Socioeconomic status and depression levels were surveyed as complementary data for the main qualitative research.

1. Quantitative data

The descriptive analysis of the socioeconomic status and depression levels were completed with 103 participants in total. The average age is 86.36, with the minimum age of eighty-two and a maximum of ninety-eight. The number of female participants for surveys was fifty-seven (55.3% of the participants) and male participants was forty-six (44.7%). Nearly half of the participants were bereaved of their spouses (51.5%), while 46.6% had spouses who were still alive. There were no recorded cases of participants divorced or separated from their spouses, although two refused to answer the question of their marriage status.

The registration status as 4.3 victims or bereaved family members was also investigated. It asked the following criteria of the government's registration system (see the description in the Methodology chapter). Only seven people in the sample were surviving victims, who clarified that their disabilities were due to Jeju Sasam (n=3, 2.9%) and having a prison record (n=4, 3.9%). 32% of participants reported having lost direct ascendants, such as parents or grandparents. As this research aimed to collect data of the survivors of Jeju Sasam, not just those registered as victims, 51.5% of participants were not registered or were unable to register on the system. There were 23.3% of participants showing high risks of depression, which is similar to the 24.3% found in the most recent research by Jung and Kim (2020). The following Table 4 shows

the descriptive analysis of socioeconomic status including the risk of depression and PTSD symptoms.

Table 4. Socioeconomic status

Categories	
Age	
Mean (SD)	86.36 (3.467)
Range	16
Minimum age	82
Maximum age	98
Gender	Number of subjects (%)
Female	57 (55.3%)
Male	46 (44.7%)
Marriage status	
Married	48 (46.6%)
Bereaved spouse	53 (51.5%)
Refused to answer	2 (1.9%)
4.3 Registration status	
Surviving victim (Disabled)	3 (2.9%)
Surviving victim (Imprisoned)	4 (3.9%)
Bereaved family (Spouse)	3 (2.9%)
Bereaved family (Direct ascendant)	33 (32.0%)
Bereaved family (Siblings)	6 (5.8%)
Not registered	53 (51.5%)
Refused to answer	1 (1.0%)
Depression*	
Rarely or low risk of depressive symptoms (<13)	72 (69.9%)
At high risk of presence of depression (≥13)	24 (23.3%)
Missing value (listwise)	7 (6.8%)
PTSD**	
Rarely or low risk of PTSD (<13)	89 (86.4%)
At high risk of presence of PTSD (≥13)	11 (10.7%)
Missing value (listwise)	3 (2.9%)
Total	103 (100%)

Note. *Cut-off score is 13, using K-CESD-R by Lee et al (2016). The average score of current study is 8.81 (SD=8.701), with a minimum score of 0 and a maximum score of 39.

Note. **Cut-off score is 13 (Geier et al., 2020, 2019; Pereira-Lima et al., 2019), using PCL 5 – 8 items version by Price et al (2016). The average score of current study is 4.99 (SD=5.108), with a minimum score of 0 and a maximum score of 21.

Table 5 describes the education levels of participants, by gender. Five participants refused to supply their educational level. The total number of samples for the education level is ninety-eight. In the overall population, the participants (n=45, 43.7%) were unable to obtain or finish their elementary school level of education or received no education. As shown in the table, thirty-seven of female participants (n=37) reported the lowest level of education. All but one of the remaining female participants (n=15) obtained their highest educational level in

elementary school. Thirty-two participants obtained the level of elementary school (n=32, 31.1%); however, few male participants were able to continue into higher education.

Table 5. Education level

Education level	Female	Male	Total (%)
Not educated or unfinished elementary school	37	8	45 (43.7%)
Graduate elementary school	15	17	32 (31.1%)
Graduate middle school	0	8	8 (7.8%)
Graduate high school	0	9	9 (8.7%)
Graduate university or higher	1	3	4 (3.9%)
Refused to answer	4	1	5 (4.9%)
Total	57	46	103 (100%)

2. Qualitative data

The following tables show the results from the qualitative data set. Table 6 listed the Jeju Sasam related traumatic experiences during the time of Jeju Sasam. Table 7 is a descriptive statistic for showing the severity of each category of Jeju Sasam related traumatic exposures. Table 8 is narrative themes which are the main findings of this research.

Table 6 shows the results of the participants' experiences of trauma during Jeju Sasam. Their experiences were classified into four categories: violence, family loss, displacement and material loss. From fifty participants in total, ninety-eight percent of them reported their cumulative experience or witnessing of violence. The experiences included direct exposure to physical threats and witnessing the authorities' state violence acts. Significantly, the participants described their life during Sasam simply as 'hard' or '(being) suffered' rather than describing it in detail. Their hardships were mainly caused by food shortage (40%) and poverty (38%). Sixty-four percent of participants reported exposure to physical violence during Jeju Sasam. Some participants stated that the authorities actively targeted them, suspecting them as being guerrillas (n=10).

Within our participants, two types of victims are currently registered as 'disabled victims' and 'imprisoned victims'. Only those two types of victims can be registered as 'victim' by the government and are eligible to receive government subsidies. Five people from our study reported their imprisoned experience,

which resulted from being sentenced by illegal trials without supporting evidence to prove their guilt. Also, there were participants who reported their injuries or disabilities were received as a direct consequence of Jeju Sasam, and two from four participants were registered as 'disabled victims'. Some participants complained that their wounds, that were supposed to be totally healed by now, were still painful when it rained.

Table 6. Jeju Sasam related traumatic experiences

Jeju Sasam related traumatic experiences	Subjects n = 50	Number of references
Violence	49 (98%)	626
Enduring hardship	42 (84%)	219
Food shortage	20 (40%)	34
Poverty	19 (38%)	28
Physical attack and violence	32 (64%)	150
Forced labour	25 (50%)	76
Innocent victims	22 (44%)	53
Imprisonment	5 (10%)	22
Actively targeted by the authority	10 (20%)	17
Sustained Injuries, disability	4 (8%)	8
Torture	2 (4%)	6
Witnessing fire or arson	23 (46%)	41
Seeing dead or mutilated bodies or mass graves	17 (34%)	33
Witnessed someone being killed	16 (32%)	32
Witness violent destruction of a village	13 (26%)	18
Witnessing a massacre	10 (20%)	14
Family loss	32 (64%)	81
Death of family	23 (46%)	59
Missing	12 (24%)	22
Displacement	28 (56%)	87
Forced evacuation	23 (46%)	60
Homelessness	22 (44%)	30
Material loss	15 (30%)	32
House destroyed	10 (20%)	17
Livestock animals	6 (12%)	7
Properties	11 (22%)	15

Apart from direct exposure to, or witnessing of, physical violence, there were other significant components of genocide in general. Forced labour was ordered by the authorities. Half of participants from our sample were mobilised to build stone walls to surround villages to prevent attacks from the mountain. There were no exceptions, even for pregnant woman. Also, forty-four percent of participants expressed that innocent people were killed during the Sasam.

The authorities' martial law and 'Scorched Earth' operation were enacted in the entire area of Jeju Island but were intended to annihilate the guerrillas in the mountains. So the people needed to deal with the aftermath. Sixty-four percent of participants reported the death or disappearance of their family members. Over a half of the participants mentioned forced evacuation experiences which made them homeless. In an attempt to distinguish between guerrillas and civilians, the authorities decided that the population must live within five kilometres of the coast which meant that the mountain villagers were forcibly moved to coastal areas.

However, the order did not reach all the villages. Even when the order was delivered, vulnerable people, such as the elderly, remained in their homes. Even if they could evacuate, they couldn't bring their household goods. Eventually, their properties were burned during and after the evacuation, and people had to witness that their village or property were burning. Thirty percent of the participants experienced the material loss such as their houses (20%), livestock (12%) and other property (22%).

Also because of the sudden evacuation, people needed to seek places to live. Some people rented a room or even sought space like a shed. Other people were sent directly to detention facilities. Those facilities were mostly non-residential buildings such as elementary schools, warehouses or abandoned factories. Governmental forces guarded the facilities and, sometimes, people who were brought to them never returned. Some participants were caught by the authorities and sent to detention facilities. Even when they were allowed to return to their villages, everything was destroyed, so people needed to live in huts or shared temporary buildings called 'Hambajib'. These homeless experiences (44%) were classified as displacement in Table 6. The participants' Jeju Sasam related traumatic experiences in Table 6 above met the facts from the Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report from 2003, by National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju 4·3 Incident.

Table 7. Descriptive statistics regarding severity of Jeju Sasam related traumatic exposures

Categories	Variables N	Range	Mean	SD
Violence	15	40	17.33	10.821
Family loss	2	11	17.50	7.778
Displacement	2	1	22.50	0.707
Material loss	3	5	9.00	2.646

Table 7 shows the severity of the participants' exposure to trauma in each category. A mean of 17.33 (SD = 10.821) people experienced or witnessed Jeju Sasam related violence. A mean of 17.50 (SD = 7.778) people experienced the death or disappearance of their family members because of Sasam. Under the authorities' genocidal operation, a mean of 22.50 (SD = 0.707) people suffered displacement and a mean of 9.00 (SD=2.646) people experienced material loss.

From the total of fifty interviewees, thirty-six sub-themes emerged from the qualitative data analysis (see Appendix 2). Table 8 illustrates thirty-four sub-themes which were grouped into seven themes according to analytical typologies. The results from each theme are interpreted in depth and will follow after.

Table 8. Narrative Themes

Themes	No. of Subjects (n = 50) (%)	No. of References	No. of Female (n = 28) (%)	No. of Female references	No. of Male (n = 22) (%)	No. of Male references
Cultural memory and Ceremony						
Collective remembering and responsibility	48 (96%)	249	26 (93%)	88	22 (100%)	161
Memorials	18 (36%)	48	8 (29%)	24	10 (45%)	24
Jesa	10 (20%)	25	10 (36%)	25	0 (0%)	0
Social and Cultural Interdependence						
Value attached to family	28 (56%)	87	18 (64%)	60	10 (45%)	27
Societal roles	28 (56%)	107	22 (79%)	96	6 (27%)	11
Harmony	24 (48%)	64	13 (46%)	36	11 (50%)	28
Honour reclaiming	8 (16%)	27	1 (4%)	7	7 (32%)	20
Gwendang culture	7 (14%)	12	6 (21%)	11	1 (5%)	1
Self-concept and Traumatized Self						
Self-concept	33 (66%)	75	18 (64%)	43	15 (68%)	32
Sacrificed Self	14 (28%)	28	10 (36%)	22	4 (18%)	6
Lack of power	7 (14%)	9	2 (7%)	2	5 (23%)	7
External Attribution						
Negative world view	31 (62%)	61	12 (43%)	19	19 (86%)	42
External blame	30 (60%)	111	15 (54%)	29	15 (68%)	82
Belief and value	30 (60%)	60	15 (54%)	33	15 (68%)	27
Palzha	15 (30%)	23	9 (32%)	13	6 (27%)	10
Physical and Psychological Trauma						
Survival	40 (80%)	109	21 (75%)	62	19 (86%)	47
Social discrimination	31 (62%)	101	15 (54%)	41	16 (73%)	60
Loss	25 (50%)	68	12 (43%)	34	13 (59%)	34
Emotional and psychological trauma symptoms						
Han	27 (54%)	85	16 (57%)	64	11 (50%)	21
Grief	23 (46%)	60	14 (50%)	45	9 (41%)	15
Fear	23 (46%)	71	14 (50%)	47	9 (41%)	24
Anger	19 (38%)	32	11 (39%)	18	8 (36%)	14
Hope	14 (28%)	33	6 (21%)	11	8 (36%)	22
Hopelessness	12 (24%)	22	3 (11%)	3	9 (41%)	19
Intrusive memories	11 (22%)	17	9 (32%)	15	2 (9%)	2
Guilt and shame	9 (18%)	14	5 (18%)	7	4 (18%)	7
Avoidance	8 (16%)	14	5 (18%)	9	3 (14%)	5
Suicidal ideation	5 (10%)	5	3 (11%)	3	2 (9%)	2
Nightmares	5 (10%)	5	2 (7%)	2	3 (14%)	3
Recovery and Adjustment						
Positive quality of life	28 (56%)	64	18 (64%)	49	10 (45%)	15
Resilience	25 (50%)	47	15 (54%)	25	10 (45%)	22
Social well-being	17 (34%)	31	10 (36%)	17	7 (32%)	14
Salamsimin Salajinda	10 (20%)	13	6 (21%)	7	4 (18%)	6
Religion	9 (18%)	32	8 (29%)	31	1 (5%)	1

Further analysis was conducted to indicate the differences of participants' appraisal or behaviour by their severity of mental states. This further analysis is not for limiting each narrative's importance by its quantity or frequency, but for finding the signs of risk or resilience factors for survivors' psychological wellbeing. The level of risk for PTSD and depression was used as a psychological wellbeing indicator. The following Table 9 shows the number of interviewees for each risk group. As with the total population measurement, the cut-off score for both PTSD (Geier et al., 2020, 2019; Pereira-Lima et al., 2019) and depression (Lee et al., 2016) is thirteen.

Table 9. Number of interviewees for each risk group

Categories	PTSD	Depression
Number of interviewees with valid score	49	47
Missing	1	3
Mean (SD)	5.51 (5.308)	9.47 (9.849)
Standard error of mean	0.758	1.437
Level of risk		
Number of interviewees at high risk (≥ 13)	6	13
Number of interviewees at low risk (< 13)	43	34
Level of risk for both PTSD and depression		
Number of interviewees at high risk for both PTSD and depression (≥ 13)		3
Number of interviewees at low risk for both PTSD and depression (< 13)		31

Table 10. Number of interviewees for each group's upper quartile threshold

Risk groups	Number of interviewees as a threshold
PTSD	
High risk	≥ 4
Low risk	≥ 23
Depression	
High risk	≥ 7
Low risk	≥ 18
PTSD and Depression	
High risk	≥ 2
Low risk	≥ 17

The upper quartile of the themes was explored for every group (see the Table 10 above). Most of the groups had overlapping themes; however, a few themes were significant with certain groups. The following bar graphs (Figure 14 and 15) show the number of interviewees for each theme who described related contexts in their narratives. Themes from the upper quartiles were further analysed, and the

different narratives between the risk groups will be described together with thematic analysis results in the following sub-chapter.

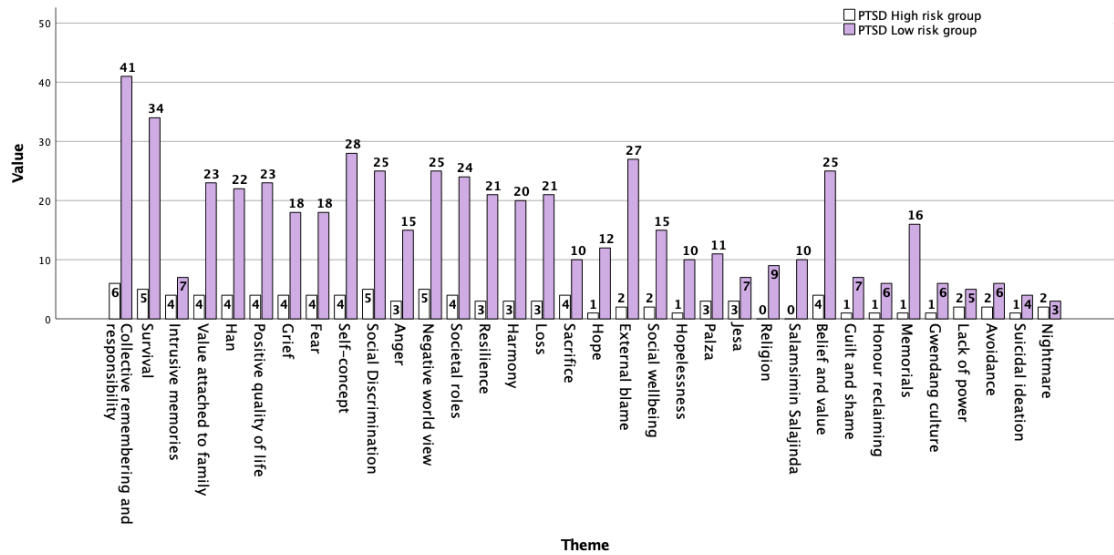


Figure 14. PTSD risk groups' theme description

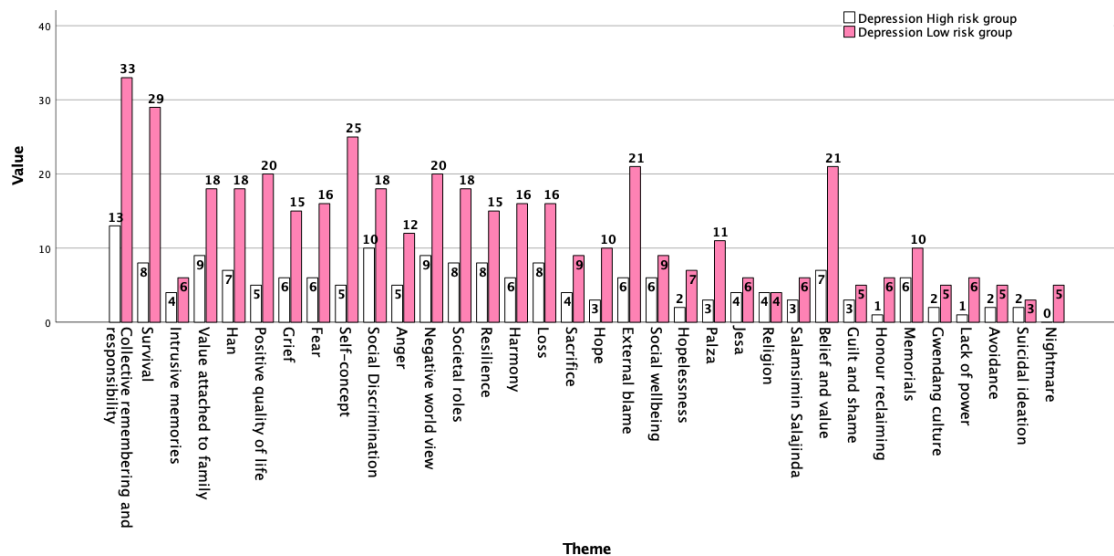


Figure 15. Depression groups' theme description

Among the upper quartile themes, the 'Collective remembering and responsibility' theme predominated in every group. This result supports that the Jeju Sasam

memory is a collective trauma regardless of the level of risks for psychological wellbeing. The theme 'Collective remembering and responsibility' included sub-themes such as social contribution and taking responsibility in a position of leadership. Therefore, the theme was reviewed in detail to find whether differences exist between the risk groups (see Theme 1. Cultural memory and ceremony, 1.1. Collective remembering and responsibility in the following sub-chapter). The theme 'survival' was the second most described theme in the PTSD groups and in the low risk group for depression. This theme was analysed further in detail for differences between the risk groups.

The theme 'sacrifice', which refers to 'sacrificed self', was found only in the upper quartile of the PTSD high risk group. As the PTSD high risk group has one male and five female participants, three of the four participants of them were women. It is worth giving further attention to whether a gender difference can be found from the 'sacrificed self' description (see Theme 3. Self-concept and traumatised self, 3.3. Sacrificed self in the following sub-chapter). Apart from the 'sacrifice' theme, the PTSD high risk group also contained various emotional responses, while other groups were less likely to describe emotions. The negative emotion of appraisal on Jeju Sasam, such as grief (n=4) and fear (n=4), is explainable that those were listed in the high risk group, especially the theme 'intrusive memories' (n=4) is a representative symptom of PTSD.

However, the theme 'Han' among the emotional responses was exceptional. 'Han' was listed in the upper quartile both from the high risk group of PTSD (n=4) and in the depression group (n=7). Also, it was listed in the upper quartile of those at low risk group in the depression group (n=18). Even though the low risk group of PTSD did not include the theme 'Han' in the upper quartile, the total of twenty-two people who described feelings of 'Han' was only one person short of the threshold of twenty-three to be the upper quartile. Han is an important Korean cultural emotion, especially for their experiences of injustice. It is a psychological distress expression as described in the Chapter 2. Literature Review. Han was described in all group results as indicating that it is culturally attached and predominantly people's emotion. It is the signs of elements adverse to their resilience that potentially bothered their psychological wellbeing. Further details

will be described in the following sub chapter (see Theme Emotional and psychological trauma symptoms, 6.1. Han).

The theme 'loss' was another described by the high risk group of depression in the upper quartile. Loss refers to not only of their family members, but also of the opportunity for an ordinary life and education. The loss of education opportunity is especially strongly related to the Han contexts. The relationship between the loss of opportunity and Han is important to their psychological wellbeing. Further discussions can be found in the following chapter.

The theme of 'external blame' was only described in the upper quartile for low-risk groups of PTSD and of depression. Blaming externally rather than blaming internally, i.e. themselves, is a positive sign towards their psychological wellbeing. The bar graph (Figure 16) below showing the theme frequency of high and low risk for both PTSD and depression again supported that the theme 'external blame' is a strong element for the survivors' psychological wellbeing. None of the participants at high risk described the theme of external blame, while the nineteen participants at low risk externally blamed regarding the responsibility for Jeju Sasam.

Interestingly, the high risk group for depression showed the theme 'resilience' (n=8) as one of their upper quartile themes. This theme shows the signs of resilience, such as their ways of thinking, living lives that are observed as helpful to their psychological wellbeing. Therefore, this supports that their depression level is not limited to their experience of Jeju Sasam, which was a traumatic experience from a long time ago. In other words, other life experiences can be contributors for their depression levels. Also, even if the participants are at high risk of depression, an individual can have their own way of coping with their stressors. Coping starts from the effort to overcome the stress. Therefore, it is appropriate that resilience is one of the upper quartile themes from the high risk group of depression. Further details can be found in the following sub-chapter (see Theme 7. Recovery and Adjustment, 7.4. Resilience).

Also, the attitude of 'Salamsimin salajinda' was observed in the low risk group for their resilience, an important part of their way of thinking. It is Jeju Island's cultural

expression, known as their strong spirit against hardships. From the following Figure 16's bar graph, only three people were classified as being in both high risk groups in PTSD and depression. It is interesting to find that none of the participants who are at high risk for both PTSD and depression described the attitude of Salamsimin salajinda, while six people from the low risk group described it. The further details on the theme 'Salamsimin salajinda' and its possibility as a resilience element can be found in the following chapter (Theme 7. Recovery and Adjustment, 7.5. Salamsimin Salajinda).

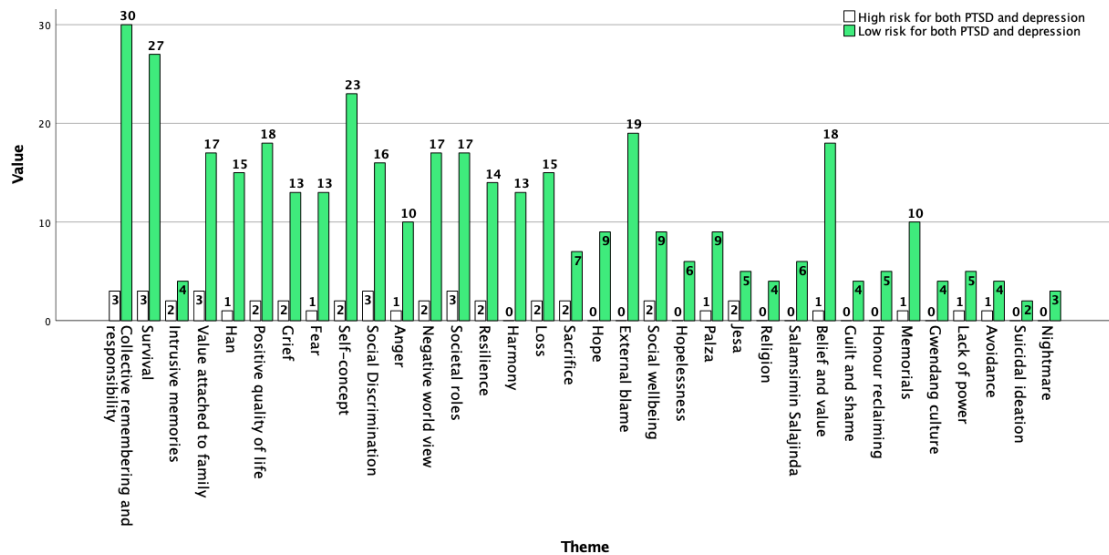


Figure 16. Both PTSD and depression risk groups' theme description

Other themes among the upper quartiles overlapped among the risk groups, such as, 'value attached to family', 'positive quality of life', 'societal roles', 'self-concept', 'social discrimination' and 'negative world view'. Further analysis to capture the differences between the risk groups will be described in the following sub-chapter in each theme analysis.

Theme 1. Cultural Memory and Ceremony

1.1. Collective Remembering and Responsibility

All participants were asked to recollect their memories related to Jeju Sasam for their interview sessions. Ninety-six percent of a total of fifty reported their traumatic experiences of Jeju Sasam as a shared event, linked with their family members, friends, neighbours, community members or village as a larger group. Even though they were asked to recall their own experiences of Jeju Sasam, participants hardly separated them from those of their village or their family's experiences. Their personal experience was merged with a shared experience of Sasam within the family and village overall. Their narratives told of how they went through those times together. The following participant (A01260919M11) shared his experience of co-existence that followed forced migration and the return to his village. The village had been burned down, so all village members needed to share with each other.

Everyone who took a refugee down there, returned and lived in a house, just one room and one kitchen. ... All families lived together in a house. At that time, there was no cigarette lighter and matches were valuable. ... the fire was moved from neighbour to neighbour. We made charcoal catch fire and wrapped it, and then set a fire to it in our own house with the charcoal pieces. Then the neighbour came and brought the fire. We lived like that. (A01260919M11)

The following participant (A02161019F05) was a survivor from a mountain village, where she had witnessed a massacre of the village population. Her narrative implied that the experiences of this era were the same across her generation.

The situation was like that, so people had no choice but to hide. They lived hiding for about 3 years. Couldn't hide alone, so (village name deleted) adults hid together in the cave. But they all died in a day, the bodies were piled up and up. So (location name deleted) village was almost exterminated. Our generation has lived in a hard world because of the Sasam incident. So it was like that. I am not the only one. The time was like that. (A02161019F05)

1.1.1.Value attached to the community

As a part of the observation of collective remembering and responsibility, a strong value attached to community has been found from the data set. This sub-theme was raised from the narratives in which participants described their lives post-Sasam. The features of responsibility were observed in their combined acts of duty and commitment, social contribution and development of their villages. The low risk groups for PTSD and depression more frequently described their memory of social contribution and responsibility to their community by showing their duty and commitment for their community or serving the community in a position of leadership. For instance, the participants mentioned how they contributed within their groups and communities as village leaders. Those positions required duty and commitment but were done voluntarily with little or no payment, usually as a matter of honour.

The following participant (A0215120M11) served as a village leader and continued to give advice to the following generations. The narratives were expanded to serving their communities voluntarily from rebuilding their village or any other contribution to their community. Voluntary labour such as the village leader position can be interpreted as a burden, because they were rarely or only partially paid. However, participants regarded it not as a burden but as a virtue.

There was no payment for the leader at that time. And there were no funds for rebuilding the community. I had to do some errands for the village. Volunteer some errands. I served as a village leader for a few years. I also give advice or lead the development of the village within the limits of my knowledge. ... I considered what is essential to develop our village.
(A02150120M11)

The following participant (A01020120M17) shared his contributions to making the land registration map. The uses of land were investigated and recorded on the map. The map was used as raw data to calculate tax, which made it a very valuable resource. It was unpaid work, but the participant (A01020120M17) and his father started to investigate and record the land's value for their community.

My father was good at geography. So, I went around with him investigating the land and the names of sites. And he taught me things like, 'this kind of ground can be used as a grave.' Anyway, he taught about everything around

here, so it's still apparent to me even now. Yes, that, that land registration map. The district community service centre admitted it. It was brought to the city and was passed for use. ... I had to know the whole area here, like the farmlands. For example, when entering a farmer's field, its size had to be measured. And other kinds of fields as well, I investigated all of those, and brought them to the district office, and they were then transferred to the city. ... I went around with the civil servants, finding fields and investigating their use. Everything in detail. About 300 or so fields. ... So based on my investigation, the district office community service centre could finalise their work. Based on that, it was submitted to the city. Then based on that, tax was levied. (A01020120M17)

Participants also mentioned the 'Saemaul Undong', which means 'New Village Movement', in their interviews. It was a government national campaign aimed at developing rural villages in the 1960s, which inevitably played a significant part of the target population's collective remembering. The following participant (A04091110M01) voluntarily worked for his community as a manager of the campaign. As he mentioned that he had a value that one should serve their country, which implicitly showed his value attached to his community.

I thought I should serve the Republic of Korea and development of the village with all my loyalty. I became the manager of the road pavement works. I tried my best and cheerfully contributed to village development. ... Even though I did my best effort, nobody recognised my cordiality and sincerity, even until now. Then you also give your support to a retrial. (A04091119M01)

People continually found their role in the community and could feel a sense of belonging, either as a leader or member of the community. Even here participants showed the values they attached both to their community and family. Some mentioned their shared experience of, and pride in, their family's contribution to the community. In the case of social contribution, this was described by nearly half of the total number of people from each low risk group: nineteen from the PTSD low risk group and sixteen from the depression low risk group, while there were two people from the PTSD high risk group and four people from the depression high risk group. These results support that their experiences of dedication to their communities as described above, have been helpful for their psychological wellbeing. Their attitude of value attached to the community seemed the motivation that led them to social participation. The findings suggest that social participation or activity is beneficial to mental health.

1.2. Memorial

Memorial was identified as a sub-theme for the cultural memory and ceremony because it is attached to the Jeju community's memory and culture of Jeju Sasam. Participants showed a strong will to join the commemoration services for Sasam victims, which can be referred to as their will to maintain their cultural values. Having a proper place for a memorial ceremony was an important value to the survivors and is seen as their responsibility to the family. The following participant (A01060819F02) was widowed because of the Sasam. Her husband's body is missing and so she has been unable to organise a grave for him. The following quotation shows how the people think that a proper place for the victims is of great importance to them.

My greatest wish is his grave. A grave. If I could make a grave for him, I would feel I served all my responsibility as a widow. But I am so sorry even to be called a widow because I couldn't do that. My mind is... I don't know where my husband has gone. And I couldn't find his body, so I feel my responsibility is not served enough. I never forget that. (A01060819F02)

Memorials with gravestones and tablets inscribed with the victim's name were especially precious to the participants who could not find the bodies of family members. The following participant (A01240919F05) also lost her brother during the Sasam. So, his headstone is located in the missing victims' zone of memorial park, and it is a place where she can grieve for her brother.

... When I look at the three letters of the name, when I see the written names, looking for the mother's name, looking for the father's name, looking for the brother's name - then I pat the gravestone. That's why I go to the events. ...My feelings are like... even though I couldn't see his face, at least his name can be left. ... the headstone is placed in the missing victims' zone. I go there and offer a cup of alcohol to my brother. Swipe his headstone with baby wipes and tell him that I am here. ... So, when I visit him, I hug his headstone. 'Brother, where did you die?' ... 'Brother, I don't know where you died, when you died. Please tell me where and when you died, even in a dream. Please come to my dream. Brother, brother.' It was on TV that I said like that and bowed to him. (A01240919F05)

Participants' memorials mostly refer to the annual public memorial ceremony at the 4.3 Peace Park. However, there are other considerably smaller memorial events than the national memorial on 3rd of April at the 4.3 Peace Park. The

survivors and bereaved families organise the memorial events at the massacre site or at the memorial monuments in their villages. They serve the souls of the lost members of the village in the memorial rites. Afterwards, the entire village shares food together. Participants from villages that have their own monuments and ritual events often described their ceremonies to the researcher. Participants also explained why they visit the events of Jeju Sasam, referring to them as sharing in the grief of, and extending solidarity to, other bereaved families. The following participant (A04091119M02) showed his feeling of collective responsibility for the victims, even those he never knew.

I feel sorry for the dead people, so I went to Seongsan's Teojinmok [massacre site] the other day. As I said earlier, my brother is enshrined there, so I visit there. (A04091119M02)

The following participant (A01240919F05) described her effort to be part of the victims' society as her reason for attending Sasam related events, mostly the memorials, where she feels she can keep connecting to her community and share her grief.

Until now, I haven't missed any Sasam events. I went to the mainland five times. ... I go there [to 4.3 events] because I am sad because of Sasam, so even if it's not a good word, I want to hear about any small fact about the Sasam. (A01240919F05)

These events provide opportunities to share the memories of each bereaved family. Also, visiting historical sites and holding the rites at these places can be another opportunity to have a place and time for grief and sharing their emotions. Visiting a massacre site can especially make bereaved families confront their loss and face their grief. Even though they could not find their family member's body, at least they visited the massacre site and mourned their death. It was interesting to observe that the participant above (A01240919F05) showed how she admires the crucial value for their family in having a proper ritual event, which is based on the belief that dead souls can finally rest in peace. One of the events that the association organised for the bereaved families was to collect earth from a mainland massacre site and bring it back to Jeju Island.

I did Gut [a ritual event served by the shamans] for three days and brought that soil to Sasam Peace Park. When we built the headstones, the soil was

placed beneath the stones. So I said to the President, if I had known earlier that my brother died in [location name deleted], then I could have visited the site and brought the soil from there, even though I couldn't find his body. But I brought the soil from [location name deleted]. Then he said that people were sent to [location name deleted] first, so it's fine he stayed there for a while. So he said I don't need to worry. (A01240919F05)

This shows how they take their family duty seriously and give their attention to serving the proper process to mourn and recollect the dead victims who were part of their community. The following sub-theme 'Jesa' is related to this, which is referred to as a rite mainly at the family level.

1.3. 'Jesa'

Jesa is one of the notable ritual events among most households in Korean society. It is known as a rite based on Confucian culture which historically shares its values within Korean culture. The family gathers on a day of Jesa to serve their ancestor's soul, which is considered as an important filial duty. It is believed that the ancestor's soul revisits the descendant's house to eat a meal served by their descendants. The descendants wish for the ancestor's peaceful resting and ask for the safety of the family. The belief is strongly rooted in the elderly generations of Korean society, which is the participants' generation. If they failed to serve their ancestors, then it is believed to bring punishment from those souls, which can be in the form of illness, bad luck and insecurity to their families. This connects to the belief in having a proper place to serve the ancestors, as mentioned above. 'Jesa' is one of the proper forms of serving the dead. Therefore, their belief that they have to serve a filial duty is strongly based on their cultural value.

Of course, Jesa is also publicly served in bereaved family association memorial events. The president of the association becomes the head server to all victims of Jeju Sasam. However, we will focus on the family level of Jesa here. Even under a poor environment with lack of livelihoods, people took serving Jesa very seriously, faithfully serving white rice, which was an expensive crop at that time. The following participant (A03290120F16) said that Jesa was the only day she was able to taste white rice.

White rice was only for Jesa ritual events, even for funerals it was mixed with barley. I could eat a very small amount of white rice on Jesa day only. (A03290120F16)

Even if the participant was imprisoned, they took their filial duty so seriously that were still greatly concerned about the Jesa. The following participant (A01250919F10) was arrested and sent to a mainland prison. However, even under these circumstances, she and her family took the Jesa for ancestors very seriously.

So, the day we were arrested was a Jesa day for grandfather or grandmother. The day we were caught we were worrying about preparing for Jesa. So now I asked my younger sister how they served the Jesa on that day. Then my sister said the other day, they couldn't serve the Jesa, but put water in a bowl. [It is a typical way of praying.] (A01250919F10)

Jesa is very meaningful to a person who is directly related to the dead victims such as one's parents or siblings. One of the participants described the function of Jesa as an opportunity for social gathering of their families and relatives. It is a precious day for elderly people to meet their siblings, children and grandchildren who normally live apart.

We mingle on that day, and lots of guests come to our Jesa day. ... so not only our children and family friends and relatives come from my side of the family. I have lots of brothers and sisters. Lots of nieces and nephews. Then I should prepare lots of food. (A03170120F08)

Analysis of this theme confirms the value and responsibilities that survivors attach to their community and family, especially for those from the study's target population. Until the 1980s, the topic of Jeju Sasam could not be discussed in public; people had to conduct their memorial events such as Jesa or Gut privately, hiring shamans themselves. Hence during times of censorship, the Jeju Sasam memorial events in public communal areas or in private served to maintain the community's collective memories and established a foundation for future generations.

Theme 2. Social and Cultural Interdependence

Social and cultural interdependence was an inevitable theme that overlapped with cultural memory and memorial. Participants exhibited the deep interdependence of their collectivistic culture. In this theme, the value individuals attached to their community was observed. And of how participants behaved within it was confirmed. This interdependence also played a role in the decision-making that led to their behaviours. Individuals from a collectivistic culture tend to conform to their community's values and try to harmonise with others in the community (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). This way of behavioural decision-making and thinking can be an important pointer to the recovery and healing of the communities.

2.1. Value attached to family

Participants expressed a strong attachment to their family, mostly to their children. It was one of the upper quartile themes widely mentioned among all risk groups of PTSD and depression, regardless of their risk levels. However, there were no significant differences between the groups. The cultural value of family remained an important factor in their lives. Their values were equated with their children's achievements and education. A substantial portion of their post-Sasam lives was tied up with raising children. Participants naturally shared how raising children made them endure hardships. Also, a strong value of supporting education was found, which possibly led survivors or their children to success, raising their quality of life. Some participants benefited from this value even under hard circumstances, giving their best support to educate their family members, especially for their children. The following participant (A01020120M17) is one such example:

Education was impossible for other families because the situation was difficult, but my father did stock-farming, he had cows and horses. ... My father had a strong passion for education, to send me to high school. To [school name deleted] high school. ... After graduation, I worked. Again, my father made a lot of effort for me. (A01020120M17)

The success of the children was a source of great pride to the parents, which was also found from the data set. Even though the interview questions were not

specifically targeted to ask about family, participants naturally spoke of their children and their successes. The following female participant (A02191119F10) who worked hard in Korea and abroad to support her children's education typifies this value.

Then I got married and had children. Three of my daughters became teachers. I have six daughters and three sons. They all went to university, except three of the daughters who studied until high school. ... I went to [location in abroad deleted] frequently to earn the children's tuition fees. ... I travelled to [location abroad deleted] for 8 years because I wanted my children to go to university. I've lived just like that so far. All my children are excellent, and the three were appointed to their schools right after their graduation. All three got appointment to the mainland. Two of them were appointed to middle schools (A02191119F10)

However, a gender difference was found in the value attached to family. As with the participant above, while the sons were sent to university, sometimes the daughters were unable to proceed with their education. Families gave more opportunity to sons than to daughters under these hard conditions. The following female participant (A02161019F05) showed the value she attached to her children, which brought her the utmost happiness, but also showed her deep sorrow that she could not educate her daughters because of poverty and the lack of social services for children.

Somehow, I raised my children and they finished their education, and they live in the city now. ... my children are the only good thing. The children are healthy, that's the one good thing. Maybe this is something from above, I think. I am satisfied with those. ... I regret that I couldn't do well for my children. When my children went to school, we also lived in a rented house in the city. We rented a two-bedroom house. It was very expensive at that time. I needed to work in the fields in order to afford the rent. But even though it was expensive, I couldn't give up the children's education in those kinds of good times. Even though I couldn't do anything special, but still. We couldn't go to school because the time was bad. I decided that I will do well for my children. There were no kindergartens at that time, so my eldest daughter needed to take care of her younger brother and sisters, from about 6 to 7 years old. I went to the field for work. So, she suffered very much. She could only study until middle school. I felt so mortified because I couldn't educate my eldest daughter. The two eldest daughters. I was really, it's still regrettable that I couldn't educate my eldest daughter and also the children. In middle school, the youngest one also couldn't go to university because we didn't have the money to afford it, for the youngest one. (A02161019F05)

Their role as parents, especially as mothers to fulfil the value attached to family, overlaps with the next sub-theme, the social roles of female participants. This value attached to family is also related to the survival of the participants, which is based on the shared value of helping and supporting family members during the hard times after the Jeju Sasam.

2.2. Societal roles and social acknowledgement

Having a societal role in the community contributes to organising one's own social identity. The participants described the roles they have fulfilled throughout their lives within their community, as also shown in the collective responsibility theme. Their societal roles were mainly referred to as parental. It was important that playing their role was recognised by their community, as it was viewed as a reward for their hardships. This social acknowledgement can be referred to as the confirmation by their community that they fulfilled the community's value. Thus, the participant's social identity was confirmed by society at large. The theme of societal role is one of the upper quartile themes of all risk groups regardless of their levels. Again, this suggests that the roles in their communities are inevitable elements of resilience to be discussed further.

In the theme of societal roles, gender roles were prominent. Participants mentioned the roles of 'men' and 'women' in society during the interviews. It is important to understand the participants and their culture in detail. Gender was one of the critical points for survivors in living through Sasam. They often experienced moments of misogyny and patriarchy. The female participants significantly described their role as a mother and as a daughter. The description of marriage was also observed from both genders, but more frequently from the female participants. In other words, the female participants were more constrained by their societal roles than the men in their normal daily lives. Sometimes, they limited themselves and their role in society as women, as the following participant describes (A01060819F03).

...women couldn't do anything. Women were assigned to do the kitchen work to make meals. Men used to do all the work outside. (A01060819F03)

2.2.1.Social acknowledgement

Participants showed positive feelings when their efforts at playing societal roles were acknowledged by their community. The following participant (A06180919F04) lost her father during the Sasam and subsequently lost the opportunity to be educated. Furthermore, following her father's death, her family was harassed by other people because of their association with Sasam. She was rewarded by the governor with the 'good parents prize'. From her interview, acknowledging that one's social identity is not only a personal reward, but can help their emotional recovery as well.

I don't know how I could get this prize, the good mother prize. The prizes were to the eight myun [administrative area unit] in Jeju island? To each myun from all the eight... A person from each myun was given the prize, and I was one of them. So, I was really happy, but also sad so I cried all night. My mother had 'Han'. She had 'Han' because she couldn't educate her daughter. The fact that I could be rewarded with that prize was because my mother's soul helped me. ... I am so very much appreciated, and it's thanks to our association's president as well. (A06180919F04)

The following participant (A01060819F02) was proud that her efforts to rebuild the village were acknowledged by her community members. She contributed greatly to rebuilding her destroyed village with her bare hands.

Thirty households were rebuilt in this village. They were so sorry for me that I did it by myself. They could return to their hometown because I rebuilt the village. They wanted to build a monument to me. ... There were only a few adults left at that time. Everyone else had died. But a few people were still alive. So, this community was rebuilt by myself alone. ... After the arson, I redeveloped this place by my own hands. ... at 71, I was awarded a model good mother prize. Since then, I won the prize every year. My name has been written on the prize for many years, I'm not lying. Every year I was awarded it by the ministry and the old provincial governors. ... Anyone in this village says 'good job!' when they see me. They're proud of me. Even now, the villagers think that I did very well, remarkably so. It's in their greetings, they're proud of me, and they compliment me. (A01060819F02)

Participants played their roles within the victims' society as well. It is part of the mechanism that they were acknowledged by other people that they have served and contributed to their group, through the victims and bereaved family association. The following participant (A01091019F14) lost her father during the

Sasam, and actively participated in demonstrations, speaking up for solving the Jeju Sasam issues, including legal compensation.

I spoke up like that and people said that I did well speaking out. ... I went to the mainland and spoke up. Then people complimented me that I spoke well. Strangers. I called for compensation of a billion won for my father's death. People liked it. Also, I said that the money can't make the dead person alive. So, I was consoled by the people. If I am invited again, I will speak like this.
(A01091019F14)

It was interesting to capture the differences between the risk groups; for example, those who had acknowledged their efforts to play their roles within their communities. The participants at high risk of PTSD or depression described their experiences which were acknowledged mainly by the authorities, such as being awarded prizes by the governors, while the low risk groups described being either acknowledged by their community members or by the authorities as well. Further discussions will be delivered regarding the importance of social acknowledgement for mental health, but it is possible to imagine that the results from high risk groups can refer to their vulnerability of being perceived as 'legitimate' citizens of South Korea. Their history of state violence experiences may prevent them from feeling safe under anti-communism governance; therefore, it may be a sign of influence on their appraisal in regards to having the authorities' official acknowledgement, as the confirmation of their legitimate membership of the community.

2.3. Harmony within the community: virtue of living well together

From the data set, harmony within the community was found as a core value for survivors. This finding was also confirmed from the interview observational notes, including pre-meetings prior to the interview. One participant who participated in the survey commented during her pre-meeting that for her the current world is hard to live in because the value of harmonising within the community has become blurred compared to the past. People these days, she felt, rarely know who lives next door, which makes her feel that for them the value of harmony is

fading. Harmony as a shared value within the community made strong bonds, which developed joint involvement in the community. Participants frequently mentioned that the social atmosphere in their village was good, and that members harmonised together. The following participant (A06180919M03), who was attacked and wounded by guerrillas showed the strong value of harmony:

Those, I used to say to my children... when the school requested some kind of writing about it, I always wrote 'family, harmony'. It should be harmonised. Family, harmony. It should be harmonised with parents or siblings. Try their best. (A06180919M03)

Other participants shared that their village was harmonised through good relationships within the community, enabling them to 'live well together' as the following participant described (A01260919M11). This virtue exhibited the target population's generational culture which also originated from 'Saemaul Undong' a shared virtue in striving for harmony within their community.

Ah, it wasn't so. Everyone tried to live well together. ... We helped each other because we were all people of the same village. (A01260919M11)

The following participant (A03091219F07) emphasised the importance of good relationships within the community. This concept of harmony includes close relationships such as friendship, kinship and neighbourliness. The harmonisation within the relationship and community played a role as a supportive group for survivors. Building harmony starts from close relationships, which led to supportive bonds. Also, harmony was a valuable virtue in this community; maintaining it improved people's lives, and also their survival. People were willing to help other members of their community, even if they shared no family kinship.

I mean, just, there were no bad relationships between the people in this village. ... My friends, or a bit younger children, we became friends soon. It went well, and we never fought with those friends. Now they all went to Japan, but we hadn't fought before. (A03081219F07)

The following female participant (A01240919F05) gave much of her interview time sharing about her friend and neighbour's support. She lost her brother in a mainland prison and was still searching for his body while actively involved in the bereaved family association events. From her interview, it is seen how the power of the virtue of keeping close relationships within the community can support the

survivors. As this community had been through the hardest era of their generation together, their harmony can be considered at a different level compared with subsequent younger generations.

I had a friend in [location name deleted]. ... She helped me a lot. ... She took care of me a lot. ... So, we lived relying on each other. ... Harassment came if I wandered around or something. It could be painful, but everyone did well to me wherever I went. Strangely. So, it's been about five years since I moved in here from [place name deleted]. I don't know how I've lived through it all in a strange village, but even though I go to the senior community centre here, nobody hates me. They don't think of me badly. So, I do nothing well, but everyone sees me as doing well wherever I go. (A01240919F05)

Another example of caring for someone else in the community was found from the following male participant, who lost his parents due to Sasam after being taken to a detention centre, which he refers to as a warehouse in the quotation. He and his siblings were close to death after his parents were killed, but survived after being found by their neighbour.

I went out from the office, then somebody called me from behind. My father's name was [name deleted]. So I went out from the office and headed to the warehouse, but somebody called me, saying 'aren't you [name deleted] son?' I was surprised and looked back. It was the leader of [location name deleted] myun. He lived quite close to our house at [location name deleted]. He was our neighbour. I said that I was. Then he said to hurry and bring my family out. I brought my younger siblings, then he asked me what happened to our father and mother. I answered that our father was killed in the mountain the previous night by the governmental forces. And our mother was just... the soldiers came and took her. Then the leader said that he was late. If he had arrived a bit earlier than he could have saved them all, but failed. (A10171019M01)

2.4. Reclaiming honour

Reclaiming honour refers to the participants' beliefs that restoration of the dead victims' reputation and memory is vitally important, because, for instance, they died innocently and were wrongly framed as rioters. Many people had come to accept the defamation of those wrongly framed victims, even though for the survivors of the illegal imprisonments, their trial processes were entirely illegal,

and therefore their guilt was groundless. Participants state that the victims' honour should be reclaimed by removal of their records of imprisonment and guilty verdicts. The amended version of the 4.3 Special Law includes the articles, for reclaiming the victims' honour.

This sub-theme can also be related to the emotional trauma symptoms of the participants, because reclaiming honour is one of the things most earnestly wished for among the Sasam survivors and bereaved families. However, it was interesting that they were eager to restore honour on behalf of the departed victims. Survivors and bereaved families were willing to participate in the association's events, such as demonstrations or street rallies, to appeal to the general society and to the government and state their wish to reclaim their honour.

The following quotation is from the participant (A06280819F02) who was sentenced to imprisonment by court martial without proper evidence or trial procedure. She was afraid of revealing herself as a victim-survivor who was imprisoned because of the social stigma. The existing record of her imprisonment was always a burden in her mind. However, after she met the survivors' group, she started to get involved with the movement to reclaim their honour. She came out as a victim-survivor and actively participated in demonstrations or events for the survivor groups, not only for herself but also for other victims and bereaved families. She won the trial against the government and successfully reclaimed her own honour, receiving a 'not guilty' verdict from the courthouse.

Now I reclaimed my honour. I got a judgement of acquittal. Now I'm acquitted.... but the trial progressed with everyone's efforts, reclaimed the honour and got a decision of 'not guilty'. We are satisfied only to reclaim our honour, we didn't expect the money in the first place when we started the trial. Now I got a decision of not guilty and reclaimed the honour, so socially there are people thinking like this lady was taken without any guilt, it's a pity. Now I reclaimed my honour and am not guilty. So, there must be no injustice. I couldn't think about the subsidies until I conducted the trial. I told the president the other day, I was satisfied that I got a decision of not guilty and reclaimed my honour, but couldn't think about the compensation. Compensation, it's human's greed. Until now I have lived with this weight on my mind, I could only be satisfied by reclaiming the honour. (A06280819F02)

The survivors who were imprisoned on the mainland successfully sued the government in order to reclaim their honour. The courthouse concluded that the trial process was abnormal and illegal, and therefore their verdicts needed to be changed to 'not guilty' and their convictions erased from the record (Choi, 2019a; Kim, 2020b). Also, the bereaved families of missing victims requested their relatives' retrial, and the court found in their favour on 30th of November, 2020 (Kim, 2020a). The missing victims were imprisoned on the mainland during the Sasam, but were missing after the Korean War broke out. The following participant (A10171019M01) illustrates the point that the Sasam issue was politically sensitive with regard to both left- and right-wing political groups. The honour reclaiming is due to this characteristic of Jeju Sasam, which became a prolonged traumatic factor for survivors and bereaved families.

To reclaim the honour... well, completely solve the issues of Sasam. The honour of the victims can be reclaimed. Also, our bereaved family's honour can be reclaimed as well. I think like this, yes. Even now... this, even the bereaved families still.... Listening to the statement from the conservative sides, then what? They are saying that the Peace Park is a rioters' park. They claim such a thing. I hope to get rid of this kind of nonsense. This is our bereaved family's hope and what the bereaved family desires. ... I want to contribute very much to any chance to support the victims in reclaiming their honour. (A10171019M01)

Also, they understand the importance of reclaiming honour for oneself, to recover from their emotional sequelae caused by the trauma of Sasam. The following male participant (A02150120M11) showed regrets that their hope of reclaiming honour was not realised.

Well, anyway it's appreciated. The President's greeting and speech was a bit... He talked about several by-gones, but he said he will make his effort to reclaim the honour for Sasam. I thought it's a good thing. So, I thought it would be solved last year, but still it's not solved. (A02150120M11)

Also, the participants understood that the innocent victims should reclaim their honour and survivors should be respected. The following participant (A06180919M03), who was not directly harmed by Sasam (i.e., through imprisonment), nevertheless fully understood that honour reclaiming is important to them as a community.

Then we did a rally about Sasam several times at Jeju city. It was about reclaiming honour and things. ... There are innocent people who died. People used to make their cows and horses graze on the mountain pasture. In this season, the owners brought their cows and horses to the mountain. But when they came to the mountain to bring their animals, they had been shot and killed. There were people who died like that in this village. Those people reclaimed their honour recently. So those kinds of people deserve to reclaim their honour. They can reclaim it confidently. It's even not a problem of honour, they can get compensation. They all received it. (A06180919M03)

2.5. 'Gwendang' culture

As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, the term 'Gwendang' culture was mentioned by participants recollecting their relationship with others. The idea of 'Gwendang' culture can be referred to as expanded from the sub-theme of value attached to family. However, the family in the previous sub-theme was in the boundary of a person's own nuclear family, a smaller unit than 'Gwendang'. So even though the individual tends to follow the community's value, there is an inner boundary within the community. Therefore, an individual's decisions are not always based on this value and can differ from the community's value. This point is important because it shows the contrasting perspectives of the 'Gwendang' culture. It can work as a powerful tool to build the community's recovery as a social support group. The following female participant lost her father during Sasam and raised her children by herself, but seemed to receive support from her Gwendang, living close by.

So, when serving the Jesa... There are my brother's relatives. Close relatives. Gwendang. Close Gwendang serves the Jesa of my brother. So they serve it well. ... This side of the village is my family in law's Gwendang. This side is [name deleted] family. That side is [name deleted] family. [Name deleted] family as well. So, nobody can touch me. Even though I rented somebody else's house and lived with my two kids, I've never made any troubles. ... So even though my father died, my relatives are there, so I am fine. ... Before I used to do the neighbour meetings. You know? The meetings taking care of Gwendang. But I don't do it anymore. I'm getting old. People are worried about me that I could be ill. ... You can't live in other people's houses when you get old. These are all our Gwendang's houses. I asked them to share their small field, a corner of the garden. So, they allowed

it. So, I built this house with the money after I sold the previous house.
(A11271210F13)

Theme 3. Self-concept and traumatised self

Interesting themes were derived from the data that can give directions for treating survivors of extreme trauma; one such is the influence of the Jeju Sasam to structure the survivor's self-concept. The features of their traumatised self were also observed which can help in understanding the target population in more detail. It is important to understand the survivor's self-concept, because the self-concept has played a key role in psychotherapy in treatment of the traumatised.

In this theme, the participants' components of structuring their self-concept were derived from the data set. Their victim legitimacy was an unexpected observation derived from the data set, but it is worth noting it in regard to constructing their self-concept. Also, negative signs damaging to their self-concept, which is referred to as the traumatised self in this context, were found, such as features of negative self-evaluation, sacrifice and lack of power.

3.1. Self-concept

3.1.1. Victim legitimacy

From the interviews, participants showed concerns that they were not a 'proper' sample for this study, because they believe the harms done to them by Sasam are not serious enough for them to be labelled as a 'victim'. The matter of conceptualising the self as a 'proper' victim was the main reason for refusing participation from the recruitment stage. The fear of participation in research could be an issue of confidence, as could the unfamiliarity of speaking to strangers on this topic. However, under the context of Jeju Sasam, the researcher decided to give more attention to their reactions, because these can originate from the characteristic of Jeju Sasam as state violence.

Participants showed a tendency to define their victim legitimacy based on whether they were registered to the government's system for victims and bereaved families. Currently, the government only recognises disabled or imprisoned victims amongst the survivors and the rest are classified as bereaved family members. Therefore, people might think as the participant above does, that if they have not met the official victim criteria, they could appraise themselves

as only bereaved family members who are not severely damaged, or only as a person who survived the era, who are not severely damaged. They presume that all community members have suffered and endured hardships, and therefore they are of no special concern unless they can appraise their experience as significantly harmful to themselves compared to others.

The following participant (A09051019M02) had doubted his legitimacy as part of the study since the pre-meeting. He decided to participate in the end but still believed that his family was not particularly damaged compared to his wife's family. From his interview, the researcher heard that he was directly exposed to traumatic events like seeing a dead body and witnessing his village being attacked by guerrillas. He also believed at first that he cannot be a subject in the research project because he is ineligible to be registered as a bereaved family member in the government system since none of his direct family were killed or physically harmed.

But I, my family, I was little, so we didn't have many hardships, we just lived. In our family, there were few damages by the Sasam. The relatives got... a little. ... actually, my wife was a really big victim. Well, that's... I am not eligible to be a bereaved family member because I don't have any losses. People who did are eligible to be a bereaved family. Legally. Their father, mother, brothers or so died. The impact from the time was well... I was young at that time, there was not much impact. (A09051019M02)

This shows that survivors have different appraisals regarding the level of damage. Thus, it can be referred to as collective trauma, that the community experienced the atrocities as a whole but had certain criteria to distinguish impairments and 'real' victimhood. This was one of the main reasons for potential participants deciding not to participate. Therefore, some participants believe themselves not to be proper members of the victim society because they experienced a lesser number of 'severe' traumatic events, such as torture or survival from a massacre site, or a physically confirmable impairment like a gunshot wound. Their appraisal seemed connected to their level of psychological wellbeing. The sub-theme 'victim legitimacy' was only described in the low risk group of PTSD, which can be a clue that the appraisal of traumatic experience can differ to their risk of PTSD.

3.2. Traumatized self

The signs of damaged self-concept were low self-esteem, self-blaming and regarding their own voices as worthless. The sacrificed self was another sign of psychological trauma from the data set. Sacrifice within the collective culture-based community, especially as women, was flagged up. Ultimately, the participants described a lack of power towards the issue of Jeju Sasam.

3.2.1.Negative self-evaluation

3.2.1.1.Self-blame

Self-blame was found in five participants from the data set. Even though the number was comparably small to other sub-themes, self-blame is an important structure of the self-concept, that has a damaging self-attack aspect (Benjamin, 1996). Interestingly, all of those who showed self-blaming were female. Their main concern was a perceived failure to perform their responsibilities: as a widow in finding their husband's dead body, or as a mother in doing better for their children, even under hard situations caused by Sasam. These feelings of guilt or regret drove them to blame themselves. The following participant was widowed during Sasam and raised her son alone, but she was blamed, and also blamed herself, that she could not raise him well.

Then these days, when I see children going through difficulties, I am reminded of the memories when I raised my child. At that time, if I could raise my child like that in good conditions, then he could grow well, but he couldn't. So, while he was growing, I got lots of blame because he couldn't grow up well. ... While my son was being raised, he couldn't grow up well, so he blamed me. Because I couldn't do well for him, that's why he couldn't grow up well. (A01060819F03)

3.2.1.2.The 'worthless' voice of the self

Another negative self-evaluation was found that participants treated their own voices as unworthy, or even worthless. This feature was also more significant within female participants. Seven female participants from a total of eleven were observed treating their opinion as unworthy to be studied. Their beliefs seemed to relate to their experiences that even when they had spoken out, there had been

no changes. This feature can be related to their lack of power or hopelessness, however in these cases, the participants directly expressed that it is useless for them to speak up.

Also, have lived such a tough life, some they felt they could not bear to recollect their experiences. Participants believed that they did not know much about Jeju Sasam even though they had witnessed it. The matter of Jeju Sasam is still sensitive and has a long history of social movements, and until recently, the survivors have been unable to speak about Sasam. Therefore, they seemed concerned about saying something wrong about Sasam to the researcher.

Participants were worried about failing to recollect their whole memories about Sasam in detail because of their age. The researcher's questions were not about a history of Sasam, nor to recollect the details of their entire experiences. However, they feared having a negative effect on their community by their 'wrong' interview answers. Even though the researcher explained that the research aim does not concern their historical knowledge of Sasam, participants still expressed that their voice is unworthy to be studied. Their lack of confidence to speak up is from their negative self-evaluation which attacks their self-concept.

Regarding further thematic analysis of the depression groups, 'self-concept' was one of the upper quartile themes only seen in the low risk group. It refers to the fact that the participants at low risk of depression more frequently described their victim legitimacy, or the negative self-appraisal described above. This result may imply that the participants who can express externally regarding their negative appraisal could actually help lower their risks of depression. Also, low risk does not mean that the participants are completely free from depression; therefore, extra attention is needed to improve their psychological wellbeing by exploring the various facets of their expressed negative self-appraisals.

3.3. Sacrificed self

The sacrificed self was an interesting feature of the traumatised self in this data set, because the participants' narratives showed implicitly that the societal roles

and sacrifices were almost connected. The following participant had taken care of her sick husband for most of her married life. Her husband seemed to have impairments since Sasam, including mental illness, that could be a heavy burden to the family, economically or mentally. At the same time, she also needed to take care of the children and their education. Under these circumstances, and with strong family bonds, the participant felt she needed to take the burden of serving the entire family by herself. This made her sacrifice herself, which made her focus on her family's future survival, rather than on her own life.

I don't have such a thing like feelings of depression, but just my husband's illness. Every day I had to do errands for my husband to take care of him. ... I have lived anyway but I've lived badly. Me and my husband suffered a lot. My husband graduated elementary school but couldn't continue his education further like others. He sat in the room like that and endured a lot of suffering and his body became ill like that. He hardly lived. I was also the same. But I couldn't abandon him. I have lived very hard. ... What kind of impacts? I went to the fields and harvested the crops; all thoughts were about my children's meal. Somehow I made my mind determined. I couldn't leave my husband. I have lived like that. Really. Then I thought if I went away to the city, thinking 'how could I live this life', then I could live a little better, but I couldn't do that. I have lived this life until now. That's it. That's it.
(A02161019F05)

From fourteen participants who were observed to have significantly sacrificed themselves, ten were female. Female participants needed to become the head of the family because their husband or parents died during the Sasam. This role was traditionally assigned to a father or husband; however, during the Sasam, many young men who were supposed to be the head of their household were killed. Therefore, women survivors needed to take the burden of this position and to financially support their family, including their sons or younger brothers. From the following female participant, whose father was killed during Sasam, it can be seen that many women served as the head of their households at the time, including herself.

I made my younger brother graduate from the school. I borrowed the money with high interest for the three years' tuition fee of his high school. My mother was hard to act. My grandmother was so kind. I said to her that I borrowed the money at high interest to make my brother complete his education. I said that I need to pay back all that money, so then she asked how much the total payment is. I am the eldest. My younger sisters, one is 82 years old and the

other one is 78 years old. So – [younger brother, name omitted] was young. He went to elementary school at – dong and went to – middle school [area and school names omitted]. The high school was - school, which was a big school at that time, at the time of Sasam [school names omitted]. Big. There were seven friends from the high school. [name omitted] mother educated her son until university. She is my mother's relative. So, she knew well of the worldly matters - my mother also did but she couldn't act well. [name omitted] mother was a senior who knew the world. When my mother tried to educate her son at high school, it was hard to do so because we didn't have money. My mother found it hard to cope because her leg was bad, but also because of the grandmother. (A01091019F14)

As described above, the theme 'sacrifice' related to gender differences. It is one of the upper quartile themes in the high risk group of PTSD and was also only described by the participants at high risk of both PTSD and depression (n=2). It may increase their risk of PTSD because the participants unconsciously appraised that their overburdening hardships were caused by the Jeju Sasam: even though they did not appraise their hardship particularly as a sacrifice, they may appraise that the root of hardship is Jeju Sasam.

3.4. Lack of power

Interestingly, the narratives about their feelings of a lack of power were mostly in the political context and observed mainly in male participants: in five out of seven participants. This is the reason to give it attention even though only a few participants (n=7) showed the feature of a lack of power. This lack (or loss) of power has moved from their experience of Sasam to the current situation surrounding the Sasam issue. For instance, their feeling of powerlessness came from their experiences of the powerful armed forces during the Sasam. The following participant (A02150120M11) described the tyranny of the authorities and his feelings of a lack of power when witnessing the lawless and vicious conduct of the authorities in the atrocities committed upon the people. His feeling of a lack of power has continued to the present day, when he witnessed the conflict at the National Assembly.

At that time, the police... while I was in a branch of the police, while I was there, it was a lawless place. But there was nothing I could do. I

didn't have any power. The nation's people should obey orders. ... Well... the country... this politics should make the people safe, give them peace and a good economy. Ha... Sometimes, when I see the news from the newspaper and television, I have nothing to say but it's all pathetic. Ah... the central government should make good policies so the people could live in peace. I'm worried about it in my heart. It's pitiable when I see the fight in the National Assembly. (A02150120M11)

The following participant (A06121019M06) insisted on an amendment to the 4.3 Special Law for solving the Sasam issue with other bereaved families. However, he described his loss of power, seeing the law remain pending at the National Assembly.

4.3 Special Law is.... they hurry, hurry to solve it, pass at the National Assembly, then it can be completed somehow. But the National Assembly behaves like that. Now... even our bereaved families tried to... to shout. It's not worth it yet, it's supposed to be worth it. The National Assembly... it's been pending for a year. If it's not passed by this December.... I am worried it might not be passed by December... (A06121019M06)

From the research interviews and the media, it was easy to capture the sense that the issue of Jeju Sasam has been the main concern in survivors and bereaved families' minds for many decades (Kim, 2021b). The victim society advocates the matter of Jeju Sasam it has remained unresolved. The wish that was predominantly expressed by the victim society was to amend the 4.3 Special Law at the National Assembly which they feel can directly reclaim the Sasam victims' honour at the time of the interview. The latest amended version of the law implies that it can reclaim the honour of those who died, wrongly framed during an ideological conflict. Also, the solution for compensation is included, and the survivors and bereaved family groups believe that this law can be a further step to completely solve the Sasam issue, legally and officially (Hong & Yoon, 2021).

At the time of the interviews, the amended version of the law seemed unlikely to be accepted at the National Assembly within a year. The participants above already showed a lack of hope due to their lack of power and witnessing constant arguments between parties at the National Assembly. They appear to feel that

their problems will never be focused on while politicians are fighting each other, which to them seems like meaningless time-wasting. This context overlapped with the following theme of hope and hopelessness.

Theme 4. External Attribution

Attribution is an appraisal for a certain result or situation. Explanations can be formed internally (e.g., 'I couldn't pass the test because of my own inability'.) or externally (e.g., 'I failed the test because the weather was too hot'.). The external attributions featured in participants' appraisals. Their appraisal allowed them to understand the target population in detail and also be able to observe the implicit impacts on their world view, belief and values since Sasam.

4.1. Negative world view

A negative world view was identified in the data set. This was not only limited to showing their general world view but also extended to their external attribution of appraisal. Over half of the participants showed a negative world view, concerning both the past and present.

Participants described the time of Jeju Sasam as a dangerous and strange world. The following participant (A01110819M04) once lived near a mountain but moved to a safer village. He mentioned his sister who was sent to a mainland prison, but now barely remembers her. He mentioned that one could easily be taken or arrested while hanging around and described the danger of the time and situation. Also, they appraised that at the time of Sasam it was not a proper world in which to live, and it made great changes to their life and community, including the relationship among villagers.

Because of the Sasam, the world has changed... Well, at first, there were some, a bit of a weird tension between the people in the village... It seemed there was something between the people. (A01110819M04)

The following participant (A02150120M11) was sentenced to two years in prison because of the Sasam. He also served in the military during the Korean War. He showed his negative world view, that the world is insecure and in unrest, which ultimately denied him an education.

Anyway, at that time it was really... it was not a life. ... There was social insecurity. There was social unrest. The social unrest was the situation that kept preventing me from going to school. (A02150120M11)

The following participant (A01240919F05) has a missing brother who was imprisoned on the mainland. She was passionate to attend all Sasam related events if her physical condition would allow. Her negative world view mostly results from what she sees as humanity's malignant behaviour, and of conflicts, including those between political parties. She believes the world has become worse since the time of Jeju Sasam. It leads her to a religious belief that the gods (here it does not refer to the God of Christianity or Judaism) punished people through abnormal weather because the world is unjust. So, in this unjust world, she does not expect anything for the Jeju Sasam issue.

Only fights in the national assembly, and people in this nation commit suicide, kill others. The gods know everything, that's why this kind of weather troubles happened. ... In the past, the typhoon used to come around August, but it's autumn now, but it's abnormal to have such heavy rain and strong wind. When I watch the television, people die, rain comes into the house and destroys them in every village. I think this kind of disaster is the first time. ... Now, the trial will last several years, it won't finish within a year or two. So, I can't witness whether we win the trial or not, before I die. What can I do if we do win the trial? Did they kill the people because they were guilty?
(A01240919F05)

The following participant (A05140819M01) was another who dedicated himself to Sasam related activities with the bereaved family association to solve the Sasam issue. Also, he was trained as an instructor to introduce the Jeju Sasam road (history route of Jeju Sasam related sites) to the visitors. He expressed strong disappointment with an unjust world, especially in the government's treatment of the issue of Jeju Sasam. He believes that Jeju Sasam was an obvious atrocity against humanity, for which the authorities should take full responsibility. However, the issue has been prolonged too many years. He participated in the protests to make the authorities, including the US government, take responsibility. His main point of the negative world view was that the world is unjust and that nobody takes responsibility even when there is clear evidence of the truth.

I am very disappointed with the government and the administrators. I don't know about something else, but it's too harsh about the Sasam! The government neglects Sasam too much. ... The government can't recognise those deaths even until now. I want to state strongly about this. ... the US should take responsibility. But they are silent. Our government and administrators as well. The responsible people couldn't object to the US in

the first place. Why? At that time, during the US military government, the US had operational control. All operational control belonged to the US military. So, US orders had to be followed. Totally. I believe the US should take responsibility. I said this earlier, why didn't the US accept their responsibilities? (A05140819M01)

Regarding the theme 'negative world view' there were no significant differences between the risk groups. However, the high risk groups often indicated their negative self-appraisal when expressing their negative world view. For example, the participants questioned why they were born in this unjust world. In contrast, the low risk groups tended to blame the world externally by blaming the situation and the era.

4.2. External blame

Participants blamed external factors when appraising their traumatic experiences of Jeju Sasam. The objects of blame can be classified in the following categories: the perpetrators, or the time and situation itself. Also, participants blamed their lack of political power as the reason that the Jeju Sasam issue continues without an acceptable solution.

4.2.1. Blaming perpetrators

When people blamed the authorities, they often identified which organisations they held responsible and gave detailed descriptions of harmful acts. For example, the Northwest Korean Youth Association was one of the perpetrators named by the participant (A05140819M01) while he explained the historical background of Jeju Sasam. He was from one of the villages, which had a huge number of deaths. This right-wing nationalist association from the mainland was affiliated to the authorities, and aggressively persecuted, tortured and killed Jeju people. They were originally from the northern part of the Korean peninsula, which is now North Korea, and were organised by the right-wing and dictatorial President Rhee.

The Northwest Korean Youth Association, they came down and acted violently. It was very harmful to the public. When they came into the village, they drank free alcohol and caused trouble for a while. Then people tried to escape. ... They came and intensively oppressed the people. Here in our

[location name deleted] ri villages. I don't know the reasons. But it happened.
(A05140819M01)

The military and police, along with the affiliated Northwest Korean Youth Association, were the main forces of authority, and participants blamed these organisations, who were supposed to be the defenders of the nation's citizens. They described that the armed forces abused their authority and power. The following participant (A10281119M04) has maintained a strong interest in the issue of Jeju Sasam. He blamed the authorities for failing in their duties and for lacking the spirit that they should have had.

Even our national military did such a thing, they were very bad people. There is a spirit of Hwarang, a phrase 'should distinguish the killings'. But they didn't serve that spirit, just indiscriminately killed the people. They should have the evidence if one is suspected as an enemy. They should have a proper martial law or martial court. But it was not like that. There was no law. They just directly shot and killed people. The country's authority was so harsh at that time. Why...There was no need to kill under the involvement system on Jeju island, but there were so many executions by shooting. (A10281119M04)

Similar to the above, the following participant (A11041119M02) testified that the governmental authorities, especially the police, killed innocent victims, who were not connected to the riots of that time.

Anyway, there were police officers to oppress the people, but at that time, not too many... Eh, they oppressed so much with their governmental authority. But many were the victims of governmental authority. The number of victims killed by the riots is not so many. But there are lots of people who were victimised by the governmental authority. (A11041119M02)

4.2.2. Blaming time and situation

Other participants expressed that they felt there nothing should be blamed, but they were just born in the wrong time and situation. Also, participants frequently mentioned that it was the era that was wrong, and that they were not the only ones who suffered, as in the following instance. The following participant (A01240919F05) blamed the era of Jeju Sasam which deprived her of the opportunity to get an education. She lost her parents and brother during the Sasam.

This Sasam made me suffer so much. And it made me live in the dark. Our time, I was not the only one. At that time, because of cholera, the school was shut down, then soon the Sasam incident broke out, so the school closed again. Even if I went to school I couldn't study properly. All of the teachers were killed. (A01240919F05)

Rather than blame oneself, they expressed, blame the time and 'Palzha'. 'Palzha' is a cultural belief in Korea, similar to the concept of destiny in western culture. In their view, the Jeju Sasam was a time that they could not avoid, so it is meaningless to blame oneself for experiencing traumatic events. The concept of 'Palzha' will be described more fully in the following theme below. The following participant (A02161019F05) mentioned that she blames the time and Palzha, which she feels have the commonality of being impossible to escape or to change through one's will. This can be referred to as an external attribution.

There is nothing to blame in myself. Nothing to be blamed. The Sasam incident was like... people who hid survived, others were killed. ... can't blame anybody. Blame the time, blame the Palzha. (A02161019F05)

Participants blamed the time and situation, which referred to their shared time during the Sasam as a generational culture, and to the Jeju Sasam itself as a shared situation that they had to face. They appraised that many traumatic events were condensed into a certain period, and the situation of accumulative events caused damaging impacts to them. Jeju Sasam prevented them from doing what they wanted to do, as seen in the following examples. The following participant (A03290120F16) was a farmer who lost her opportunity to get an education because of the Sasam.

... Then I might not be a farmer, even though I am a woman, I could do anything. I was born in too weird a world and time. (A03290120F16)

Interestingly, some participants blamed the time and situation of Sasam unconsciously. While answering the question about what impacts they experienced because of the Sasam, they said that they did not care much about the Sasam issue and its impacts on them, because their situation limited their thinking about it. The situation, they said, was their poor environment and hardships that formed since the Jeju Sasam. Their main concern was to survive and endure hardships, rather than ponder on their traumatic experiences.

Participants said they had to take care of themselves and their families to survive during the time of Sasam and afterwards. The following participant (A05151219F09) was originally from a village which was severely damaged and had a huge number of deaths. She experienced many deaths in her family as well, but she said she had to survive, so was unable to concern herself with those deaths at that time.

At that time, it was sad that my siblings, and my sister's children, all died. Father also passed away, so sad. But anyway, I tried to survive. There were no margins for thinking about those kinds of things. Only thinking about surviving. Little siblings and mother, thinking to survive with them. I couldn't think this or that kind of things. (A05151219F09)

The authors of these statements were mostly farmers, which could be a reason for the lack of time to ruminate on their traumatic events, since agricultural tasks start early in the morning and continue till dark and are physically tiring. The following participant (A03210120F09) raised her children alone, and so needed to have several occupations, including Haenyeo (traditional Jeju female sea diver) and farmer. The hardships prevented her from dwelling on her experience of Sasam.

There is no margin for such a thing in my head! Go to the sea, to the farming field, and go to the market. Like the rape flower business, or some other business. I kept commuting to the market, there was no time for such thinking. I had to earn money to allow the children to go to school. Schooling. Feeding them. Clothing them. There was nobody, not even uncles, so I was alone in doing such tasks. If I hadn't, those children would have starved. So it was hard to think like this or that, or going somewhere for a good life. I just thought only to raise the children well. (A03210120F09)

So, as the following participant states (A10281119M04), every moment had to be focussed on surviving and earning money for their living.

I was too busy making a living, so no space for those thoughts. I diligently farmed and harvested the crops, like rape flowers and sweet potatoes, which I could bargain well with the government. I needed money first. I didn't have time to spare to think about those things, I was only passionate about farming. Now there are machines for farming, but at that time we did everything ourselves using bare hands and strength. I was unable to do something that was peaceful. No spare space or time. So, everybody thought like that, just about money or living expenses. (A10281119M04)

4.2.3. Blaming lack of political power

Some participants appraised that the political power of the Jeju community is not powerful enough to solve the Jeju Sasam issue completely. Since Jeju province only has three members on the National Assembly, they believe their political power is too weak to make significant changes to the issue of Jeju Sasam. Their meaning of complete solution of Jeju Sasam seemed to be the amendment of the 4.3 Special Law, which led them to achieve restoration of the honour of dead victims of Sasam. The following participant (A05140819M01) expressed his anger against the government for not being sincere in facing the issue of Jeju Sasam and solving the problem. He also assessed that the reason the government kept ignoring the Jeju Sasam issue is due to the lack of political power of Jeju Island.

This, the one thing that I feel now, is the province's power is too weak. The Sasam, the governmental authorities killed all those people ruthlessly, but it's not known. In fact, during the time of the military government, they made us as their enemy instead. ... the special law. So the province's power is weak. The amendment of the special law was submitted last year. Why is it still not passed? If it needs revision, then they should revise it through cooperation and pass it. (A05140819M01)

The theme 'external blame' featured as one of the upper quartile themes in the low-risk group of PTSD and depression. External blame helps the improvement of psychological wellbeing, rather than blaming themselves. It was found that blaming perpetrators or the government was critical for the survivors' pasts of forced silence and continued state violence. The long history of forced silence and the anti-social atmosphere towards Jeju Sasam and the victim community are important elements of their continued state violence experience. Therefore, expressing externally who was responsible should be highlighted for their psychological wellbeing.

4.3. Belief and value

Participants revealed their beliefs and values and how they have changed in many contexts during the interviews. They were specifically asked about such

changes after their experiences of Jeju Sasam. It was interesting to observe that some participants who said that they have not changed their beliefs or values after the Jeju Sasam, nevertheless showed through their narratives that their beliefs and values had developed throughout their lifetime or changed because of the Jeju Sasam experience.

However, they showed strong agreement that the individual should be the priority. They did not mention that this is originally from their thoughts or changes due to experiencing Jeju Sasam. But the following participant (A08180819M01) was encouraged to imagine that their thoughts are impacted by the Jeju Sasam;

The person is the priority anyway. The human being. So this, this kind of Sasam, even the developing country can't do such a thing. How could they kill even 7- or 9-year-old children? How can a human being do such a thing? I believe the authorities might not directly have ordered to kill like that. But those police officers acted according to their own minds. And those people lived well until the end. (A08180819M01)

Some participants recognise their beliefs or values changed after experiencing Jeju Sasam. The following participant (A04091119M02) lost his livelihood and was separated from his family during the Jeju Sasam. He needed to live with the village leader because he could not afford to live alone. He said that he changed his thoughts on how to live after Jeju Sasam, that one should accept the situation positively. If the person faced a hard situation, then it is natural to rely on someone else who can help him.

The influential thing is as I said earlier, I entrusted to someone else's care at [location name deleted] ri, and came to [location name deleted] ri. It was the village leader's house. So, what I felt when I lived there was, I should accept the basic life. I should accept it in a basically good way, I should not accept it in bad ways. If I don't have things to eat, then it's natural to accept other's generosity. This made me think positively, and on the other side, when I argued with the landlord, it was a reasonable thing. I should look on the good side, not the bad side. Don't look on the bad side. (A04091119M02)

The following participant (A05150819M03) survived because a police chief, Hyungsoon Moon, who was charged with his imprisonment, disobeyed the authority's order to kill all the prisoners. He mentioned that his values have been

shaped because of Chief Moon, who had said to him that he did not need to be thanked, but hoped he would live as a person who is helpful to society.

But one thing that Chief Moon wanted was to become a person who can be helpful to society. I was moved by that. (A05150819M03)

Also, the following participant (A06280819F02) shared her moment of changing thoughts, which made her behaviour change, and contributed to solving the issue of Jeju Sasam as a survivor, on behalf of the dead victims. At first, she was afraid to reveal herself as a survivor of Jeju Sasam because of the fear of being stigmatised. She strongly believed that she would be safe if she denied her identity as a survivor and avoided contact with other survivors. However, when she witnessed other people's contribution to solving the Jeju Sasam issue, she decided to participate in those activities. She showed confidence and changed her belief that she is okay to be herself, because now she has many good companions.

Serving the ritual there, I realised that we just don't know, and people were all victimised like us. People who lived in a prison like us. Thinking like that, I just clearly realised. This - even though I have lived in dejection, I survived, I had a daughter and a son and got married. I cried a lot there thinking of those friends who knew nothing but were killed and couldn't bloom as flowers. While serving a ritual, I changed my mind that I should cooperate and serve the rituals at least, while crying. ... Jeju people's association made much effort. So, I reflected on myself very much. ... Reflected, so now I make efforts for the trial, and we met a good lawyer. (A06280819F02)

Another value attached to the children and education has been found here as well. The following participant (A02161019F05) could not get a proper education because of the Sasam, so she determined to educate her children properly.

We couldn't go to school because the time was bad. So, I decided that I will do well for my children. (A02161019F05)

Some participants expressed their value of transferring their heritage to the next generation, in the form of lessons from their experience of Jeju Sasam. It was a broadened answer from the question: whether they want others to know about their traumatic events. Interestingly, the values that they want to teach was valuing relationships and harmonising with others in the community. The following participant (A05140819M02) was another who was originally from a

village which had a high number of deaths. He had to witness several violent acts, including killing and arson.

Now if I talked like this to our children, the young children used to complain that things were not enough, so I used to tell them this story. "We lived like this before, you should be satisfied with these times, not to complain about it." ... I mean, it's the common sense of human living. Now, the human should live relying on another human being. This is the most important story. Each neighbour should respect each other, because people should depend on each other. And don't be greedy, so that kind of thing. Not only me, but lots of people here think like that. The old people. (A05140819M02)

The following participant (A05151219F09) is also a survivor from the same village as the participant above (A05140819M02). She also emphasised that their past experience should be taught to the next generation.

Young people should know about this and that kind of experiences of the Sasam incident. Old people had lived like this. ... You should yield to them. Should live yielding. You cannot live only caring about yourself. There should be a bit of yielding. Everyone can be harmonised. Without harmonising, you can't yield either. You fight each other. Love each other or you can't live regardless of whether it's between friends or unrelated people. Even though there is something, life should be good so everyone can live. (A05151219F09)

4.4. Palzha

Participants showed different views when they blamed their own Palzha. Regarding the Jeju Sasam incident itself, participants showed the attitude that there is no point in blaming Palzha, unless their whole generation's Palzha is all bad. The following participant (A01240919F05) blamed the Sasam itself rather than her own Palzha. She accepted the Sasam as a shared event within her generation and community, therefore she felt it meaningless to blame the Palzha.

Palzha? Because of my Palzha? I didn't think in that way. Only think about who made this Sasam, this bastard Sasam, why they made the Sasam. If it is because of my Palzha, then everyone has bad Palzha. So, my Palzha is not the only bad Palzha, every person in the world's Palzha is not all bad. (A01240919F05)

However, participants blamed their Palzha when the context moved to their own hardships in their individual lives. Interestingly, the participants who expressed their belief in Palzha were mostly female participants. The following participant (A02161019F05) was one of the female participants who laboured for her family as a head of household.

I had to take care of my siblings, so I didn't go out or visit the cave [where the people hid during Sasam]. I only stayed at home and lived somehow. I went to [location name deleted] village and returned. So I could live until now. ... Palzha? I lived like this because my Palzha was bad. If my Palzha was good, then I wouldn't live like this. I lived through the hard times but can't blame anybody. Blame the time, blame the Palzha. (A02161019F05)

The following participant (A03171219F06) raised her children without a husband. She blamed her Palzha for being alone, even though she described her daughter as having a similarly bad Palzha, but is living in comfort.

My daughters, only the second one has a bad Palzha like me, but is living in comfort. Nothing really much. How did my Palzha became like this kind of Palzha... Why do I live alone like this...? There were lots of sorrows. (A03171219F06)

4.4.1.Luck and opportunity

It was also interesting to capture that the participants did not use the term Palzha when describing their fortune or opportunity to survive. But those, like Palzha, can be considered as external attribution. Fortune and opportunity were not determined by choice, but were assigned to the individual. The following participant (A12110120F05) mentioned her fortune that neither her family members nor her husband died during the Sasam.

Nobody died during the Sasam in my family, fortunately. ... What kind of Palzha can be blamed? If my husband died, my Palzha could be more miserable but he survived the military service. So, I don't have such a thing to blame the Palzha. I don't have it. (A12110120F05)

Participants also described their opportunities for surviving the Jeju Sasam atrocities. The attitudes of the participants pointed to a belief that they were lucky to survive after being so close to death. Their survival behaviour may have been theirs to choose, but they felt it was merely fortune rather than the result of logical

decision-making. The following participant's (A01020120M17) sister was arrested during the Sasam. However, even though he chose not to follow her at that moment, he appraised his decision as luckiness.

My older sister was escaping but got caught by police. If I had followed her, I could be dead now as well. I didn't follow her, so I survived. Survived.
(A01020120M17)

The following participant's (A06121019M06) uncle was imprisoned during the Sasam and so was also the target of the guilt-by-association system. However, the census registration was yet to be perfectly systemised immediately after the Korean War, so he avoided the injustice of the guilt-by-association system.

I didn't have much. Also, my children as well, by chance. So, I didn't have huge disadvantages, because the census registration was not clearly organised yet. (A06121019M06)

Theme 5. Physical and Psychological Trauma

Jeju Sasam, although often referred to as an 'incident', and named after the specific day which began the calamity, continued in fact over a period of seven years and seven months. Furthermore, the survivors could not seek help for, or consult about, their impairments because of social discrimination or lack of opportunities. The factors that exacerbated their physical and psychological trauma were detected at the time of the event and in their post-Sasam lives.

5.1. Survival

Survival was a key theme that arose from the content of the data set. Within this theme, positive and negative factors that potentially affected their survival were coded. Jeju Sasam and its aftermath was a dreadful environment in which to survive and was not limited to the authorities' genocidal tyranny alone. The poor environment that had continued since the Japanese colonial period influenced the people's survival after Jeju Sasam (Truth Investigation Report, 2003).

5.1.1. Having resources

Having fields or property were significant factors that participants implicitly ascribed to their survival of the era and its long-term aftermath. Their wealth was inherited from their ancestors or gained from family. The following participant (A02150120M11) lost both his parents and needed to take care of his younger siblings. However, his grandparents, who lived on the mainland, bought a house for his family to survive.

My grandparents bought a house for us. We lived there, because the house in [location name deleted] burned down. ... This is the place. It was our ancestor's land. The house was built on their land. (A02150120M11)

From the following participant's interview (A07180120F05), she described that her close (or direct) family was rich and so were her other relatives. She believed that her family did not experience hardship or difficulties because they had enough resources to live happily.

Also, one of my uncles was rich. He lived very well. ... My family was also rich. Our house, my mother's family wasn't living in hardship or no difficulties

like having no property. We had lived very happily. Because my mother's family was rich. (A07180120F05)

The following participant (A08180819M01), along with his sister, were the only survivors in his family, so he inherited all the family property. However, his sister was already married, so he needed to live alone. It was a burden to both work and maintain an education for himself. So, he decided to sell the family property and take care of himself.

I had no money but there was no one to buy the fields. So, I needed to sell the farming fields at a very cheap price. All the property went like that. (A08180819M01)

Survival resources can include people as well. The following participant (A01020120M17) believes that he benefited from his wife's family connections to get a job to sustain a livelihood.

After I was discharged from the Army, there was nothing to do, but my wife's family had some connections. It was [village name deleted], our eldest grandmother lived there, so I commuted to work from there. From that connection, I got a job. (A01020120M17)

Resources also include the externalities such as medical facilities. The following participant (A06180919M03) was attacked by the guerrillas and had serious injuries that led to a current disability. However, he survived after he was taken to hospital.

Afterwards, father came and brought me to the hospital in [city name deleted]. There were only two hospitals, it was just a clinic. [Name deleted] clinic and [name deleted] clinic. So, he borrowed a car from an authority figure, like the police, and brought me to the hospital. People told my father to give up the child, as I looked practically dead. Which hospital could make that change? But father brought me to the hospital, and I was unconscious for about 15 days? A month? I survived like that. (A06180919M03)

5.1.2.Affiliation with authorities

Resources such as money, transportation and basic food supplies can help to preserve the lives of survivors; however, affiliation with authorities was also connected to their survival. Like the quotation above, the participant (A06180919M03) could survive because his father was a member of a group

affiliated to the authorities and could borrow a vehicle to get him to the hospital in time. Even if the participants possessed wealth from their ancestors or families, it was essential to affiliate with the authorities to protect themselves from the atrocities. For instance, affiliation could involve joining the police or cooperating with the authorities. In the case of the male survivors, affiliation was especially important for their survival because the authorities actively targeted young males suspected of joining the communists. Their cooperation included securing the village and participating in tracking guerrillas in the mountains. For instance, the following participant (A10291019M02) described what affiliation was like.

Inside of the Hambajib [old, thatched house for temporary living], I worked with policemen. It was the time that there were lots of communist guerrillas. Well, they were not communist guerrillas, they were just against the policemen. Because of the fear, they just opposed the police. They shot their guns as well. We also guarded the wall. At that time, I held an M1 gun. When I worked at the police outstation, I was given a gun, an M1, and used it to join the oppression. (A10291019M02)

The families of authority figures benefited in regard to free food and supplies. They were safe at least from the authorities. The following participant's (A06131219F10) husband decided to join the police while experiencing Jeju Sasam. She lost contact with him after he went to take the police exam. She thought he was dead, but soon after, she found out that her husband had passed the exam and was sent to another village police branch. Their lives improved in that she did not experience any vulnerable situations, such as being suspected of being a communist.

Once, a police officer called me to come over. I was carrying my baby, and I thought my husband had died, and I might be next. But I couldn't help it, there was nothing I could do, even if they were going to kill me. I thought that I am going to die when they called me. I went to the office. ... They asked me where my husband was. I answered that my husband went for the police entry exam to capture the rioters, but he never came back, so I thought he was dead. And then I cried. Then the police mentioned my husband's name and said, '[name deleted] is working at [location name deleted] branch office. So don't cry.' They were super busy, so my husband passed the exam and became a policeman. ... They said that I shouldn't carry stones anymore because I have a baby, and soon I could meet my husband. I didn't need to carry stones to build the wall anymore, but I felt sorry for the other people who carried the stones with me. I continued to carry the stones with them. ...

At that time, the policemen used to get free food with supplies.
(A06131219F10)

5.1.3.Lack of resources

Negative factors that influenced the survival of participants were also found from the data set. Unsurprisingly, as opposed to the above positive examples, these indicated a lack of resources. The main components that participants described were their poor environment and hardships. Their environment without food, clothes and proper housing was a desperate one in which to live. A lack of resources was expected following Jeju Sasam, because the authorities destroyed people's livelihoods by burning down their houses and property. The following participant (A02161019F05) described how their environment was so poor that they could not afford to live when she returned to her original village located in the middle of the mountains. She was convinced that the lack of resources, including public transportation, contributed to her hardships.

Yes, there, we were ordered to return to our home village and we built a house to live in. I returned and lived here. At first, the house was just like a beggar's house, it was long and just divided by a partition. We lived on hard ground. There was nothing to cover the floor and there was nothing to eat. ... At that time, it was not a life. ... There was no bus while my father was alive. After my father passed away, even though my children went to school, they used to walk there, to [location name deleted] middle school. ... Probably it was since my second son started going to school, the bus ran here. My eldest daughter went to middle school... there were only three buses a day. After that, it became every hour. It took a long time to be changed. It was like that. So, life was... really. ... It was not the normal suffering. (A02161019F05)

Also, the lack of resources was linked to their dissatisfaction with life. The following participant (A05140819M02) described that times were unpleasant or expressed regrets because of their poor environment.

Because of the lack of food, I was unable to dream about getting an education, but I regret and think that it would have been better to have learned more now things are a bit better. Even if I had learned, I would not have been able to use it anywhere, but because my life got better, I regret more and more that I couldn't learn, I regret it. (A05140819M02)

As indicated above, medical facilities were instrumental in assisting people's survival and maintaining their lives. The lack of medical services was described

by twelve participants from thirty in total. There were too few hospitals to cover the entire island. The following participant (A06280819M01) has siblings who were disabled due to injuries sustained during the Sasam. He described how if there had been sufficient medical resources for the Jeju Sasam victims, he believes they could have survived, even after severe injuries.

If there had been lots of hospitals and advanced medical techniques like these days, then those injured people could have survived. At that time, there was only one hospital in our area, in [location name deleted]. Everyone went there, and there were not enough medicines, and not enough doctors, so many people died who could have lived. They poked the stomach with the spear, grabbed the colon with bare hands. If it was like present times, they could have all lived. (A06280819M01)

The following participant (A01240919F05) was threatened by a soldier while she followed her mother who had been arrested by the military. Her back was injured because the soldier had kicked her, and she had fallen. She said she could not get any treatment because she did not have enough money, and nobody could take her to the hospital.

I fell heavily on my back but couldn't get any treatment at that time. There were no hospitals and, even if there were, I couldn't go anywhere. (A01240919F05)

Because of the lack of medical facilities and treatment, children were reported to have frequently died in infancy. The following participant's (A02191119F10) five-year-old younger brother died because he could not be inoculated with the measles vaccine, since they were too poor.

My five-year-old younger brother, my mother's only son, died because he couldn't get the measles injection, which was 7,000 won [about £4.70]. If he could have gotten the shot, he might have survived, but we didn't have even 7,000 won. (A02191119F10)

Regarding the level of risk in their psychological wellbeing, only the participants at low risk of PTSD described that they had resources, and experiences of affiliation to the authorities. Resources and affiliation created comparatively stable statuses for the survivors and contributed to, not only their survival, but also became the foundation of lowering their mental health risks.

5.2. Social discrimination

Social discrimination is an environmental factor that can negatively impact trauma survivors. It can, itself, be a generator of trauma, or worsen the psychological outcomes of trauma (Kira et al., 2010). Participants described their awareness of social discrimination, the severity of which ranged from general discrimination against Jeju people, to the injustices and resultant atrocities of the 'involvement system', also known as 'guilt-by-association'. The forced silence of the Jeju community was also coded into social discrimination, because the authorities monitored and punished people who tried to publicly mention the Sasam.

5.2.1.Discriminated and harassed

The social discrimination against Jeju people in general was found in the narratives of male participants who served compulsory military service on the mainland. According to the following participant (A01110819M04), Jeju people used to be called 'poop pigs'. Before modernisation, the toilet was located outside of the main house in traditional Jeju housing, and pigs were fed in the same area.

Ah, when I joined the military service. People didn't know that I was from Jeju Island, they didn't know until I wrote a letter home. They saw the address, so from that time, people made fun of me, saying that 'the Jeju Island's poop pig came' [smiles]. I joined the army with people from Seoul. They didn't know at all. And Jeju people could speak the mainland's language very well, so I couldn't be found out. I didn't use the Jeju language, so they couldn't know. ... No, because at that time on Jeju Island, everyone fed the pigs at the toilet. I made a little fence and raised a pig inside. That's why people at that time called Jeju Islanders pigs. (A01110819M04)

Participants recognised that they were discriminated against because of their origin. Jeju Sasam was described by the authorities as an illegal armed riot by communists. Underlining fervent American anti-communist rhetoric, Jeju island was portrayed as the 'Red Island'. Therefore, a certain image of Jeju Island developed among mainlanders. The following participant (A06280819M01) served in the military during the Korean War on the mainland. Even though he fought with his comrades, he said that there was a false belief in the military that every Jeju Islander was a rioter.

Ah, at first, I was suspected a little. ... there was a belief that every Jeju Islander was a rioter. ... It was not stated openly. We were all in a life and death situation together, fought against the enemy together in battle. There was a brotherly camaraderie. (A06280819M01)

Discrimination was even observed within Jeju Island based on the region of their hometown. People from the mountainous middle area of the island were discriminated against when they were forced to migrate to coastal areas. They were suspected of being communist guerrillas because they were from the mountains. However, living in the mountain region did not mean that one was a communist guerrilla; some people went to the mountain and hid in caves because they could not decide where to go to survive. The following participant (A05151219F09) testified that people were suspected and discriminated against. She could not get into a coastal village because her family had migrated there from the mountain area.

At that time, people from the coastal areas treated people from the upper side of the mountain as something inferior. My mother's side of the family was in [location name deleted], but even though we went there, they didn't allow us to enter. (A05151219F09)

The following participant (A04091119M02) was an example of a survivor who went to the mountain for survival. However, people harassed him later calling him a 'rioter' because he chose to go to live in the mountains.

At first, it was hard. That rioter, rioter, I was pointed at. It was so hard because of it, but later I was a bit.... If the other person said 'how dare the rioter' to me, then I replied that I had to survive, so that's why I was there in the mountain. I have... things, bravery, even though I am a timid person. (A04091119M02)

Some participants described their experiences of being bullied. Bullying was violently conducted for various objectives, and could also be carried out by people from the same village. The following participant (A01060819F03) lost her husband and was forcibly evacuated to another village because their village had been burned down. However, people suspected her of being a criminal because she had no husband and came from a village in the upper mountain region. At that time, young male adults were commonly suspected of being potential communists. So, if a young male person in the family was missing or dead, the

authorities, and some other people, suspected it was because the person was a communist.

The people who came down after their houses were burned down... The original residents who had their own houses could talk down to them. They said that we were guilty, so we had been punished to come down to their village: it was impossible to be burned out of our home if we were not guilty. I experienced that kind of discrimination. It was not true, but they believed it. ... They thought there were no reasons to burn down the houses if we were not guilty. Yes, there was a lot of that kind of discrimination. ... I had no husband with me, so they asked me where my husband was. At that time, all husbands were arrested, so they asked where my husband was sent to? ... I was bullied like that, but everyone was victimised at that time, so I didn't know anything at that time. So, I said that I know nothing. It was all same at that time. I had no choice and couldn't answer. Even when somebody questioned me, I just answered like that. It's not a lie and not nonsense. It's true. Yes. It's true what I experienced. (A01060819F03)

The following participant (A06180919F04) was also harassed by villagers because her father died during Sasam, and was therefore suspected of being a communist. They bullied her family so she could not serve her father's Jesa.

At that time, the person killed by the soldiers couldn't be respected as a human being. They were treated like a dog. So, if somebody was shot and killed somewhere, then their family tried to collect the body, the dead body. When they arrived, they were also killed because they tried to collect the body. ... those bodies were treated as traitors. So as my father. ... a year after, we tried to serve our father's Jesa [ritual event for ancestor's soul]. When we served his Jesa we were very nervous, it was like walking on eggshells, we were harassed so much. ... Because we served our father's Jesa. (A06180919F04)

5.2.2.Forced silence

Forced silence was another feature of social discrimination against the Jeju people and communities. The authorities needed to justify their atrocities of Jeju Sasam, so the Sasam was framed as an illegal, armed riot perpetrated by enemies and communists, which therefore had to be oppressed. So, it was impossible to publicly discuss the issue of Jeju Sasam. If someone did so, they could be imprisoned or tortured. The following participants all testified that they could not say a word about Sasam in the past. The first narrative of

(A02161019F05) described that she was pleased to be able to talk about her experience during Jeju Sasam by participating in this research.

I am satisfied even just talking about this. Even if people died at that time, we couldn't talk about it anywhere. We couldn't live. Couldn't live.
(A02161019F05)

The following participant (A05180819M04) mentioned the danger of publicly speaking about Sasam when he described the atmosphere in the past, especially during the Jeju Sasam period.

The atmosphere? It was a time when we couldn't even talk about it. Nowadays, it's possible to talk about something. In the past you could be taken away. ... we couldn't talk about it in this rural area. Now it's possible to talk, but in the past, even to speak a single word about Sasam, you could be taken away. (A05180819M04)

In the following participant's (A10281119M04) interview, he described forced silence as part of the oppression during the Jeju Sasam. This allows us to know that participants clearly acknowledged that they suffered social discrimination because of the Sasam.

Ah, at that time, we were so oppressed, and couldn't talk publicly about it among village people. It was the generation, if one talks about it... then you could be in trouble if the spies got wind of the information. (A10281119M04)

5.2.3. Guilt-by-association System (Involvement System)

The guilt-by-association system is an important factor of social discrimination that systemically discriminated against the survivors and bereaved families since Jeju Sasam. The following participant's (A07180120F05) cousin died during the Sasam because he was involved in communist activities. Consequently, the cousin's entire family was also killed, including a child. This is one of the common forms that is based on the idea of the guilt-by-association system.

Even the babies, if one speaks something wrong, then they killed all the parents and even the siblings. That's why all my aunt's family died. My cousin, the son of my aunt, he was related to some ideologic things, so all my aunt's family was killed, even the child who was nine years old.... (A07180120F05)

The following participant (A01240919F05) is another example of an entire family in danger because the authorities suspected one of the family members. Her brother was missing during the Sasam, but her family did not know his whereabouts. The authorities treated her family as reactionary elements of society, because her brother was suspected of joining the communists.

Several days after, someone came to kill us because we were supposedly reactionary elements. We didn't know about our older brother, we thought he went to school, but he went missing. ... later we found they were treating us as reactionary elements, but we were not, and couldn't understand why we were treated as reactionary elements. So, he probably joined the guerrillas, and that's why they were going to harass our family. ... we were harassed, and they treated us as Bbalgaengi ['Reds' or 'Commies']. We were in trouble from both sides. (A01240919F05)

Preventive custody was another feature of social discrimination during the time of Jeju Sasam, especially during the Korean War. It was a nationwide system originated during the Japanese colonial era. The authorities imprisoned those who were placed on their blacklist, or were suspected of committing crimes. The idea inspired the authorities during the Korean War, believing that suspects could join the North Korean army and fight against them. During preventive custody, about 1,000 people died. The following participant (A04091119M01) described his experience of preventive custody. He was detained during the Korean War because once he was accused, his name remained on the list.

So, in June of the 1950's the 6.25 [the Korean War] broke out, and again I was subjected to preventive custody. I was sent to [location name deleted]. I went to [location name deleted] and was detained there for about a month or two. ... At that time, I lived there thinking, 'I am abandoned, I am an abandoned person, can't be sure when I will be killed.' Just as I thought, the Martial Law Enforcement Headquarters were ordered to kill all the prisoners of preventive custody. Moon Hyungsoon was the head of police at that time. He was the chief when he got the letter of order to kill the prisoners. He returned the letter and wrote 'I reject the unjust order' on top. So about 201 people survived. I was one of those 200 people. ... the document saying that I am a Bbalgaengi rioter stuck with me like a tail. So even before I was discharged, even though I was discharged from the military, I served in the military for several years with this kind of guilt, but it's still left on my census registration. It's so unfair. Yes. I was so mortified. (A04091119M01)

This guilt-by-association system continued post-Sasam as well. It gave disadvantageous education opportunities (i.e., people were unable to enter the military academy) and prevented workplace promotions. The following participant (A01250919F10) described how her brother was in trouble when he was promoted because of her criminal record. She was imprisoned during the Sasam and she believed her imprisonment was shown on the family registration record with a red line, and that this got her brother into trouble.

The city hall holds the resident registration records. My younger brother is a dean of [name deleted] college. But there was a red line on the resident registration record [an indication of being sentenced]. So, because of his sister's criminal record, he was almost unable to be the dean. I was really concerned a lot at that time. What should I do? But somehow soon after the law had been changed and the guilt-by-association was gone. ... I really suffered when I faced that kind of thing. (A01250919F10)

Also, guilt-by-association barred the survivors and bereaved families from educational opportunities, especially in military academies. The following participant (A10171019M01) had his dream to join the military academy destroyed when he served his compulsory military service.

There was a recruitment notice for a military cadet on the notice board. The application for a military cadet, so I reported to the troops and had permission to apply. I applied, and I passed the written examination, the physical exam as well. I passed them all and just waited for the final result. But one day, they said there would be interviews, so I went for the interview. At that time, we were the [company number deleted] troops of the aircraft academy. Among our troops, I and another one applied, so we both went for the interview. Then this other man passed it. ... I was rejected and returned to the company. After returning, I was concerned about this for three days. Then the officer asked me what made me so concerned. I explained it and how that got me rejected. Then he said if I really wanted to know, then he would find the interviewer and ask him. ... One day, the officer found me and asked me 'do you have a father or mother or somebody else who died because of the Jeju Sasam?' Right after I heard him, 'this must be the involvement system' I thought. I affirmed, and that's the reason why I failed. I couldn't apply as a military cadet at the aircraft academy because of the system. (A10171019M01)

Occupations in the civil service were commonly blocked by the guilt-by-association system. An interesting finding was that of participants giving up from the outset any consideration of joining a governmental occupation because of

guilt-by-association. Both of the following participants' families were enlisted in the guilt-by-association system because of their criminal records. The following participant (A05150819M03) said that frustration followed the situation sometimes because, even though he tried hard, he could not achieve what he desired.

I didn't work at the office, even though I wanted to, I couldn't. Because I was an imprisoned victim. And the sentence, I had probation for three years. I had such records, so there are impacts not only for me, but also for my family. The guilt by association, as I said. But I tried hard, but I felt frustrated sometimes. (A05150819M03)

The following participant (A05180819M04) was subjected to the system, so was unable to escape its injustices, despite trying. He also stated that his children were able to study after the involvement system was abrogated.

Even though I tried to do something, I was unable to do it... my children were able to study after the system got lifted. But at that time, however smart a person was, they could never study. ... It was terrible at that time. You couldn't imagine studying. Couldn't join the police either. Couldn't do anything. (A05180819M04)

Social discrimination was the predominant theme of all risk groups in PTSD and depression. However, the sub-theme 'guilt-by-association' had a slight difference between the low and high risk group of PTSD. They all described how the system was brutal to their lives post Jeju Sasam; however, in the case of the PTSD low risk group, they mostly described not their direct experiences but those witnessed by their family members, relatives or neighbours who were targeted by the guilt-by-association system. This demonstrates that PTSD and appraisal of their state violence experience can differ depending on whether it was through direct or indirect experience. Or possibly the guilt-by-association was a system of invisible violence compared to the physical violence, such as massacres, and therefore witnessing guilt-by-association is less likely to impact their appraisal.

5.3. Loss of 'ordinary' life

The theme 'loss' was one of the upper quartile themes in the high risk of depression group. While participants described frequently their loss of 'ordinary' life, their loss of educational opportunities was especially highlighted. This connects to the value attached to education, which was observed in previous themes. The following participant's (A06280819F02) narrative shows well how the people's lives had been ruined by the loss of the 'ordinary life' that they were supposed to have. Her parents spent a year looking for her, believing she was killed at a massacre site somewhere while she was imprisoned. There was no means of communication allowed within the mainland prison that would have let her parents know of her situation.

When people were allowed to find their family's bodies, my parents also went to the Jeongbang waterfall suspecting my death. [Jeongbang waterfall is one of the massacre sites, but is also famous as a scenic point for tourists] ... If this is the bottom of the waterfall, then people were shot here and fell into here, the bottom of the waterfall. Then those bodies were piled up and up, one by one. ... How parents must have had troubled minds, driving them crazy. ... They thought I was dead, but couldn't find their daughter, searching for my body like 'maybe being buried under this person, or covered by that person'. But I wasn't there. I can't imagine their minds. Maybe this time our daughter could be found, maybe dig this many bodies, but they couldn't find me. (A06280819F02)

Participants also described how their hardships and the negative impact on them began from the absence of their father or mother who died because of Sasam. The following participant (A01240919F05) described how the loss of being with her parents gave her deep sorrow. Her father promised to educate her, unlike other fathers at that time; however, following her parents' death, her dreams of having an education were frustrated. This thinking kept bothering her when she saw another family who seemed to be living the 'ordinary' life she also dreamt of. She lived with her sister-in-law after her family died.

There was a daughter of my age in that family. My sister-in-law's younger sister. So, she went to middle school. I thought 'if I had a mother too, I could go to school too.' When I saw her when she went to school, I went out somewhere and cried. ... Even nowadays, the signboards that are written in English or Chinese letters, I can't read those. I am so sick at heart because I can't read those English or Chinese letters. Then my daughter asked me to

go to the Senior's College. Even though I want to go to the college, I can't walk and sit for a long time because of my back pain. So, I can't. If there was somewhere to lie down, then I could go, but I can't. Then my daughter showed her sorrow that they can't help me. I have a deep resentment [feeling of Han] because I couldn't study. (A01240919F05)

As mentioned in the above example, their loss of ordinary life included their loss of educational opportunities that was linked to their loss of future opportunities. The following participant (A03210120F09) described how she was unable to study because of Sasam. Although they had the will to continue their education, the poverty that was already caused by Sasam prevented them from doing anything except for working to survive. Their loss of education became 'Han' to them, which is commonly observed as a negative emotion or sentiment in Korean culture (Choi, 1991). A further description about 'Han' will be included in Theme 6 later.

I couldn't go to school. We just experienced everything such as the Sasam incident, 625 Sabyun [the Korean War]. ... we experienced the Sasam incident, so we couldn't go to school. ... [village name deleted] was cut off. So, the school, we went to school for about three months? Not even three months. Maybe about two months but couldn't go anymore. ... I was asked to come to a night school, but couldn't go. A bit later, after having those babies, the night school was opened. They gathered people and taught them, like they do these days. There is someone who teaches halmangs ['Grannies' - a generic term for any elderly female] who don't know the letters. So, people who don't know the letters came and learned during the night, like 7pm or 8pm. But I couldn't go. I needed to bath my babies, feed them, and put them to sleep, so I couldn't go, I couldn't learn. (A03210120F09)

And the loss of a social life was also observed from the absence of an ordinary life. Social activity is important to maintain a healthy life (Bowins, 2020), however, Jeju Sasam disconnected people and scattered communities. The following participant (A06280819M01) described the loss of education and the forced migration that prevented a proper social life.

If there had been no Sasam, then we could have had a really good social life. And the school life, we could have graduated from the schools as well. But because the Sasam occurred, we couldn't study well, we were moved all around, just avoiding the rioters, and we hid and lived in safe places. ... If I could have studied properly, then maybe I could have been a civil servant,

or could have thought about having a career in the education field, when I was in school. (A06280819M01)

Theme 6. Emotional and psychological trauma symptoms

From the data set, several emotions were observed which commonly follow trauma, including grief, fear, anger, guilt and shame. Additionally, the emotion of 'Han' was also frequently identified from the participants' narratives. The participants also showed symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) such as intrusive memories, avoidance, suicidal ideation and nightmares. As described above, the themes of emotional responses such as 'grief' and 'fear' and including the common PTSD symptom 'intrusive memories' theme, were also found from those in the upper quartile among the participants at high risk of PTSD, while the emotion of 'Han' was predominantly described in every risk group. The emotional response after the traumatic experience is important as it is the part of their appraisal process that can lead to their coping and resilience.

6.1. Han

From the data set, Han was observed mainly in situations that were impossible to change, or in endeavours which were difficult to achieve. Han is frequently described as something that fosters feelings of regret or resentment. The death of family members, which was naturally unchangeable, was the main issue for the participants, for instance (A01091019F14). Their loss was so sudden that there could be no preparation for bereavement.

Because my father passed away because of the Sasam. Father and mother couldn't act well. That's what stuck in my mind. (A01091019F14)

Some participants expressed it differently, so that their experience of 'Sasam' was their 'Han' itself. Since their various situations made them feel 'Han', their expressions detailed situations such as the death of family members or the hardships such as a lack of food or poor housing. The following participant's (A03290120F16) brother died during the Sasam and she experienced many hardships, including her pregnancy during this time. She recalled her memory of food shortages while pregnant. It was over seventy years ago, but the time that she was unable to eat nutritious food of the type usually consumed by new

mothers in Korea after her delivery was still Han to her. She concluded her experiences under the Sasam were unfair.

Being 'Han' was the experience during Sasam. ... My brother was dead because of the Sasam; apart from that, I don't wonder about anything. ... So, because of the Sasam, those people, my brother and uncle died, because of the Sasam. These bastards killed innocent people, that's the most lamentable thing to me. It's so deplorable even now to talk about Sasam. ... I couldn't lie down in a warm place, could not eat fish soup, those were the most lamentable things. ... It's unfair. (A03290120F16)

'Han' can be broadly understood as akin to the emotion of dejection (eokulhada), and also incorporates a sense of resignation to an unfair or unfortunate situation, regardless of one's will. The following participant (A05150819M03) showed these feelings which was also expressed as Han, explaining that everything started to go wrong from the time of the Jeju Sasam, which resulted in his imprisonment and made him disabled. Ultimately, he linked his Han to his lack of education, a side effect of Jeju Sasam.

As for now, I regret a lot. ... Now I am registered as a victim of the imprisonments. ... Everything, but everything is the wrongness from the past. Only Han. ... I mean that is, obviously I didn't get an education. No education. Because of that ... we don't know! We were not guilty, but we didn't know! So, there was nothing except just suffering what would come after whatever they did. (A05150819M03)

The following participant (A10171019M01) described his Han at various points from his life: family's hardships, including the lack of education, and also the inability to retrieve his father's body. His experience illustrates well how Han that originated from the Jeju Sasam has pervaded since Sasam and remains to this day. The value he attached to the family naturally included his young siblings, but nevertheless eventually they were separated due to the hardships that followed Sasam. He could not afford to care for his siblings after both parents were killed, and so arranged for his younger sister to be adopted by another family. He reports that he still suffers, thinking about his sister, who is no longer registered as his family member in the bereaved families' census. From the interview session, he showed a strong motivation to participate in the bereaved family association's activities to resolve the Sasam issue, but he is elderly and says he no longer has the energy to participate, which is also his Han.

The Han is that I couldn't study. My younger siblings couldn't live properly. This is the Han, what else can it be? And my parents... I couldn't collect my father's body. That's Han to me. ... So, I struggled with this a lot, and concluded it would be better to send her to him (the adopter) so she could have more opportunities and live comfortably. So, I gave my permission. He said that his family would take care of her very well, send her to university, arrange for her marriage and so on. ... if I had stayed in Jeju for a long time, then I could have done something, or volunteered for the Sasam bereaved family association, or something. But it didn't go according to my will, so I couldn't. That's also my Han. Now I am getting old, I don't have the energy to work or volunteer for the bereaved families' association. ... So, all these... are Han, which I kept thinking about. I really want to do something and participate, for my parents. But it's not always with my will. It's lamentable. (A10171019M01)

Similar characteristics were found between PTSD and Han. The recalling of traumatic events seen in PTSD is also observed to some extent in Han. The following participant (A11271219F13) collected her father's body from the pile of dead bodies in a field on a farm. After her father's death, her mother struggled to maintain an ordinary life, and she was the only one left from her siblings. Interestingly, she states that when she sees a mother and child on the street, she is reminded of her Han. She expressed her Han as being stuck in her mind.

Han, the thing that became Han is this. My father died, that is my Han. He died, and another thirty-five people died at the field. I walked right into the middle of all those dead people and carried out my father. That's my Han. ... Well, my brother also died. There was no one left except me. ... father and mother are stuck in my mind. Even now, when I see a mother and her children, Han is stuck in my mind. So even when you come, I feel Han eating away at my mind. None of my friends are alive, I'm the only one left. ... Only my father's death is my Han. Also, my siblings are my Han. ... There is no limit to having Han. (A11271219F13)

6.2. Grief

Obviously, grief is a common emotion following the loss of a loved one. Nearly half of the participants strongly expressed grief in their narratives. They described their family members' deaths in considerable detail and showed their deep grief even though they did not use such words as 'sorrow' or 'grief'. The interviewer noted when a participant's facial expression signalled sorrow, or when they burst

into tears, and coded these as grief. As seen with the following participant (A01091019F14), deep sorrow was frequently observed during the interviews.

The police arrested him and never sent him back. They sent him to a mainland prison. My father couldn't be bought with any money. Even a billion won couldn't buy my father. I cried a lot. That's the most sorrowful thing. (A01091019F14)

The following participant (A01240919F05) showed how her grief has been prolonged throughout her life since her parents' death during the Sasam. Her grief was combined with other emotions, such as loneliness. She expressed that she always cried when something reminded her of these family deaths. She visited the massacre site of a former prison location on the mainland and saw the piles of bones that previously could not be collected. A considerable period had passed, so skeletal remains had become mixed, making them difficult to identify. From her experience, it is seen that Sasam survivors are being continually exposed to situations that repeatedly remind them of their family members' tragic deaths.

If my parents had survived, I wouldn't have had this hardship. I cried thinking about who did this Sasam. ... Always, when friends call their mums, I used to think what kind of person can have a mother who lives long. But even after I got married, I couldn't say 'mother' to my mother-in-law. She was my mother-in-law, but I couldn't say 'mother'. It's too sad, too pitiful. I couldn't say a word, I couldn't call her 'mother.' Years later I could say 'mother'. But I feel so much pain in my mind when I talk to my mother- and father-in-law. It's too sad. ... So, when I saw the piles of bones I shouted to my brother and got among them. I couldn't help but just cry, so much. ... I couldn't feel anything else, I just kept crying. Just crying. (A01240919F05)

Grief was not limited to the survivors' own experiences; it also extended to other people's deaths during the Sasam. The following participant (A05140819M01) witnessed deaths, including those of infants. The authorities forced the people to clap while they were shooting. A child survived from the first gunfire, but, soon after, was killed while trying to escape. He shared his experiences, testifying in public, and large audiences also shared in his deep grief.

At the time of Sasam... it was, well, I was... It was such a sorrowful thing... I get tearful even thinking about it now. ... All the things that I've seen... When I began speaking, the interpreter started to cry. ... I wished the child could

have lived. Such a tragedy. What had that child done? What guilt did he have? They were just found at the fields. They executed people by gunfire when they were found at the fields. The Sasam was that horrific, the victims so pitiful. Even now when I think about those times, it reminds me so much. (A05140819M01)

6.3. Fear

Fear was another commonly observed emotion of the Jeju Sasam. Participants frequently described how fearful they were of terrible situations and the ferocity of the atrocities committed by the authorities. The following participant (A03290120F16) described how, even though she was not injured, she was nevertheless constantly scared from the time of the Second World War. During the Sasam, she was scared because of the authorities, describing it as a dangerous time. The authorities had a list of names given by people under torture who were supposedly suspected of being communists. Her mother-in-law worried that her husband could be on the list and made the participant and her husband hide during the night to avoid being abducted.

When we heard the sound of jets, then we crouched down to hide even as we were collecting bracken. We were scared that the bombs would fall and kill us. ... If their name was on the list, they would be killed. My mother-in-law worried that her son could be on the list, then he could be killed - killed by the authorities. So, we needed to go out during the night to avoid the kidnapping and worked during the daytime. ... it was dangerous like that. After that, the riots were scary. My older brother was also... ... I didn't get any injuries at the time of Sasam, but I was so scared. They tried to kidnap people during Sasam ... It was really dangerous at the time of Sasam. Also, the security forces kidnapped and raped ladies. ... Yes, if the mountain people knew the people then they didn't harm us, but the government forces were so frightening. (A03290120F16)

The situation of conflict between the authorities and the communist guerrillas living in the mountains made people live in fear, like the following participant who described their vulnerable situation without proper security. He had no choice but to escape to the mountains in fear, because he could not trust the authorities. He described both sides, the authorities and the guerrillas as scary, whether they seemed intent on harming the people or not.

It was scary so there was no choice but to escape to the mountain. ... Again, general civilians were afraid of this and that side. The rioters were scary, and the police were also feared. ... At that time, when I was young, I couldn't go far away from the farmlands. Couldn't go far away and had to return early before sunset. The police were so violent, suspecting people of contacting each other, and the rioters used to take people away. (A09051019M02)

Their fear from the Jeju Sasam was prolonged throughout later lives, which became a trigger to remind them of their traumatic experiences. The following participant (A02161019F05) described that she is still scared when she hears cars passing in front of her house, because it reminds her of memories of Sasam.

We were also.... We lived here since I was young. Our house was close to here, over in that direction. So, there was a road near the house. The sound of cars made me afraid at that time. ... Well, so fearful, I couldn't live because of the Sasam. ... They threatened us to make him return home. It was really scary. ... The policemen beat him a lot, so he was too frightened at that time, and now he became like that, because of the fear. It was like that. ... Even though I escaped the atrocities, but it was so scary at that time, and my friends died as well. (A02161019F05)

The following participant (A02250719F01) escaped to the mainland because she was afraid of Jeju Sasam. However, while she lived on the mainland, she was afraid of the sound of police whistles because it reminded her of the atrocities that she had seen perpetrated by the authorities during the Sasam.

The person was nearly dead. When I saw that kind of thing, I was afraid, so I grabbed four units of barley corn from mum's place and escaped to [location name deleted] on the mainland. ... When I got there, whenever I heard the police whistle sound it reminded me of the whistle sounds in the mountains, the moment the police came to abduct people. I was afraid, so I hid. ... It lasted about ten years. Grrreung - that sound. Now I can just speak like this, but it was terrible. Overhead, Tubulak tubulak [the sound of marching in combat boots.] police were walking. Below, under the ground, people were hiding. Until I got out from under the ground, I was so afraid... (A02250719F01)

Some participants displayed a fear of stigma and how it affected their behaviour. The following participant (A06280819F02) was illegally imprisoned during the Jeju Sasam. She knew that she was not guilty, but she was afraid of the stigma people would create against an imprisoned person, to the extent that it was severely detrimental to her health and social wellbeing.

I was released at the age of eighteen, a maiden age, I had to live in hiding since I was that age. Even though I went out socially, I couldn't say a word because I had served a sentence. ... I couldn't even tell children that I had been taken away during Sasam and had served a three-year sentence. I couldn't say it happened three years ago. ... I have lived losing my nerve because I was dragged into the Sasam. Me. Yes, losing my nerve. ... Some twisted people say that I got easy money with the compensation, that it's not a problem, that I served for 10 months, or a year. But because I was imprisoned, I was really, I tried to do social activities, but I couldn't talk in front of others. I lost my nerve. I was afraid to be heard, like 'Who are you? You imprisoned thing.' It shouldn't have been like that, but still. (A06280819F02)

From the following participant's (A12110120F05) interview, her behaviour change due to fear was observed. Because of her experience of Jeju Sasam, she always feared other people's attitudes, and sometimes this made her avoid people.

Our side of the village was not set on fire, but I was so scared. ... We just came out from the home stamping our feet on the ground, went this way and then burst into tears, crying 'what can we do?'. ... That's how it was, so I couldn't sleep that night. ... We just went this way and that way at the house entrance, couldn't go near the shooting place! It was too fearful. ... I couldn't go to the elementary school because of the Sasam, it was very difficult and very horrifying. ... Harassment? Whether I experienced it or not, I was always fearful and that never leaves the mind. You have to observe others' attitudes and avoid people. (A12110120F05)

6.4. Anger

Anger is one of the top three emotions commonly observed from the data set. It is a natural emotion following the traumatic events of Jeju Sasam, such as the unprovoked killing of a family member. Participants frequently expressed their anger, like the following participant (A11271219F13).

I am angry. My parents died because of the Sasam. I have lived my life crying. My grandfather died as well because of the Sasam. (A11271219F13)

The following participant (A08180819M01) sued the government on behalf of his brother, but showed his great anger that the deceased can never come back even

though the survivors try hard to do something for them, for example a trial for reclaiming the dead victims' honour.

Then even though we won the trial, my brother could have his honour reclaimed and we were awarded compensation. But the rest of the families who were killed instantly at the massacre site without being able to say a word. What should we do for them? (A08180819M01)

Their anger centres on the authorities as well, who were the perpetrators in the past, and who now have responsibility but have failed to satisfy the survivors in the present. The following participant (A10171019M01) expressed his anger against the government who he sees as irresponsible on the issue of Jeju Sasam.

They should admit that those civilians vanished like dew because of their authoritarian power. I hope they could remember this. Those kinds of things are more valuable to me than reclaiming honour. ... I honestly, I want to go to Seoul alone and lie down in protest in front of the National Assembly. I want to lie down in front of the [political party name deleted] party building. (A10171019M01)

Included within the authorities, anger remains directly towards individual perpetrators who served as police officers. The following participant (A05190819M05) expressed his anger toward the perpetrator who killed his family. He became an orphan after his parents were killed and needed to work for another family, living with them instead.

I can remember even now, at that time, there was a person who pointed out my parents and our uncle who was mentally ill. Can I reveal the person's name? ... There was a person who was a policeman, at that time. I don't know whether he is still alive or not, but once he came to this village, he got a bellyful, that policeman. He denounced the people in this village, so people couldn't live or go around because of him. His sons also became policemen, the thing that I most want to do is, if I could meet him even now, I would just want to beat him to death. I think he made me like this. (A05190819M05)

6.5. Guilt and shame

Guilt and shame were other emotions that could lead the survivors to negative thoughts and appraisals. Guilt was also observed from the previous themes in regard to self-blaming. Their perceived failure to fulfil their duty as a family was

frequently mentioned, which led the participants to blame themselves and experience feelings of guilt.

6.5.1.Guilt

Trauma survivors can experience survivor guilt, which can be referred to as negative thoughts. The following participant expressed that he has many regrets and shows his feeling of guilt that he felt that he could not do well for the person responsible for saving his life during the Sasam. His benefactor Chief Moon died with no family, so our participant felt a duty to help him, but he asserts that he failed.

Now I regret a lot. ... I forgot about him, even though he was my benefactor. So, when I looked at prints, papers and books, I saw that Chief Moon didn't have any family. No one. So, he died miserably. He was the benefactor to me. I was born because of my father and mother, but my second life, well Chief Moon was almost a parent to me. I could have gone astray without his words. My existence didn't repay his acts of kindness. I couldn't, because I didn't know. But even now, I have nothing to wish for. I just didn't repay my thanks to him. I didn't know about his death before. I feel sorry about that. So even though it's late, I don't know how much time is left for me, maybe one or two years, while I am alive, I should cherish memories and should live rightly with a thankful mind. That's my repayment to him, if I live thinking like that. (A05150819M03)

The following participant (A10171019M01) showed survivor's guilt, which made him avoid and hate his native Jeju Island.

But at that time, I hated Jeju. Why? I was bereaved of my parents and all my siblings. I only thought about how I could live on this Jeju Island. (A10171019M01)

6.5.2.Shame

Only two people described the moment that they felt shame. The origin of their shame started from the Jeju Sasam. The first participant (A01240919F05) was ashamed when she thought that her relatives (referred to as Gwendang, a similar concept to kinship in Jeju language) might think that she failed to take care of her child. Because of the Sasam, her life became one of hardship, which necessitated

her to work on a farm, carrying her children out to the fields because there was no one else to take care of them. However, she appraised her situation as a shameful time, and was concerned about how other people thought of her.

Then those fields around there were our Gwendang's fields. Then I was so ashamed. ... The relatives who came to fields nearby, I felt ashamed because I failed to take good care of the children. (A01240919F05)

The second participant (A01250919F10) was a survivor of imprisonment, which was the origin of her shame. This also caused her concerns about the perceptions of other people and the resulting stigma.

At first when I was released from prison, I was deeply ashamed of myself. (A01250919F10)

6.6. Hope and Hopelessness

Hope and hopelessness were observed from the data set. Both hope and hopelessness can impact the survivors' psychological outcomes, regarding their positive or negative appraisal, and their paths to recovery from their traumas. The reports of hope or hopelessness have similar numbers of participants: fourteen people expressed hope for something and twelve people expressed hopelessness.

6.6.1.Hope

Hope was obviously mainly focused on the issue of Jeju Sasam. They wish that a situation like Jeju Sasam will never happen again. The people who lost family members during the Sasam, wished strongly to find them, even just to find parts of their skeletons. The following participant (A02150120M11) registered his DNA to the database so he could have a chance to find his family member's body.

I registered myself on the database, but there was still no hit. So, the exhumation is in progress at the airport. But they couldn't completely do it because of the airstrip of the airport. So maybe somewhere around the airport... My DNA data is stored at the city hall. (A02150120M11)

The complete solution for the Jeju Sasam, including the reclaiming honour of the dead victims, is one of the hopes that was frequently observed from the data set. Furthermore, compensation was another part of their hope, as seen in the following participants. These hopes were related to the area of legal solutions which the government needs to take responsibility for, and in which the National Assembly can take a lead. The following participant (A05150819M03) mentioned that he wants to witness the end of the Sasam issue before he dies. He states that reconciliation is part of his hope, but that the complete solution of Jeju Sasam should be a priority.

I hope the ends come quickly, really quickly. Because I hope to see the completion of the Sasam solution while I'm still alive. They should solve everything, stop getting it wrong. Go forward to the reconciliation and the way of coexistence. ... So rather than the compensation or something - human rights, and on an identical point, reclaiming the honour, they should restore those people to their original position. People who were not guilty. Those things, before we close our eyes, before I die, I hope we can quickly solve the miserable and unfair things that happened because of the Sasam. That's my wish, that these things get resolved. I hope that honour can be quickly reclaimed. (A05150819M03)

The participants also wanted to contribute to changes in the Sasam issue as survivors and bereaved family members, like the following participant (A01091019F14) for instance, who wanted to protest in front of the National Assembly and speak out.

I would like to be invited to the National Assembly again. ... I want to speak. My father died, and it's been seventy-one years now. They can't bring the dead person back to life. (A01091019F14)

6.6.2.Hopelessness

Two chief contexts for hopelessness were found from the data set. Unlike the contexts for hope, participants described the situation of Jeju Sasam as the time that they could have no hope: a hopeless time in which to live. Being unsure of survival, it was hardly possible to maintain any hope. The following participant

(A02191119F10) described the moment when her sister was arrested, which was the moment that she felt hopelessness during the Sasam.

At the time of Sasam, my older sister was arrested, and she was twenty-one years old. So, we were very aggrieved and had no hope for her to live. Other people were storing their rice, burying it in the ground and burying the housewares. However, we were dejected because my sister was arrested. (A02191119F10)

The second context of hopelessness moved to the present, that the Sasam issue is still unresolved. As much as the participants' hope is related to the complete solution of Jeju Sasam, they feel hopeless when they see that politics seems unable to solve the problem.

The 4.3 Special Law is.... they hurry, hurry to solve it, pass it at the National Assembly, then it can be completed somehow. But the National Assembly behaves like that. Now... even our bereaved families tried to shout. It's not worth it yet, but it's supposed to be worth it. The National Assembly, it's been pending for a year. If it is not passed by this December, and I'm worried it might not be, it will get passed on beyond December... (A06121019M06)

The following participant also showed strong hopelessness towards the solving of the Jeju Sasam issue, mentioning the weakness of Jeju Island's political power (i.e., only having three members of the National Assembly) as the reason he could not expect anything anymore from politics.

But they only discuss it, nothing actually changes. So that's, those are a bit, I think it never will change. ... But as I see it it's impossible. The reason why it can't be achieved, is because there are only three members of the National Assembly on Jeju Island. (A08180819M01)

6.7. Intrusive memories

Intrusive memories are a symptom of PTSD and lead to negative thoughts. Some participants mentioned that their Sasam memories are crystal clear and that they never can forget. The signs of intrusive memories were connected to their autobiographical memories, and showed their experiences in detail, including the atrocities committed by the authorities. The following participant (A12110120F05),

for instance, even though the events occurred seventy-two years ago, still has vividly clear memories.

I think it's been seventy-two years. Thinking about it calmly, still those things are vividly clear. Because it was very, very shocking. ... Now I am close to dying, but the old memories become more and more clear, and I can't forget it. Because it was extremely shocking. Too shocking ... The Sasam memories never leave, always, it was just too shocking. Ah, at that age of sixteen, I couldn't live because it's vivid even now. (A12110120F05)

6.8. Avoidance

Avoidance is one of the common symptoms of PTSD. It was frequently observed in the recruitment as well. When the researcher tried to recruit potential participants to the study, many of them refused to participate, showing the avoidance of talking about the Jeju Sasam. They refused to participate, saying, 'I don't want to talk about it,' or 'I don't want to remember those days'. Even after they participated in the interview session, avoidance was observed; for instance, they just tried hard to forget the time anyway. The following participant (A06280819F02) mentioned once that she refused to be interviewed when she tried to register herself as a Sasam victim.

One day, an official document came from the town office. I visited the office and was led to the 4.3 department. When I visited there, they talked about Sasam. They asked questions like what kind of crime I was charged with and how many years I had spent there. I asked them to stop. I don't want to hear about it and don't want to speak about it. ... But they said, 'if you apply for this, it will not be harmful.' I came back rejecting it, 'even though harmless could even give me a field, I really don't want to speak about Sasam. I don't even want to think about it'. After that, I rejected it another two or three times, then they didn't call me for about two years. (A06280819F02)

Avoidance was also observed as a means of purposely not being reminded of the Sasam. The following participant (A08180819M01) once rejected his friend's offer to join the bereaved family's meeting because he did not want to be part of anything that reminds him about Sasam.

He tried to convince me to attend there together. I was like, I don't want to be there and don't want to be reminded. ... When they gathered, they just talked about how their family members had died. I didn't want to hear about those things. Even if they talked about it, nobody would acknowledge it. ... I didn't attend those places. (A08180819M01)

The following participant (A10171019M01) said that he could not return to Jeju Island after he served in the military on the mainland because it was hard to set foot on the soil where his family members had died. As a result, he avoided returning to the island for many years.

I graduated from the academy and was sent to [location name deleted]. I worked at the headquarters for two months, and transferred to [location name deleted] aircraft squadron. I worked at [location name deleted] for four years. and after that I couldn't return to Jeju. (A10171019M01)

6.9. Suicidal ideation

Suicidal ideation is one of the important psychological outcomes for trauma survivors that needs high attention. From the data set, a few participants showed their suicidal ideation in the past. Their ideation originated from their loss of family members and the lack of resources to survive, which caused them to think that death would be better than their hardships, as seen in the following participant (A01240919F05).

At that time, I didn't want to live anymore. I was bereaved of my parents, I had no house and no one, so I thought it would be better to die with them rather than to live like this in suffering. (A01240919F05)

6.10. Nightmares

A few participants mentioned that they had nightmares, but no details of their content were shared. The following participant (A05140819M02) also showed signs of intrusive memory, which influenced his nightmares.

These kinds of thoughts are in my head even now. Now it is crystal clear in my head. And the memories are shockingly clear enough to be in my dreams. (A05140819M02)

Only the following participant (A10171019M01) shared his nightmares in detail, of being chased by the police or being taken away by soldiers. He was threatened and shot in the arm. He witnessed his friends being killed where he had been shot. He volunteers as a teacher for educating about Jeju Sasam to the next generation. However, he mentioned that when he has an interview like this one for research or has a similar opportunity to share his experiences, it is followed by a nightmare, which seems to be a symptom of PTSD.

After this kind of interview session, I... a bit.... I start having a dream and wake up in the night. I kept having nightmares. If I dreamt, it was always nightmares, like a dream of being chased by the police or dreaming that I was taken away and beaten by the soldiers. I kept dreaming about these kinds of things, so I have dreamed about such things... (A10171019M01)

Theme 7. Recovery and Adjustment

The process of recovery from traumatic events can differ from individual to individual. Diverse factors can affect their recovery, such as the time required for recovery, access to therapy and the individual's environment, which can influence their help-seeking behaviours (Kantor et al., 2017). For instance, if one lacks knowledge of trauma and its impact, it can be hard to recognise the negative psychological symptoms. If society has a lack of understanding about trauma, it could be hard to find or access therapy or services required to receive help.

In fact, the concept of trauma is a somewhat new idea in understanding the Sasam survivors. The Jeju 4.3 Truth Investigation Report was published in 2003 and the physical and psychological damage of Jeju Sasam were officially recognised. Therefore, even though survivors felt psychologically disturbed it could be hard to link their symptoms to a need for treatment. Also, the stigma against mental illness still prevails in Korean society, which could limit the Sasam survivors' help-seeking behaviour. In this kind of environment, Jeju Sasam survivors have spent much of their lifetimes living with harmful conditions, as mentioned in the previous themes. However, a few signs of positive factors helping their psychological outcomes were observed. The current theme, 'recovery and adjustment' was developed by the narratives that described the signs of resilience, positive factors for their recovery and their adjustment to post life with trauma.

7.1. Positive quality of life

Over half of the participants positively appraised their quality of life since the physical development of their environment in their lifespan. The meaning of the quality of life in this research generally implied satisfaction with their life and their physical environment. Our participants tended to appraise their quality of life in terms of physical environment through economic factors such as the ability to afford living or housing costs, including water and electricity. Participants stated that their lives improved gradually following the country's development, for example the modernisation of housing. The following participant (A01060819F03) gave detailed differences regarding the modernising of their home environment.

Since when did I become comfortable? About... from my 50s or 60s. ... Nothing special, but living became more relaxed. It got very comfortable. ... I mean, it's way better to live compared with the past. In the past, I couldn't build this kind of house. We had no sinks or things, and just lived that way until the mid-1980s. After the mid-80s, this kind of house was built and sinks and things like that installed. Before then, we had to make a fire. Yes, I lived like that. It was this small, thatched house. (A01060819F03)

Their threshold of 'good living' was based on their experiences of hardship after Sasam. A lack of essentials for maintaining basic living standards, such as adequate food and clothing was no longer the problem it had been in the past, as seen in the following participant's (A01240919F05) description.

So, our generation has lived in such luxury. Under the law. ... the change in living is, compared to the old days, now it's luxury. In the days, there were no food or clothes to wear, so when I went to school, I could only wear this small skirt and shirt, which were dusted off. We couldn't do laundry, just dusting off because it was the only pair of clothes. But now, wearing good clothes is common. (A01240919F05)

Participant (A01240919F05) also mentioned that her generation has lived in luxury because of the law. This meant social support by the government, for instance, state pensions for the elderly population. The following participant (A03151119F05) mentioned her monthly benefits provided by the government which significantly support her life.

How comfortable it is to live. Compared to the past, the country gives money to elderly people. 250,000 won every month. How comfortable. I could live only with this. (A03151119F05)

Again, the participants' positive quality of life criteria includes education. They appraised their world positively when they witnessed the easy access to education.

Believe it or not, these days are nothing like that. It's a very good time to live. We didn't imagine this much development. So, it's a good world to live in. ... Things have changed... now, this is a good time. Children went to the city to work and to go to school. At that time, everything was blocked so I couldn't go to school. Nowadays, in this kind of world, if one has money then they can go to Seoul or Jeju for education. So, I'm satisfied with that. (A02161019F05)

Economic growth is the foundation for improvement to their quality of life. In the case of Jeju Island, tangerine farming was a great contributor to economic growth. Participants particularly mentioned tangerine farming rather than other agricultural factors. Due to the climate, tangerines could only be grown on Jeju Island in the past, so its value reflected in pricing impacted Jeju islanders' rapid economic growth.

Living well or not is, I mean, here it is the agricultural area. In the old days, I mean, here we did farming but nothing was special, things like barley, millet, these types of fused, used as staple foods. Now, farming has become tangerine farming, since like thirty, or fifty years ago. Yes. We expected to change our lives by this, so we changed to tangerine farming and now it has probably improved 70 to 80%. The rest of them still do the same, ordinary farming. So, our quality of life became very different since we did tangerine farming. Yes, it's changed a lot, and it's only been thirty years maybe since television and radio has become widespread. It's only in the past thirty years, that all houses have televisions and phones. Compared to nowadays, living in the old days was just like an animal's life. (A05140819M02)

Another contributor to economic growth and development mentioned by the following participant (A06051219M08) was the Saemaul Undong (New Village Movement), which was described from the previous Theme 1. The national campaign aimed at developing rural areas included modernising houses, installing electricity, road construction and mobilising the population. While this national campaign was in progress, the South Korean economy grew rapidly, by 10.2% between 1972 to 1976 (Saemaul Undong Archive, 2021) which means the people's quality of life also grew together.

The Saemaul business was what President Park Chung Hee started. Yes, so through the Saemaul business, our, this Jeju island's agricultural villages, it made us live well. At that time, Park Chung Hee made the road in the middle of the mountain. Now, the government pays for the fields, but at that time, there was no compensation. They unconditionally took the fields and built the road. They made 516 roads in the central mountain area as well. So that's how we have lived so far. (A06051219M08)

7.2. Social wellbeing

Participants frequently described their social activities at the senior community centres. The government supports the centre's budget, and most villages have such centres. A community centre for the elderly offers a shared space and programmes, such as recreation or light exercise, for members to enjoy together. The following participant (A01060819F03) well understood the importance of social mingling and activities as pastimes. She would attend the centre even though she had difficulty walking.

Even though it's a bit hard to walk, I rely on my cane and go to the centre as a pastime. This is just my pastime. It's better to go there than sitting alone. Listening to other people and speaking with them - that could be a pastime. It's good. (A01060819F03)

The following participant (A11041119F03) described her activities at the centre. Apart from physical exercise and games, they also did small tasks for their community, such as cleaning the streets as part of their senior care programme.

Throwing balls and there are various exercises for elderly people. Everyone comes to the centre, to play and spend their time. And anyone who is able to move does the work. People who are ill can't do it. Those people who can do the work, they take out the trash and clean up the villages. They also come here and manage the cleaning of the senior community centre. People come and exercise together. ... There are exercise machines as well. There's everything, everything. (A11041119F03)

Senior citizen's colleges were another environment where attendance functions as a social activity. The senior college is a lifelong education programme which supports the senior citizens' social adjustment and their lives in old age. It is normally offered by organisations as social welfare centres for senior citizens. The following participant (A09270819M01) showed how organisations for the elderly population can keep them learning and achieving.

Until I was about eighty years old, I went to senior citizen's college and graduate school. ... I went to college for a year. There were about ninety people in our club. Ninety people. When we graduated, we were 17th class. Our classmate suggested making the post graduate course. ... We showed the governor our petition and asked him to permit the graduate course for the elderly college. We wanted to go to graduate school. Then the governor said he would try. Then a few days later the permission was granted. Permission

for graduate school! The budget was all supported by the provincial government. So, we graduated from the first class of the graduate school. Now it becomes the 18th or 20th class. It's been about 20 years since we got the permission. Eh, we made that kind of thing. The graduate school for elderly college was the first time in Korea. Now all provinces have it. (A09270819M01)

In the case of the Jeju Sasam survivors, they had advocacy groups for themselves and the next generation of bereaved families. Groups such as the 4.3 Victims and Bereaved Family Association provide opportunities to gather people together who share similar trauma experiences. The group for the victims of illegal imprisonments, for instance, has regular meetings but also sometimes plans projects or exhibitions to inform about Jeju Sasam and the victims themselves. They proceeded together with the legal action against the government. The following participant (A06280819F02) described the importance of group gatherings within victim societies.

We made a huge exhibition. ... when we went to the trial, we visited together and sat together on the seats. So, I cared about this trial. I cared about it, but the trial was prolonged for two years. There is nothing we could do. Even though we lost the trial, the Jeju people's association made a lot of effort. (A06280819F02)

Their gatherings are opportunities for solidarity among the victims and bereaved families. This solidarity is the motivation and power to keep fighting and make changes within society to claim justice, both for themselves and also for the victims of other cases of state violence. The following participant (A08180819M01) worked hard for many years as part of the bereaved family association. He travelled abroad with the association to learn about other victims of injustice. He understood the importance of the association that could provide the opportunity to gather the bereaved families and form solidarity for their common aim: solving the Jeju Sasam issue.

At first, we visited Okinawa as a reference for the 4.3 Peace Park building. I've been to Cambodia and Okinawa where massacres happened. The Nanjing? Nanjing, in China. I've been there too. We tried to make the Peace Park. It's good to travel like that, but we made inspections as an excuse to travel, to visit somewhere on the mainland, that didn't need to be done in fact. Yes. But I can say this - they gathered the bereaved families to unite. That's the actual truth. If they don't gather, they can't do the solidarity. ... until the

problem is solved, we need to keep gathering. As much as the people gather, the members of province gather. They should be in the people's gathering. This, democracy needs to have votes, so regarding that, the gathering is essential. (A08180819M01)

7.3. Religion

A few participants described their religious beliefs. The Buddhist temple was frequently mentioned as the place where the participants pray for their wishes, including peace for their family members killed during the Sasam. Also, the value attached to the family was confirmed by praying for their children or grandchildren. With one exception, the participants were female. The following participant (A06180919F04) appraised that religious belief and activity helps her. She presented herself as a devout believer who attended the temple since gaining the belief Buddha can bless the dead victims' souls.

There were no changes about believing in Buddha or something. I think Buddha helps me well. ... because my father died, he needed somewhere for his soul to be served. So, I tried to go to the temple in the mountains. But mother couldn't make it. But she said even though she couldn't go, father's soul could be found there. ... And my daughter in law asked me how I think I will be served in the temple after my death. They are thinking of serving my soul at the temple. I just replied to them that I would be blessed if they just remembered me. (A06180919F04)

Religious belief was used practically for the promotion of mental health. She repeatedly wrote a Buddhism chant, believing that it could prevent dementia. She wrote the chant on thousands of pieces of paper.

I believe in Buddhism, writing that this Namuamitabul [meaning 'Save us, merciful Buddha', a famous Buddhist chant] can prevent dementia. There are pieces of paper for writing Namuamitabul. ... when you write Namuamitabul like this, then it's 108 letters. 108 letters. You know bowing 108 times at the temple? It comes from there. So, when I go to the temple, I bring these writings and make an offering to Buddha. And burn it. ... I used to write when I got to the temple, when I was bored, when I can't sleep at night, or when I had spare time in the daytime. Thinking about writing and seeing the letters to write, then it could exercise my brain, so it could prevent dementia, and treat my boredom. Offering these writings to Buddha helps me. (A06280819F02)

Folk beliefs were also observed from the interview narratives, regardless of the participant's stated religion. The role of folk beliefs was confirmed from the narratives; they were aimed at blessing their fortunes and their ancestors' souls, and also the souls of the victims who died during the Sasam. The following participant (A03290120F16) prayed with her mother-in-law for her husband's safe return from military service during the Korean War.

But my husband was in the military, his mother prayed to Chowang [one of spirits in Korean folk belief, the god of the kitchen] however poor we were and whatever difficulties we had, we prayed in the kitchen once a month for her son in the military. We scooped water into a pot, prayed for her son every month. ... Me and my mother-in-law brought those rice cakes and threw them on fields where the dead bodies were lying down, because those rioters shot them. ... Because her son was in the military, she wanted those souls to help him stay safe and healthy. (A03290120F16)

Further in the narrative of (A03290120F16), she described the shaman who played a role as a healer. Her mother-in-law refused to get the medication but conducted Gut (a religious ritual ceremony) to heal the illness. It shows the Korean belief based on Musok, which is shamanism, but was developed within the Korean culture. 'Chibyeong Gut' is used for healing diseases by calming the rage of the gods.

After I gave birth to my baby, my mother-in-law began to get ill and she lived as a patient for a while before she died. ... I offered to get medication for her, but she refused. Instead, my mother-in-law was able to rise from her bed after she got exorcised. So, my mother-in-law used to serve big 'Gut' three or four times a year for five days. (A03290120F16)

The following participant (A01240919F05) was another example of having combined beliefs, in this case Buddhism and folk belief. She introduced the reason for her religious behaviour of praying for her ancestor's soul. She also adopted a folk belief for the dead victims. She visited a mainland massacre site where Jeju Sasam victims had been imprisoned. They brought back the massacre site's soil because they were unable to collect the scattered bones there at that time. The rite event 'Gut' was served by a shaman for the dead victims.

The reason is... I knew nothing, but the temple blessed the ancestor's soul. ... the temple is supposed to bless the souls and we should pay back the ancestor's efforts they made for us. I discovered that so started to go to the temple discretely. So now my mother, father and older brother are blessed when I register them to the temple. ... we wanted to bring those bones back to Jeju Island but couldn't identify them. ... So, I wrapped those handfuls of soil and brought them back to Jeju. We held events in front of the Gwandeokjung and brought them to the alcohol factory (where people were detained during Sasam). ... We did Gut for three days, and brought that soil to Sasam Peace Park. (A01240919F05)

7.4. Resilience

Extending from social wellbeing and religion, further signs of resilience were found from the data set. Some participants had their own resilient strategies for living their post-Sasam life with their traumas. It is essential to eat well to preserve a healthy life. The following participant (A06131219F10), who was 97 years old at the time of the interview shared her strategy of a healthy diet for a long life.

I'm 97 years old but very healthy and I forget nothing. ... Someone asked me, Grandmother how can you be that healthy? So, I don't eat meat, that's what I answered. I only eat soybean soup and rice, I said. I just eat rice, cooked greens and soybean soup only. (A06131219F10)

It is worth noting that most of the participants used to be farmers. Their daily farming routine started at sunrise and lasted to sunset. They kept moving their bodies and diligently worked at their farming tasks. The following participant (A10281119M04) said that he had no time to recall his memories of trauma, because he was too busy farming every day.

I diligently farmed and harvested the crops, like rape flowers and sweet potatoes which could be bargained well with the government. I needed money first, so I didn't have spare time to think about those things, I was only passionate for farming. (A10281119M04)

The diligent farmer's habits described above appear to have prevented negative rumination. The following participant (A06180919F04) was already retired from farming, but she still wanted to do some work in the fields, even though her sons,

who worried about her health, tried to stop her. However, she continued to work, even on small tasks, to stop her from thinking 'useless things'.

Even now I farm my little field. If I want to go to the field, once my eldest son came and said to his brother that he should take care of my health. He meant to make me stop working. So since then, when I tried to go to the field, they tried to stop me. So, it's fine, it's not unbearable when I hire somebody and I work gently. If I remain sitting alone and doing nothing it makes me think about some sort of useless things. So that's why I want to go to the field. (A06180919F04)

Positive thinking was obviously a way of maintaining good mental health, and a way of changing any negative appraisal. The following participant (A05151219F09) said one should have a 'bigger mind', and that every issue can be different depending on one's mind.

If you make your mind bigger, it's all up to your mind. If you think you have enough to be satisfied, then you're satisfied; if you think things are not well, then they're not well. It depends on your mind. There is no limit if you feel out of sorts. When you think it's okay to live with these things, then it becomes okay. This is what I think, I don't know other people. (A05151219F09)

The effort to sustain positive thinking was related to their way of accepting the impact of the traumatic events. The following participant (A04091119M02) emphasised his belief in accepting life's experiences positively and that one should live with a smile. There was no choice, he contends, but to accept the situation of Sasam, and try his best to live through the following era.

I should accept things in life basically in a good way, I should not accept them in bad ways. ... look on the bright side, not on the bad side. Don't look on the bad side. ... Even though I am small, my mind is big, so I don't get frightened much. Even though I'm small, even if I didn't get educated well, if I accept it like 'Ah, the time was like that' then it's not a worry. ... A person should live in the world with a broad smile. It's not good to go around with a sad face. (A04091119M02)

With a similar mindset the following participant (A06180919M03) accepted his hardship simply because he was born at the time of Jeju Sasam; it was inevitable, he believes, and expressed that he regrets nothing. His positive thought process amounted to a conviction that one should try one's best rather than be disappointed in a given situation.

I don't regret such things. It's because I was born around that time and in that situation. Even if my mind was on those things and I regretted them, it would be my loss. I don't regret anything. ... It was the generation of that time. I don't have disappointment. I shouldn't have that kind of mind. One should try to have the one's own best abilities, following one's own belief. (A06180919M03)

Beliefs such as expressed by the participant above, are a form of positive thinking related to the belief in having a strong spirit. The following participant (A01020120M17) believed that he learned to have a strong capacity to preserve his life from the time of Jeju Sasam.

I got a stronger capacity for living. Even now, when I think about those experiences I survived, really, tears of blood come into my eyes. Yes. So even now, this spirit to make do and not waste money, it's quite strong. (A01020120M17)

As described above, the theme 'resilience' was one of the upper quartile themes with the participants at high risk of depression. There were no significant differences under this theme between the risk groups. Therefore, the current theme can be considered as the survivors' efforts towards coping. However, the individual's effort and their recovery are not directly proportional. Further supportive services such as therapy or social support are needed.

7.5. Salamsimin Salajinda

'Salamsimin Salajinda' is a phrase in Jeju language, meaning 'you can live if you face up to life'. (Heo, 2017). In other words, it means if you accept and bear the hardships, and see it through, then you can live your life till the end. The phrase is hard to translate as there is no perfectly equivalent expression in English. However, it is comparable to the English phrase 'grin and bear it'⁷. Additionally, it is the attitude to live one's life, sharing the common-sense approach of 'life goes on'. Therefore, it encourages a person to endure under hard circumstances. This cultural expression was observed in two different attitudes: the strong spirit to

⁷ Based on the definition by Merriam-Webster dictionary of 'grin and bear it': 'to accept something that one does not like because there is no choice'. The definition is available from here: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/grin%20and%20bear%20it>

recover from hardships, or acceptance of any situation that bothers a person. The following participant (A02161119F08) expressed the belief that life should be lived without calculation, without worrying too much about calculating losses and gains.

I said there is no 'how' [to live], just live. Then [you] could live [the life]. ... I lived without any calculations. (A02161119F08)

Similar attitudes were observed, so those attitudes of resilience or adjustment were coded to the current sub-theme. In fact, Salamsimin Salajinda was observed among the participants from the low risk groups of PTSD and depression as part of their resilience. Most of the participants expressed their attitude to living life, like the following participant (A04091119M02).

I, myself, a person's life should be lived anyway. ... I lived at home and found that I lived well somehow after I came here. ... like this, living is, ah, my hardship was for this. Life should be lived anyway. (A04091119M02)

They continued this approach to life because they had survived, and, in any case, they needed to live, as expressed by the following participant (A02191119F10). They felt they needed to accept the situation even though it was not their choice, and anyway, they had to live through the situation.

I've been living because I didn't die. ... There were no shoes, no clothes and no rice at that time, so we just lived because we didn't die. Really. (A02191119F10)

The following participant's (A01060819F03) more detailed description of 'Salamsimin Salajinda' is valuable for understanding the attitude. It can be interpreted as an acceptance and resilience strategy for enduring hardships following traumatic events.

Well now, nothing is special. Even if I recounted those things, now it's a good world, so if I accept them as a good thing then I can just live anyway. ... I just lived, regardless of what I could or couldn't do or didn't do back then. Everyone lives like that. Things you can't do anything about are everywhere. ... I just let my mind go, just let it go. ... I just let my mind go. I don't think this or that too much. I don't think, I just let it go. Just get rid of those. ... At that time, I used to think like that. It would be better to have many ideas, but I was just about living the life. People at that time thought 'I'll live by myself anyway, if have no food to eat, then eat even grasses instead.'

rather than think of leaving this world. Everyone lived like that at that time. We had no choice because all harvested crops were burned, and we couldn't do anything. (A01060819F03)

The hardship following the Sasam was impossible to avoid, so the survivors accepted their situations rather than feel frustrated. Accept the unavoidable hardship and keep going till its end are the key points in their attitude to help their resilience. Anyway, they have lived through their life: whatever happened, they have survived until now. As the current theme observed the senses of bearing with or enduring stress, this will be further addressed in the following Discussion chapter, including the additional findings from risk groups of PTSD and depression.

Chapter 5. Discussion

This research aimed to explore the Jeju Sasam survivors' trauma and its enduring impact on their lives. As shown in the Results chapter, the research population's traumatic experiences, indicated severe and lasting psychological impacts. As Table 6 described in the Results chapter, their experiences were similar to Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families in previous studies, who have shown adverse psychological outcomes such as PTSD, depression or suicide ideation (Jun et al., 2016; Jung & Kim, 2018, 2020; Kim, 2008). The current thesis found the level of depression symptoms was similar to the previous study (Jung & Kim, 2020). Further, as seen in Tables 6 and 7 from the Results chapter, the importance of social determinant factors (CSDH, 2008) was established, which referred to loss of resources: displacement and material loss (such as homes, other properties, livestock and belongings). The resources are related to the factors that are associated to the high level of resilience from the previous study (Kim & Jung, 2021a).

Seven themes were identified (Table 8 from the Results chapter) from the narratives of the fifty participants. These were reorganised to develop the model of trauma resilience mechanism. In this chapter, we will discuss the important findings from the themes and how we finally organised them into a model. The participants' culture will be introduced: first to interpret the background of the research population, and then the self and cognitive appraisal will be discussed in the following subchapter. Furthermore, the signs of resilience and recovery from the narratives are introduced. Lastly, we will discuss the resilience mechanism model for the Jeju community. All themes overlap with one another in places. Figure 17 at the end of this chapter will illustrate the Jeju Sasam survivors' resilience mechanism. Their interdependence shaped the relationship between the elements of the trauma resilience mechanism.

1. Culture

1.1. Trauma and the culture

The language of participants indicated their culture; for instance, their usage of the subject 'we' rather than 'I'. The Korean use of 'Uri' ('we' or 'our') does not always indicate the first-person plural as in English. The Korean language has a distinction between 'my' and 'our', but 'our' can be alternatively used as 'my'. For instance, 'our' family is used rather than 'my' family, even 'our wife' or 'our husband'. The special function of 'we' in Korean demonstrates a collectivistic cultural value, intimacy or in-group bond within the community (Kim, 2003a; Lee, 2017b; Yoon, 2002).

We also got damages because of the Sasam. Seniors suffered during the time of Japanese authority. After that, the 25th of June [the commencement of the Korean War in 1950] and Sasam, all those events happened quickly. (A06180919M03)

We, our house was not damaged. Yes, our family was not harmed but only our older brother was missing (A07180120F05)

Such language use was also found from our participants. From the quotations above, the functional use of 'we' can be observed. For example, the use of 'we' as a subject to share their experiences during the Sasam as a whole, within their community or family.

Also, the participants held their commemoration events, which are a core part of their collective remembering and culture as a victim society. Jeju Sasam victims' community showed their cultural context: through their behaviour and values from collective memorial events, and the value attached to the family and community. Those collectivistic cultural features stressed the culture as an important element to understand the population and furthermore their resiliency.

The use of the Jeju language was another point to review in this population. As seen in the Literature review chapter, culture and language use are important for exploring psychological conditions. 'Han' was the representative Korean cultural emotion which was also frequently observed in the current research population. As described previously, Han represents the individual's on-going or chronic

stressful issues therefore, it is important to review the causes of Han to Jeju Sasam survivors to understand their trauma-related mechanisms. Furthermore, the expression 'Salamsimin Salajinda' was another cultural attitude from Jeju Island. It was observed as the sign of resilience from the Jeju Sasam survivors, especially among the women. It is also important to discuss the appraisal based on the culture, the details of which will follow later in this chapter.

An unexpected observation was also found in the participants, which concerned their memories of the 'New Village Movement (Saemaul Undong)', the national campaign led by the central government. It aimed to develop the rural areas, through ways such as modernising the housing, electricity, water supply and roads. The campaign was one of the core policies which led to economic growth and eventually raised the quality of life for many (Saemaul Undong Archive, 2021). However, the campaign was also designed to spread anti-communist ideology nationally and promote a spirit of harmony, a foundation of the South Korean's collectivistic culture (Jwa, 2018; Koh, 2006). Jeju Island was also under the central government's plan and shared collectivistic cultural aspects; however, Jeju culture has a different term for, and concept of kinship ('Gwendang' in Jeju language) compared to the mainland. Therefore, the cultural aspect will be discussed focusing on Jeju culture but which admits their aspect of collectivistic culture as well.

1.1.1. Collective remembering and memorials

The narrative data showed that the survivors remembered their experiences of Jeju Sasam as a whole community, thus forming their collective trauma. The entire Jeju Island was targeted geographically, so every Jeju person at that time experienced Sasam directly or indirectly. For that reason, Jeju Sasam is an indelible event for most Jeju people, which became their cultural identity. Even though the traumatic events themselves occurred over seventy years ago, it is still a continuing issue for the survivors and bereaved families. Their ingrained traumatic memories have developed within their communities through the people's collective memories, texts, images, rituals and other events (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995) specific to the time of Sasam in Jeju culture.

Their collective remembering continued after the events of Jeju Sasam, in the form of memorial events both at the individual level, for example in serving or observing Jesa, to the community level of commemoration events including the shamanism ritual, 'Gut'. People generally regard the memorial as a specific event with great importance and are careful in their preparations. If the event has particularly tragic attributes, the meaning of the memorial event becomes even more significant to the society, especially to the community with a direct connection to the event. Commemorating the past serves as an opportunity for communication for the victim society, where they experience a common sense of social identification (Cairns & Roe, 2002; Ignatieff, 1993).

As Jeju Sasam was concealed for several decades by the authorities, commemoration events could only be officially conducted since the late 1980s, when South Koreans finally achieved hard-fought democratic freedoms. Prior to these democratic movements, Sasam survivors and bereaved families struggled to organise public commemoration events. Recently, Jeju Sasam's annual commemoration event has been organised by the government of Jeju Island, which can be referred to as a national commemoration which is held on 3rd of April every year in Jeju 4.3 Peace Park (see the Results chapter for details of the memorial park). The President, or the Prime Minister on the President's behalf, participates and makes a speech showing the government's respect towards the Jeju Sasam issue.

This kind of involvement of the authorities can be important for survivors' resilience (Kim et al., 2021). The commemoration allows the individuals a sense of belonging to their group (Cairns & Roe, 2002), which can be the main Korean society in this case. It can also be an opportunity for flagging up the victim society for social support (Miller, 2012), which the Jeju Sasam victim society had sought, and which has finally been acknowledged by the wider South Korean society. Furthermore, self-esteem can be influenced by the fate of the group or the nation (Mack, 1983), and the Sasam victim society's social state has been acknowledged in this case.

Also, the commemoration place for a memorial is important to the participants since it functions as the place to mourn their family members. The

commemoration place helps them work through their loss and traumatic memories (Fogelman & Bass-Wichelhaus, 2002; Mitima-Verloop et al., 2020; Ornstein, 2010; Van Ijzendoorn et al., 2003). The survivors and bereaved families come to the Peace Park and hold their own rituals before the national annual memorial event starts: cleansing their family's headstones, burning incense and offering flowers. It is an important value in Korean culture, to treat the victims' spirits with respect and decency.

Prior to having a memorial park, the 'Gut' and 'Jesa' provided a place and time to connect the people under the circumstances of enforced silence. They are both strongly connected to cultural values, and are the only place and time to memorialise the victims (Kim, 2013c). Gut is a Korean shamanist ritual event, which comes from Korean folk religious belief. The purpose of Gut is to pray for the people's wishes or to comfort dead souls in their grief (Lee et al., 2014). Hence, the bereaved family attends the Gut to console the Jeju Sasam victim's spirit. Under the enforced silence, Gut played its role in fostering solidarity among the Jeju people (Hyun, 2005).

Korean shamanism and Gut are deeply rooted in Jeju culture. They are essential cultural values for understanding the lives of the Jeju people. The reason that folk belief became a core value to the people lies in the experiences of the Jeju Islanders, a precarious agricultural climate, dangerous sea labour, historic state violence and foreign attacks. These tribulations led the Jeju people to rely upon folk beliefs (Lee, 2000b). Additionally, Jeju Gut has another unique perspective, which is to mourn the victims of Jeju Sasam. Most Gut rituals have their purpose to mourn the departed, so that their ghosts no longer harm the people. On Jeju Island, the '4.3 Haewon Sangsaeng Gut' has been performed since 2002, specifically for the Sasam victims. It shows the cultural value in its name, 'Haewon', which means 'to resolve resentment' for dead victims, and 'Sangsaeng', which means 'co-prosperity' with the survivors who remember, and with future descendants (Kang, 2004).

Gut is referred to as a universal art performance, but the principle is based on the mechanism of communication between the shaman and the souls. Shamans play an important role for the victims' communities, as a listener to survivors and

bereaved families, and as a voice of the dead victims. Their ritual events rely on narrative approaches to mourn the deaths, describing how, where and when they died. Their main role is to understand the grief of the living towards their dead family members. Therefore, their role could benefit the people's mental health. One of the famous Jeju shamans, Sunsil Seo, defines herself as a healer for Jeju society where there are deep sufferings due to Sasam (Han, 2016).

Kim (1991) found that in the context of shamanism most mental and physical illnesses and individual or family misfortunes were believed to be directly or indirectly related to the dead victims of Jeju Sasam. The belief is that ritually unserved souls cannot have eternal rest; they lose their way in the afterworld and are doomed to wander in the living world. It is even believed that if a soul did not have the proper funeral rite after death, they become an evil soul which cannot be invited to the descendant's Confucian rite, Jesa. This can add to the feelings of guilt to the survivors and bereaved families, which can result in adverse psychological outcomes such as depression (Luck & Luck-Sikorski, 2021).

Jesa is also regarded as formal ritual confirmation in which a person, usually the eldest son, takes responsibility to lead and carry on Jesa. In most cases, Jesa is served by the direct descendants, and Jeju Sasam is one of these. Because there are cases in which an entire family has been killed, distant relatives sometimes serve their Jesa. Also, serving Jesa is one of the indicators that determines whether one can be registered as a 4.3 bereaved family. Even if the person is not a direct descendant or sibling of the victim, if there is no one left to serve Jesa, providing that person is a collateral relative within the fourth degree of consanguinity, and serves Jesa or manages the graves a victim, they can be regarded as a bereaved family member by the 4.3 Special Law. This shows how Jeju communities and Korean society view Jesa as a crucial part of their culture.

At the family level of memorial, Jesa was the core theme that provides the survivors and bereaved families with a time and place for grief and an opportunity to share their memories related to their ancestors. Serving ancestors is usually for up to three generations from the head of Jesa serving, usually the oldest male person in the family. On a day of Jesa, all family members gather at the house where the Jesa is served. Most Jeju people have relatively close family members

who died during the Sasam. Therefore, the Jesa is another special moment for the survivors and bereaved families. It can be a moment for the family to collect their memories of the dead victims, or transmit those memories to their next generations. Simultaneously, Jesa also provided an opportunity to reflect on memories of their loss (Kim, 2003b).

However, the survivors and bereaved families who experienced the Jeju Sasam remember the long period of enforced silence about the Jeju Sasam issue. Also, it is a difficult experience to share with their descendants, especially their grandchildren who have no experience of the atrocities. It is commonly observed that the survivors of extreme trauma like the Holocaust seek to protect their children and loved ones from their traumatic memories (Braga et al., 2012). In the case of Jeju Sasam, many of the later generations of bereaved families testified that they did not know anything about Jeju Sasam before the first public truth-seeking movement for Jeju Sasam (Lee, 2019). Therefore, it is hard to be assured that Jesa in individual households became the space for generational transmission of memory. Put differently, it was important to create a positive social climate towards Jeju Sasam by building the memorial park and organising the memorial event. In line with this, it is essential to discuss the influential power of the social environment.

Jesa and Gut were mentioned by the participants during their life descriptions. Although the researcher did not ask specific questions about Shamanism or their private rituals, their descriptions of those individual and community levels of commemoration show that they are an important part of their culture and life. As described in the above, the role of the Shaman was that of a local healer: a good listener to stories of painful feelings of loss and a good speaker for the survivors and bereaved families while they were forcibly silenced. However, there are some rituals, especially those connected to Shamanism like Gut, that are commonplace and workaday. Therefore, the participants may not feel a specific necessity to mention their rituals. Furthermore, folk beliefs were once banned and rejected by the main society during the 1960s, part of 'New village movement (Saemaul Undong)' campaigns. It was treated as superstition that poor, uneducated and uncivilised people believe (Jeong, 2012). Therefore, there are

other possibilities that participants may fear mentioning their Shamanist rituals or beliefs. Lastly, Shamanism was treated as a women's belief, and uncivilised belief (Cha, 2012; Jeong, 2014). Therefore the participants could feel it is unnecessary to describe, in the same way as the female participants treated their voices as useless and underestimated. The attitudes of female participants and their self-appraisals will be discussed later in this chapter.

1.1.2.Social environment and collective memories of Jeju Sasam

In line with the importance of the memorial for people's grief and building their collective memories, the physical environment of the memorial itself plays a role as a location for learning experiences. The memorial exhibition preserves the survivors and bereaved family's collective memory in a place, but also contributes to its spread beyond the community, to across the mainland. Participants emphasised that Jeju Sasam should be known and taught, especially to the younger generations. This strong desire for events to be known was also confirmed from most of the participants (90%) by the researcher's observational notes as a decisive factor to participate in the research, that they wished events to be known globally. This is their strong will to maintain their collective memories of Jeju Sasam.

This also relates to the past and present memory conflicts at the memorial park. The right-wing groups have stated several times that the victims of communist groups do not deserve their place in the memorial park (Hong, 2016), which connects to the statement from the past, that the Jeju Sasam was an anti-authority riot by 'commies'. As a result, some of the victims' names on the memorial stone were removed (see the detailed description in the Introduction chapter). These attacks confirm the memorial place as important for the preservation of collective memories, and represent a worrying attempt to reignite an anti-communist social climate by blaming 'commies' for Jeju Sasam and the massacres of innocent people. Such attacks disturb the community and can set back reconciliation, which is necessary for their recovery.

Likewise, the history of commemoration and rituals related to Jeju Sasam shows the changes of both memory identities and of who can be memorialised.

Furthermore, the legal term of 'victim' does not distinguish the dead victim's identity, and can also include the perpetrators (military personnel, police, civilian groups). Immediately after the armed uprising in 1948, most of the rituals were mainly for the military personnel or police. Also, each village on Jeju Island built a monument for them to commemorate their service and 'achievements'. The memorial stone was engraved with sentences to remember and worship the dead personnel's sacrifices for the nation, and their fighting spirit against the communists. Making the deaths of perpetrator groups heroic served to intensify the authorities' anti-communist ideology (Chi, 2007). Consequently, at the beginning of the memorial histories of Jeju Sasam, official memorials and rituals were mostly for the perpetrator groups and it also followed the authorities' intent to manipulate the society and consolidate government power through political ideology.

Since 1987 when South Korean society began its transition to a democratic state, the memorials related to Jeju Sasam also changed. As the name of Jeju Sasam was called 'Hangjaeng' ('uprising'), stressing the characteristics of a people's uprising, survivors and bereaved families started to testify to their experiences, and memorials and rituals were publicly organised for them as well. However, there were groups of bereaved families of police or military personnel, or of those killed by communist guerrillas who still stated that the Jeju Sasam was a communist riot and considered it unacceptable to call Jeju Sasam a people's uprising. This became a heated subject for memorial organisers, and for a few years memorials for opposing groups were conducted separately. However, in 1994 a memorial was finally organised to commemorate all who died during the Jeju Sasam period, regardless of their political allegiances. The president of the bereaved family association stated that the ideology is not a factor to commemorate those who died, and it is futile to divide right and left (Hyun, 2013).

From the efforts between the grassroot organisations on Jeju Island, the beginning of reconciliation could be achieved. In line with their efforts to organise the public memorials, the meaning of memorial is related to justice for the victims who were labelled as 'commies'. However, even though the various parties worked together to organise the memorial ceremonies, to accept the 'communist'

victims, labelled as 'rioters' or 'mobs' by right wing groups, even though they were identified as victims who deserve to be commemorated. Since the 4.3 Special Law established in 2000, the memorial events have been organised by local governments, and incorporated into the national commemoration events, rather than the local community's memorials. To the survivors and bereaved families, the law-based commemoration and identification can be critical to appraise their honour, and also the honour of the victims who were branded as 'commies'. President Roh gave official apologies in 2003, and subsequent Presidents or Prime Ministers have attended the memorials (Hwang, 2018; Kim, 2022b). This has provided significant momentum in memorialising the Jeju Sasam and acknowledging to society the victims' honour, confirming them as proper members of Korean society, in contrast to their prior treatment as reactionary elements.

Under the long period of state sponsored violence and forced silence, collective memories were different to the official narratives, and this led to the democratic movement for truth seeking. The memorial sites and commemoration ritual events are referred to as the achievement of the truth-seeking movement, by legalising memorialising which was once banned in the era of state violence. Further, the achievement of honour also accompanies the truth investigation and establishment of the special law. The five principles of special law for state violence victims for processing transitional justice include truth investigation, punishing perpetrators, reclaiming the honour, reparation and memorial. These legal elements originated from the special law for the 5.18 Gwangju Democratic Uprising established in 1995 (Jung, 2013). Other laws including Jeju 4.3 Special Law or for the state violence victims have also included reclaiming the honour of victims, including the Jeju 4.3 Special Law. As the Jeju 4.3 Special Law's full title is, 'Special Act on discovering the truth on the Jeju 4.3 Incident and the restoration of honour of victims', the law's stated aim is to achieve the restoration of the victims' honour. The memorial also implicitly commemorates those victims who dishonourably died due to the atrocities. Therefore, the memorial and public commemoration is directly connected to the honour and sense of security of the victims and bereaved families.

In other words, under the anti-communist regime, social acknowledgment was a matter of survival to those victims framed as 'Bbalgaengi'. Once the victim's honour was encoded by the special law, and the authorities admitted the social status of victims and bereaved families nationally through the memorial, it meant less danger of threats by the authorities regarding ideological issues.

Furthermore, social acknowledgment through the memorial and historicity, brought public recognition and support for the victims, allowing their stories to be told of survival from the state sponsored atrocities (Apfelbaum, 2010). Studies found that positive responses to social acknowledgment, 'show appreciation for the victim's unique state and acknowledge the victim's current difficult situation (Maercker & Müller, 2004, p. 345).' Therefore, social support from the individual or group is not just necessary to acknowledge the victim's status and their stories, it is one of the key conditions for processing reconciliation, which is also essential to the victim's trauma recovery.

How then were collective memories possible at the height of the purposely manufactured social environment of anti-communism? Until the people's movement for democracy, US inspired fierce anti-communism was spread in South Korean society, and so too among the Jeju community. The Saemaul Undong mentioned in the narratives, was a government manufactured and encouraged social movement that stressed self-sacrifice and harmony within the community. However, it was also a propaganda vehicle which unfairly branded dissent or attempts by workers to organise as communist. The campaign included regular anti-communism rallies. With this anti-communist atmosphere, Jeju Sasam was framed as an illegal riot against the authorities. This difference in collective memories against a certain issue is linked to the characteristic of collective memories.

Unlike official histories, collective memories can be changed by the members of the community or the remembering subject (Halbwachs, 1992; Yeh et al., 2006). Therefore, the conflict of narratives is still ongoing in the case of Jeju Sasam and remains a matter which ultimately needs to be resolved: 'how to remember the Jeju Sasam and how to define it'. The heritage of memory will last in Korean society, and therefore the parties need to preserve and protect their statements

to defend their group value. The environmental factor of social context will be further discussed later in this chapter.

1.1.3.Value and behaviour within the community

The social environment played its role contributing to not only the collective memories, but also to value within the community. According to the study of value changes in Korean society (Cha, 1994), the following were raised as shared values; raising standards of living, children's education, a happy home, emotional maturity, achievement of pride and maintaining health. These values can change according to societal changes and over time, but there is no doubt that the research participants once pursued such values, following the norms of the time in their society.

One of the observed values from the participants was that attached to the community and the family, rather than pursuing their own individual values. The family was a core cultural element that was frequently mentioned in all risk groups of PTSD and depression as described in the Results chapter. The 'live well together' spirit observed among the generation of the research population also indicates that they aspired to harmony within their community. Also, it is related to the overall spirit that the government-instigated Saemaul Undong movement (See the description in the Results chapter, Themes 1 and 7) was striving to achieve. It was a nationally spread movement, having ideological characteristics and, in the popular imagination at least, strengthening the collectivistic cultural aspect of Korean society.

On the surface, the Saemaul Undong promoted the virtue of 'live well together'; a spirit of 'harmony' which can affect people's values that are inseparable from their community. It is understood as a contributor to the rapid economic growth of South Korea (Jwa, 2018), but was also one which had the characteristics of forced and coerced labour (Koh, 2006). Refurbishing housing and roads were also part of the development, thus also raising people's quality of life. The achievement was largely conducted through enormous public efforts and was portrayed by the government of the military dictatorship as the people's spontaneous works. The central government promoted the regional governments'

and the rural villages' voluntary participation in the campaign to make the best result for their own communities.

Regardless of the coercive aspect of the campaign, the physically recognisable improvements in infrastructure in the communities, along with praise from the national and regional leadership, could positively affect their self-esteem. It is undeniable that the improvements are regarded as the people's contribution to the development of their own communities. From this, we can understand how their generation respected or learned the ideal of collectivism and how it became their main culture. Further relation to value and self-psychology will be discussed later in the Appraisal subchapter.

Gwendang culture is part of the Jeju community's representative culture, referring to kinship. The family connectivity between the villages made the Jeju community's collectivistic aspects stronger, which is rooted in their sense of survival. As described above, Jeju Island had a desperate economy and environment, therefore, kinship that included both the fathers' and mothers' sides of the family unlike the mainland population where kinship predominantly referred to the fathers' sides of the family. Gwendang can be a powerful network for running the community. However, as it can restrict the borders between the person who is contained within Gwendang or not; the individual in the community who cannot be included as Gwendang can easily be isolated.

As mentioned in the Results chapter, one of the participants already showed signs of the vulnerability as part of Gwendang, which can prevent behaviours for seeking help since, if they seek help for an issue regarded as against the community's virtue or value, the individual can be blamed. It is related to the concept of stigma, which can explain frustrations over seeking help. Seeking help can be regarded as active and problem-focused coping; however, the community surrounding the individuals (i.e. the environmental factor), for a Gwendang-based community can diminish the will to develop their coping strategies.

Furthermore, the participant who described the fear of being blamed by her Gwendang, was specific about her fear of failing her duty as a mother. In other words, the societal role she should serve, should satisfy the community member's

expectations. In light of this example, gender is inevitably a critical cultural and social element.

1.2. Gender – Women who are Korean and Jeju Sasam survivors

Gender differences were strongly expressed in the cultural themes such as Gwendang culture, societal role, and Jesa. The interview questions did not include specific questions about gender-related contexts, for instance, women's roles or their burdens. However, the female participants described their roles within the community. Societal roles and Jesa themes are especially related, because the participants considered Jesa as a very solemn duty as heads of their families, usually due to being the eldest male in the family. Traditionally Jesa was led by only men, and women were unable to participate and could only prepare food for the rite. However, from the narratives, in the case of the Jeju Sasam survivors, the women had to be the head householder where applicable, so became the leader of the Jesa as well.

The description of their societal role was mostly as a carer, which was a social norm for women's chores in Korean society. As a mother or as a sister, caring for their children or younger siblings was deemed to be their duty, which entailed economic support as well. In line with this, the attitude of sacrifice is another social norm which the female participants describe without apparent questioning. The reason for the sacrifice was the children, which can be seen as the value attached to family, but also can be explained as suppressed women's behaviour and rigid constraint of their societal role. Korean society at this time was widely encouraged to accept that the sacrifice of adult female members of the family represented the idealised model of womanhood, something that has changed little in the current overwhelmingly patriarchal society. A term such as 'Hyunmoyangcheo', meaning 'wise mother and good wife', is considered to be one to which women should aspire (Kim, 2007).

Sacrifices for their children or younger siblings can make women de-prioritise themselves, which can inevitably lead them to less self-care or self-respect. The negative impact on their psychological wellbeing was confirmed as the theme of

sacrifice and was observed in both the high risk groups of PTSD and depression. Accordingly, their help-seeking behaviour also can be reduced, including access to medical services. In a time when medical expenses were even higher than they are now, accessing medical services could put huge strains on the household budget and therefore health needs were likely ignored in order to prioritise children's welfare and education. In the current elderly female population, bearing with illness was one of the featured behaviours. The loss of education is a factor connected to their diminished level of quality of life as well as the general gender-based disadvantages of their generation (Nam, 2010). As shown in Table 5 of the Results chapter, education levels were lower among female participants. This supports the feature of the gender-based disadvantages, which led to their emotion of Han, the discussion of which will follow this subchapter.

Social norms can be considered as a type of social discrimination, where the society is patriarchal, and misogyny is commonplace. Discrimination is obviously a risk factor for people's health and wellbeing, and, in the case of our research participants, the female participants were exposed to additional discrimination as both Jeju Sasam survivors and women. This meets descriptions from various references (Gwon, 2011; Yang, 2008): the overburdening of women's lives as survivors of Jeju Sasam.

In line with self-psychological perspectives in the following subchapter, the female participants showed the features of traumatised-self; self-blaming and underestimating their own voices. Self-blaming has been observed from trauma survivors, especially among survivors of sexual violence (Feiring et al., 1998). In the case of the research population, as described above, external attribution was noted towards Jeju Sasam trauma. Therefore, it is worth focusing instead on internal attribution, which can be related to fundamental attribution bias. The context of self-blaming was linked to their duty as a mother, that they could not provide for their children a better environment and appropriate care. Undoubtedly the hardship caused by poverty was not their fault, and the authorities have overwhelming responsibility.

Another factor that seemed to undermine self-esteem was observed from some female participants underestimating their own voices on the Jeju Sasam issue. 'I

don't know much about Jeju Sasam' was a common response during the recruitment. However, even when they decided to participate in the research, many female participants expressed worries that their interview might not help the research, reasoning that this was because they were not well educated. Also, some female participants appraised their own voice as 'useless' because even if they speak up, they believe that nothing will change. This was because the Jeju Sasam issue was ignored for a long time without significant changes, and also since an oppressive gender-based culture is involved. Women are supposed to be silent, which is considered as a virtue of women in Korean society (Kim, 2007). Even the old idiom represents this violent culture: 'When the hen cries, the country will be ruined'. Social norms against women were even stricter for the participants' generation than they are at present (Kim, 2006; Nam, 2010). Inevitably, those social restrictions affect the self-concept of women and manipulate their behaviour as well.

Silencing women's voices in patriarchal societies is, of course, not the sole issue of Jeju Sasam survivors. The misogyny of a patriarchal society is a weapon for silencing women's voices, and presenting their silence as a womanly virtue, thus creating a hostile environment for any women who want to speak up. For a similar example in Korean history, the survivors of the Japanese Imperial Army's sexual slavery, euphemistically known as 'comfort women', had been forced into a prolonged silence long after their return home following the end of World War II. Even though the 'comfort women' survivors and women survivors of Jeju Sasam have experienced the different characteristics of violence, the common violence they experienced was a misogyny and patriarchy-based culture, which forced them to be silent.

The influence of society's culture was strong enough to manipulate the victims into being silenced. Society's stigma towards women, especially those who are survivors of sexual violence, places them in an extremely vulnerable position. The perceived loss of chastity of unmarried women can exacerbate their vulnerability when attempting to confront society's violence towards them. The concept of chastity in women is deeply rooted in the misogyny of the patriarchal society, causing women to censor and police themselves. This culture of the society

stigmatised women who 'lost their chastity', regardless of the circumstances, and even led them to acts of suicide. This kind of 'honourable' death can be found in examples from many Asian cultures known as 'honour killings', especially in Pakistan and India (D'Lima et al., 2020). The culture of a patriarchal society can lead women to keep silent about their experiences of violence even to their family members. It is confirmed through the 'comfort women' survivors' testimonies that they had a struggle between revealing themselves and maintaining their silence, especially considering their fear of being rejected by their family members (Kim, 2013b). Furthermore, in the case of Jeju Sasam, there are many witness testimonies that the women were raped or sexually harassed by the perpetrators, but hard to find the victims who had revealed themselves to claim damages (Truth Investigation Report, 2003). It is probable that significant numbers of sexual violence victims of the Jeju had already died during the Jeju Sasam period before investigations began, but it is also very likely that some existing survivors still fear revealing themselves as survivors of sexual violence under the patriarchal society and overt societal misogyny (Jordan, 2011).

It must be stressed that Korean women's double burden of violence originates from the culture of the society. Society has a responsibility to address the origin of the survivors' fears, but it is not prepared or not willing to carefully listen to them. Women's position in the patriarchal society is always that of a second-class citizen, un-respected and treated unequally to their male fellow citizens. This can deeply and adversely shape women's self-concept, and regard their voices as worthless or inferior in their own society. So in the case of Jeju Sasam survivors, they had to face the state led anti-communist societal stigma, and in the case of the 'comfort women' survivors, attitudes against sexual violence survivors were critical elements that made them hide themselves. Their voices were treated as unimportant, or worthless. Therefore, women survivors of Jeju Sasam not only confronted society's stigmatisation of their identity as survivors of state sponsored violence, but also their identity as female survivors was an additional burden to them.

Compared to the total number of the research population, few female participants reported gender-difference contexts. However, their apparently unconscious

descriptions were clear and corresponded with the general gender-based discrimination deeply rooted in Korean culture. Therefore, it should be discussed even where reports might appear to be slight or insignificant. Jeju women are famous for their strong spirit and economically independent activities compared to those of the mainland. Nevertheless, the general gender-based culture in Korean society is also applied to Jeju women. Restrictions and social norms against women exist and are usually deeply rooted in every society and culture. Therefore, gender discrimination and its resultant hardships must be considered for trauma treatment, especially in order to understand the position of women in the culture, community and family.

2. Appraisal

It is important to understand the individual's behaviour under their social and cultural context as it can explain the variety of concepts of self, which contribute to their identity and psychology. Appraisal is a critical element in understanding the individual's experience, especially of trauma. It can help assess the various aspects that contribute to their search for meaning in the traumatic experience. Also, the method of trauma appraisal is important in understanding their adjustments to adjust their beliefs, emotions and behaviour due to their unexpected experiences (Engelbrecht & Jobson, 2016). Ultimately, the appraisal can relate to their trauma resilience.

2.1. Self-appraisal: self-psychology of Jeju Sasam survivors

2.1.1. Self and the community

The study of the 'self' has been a major theme in numerous fields of psychology; it is an important element for an individual's well-being (Schlegel et al., 2009). The current thesis sought to understand the self-psychology of individuals. It also attempts to interpret the participants' behaviour and their self-construal. Our research data identified values which are important factors influencing self-appraisal: the community's expectations of their members and the value individuals attached to their family, community and village. In this subchapter, the

discussion will focus especially on the perspective of collectivistic culture. This can explain various attitudes and behaviours of the participants found from the data set. Put differently, self-concept can reflect their culture and environment (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Motivation for behaviour can be influenced by personal interest. However, cultural values such as social norms of the community can also be strong drivers. In a collectivistic culture-based community like South Korea and Jeju Island (Hofstede, 1984), a member is required to serve their duty with commitment; individuals whose values are not against those of their community can remain in their groups. The desire not to be rejected by the community keeps motivating the behaviour of taking responsibility for the community and its development. This motivated behaviour for social contribution and its associated memories can affect the participants' self-psychology: an important pointer for their recovery, because their behaviour or value within their community could be either beneficial or harmful to their self-appraisal. This idea overlaps with the social interdependence: their behaviour of harmonising with their neighbours (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Additionally, their value of social contribution was also found as a positive element for their psychological wellbeing. The low risk groups more frequently described their value attached to their community, regarding their memory of social contribution by serving their duty and commitment for their community. The experience of social contribution can strengthen an individual's self-esteem, by sensing themselves as a member of their group and having a sense of membership (Cairns & Roe, 2002). Their behaviour of social contribution is also referred to their societal roles; for example, serving the community as a village leader. It also strengthens their sense of social contribution, and can positively impact their self-appraisal, such as self-esteem.

Taking responsibility for the community encompasses survivors' feelings of accountability towards the dead victims. Their attitudes to these feelings of responsibility can also be referred to as a characteristic of their value attached to their community: a collective responsibility. The behaviour of reclaiming honour is a representative theme that shows their collective responsibility towards the dead victims. Reclaiming honour is one of the most significantly desired values

of Jeju Sasam victim society. As described in the Introduction chapter, the survivors and bereaved families have been through a long trial against the government, one that is still deliberating between the honour of the dead and surviving victims and the narrow interests of government, a process which is supported by the bereaved families and civil society (Kim, 2020e). Attitudes of collective responsibility were observed by witnessing the solidarity of bereaved families and civil society for the reclaiming honour of the dead and surviving victims.

There are further behaviours observed that are motivated by the value attached to the community. As an example, freely volunteering to serve the community is a behaviour showing the participants' social contribution, showing their value attached to the community, and willingness to harmonise within the community. Their behaviour, underpinned by their value to serve the community can be explained by the following theories. Their resultant behaviour highlights the influence of society on individuals, as seen in the social learning theory (Bandura, 1977, 2005). This theory explains that individuals behave, have attitudes and react after observing their surroundings. The participants naturally learn the virtue within their community's values and tend to subsequently serve it with 'correct' behaviour and attitudes. This tendency can synchronise with their decision-making, which our research population also showed.

The participants' desire to take societal roles such as village leaders, even in their retirement, reflects the idea of interaction between the individual and society for adopting a social identity, described in Goffman's works (Goffman, 1959, 1963, 1967). Goffman explained the individual's behaviour metaphorically as performing on a stage; they behave regardless of their beliefs, presenting a self-persona by referencing external factors such as other people or their environment as a social context.

For example, if the community is their stage, everyone performs their role according to the values of their community. In the case of our research population, the data showed the value attached to the community and family, which is a representative trait of collectivistic culture. By taking such roles they gain acknowledgement for service to the community and for upholding its values.

By diligently serving their community in any capacity they could, the resultant feelings of community and societal inclusion and acknowledgement of social identity seemed to positively impact the self-esteem of participants. Also, the given or adopted social identity could strengthen their responsibility to their community, which also relates to the previous points from Theme 1: their collective remembering and responsibility. Therefore, participants showed happiness when their voluntary contributions were acknowledged by others or when awarded a prize by the leader of the community, sources of honour and pride which contributed to improved self-esteem. However, there were differences of risk levels between the attitudes; the former showed their behaviour of social contribution (i.e. volunteering) was mostly from the low risk groups of PTSD and depression, while the latter was mostly from the high risk groups. The former group actively served their community as an internal source contributing to their self-esteem. However, the latter group counted the authorities' acknowledgement as a core element regarding their value as a sense of membership and self-esteem, which referred to their external source of self-appraisal.

The participants' signs of self-esteem were observed from their interviews. The expressed value attached to acknowledgement by their community means their social status and self-esteem can vary depending on the community response. Also, Korean society greatly prizes social achievement, including obtaining high educational levels, which can afford societal and official recognition, leading to improved self-esteem, and therefore benefit their mental health.

It was interesting to find that the participants rarely recognised their behaviour as 'sacrifice', especially regarding the issue of their children. The reason seems due to the value they attached to the community, avoiding any emphasis on themselves, and appearing to accept their behaviour as a natural dedication to family, not as an individual sacrifice. Even though family responsibilities brought personal hardships, they stated that they tried not to give up or abandon their families (see the 3.3. Sacrificed self in the Results chapter). However, such self-sacrifices can result in foregoing their own opportunities (Engelbrecht & Jobson, 2016).

Self-sacrificial behaviours were mainly observed in the disadvantaged social groups, in this case, women and young adults. Serving as the heads of their households made them live for the family's survival rather than for their own needs, which led to giving up such things as educational opportunities. Also, in Korean society as mentioned above, Korean society sees the ideal woman as being defined by the sacrifices she implicitly or explicitly makes. And this was more true in the past than it is today. Women were viewed only as mothers, rather than as individual women. Therefore, they fulfilled representative public selves within this culture, and it is easy to imagine that such public roles could be extremely burdensome.

The looking-glass self-theory (Cooley, 1902b) explains how other people's perceptions are referenced by an individual for their own self-concept. In our case, the perceptions of women's roles within the community can be a negative self-appraisal for individual women. Negative labelling can occur to their self-appraisal, which involves learning others' perceptions and expectations of them and internalising those labels to their self-concept (Fox & Stinnett, 1996). This self-labelling can lead to internalising the existing prejudice, which can manifest as negative self-concepts and adverse psychological adjustments (Galinsky et al., 2013). Therefore, social interdependence can have a negative influence on individuals which raises the importance of socio-cultural contexts.

2.1.2. Victim legitimacy and victim community

In addition to society's gender prejudice, another interesting interdependence between the individual and community was found from the data. Only a few participants showed different points of view regarding their victim legitimacy, but it is worth discussing further since victim legitimacy is a core part of the social identity within the victim society. Of course, an individual can appraise their victim legitimacy by the level of exposure to, and severity of, the physical harm suffered. The victim legitimacy related context was only described among the low risk group of PTSD, confirming that self-appraisal and their psychological wellbeing can be positively related. However, low risk does not mean that the trauma survivors are free from mental health adversity. The reason why the current research regarded this as a problem is that most participants did not believe

themselves to be a 'proper' victim (see the Results chapter, 3.1.1. victim legitimacy's quotation). This attitude can be a protective factor for their efforts to cope and survive.

Social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) can explain the comparisons of the self-concept with other participants, believing their impairment is less severe and, therefore, not appraising themselves as a 'proper' victim. Such comparisons can create a threshold within the community, particularly defining victimhood or harm caused by Sasam. This is arguably natural under their conditions, because almost everyone in the community has been through the Jeju Sasam and its aftermath of hardships. Perhaps inevitably, survivors can compare themselves to others and evaluate themselves as living in better conditions.

Why then is it necessary to discuss victim legitimacy? The answer is because it is also flagged as a problem among other traumatic violence victims. For instance, victim legitimacy is frequently questioned for sexual violence survivors. Their identity as a victim is often questioned due to supposedly 'inappropriate' behaviour or even clothing, if these do not conform to a certain stereotype of a sexual violence victim. In terms of outward characteristics, a stereotype of victimhood is often required, such as severe mental illness or physical impairment. The point should be that the perpetrator inflicted sexual violence on the victim, however, the identity as a victim of crime has always been raised during investigation, trial or even after the legal process. The victim has to clearly identify themselves as a victim and present evidence. Such criteria to distinguish a victim's legitimacy is certainly problematic and frequently unjust: the jurisdiction is supposed to respect a victim's testimony, but it is all too often doubted (Rose & Randall, 1982; Weis & Borges, 1973). Myths and prejudice abound in all societies, and the legal system is not immune. Like sexual violence victims, Jeju Sasam survivors have an unfair burden of proof.

The individual's self-appraisal regarding their victim legitimacy can be influenced by social context, such as the attitudes of government and also of their community. As mentioned above, community norms can prevent an individual from identifying or expressing themselves as a victim. For Jeju Sasam survivors, such an atmosphere can be created by the government's definition of victims and

bereaved families, and, furthermore, the restrictive criteria required before being accepted as a victim or a member of a bereaved family have been made so difficult to meet, that they can negatively impact eligibility for compensation.

The government definition of 'victim' or 'bereaved family member' is limited within a narrow range. This is especially true in the case of victims, who must have lost their life, have a proven physical disability, or a record of imprisonment during Sasam to be officially recognised. Therefore, under this social system and community understanding, survivors often cannot identify themselves as a 'victim' or as 'having authentic Jeju Sasam experience'.

In cases like Jeju Sasam, which originated from ideological conflict, there can be a backlash if strict legal criteria are not met. In the example of the Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Uprising we will show the backlash as an interaction between the social context and the victim's identity. The victims and bereaved families of the Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Uprising have often been harassed by right-wing politicians and their supporters, who often claim the victims are not 'legitimate' victims, but have falsely registered themselves so they can claim compensation or social pensions. So they attempt to reveal the claimants' identities in order to question their victim legitimacy by claiming the registration process was not transparent (Kim, 2019b). This represents the social climate of ideological conflict and portraying victims as enemies of society, as was seen under anti-communism.

Jeju Sasam survivors also have been through similar harassment and have learned the dangers of openly declaring themselves as victims of Jeju Sasam. Therefore, even though they may privately appraise themselves as victims, the face they present to others can differ (Goffman, 1959). It is similar to some LGBTQ+ people's fear of coming out in public, especially in South Korea where hatred against sexual minorities is widely accepted and no anti-discrimination law has been enacted.

A close-knit community like Jeju Island can experience higher levels of peer pressure: individuals within the same community can more easily reference other people to their self-appraisal. This was frequently observed during the data collection; some participants doubted others who they felt might not know as

much about the Jeju Sasam. Some participants also doubted themselves, that although they had lived through the time, they expressed that they felt they did not know much about Jeju Sasam. This shows the danger of self-labelling mentioned above, by accepting the social prejudice that can cause a negative self-concept.

However, Jeju Sasam is also a collective trauma for Jeju Islanders. In line with this perspective, the current research defined the research population as 'survivors' rather than 'victims'. Under the collective trauma perspective, all those who experienced and witnessed any part of the Jeju Sasam are deemed survivors, but the definition of victims was overly limiting. Also, the official ability to apply for the victim and bereaved family registration was not a criterion for the research population. Furthermore, evidence such as family census records is hard to find for some victims, for example where an arson attack was conducted. Therefore, the current thesis decided to define the research population as 'survivors' rather than 'victims'.

Apart from direct compensation for physical loss and impairment, all survivors of Jeju Sasam should be able to access attention for their psychological conditions. However, the social comparison of victim legitimacy can hinder or completely prevent seeking help. Also, if society only focuses on stereotypes of victimhood rather than approach issues at an individual and community level, transmission of trauma across generations will remain a problem. Therefore, it is necessary to question whether self-appraisal is rooted in their culture, especially among their communities and membership groups. Understanding a trauma survivor's identity can aid treatment of their conditions, while their self-concept can explain certain behaviours and attitudes, which, again, is essential to providing proper treatment (Moghaddam & Kavulich, 2007; Mossakowski, 2003; Tajfel, 1974).

2.2. Cognitive appraisal: Survivors' appraisals of Jeju Sasam

2.2.1. External attribution and cognitive appraisal

Another context of appraisal apart from the self-appraisal is the survivor's appraisal of their traumatic experience. This includes their appraisal of emotions that originate from their experiences of Jeju Sasam and also their public-appraisal. Participants showed similar features to other trauma survivors, for example, experiencing a lack of power (Sweeney et al., 2018). Their lack of power can lead to feelings of despair and helplessness, which could cause negative psychological effects (Butler et al., 2011; Wallston, 2015). As seen in the Results chapter, the contexts were mostly related to political issues, such as their unresolved demand to the South Korean government to amend the 4.3 Special Law. The issue of lack of power relates to their hopelessness, which can negatively affect their self-esteem and further hinder effective psychological outcomes (Paradise & Kernis, 2002; Wojciszke & Struzynska-Kujalowicz, 2007). Also, their lack of power appears to be an inevitable issue in the current South Korean social and political climate, which negatively impacted the participants' world view, which is commonly observed in trauma survivors (Kimble et al., 2018). In line with this idea, the discussion of the area of cognitive and public appraisal is necessary.

Attribution theory was essential to address the participants' cognitive appraisal as it explores how a person receives and combines information to explain events and behaviour (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Heider, 1958; Heider & Simmel, 1944; Jones & Davis, 1965; Kelley, 1967). Regarding the participants' appraisal and their attributional view, bias or error can arise when people appraise their own experiences. For instance, a fundamental attribution error can occur, especially when one tends to appraise based on personality issues. It can blame individuals more easily rather than appraise the environment. This error relates to cognitive bias as well, and it can create negative outcomes, especially victim blaming.

However, according to data analysis, the fundamental attribution bias was less than might be expected, considering the Jeju Sasam issue was, for a long time, highly manipulated by the authorities and communities placed under surveillance. In other words, it is not easy for survivors to openly blame environmental factors, especially the authorities, which would represent a very real threat of punishment. However, many participants showed acute cognition of 'who is responsible for my

Jeju Sasam experience'. The narratives were mostly blaming the authorities, or individual perpetrators, rather than self-blaming. So, it is a positive sign that they feel able to point out the perpetrators directly, compared to the era when even mentioning Jeju Sasam was punishable. It was also confirmed from the data analysis, that their external attribution of blaming authorities and perpetrators was also confirmed as a contributor to their mental health. External blame was one of the frequently mentioned themes only found in the low risk groups of PTSD and depression. Furthermore, recognition of the responsibilities for Jeju Sasam, and the victim community's ability to blame those responsible is related to truth seeking and is one of the important steps towards reconciliation.

2.2.2. 'Palzha' – Culture-based attribution of appraisal

Participants also blamed the time and situation while they inevitably accepted their unwanted experiences, which can be considered as another external attribution. This can be explained by the cultural perspectives, in that an individualistic culture tends to blame internal factors, rather than blame the situation (Lewis et al., 2008; Saad Said & Kaplowitz, 1993). In line with this idea of cultural differences, the concept of 'Palzha' was found from the data set. Palzha is a cultural belief in Korean society frequently found as an explanation when unexpected negative events happen (Kim & Kim, 2005). Palzha is part of human belief, so it can cause confusion whether it belongs to either internal or external attribution. However, the main feature of Palzha is that it is akin to a concept of destiny, that events are already decided without the believer's will or wish. Hence, the concept of Palzha can be regarded as an external attribution as seen in the data.

However, the participants mentioned their Palzha in the contexts of their individual hardships. While they believe the Jeju Sasam is a collective event that everyone has been through, their hardships such as widowhood is, they believe, because of their Palzha. It is interesting to observe participants blaming their own Palzha for the death of a spouse, when it is the perpetrators who are responsible. Their belief again is related to the social learning theories mentioned above, that they observe other people's reactions and adjust these to the social value. Individual experiences such as widowhood were serious issues regarding

survival, but not everyone experienced it. So, unlike the perpetrator's identity, which is agreed in the community, hardships tended to be blamed on one's inability to overcome them.

Palzha was only described in connection with hardships, rather than positive life events. The participants used words such as 'luck' or 'opportunity', to signal their belief that their survival of the Jeju Sasam was fortunate, rather than describing it as being decided by their Palzha. The attribution of 'good luck' or chance to explain their survival was also found among the Holocaust survivors (Prot, 2012). As Kim and Kim (2005, p. 98) explained Palzha as 'unexpected negative events', it is worth being aware of the survivors' cultural context when they appraise their traumatic experiences. In the case of Palzha, it has characteristics of both internal and external attributions, and treatment should be carefully approached since Palzha could conceivably transform to an internal blaming context, and appear as a cognitive bias in trauma survivors.

2.3. 'Han' – The cultural appraisal of trauma

Emotion is also a part of cognitive appraisal. As described in the Results chapter, it can give several indicators of one's psychological condition. Among the emotional appraisals from the findings, the emotion of 'Han' needs special attention, as it is based on a specific Korean culture, which can explain the manner of appraisal among the participants. Han was deeply rooted in their Sasam experience. The qualitative results suggest that Han seems to become 'stuck in their mind', in one participant's own expression. The concept of Han is notoriously elusive to define or to translate. It is a significant, historically- and culturally-loaded word in the Korean lexicon, which at once expresses sorrow, dejection, longing, regret, lamentation and often a burning sense of injustice.

Han has elements of the negative emotions that can arise from a multitude of situations (Oh, 1995). Used as a noun, as seen in the examples below, Han is consciously owned by the participants, describing their tragic or forlorn experiences as in 'this is my Han'. Note the present tense in such usages: Han

is carried through life; it belongs to a person. In this respect Han can be considered as a more poetic, elegant and nuanced counterpart of the colloquial English term, 'emotional baggage'. Han can also be used as an adjective or a verb, and thus it has potentialities of conceptualising multiple levels of meanings within a sentence. Also, the concept of Han does not indicate a certain characteristic on a certain level, but is structured by such emotions as outlined above, and the individual's cognition of them over time (Choi, 1993; Lee & Choi, 2003).

Choi (1991) provided three examples of feeling Han: first, a situation causing injustice or discrimination, secondly, a significant deprivation of personal needs compared to others, and finally the frustration of one's desires by uncontrollable external factors. Those three factors also almost perfectly correspond with our participants' use of the word. Jeju Sasam was the situation that caused 'injustice' and 'discrimination', which was also confirmed from the narratives. The participants described their hardships and need for resources related to their survival. Ultimately, the loss of their 'ordinary' lives was connected to the loss of opportunities, especially with regards to their educational rights, which was an obvious factor that frustrated their hopes.

A sense of ordinary life was one of the core elements of the Holocaust survivorship model: an effort to make and maintain a 'normal' life, such as raising a family and harmonising to develop the community, contributed to their resilience (Greene, 2010). Those efforts are related to their value and appraisal of 'ordinary life', as the current research population showed in their value attached to their family and community. However, their loss of opportunities disturbed their sense of ordinary life, required to achieve their value attached to life goals such as education. The cultural background that contributed to their value and sense of 'ordinary life', which ultimately made their Han, could not be achieved. It negatively affects their psychological wellbeing because those desires are also related to familial, social and personal commitments in their lives, which impact their appraisals. Commitment in this context pertains to how the participant valued and gave meaning to something, and it is one of the important elements from the 'person' factor in Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) appraisal theory. The

value attached to their desire and commitment is also related to the foundation of the emotion of 'Han'.

The inability to achieve an amendment to the 4.3 Special Law was frequently mentioned as a cause of participants' frustrations. This connects to their negative public appraisal. Furthermore, collecting family members' bodies was another source of Han among the participants. This point is also connected to the value attached to family and their filial duty as a spouse or offspring in terms of serving Jesa - praying that a victim's soul can rest in peace. However, this rite cannot be served without the body, so finding and collecting the body of a deceased family member remained a cause of chronic stress for many of the survivors.

The emotion of Han persists internally (Choi, 2011), which can lead to severe mental health problems. As the narratives described, the origin of Han was mostly from external factors, which can be improved by addressing the origin of the problem. In the case of Jeju Sasam survivors, their Han was mostly related to the issues caused by Jeju Sasam. As these issues combine emotions such as regret, grief or lamentation, persistent Han is an obvious risk factor to a survivor's mental health. Han can be the source of mental illness such as depression or its related Korean culture-bound mental illness Hwa-byung (Choi, 2011; Park et al., 2002) which arises from anger caused by perceived injustices. Therefore, like cultural appraisal, and Palzha as discussed above, Han also requires special attention for treatment, especially if the traumatic event has historical contexts which prolong the suffering.

2.4. Appraisal and resilience

2.4.1. Salamsimin Salajinda: Culture-based belief and attitude

It was interesting to observe the participants' value and belief system that indicates their coping strategies from their traumatic experiences. Positive thinking was observed, which is a mainstream element in the field of modern psychology (McLean & Dixit, 2018). However, another point of view is needed regarding their psychological adjustment to trauma, which can impact trauma

survivors' psychological outcomes. It depends on their appraisal: how to accept their unwanted traumatic experiences. In the case of our research population, an interesting expression was found from the interview: it is in Jeju language, 'Salamsimin Salajinda.'

Regarding the cultural aspect of resiliency, this style of trauma adjustment demonstrated by the phrase 'Salamsimin Salajinda' is worth giving some attention, since it can bring positive results to the survivors. It is a mechanism that faces the trauma and admits the impairment derived from the traumatic experience. 'Salamsimin Salajinda' also implies such a mechanism, as an attitude toward and appraisal of the experience.

'Salamsimin Salajinda (살암시민 살아진다.)' is a Jeju expression which conveys the meaning of acceptance of one's life, but is not an expression unique to the Jeju people (Heo, 2017; Hong, 2015b). It is worth discussing whether this kind of acceptance can help the survivor's psychological condition or not. Most of the time, it represents the strong spirit of Jeju people or helps to console their frustrations from a life of hardships. The attitude can be simplified as one who is unable to change a hard situation, so must accept the hardship and live with it. Situations one should supposedly 'bear' include the impact of traumatic events, lack of resources, physical impairment or mental illness.

However, the expression 'Salamsimin Salajinda' seemed especially pertinent after surviving deadly hardships. This attitude of acceptance can be appraised later after the survivors have been through the hardships, expressing the attitude 'grin and bear it'. We can easily imagine how their 'accept and bear with the situation' ethos was difficult to maintain in the aftermath of Jeju Sasam. Negative factors discussed in this chapter were largely made worse rather than better. In other words, if the society can support and change the factors to positive experiences, such as supplying resources or offering social support, the survivors should be able to make their 'bearing the situation' easier by seeking help. They can make the choice to improve their conditions or wellbeing rather than just accept the situation and live through it.

A similar way of thinking can also be found in other cultures, such as 'life goes on'. However, 'Salamsimin Salajinda' represents a different way of thinking, a different view of how one appraises the life which must be accepted. For instance, 'life goes on' has an idea of hope for the future, expecting the current hardship may end at some point. However, 'Salamsimin Salajinda' has a limitation on who can sincerely use the expression. While the expression can be used by anyone, it is most commonly used by the elderly towards younger people to encourage them to bear their hardships.

The important psychology in this cultural expression appraises life as a result of survival, and not to live full of hope for the future. Those who lived through Jeju Sasam have already experienced extreme hardships and survived. Jeju people have a reputation for a strong mentality against hardship (Han, 1999). 'Salamsimin Salajinda' is used to represent the strong spirit of the Jeju people, especially Jeju women (Heo, 2017). Their strong spirit has not simply developed, it is the result of hardships, especially following Jeju Sasam. 'Salamsimin Salajinda' is at its most expressive when used by the elderly as a role model, like our research participants: survivors from life's hardships. If this belief and attitude as a life lesson is transmitted from elders to the next generation on Jeju Island, then it is worth considering its possibility as a collective coping strategy for the Jeju community or similar communities globally.

It is important to understand 'Salamsimin Salajinda' as a way of the survivors' acceptance of their Sasam traumas. It is noteworthy that none of the participants of the high risk group in both PTSD and depression showed the attitude of Salamsimin Salajinda during their interview, while the participants from the low risk groups showed through their signs of resilience. Therefore, Salamsimin Salajinda is an important element for improving psychological wellbeing and is not always negative to them psychologically. Even though no description of this attitude does not mean that it does not exist or is not accepted by the high risk groups, 'Salamsimin Salajinda' can represent their recovery and resilience tactics that they gained from living their post traumatic lives. It is their way of expressing they have survived from the trauma, one that is difficult to express in sentences, yet is encapsulated in 'Salamsimin Salajinda' which compromises the emotions

and beliefs of the survivors from Jeju Sasam. Also, if it can be meaningful when delivered by the elderly population who experienced Jeju Sasam, this can be a collective coping of the Jeju community, orally transmitted from generation to generation.

2.4.2.Public appraisal and resilience

As seen in the previous subchapters, the participants showed their negative public appraisal through their world view, especially regarding the political issues in line with those of the Jeju Sasam. However, apart from the socio-political context of their world, indicators were found from their positive public appraisal that impacted their survival. The data set indexed the research population's public appraisal which mainly described their physical environment. It was shaped as the theme that impacts the quality of life, which is also linked to their life satisfaction (see Theme 7 from the Results chapter), and the survivors' physical and psychological trauma, as appraised by them (see Theme 5 from the Results chapter). Those indicators are from their surrounding world, the environment which is compatible with the concept of social determinants of health. The WHO (World Health Organization) aims to diminish health inequity by defining the social determinants' factors.

The social determinants of health emphasise the influential conditions or circumstances in which one was born, grow, live, work, and age. Those conditions are related to political, social, and economic contexts, for instance: the income and social protection, education, employment and job insecurity, working life conditions, food insecurity, housing, basic amenities and the environment, early childhood development, social inclusion and non-discrimination, structural conflict, access to affordable health services of decent quality (CSDH, 2008). The variety of social determinant factors described above, were commonly found from our data. The hardships described in the narratives contained poverty, food shortage, bad housing, loss of education opportunity, vulnerable working conditions that were negatively impacted by guilt-by-association system, which directly linked to their experience of social discrimination and harassment. The lack of resources, including the difficulty in accessing medical facilities, was part of the survivors' vulnerable environment.

Resources included those at the individual level such as wealth; money and housing that are essential for basic living. This was also expanded to the social context: access to medical facilities being the key resource described for survival. This meets the idea of a social determinants' framework, which is the main strategy for improving the health of vulnerable populations (Braveman & Gottlieb, 2014; Taylor et al., 2016). The accessibility to essential services including medical facilities is considered as a critical factor in the context of equality. Obviously, medical facilities were a critical resource for survival at that time and is still extremely important for the survivors' resilience. Regarding social well-being and activities, facilities such as senior community centres or senior colleges for social wellbeing can have the same purpose as medical facilities. Social activity and wellbeing are core elements especially for the elderly population's survival from social isolation. Social isolation can be extremely dangerous among a vulnerable population, especially to their health (Nicholson, 2012).

In line with the risk factor for health inequality, social discrimination is another critical social element that directly and indirectly disturbs life in a variety of ways. Studies found that discrimination can negatively impact people's physical and mental health (Mossakowski, 2003; Schmitt et al., 2014). The data analysis also shows that experiencing of systematic discrimination (that is guilt-by-association), is malignant to psychological wellbeing. Regarding the self-psychological area, discrimination disturbs an individual's self-concept, by labelling them through social prejudice as mentioned above. Our research participants also described how social discrimination had been a reality for them ever since the Jeju Sasam period. The previous South Korean government was formed by the leading right-wing conservative party who engineered a social atmosphere against Jeju Sasam related issues. However, the case was not limited to creating a social atmosphere against Jeju Sasam based on anti-communist ideology.

The authorities systematically discriminated against the Jeju people because of their origins, especially those who were identified as victims or bereaved families of Jeju Sasam, as mentioned in the Introduction chapter. Systemic discrimination by the authorities, such as guilt-by-association, threatens personal security, which leads to feelings of loss of control. This explains the result of participants'

feelings of loss of power which led them to appraise their world negatively, as mentioned previously. Also, discrimination can lead a person to give up on career or personal goals, which negatively affects their self-esteem. This social discrimination is obviously an external element which can negatively impact self-development (Schmitt et al., 2014). Also, under the context of the social determinant framework, discrimination against a particular group or community proved to be a negative factor which adversely affects health (Kira et al., 2010).

As described in the Results chapter, the survivors' values, behaviour and attitudes were not limited to one coping style between problem-focused coping and emotion-focused coping. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) also argued that such a dichotomy is not necessarily observed in people's coping; various coping styles can be adopted by individuals. The results from the analysis of the theme of 'resilience' in the Results chapter support the idea that our research population adopted various coping strategies. For example, problem-focused coping can be referred to as the survivors' participation in protesting and appealing against the government for legal reparation or retrials, and can also include their support for the Special Law's amendment.

In the case of emotion-focused coping, avoidance of trauma-related situations or thoughts can be included in this style, as many survivors described that they did not have any opportunity to recall in detail their traumatic experiences, because their survival was their biggest priority. Furthermore, their signs of resilience also supported their coping strategies; for example, the routine and physical demands of farming prevented the survivors from ruminating on their negative emotions or thoughts (see Theme 7 Resilience). Unless they felt they were able to change their situation, as was the case in the anti-communist society and during enforced silence, they could not change it, so they needed at least to make efforts to diminish emotional adversities experienced due to Jeju Sasam.

3. Model for trauma resilience mechanism

3.1. Suggested models for the Jeju community's recovery

'Healing' was another main theme from the Jeju Sasam studies. Models of reconciliation were suggested by scholars for Jeju community's recovery (Tamashiro, 2016; Yamamoto et al., 2014). Im (2017) suggested a model based on Bronfenbrenner's ecological approach to understanding trauma and recovery mechanisms from the second generation of Jeju Sasam. Park (2018b) suggested a 'Jeju Model' aiming to achieve ultimate recovery from Jeju Sasam by reconciliation within the Jeju community. Both models indicate the importance of community-based efforts, as the main elements for resilience. In other words, we can confirm how the community plays a core part for the Jeju Sasam victims' society.

However, the models above lack description of the impacts of trauma on the individual and their recovery. They expect only possibilities of reconciliation to positively impact the Jeju people to heal the community as a whole, but rarely discuss its implication at the individual level of trauma recovery, nor their psychological changes. However, Park (2018b) did suggest the individual civilian's role as an element in conducting solidarity and reconciliation, ultimately to achieve the coexistence of perpetrators and victims on Jeju Island.

This approach is important for the Jeju community because both the perpetrators and victims have lived on the same island since the traumatic events, and, therefore, reconciliation should be regarded as an important element to the community and the individual's recovery. However, the prior condition or essential process of reconciliation was not mentioned in Park's Jeju model. For instance, the timing of the reconciliation is a key point in this model because reconciliation without the community's agreement can cause a negative influence in contrast to the model's primary aim. It is questionable whether this model has fully considered obtaining agreement within the community.

However, the idea of reparation and reconciliation is ultimately needed for the Jeju community regarding intergenerational perspectives. The current thesis also found that the process of bringing justice is crucial to relieve the psychological

burden of our research participants. Their appraisal was attached to solving the Jeju Sasam issue completely, which is their core psychological stressor. The emotion of Han also found its origin from the Jeju Sasam issue, with its tiring, prolonged and unsolved progression. Reparation and reconciliation are difficult to achieve through the individuals' effort alone, and therefore intervention at the macro level is needed for their recovery.

In line with lifting the culture of forced silence about the Jeju Sasam issue, the importance of the recovery model for Jeju has a common point here (Yamamoto et al., 2014). Social acknowledgment is important for the mental health and recovery of survivors of state violence. Recognition by the authorities or by communities and the truth investigation as justice for victims are all regarded as important factors helping the victims feel a legitimate part of society (Kim et al., 2021). This process inevitably requires social solidarity within the community, and for this to come about, a cultural change might be necessary where it is applicable. Similarly, South Korean society had been through prolonged democratic struggles during which the Sasam survivors were unable to raise their voices. In other words, survivors relied on their community, working together for bringing justice, and striving, sometimes unsuccessfully, to change the negative culture against the Jeju Sasam and Jeju Island. This could not be done overnight, and followed a model of reconciliation. In line with this idea, the following subchapter will discuss the developed mechanism of Jeju Sasam trauma resilience to suggest the Jeju community's recovery from Jeju Sasam trauma.

3.2. Mechanism of trauma resilience

The discussion so far explored the elements for understanding the population and giving hints for healing the community. Based on the qualitative themes, four components are suggested to understand the mechanism of resiliency learned from Sasam survivors. Figure 17 below shows the research participants' mechanism of resiliency. The themes of self-appraisal, cognitive appraisal, cultural elements and social elements overlapped in places and were co-related, so the model synthesised them. The first stage in building a coping strategy starts

from understanding the self and proceeds to study the variety of appraisals. Further, the social and cultural elements should be addressed, including their surrounding environmental settings and governance. All the interdependent elements should run together organically to initiate the power of resilience, represented by switching on the light bulb in the diagram. The model aims to emphasise this interdependency, crucially to understand the survivors of extreme trauma and offer appropriate interventions.

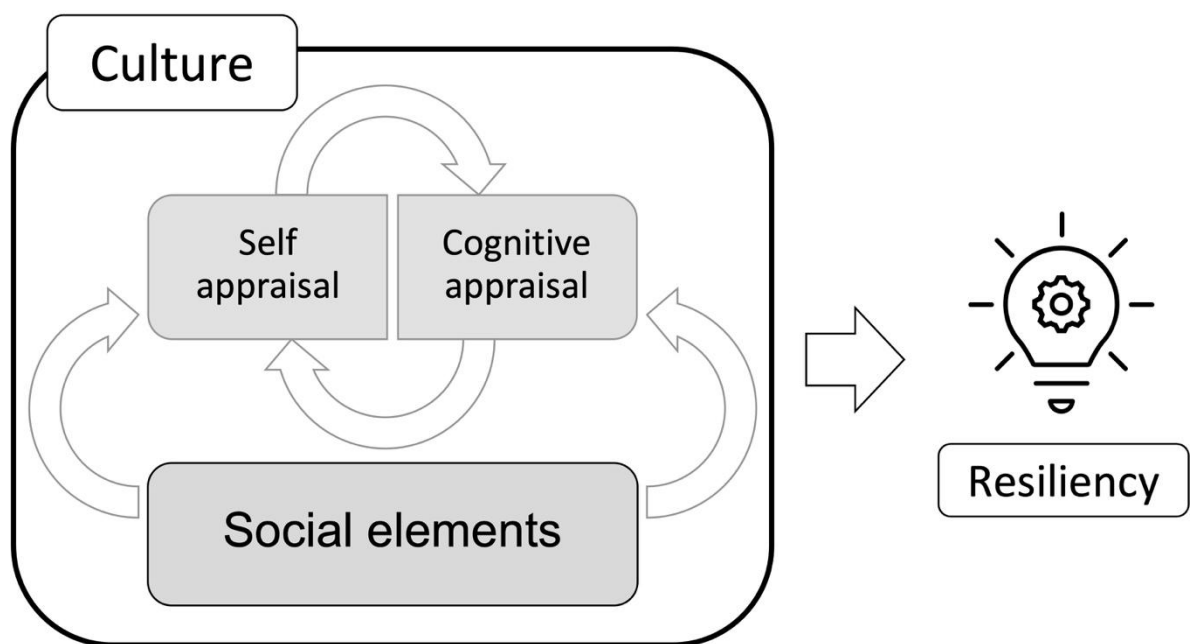


Figure 17. Mechanism of trauma resilience of Jeju Sasam survivors

The variety of appraisal is rooted in the cultural element, which exerts influence on the individual's way of thinking, feeling and behaviour (Ford & Mauss, 2015). The Jeju community showed the cultural characteristic which enabled interpretation of the value and behaviour of participants by interdependent self-construal to their community (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The participants' values attached to their community and family are a strong source for their resilience. The individuals who served their community without payment or reward empowered their own resiliency as shown above, showing their ability to help and setting life-targets. Target- or goal-setting is important for motivating and supporting one's coping efforts. Coping goal-setting amounts to a cultural value

and belief: that of targeting the achievement of shared values within the community (Chun et al., 2006). What we can observe from this is the community's cultural value of having responsibilities, and following its social norms can be a pointer for trauma recovery and social healing. The achievement of social contribution can give purpose to their lives, which can impact on their psychological recovery or growth.

Also, the cognitive appraisal relied on the cultural interpretation, such as Han or Palzha. It proves that culture plays a core role in understanding any target population in order to understand their way of appraisal regarding their emotions or behaviour. Regarding cross-cultural psychology, the manner of appraisal is more studied among western-based cultures than non-western cultures. Therefore, the approach that respects the target groups' significant culture should be studied prior to their intervention, in order to provide better treatment.

As well as being a standard for studying the appraisal of a group, culture is also the basis of social support (Charney et al., 2002). Also, coping strategies can follow the cultural background, such as in national, racial and ethnic groups (Kuo, 2013) where collectivistic values prevail. It is known as "collective coping" (Kuo, 2013; Yeh et al., 2006), which is an applicable strategy for our research population. From the perspective of collective coping, our participants shared their appraisal of their surrounding environment which refers to social elements. From the survivors' appraisals of the critical points contributing to their survival, first was resources, mostly emphasising the role of the government. Their idea of appraisal is linked to the approach of the ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). As the perpetrator was the authorities, it is inevitably the role of the government to rectify matters for the victim community. Therefore, the approach of the ecological model is an important one to apply to Jeju Sasam survivors and the Jeju community.

Im (2017) also suggested a model to heal the Jeju Sasam society inspired by Bronfenbrenner's model. The ecological approach has been suggested from many studies, especially to improve the community's mental health. This approach will help the Sasam survivors to heal themselves and their community (Ungar, 2012; Walters & Seymour, 2017). The ecological approach is based on

the idea that a society is formed of multi-dimensions and levels of individuals, communities and organisations. Individuals become the communities. The ecological approach is helpful for healing not only individuals, but also the communities, rather than treating everyone separately. As our mechanism is focused on the individual's self-appraisal to sociocultural elements, the ecological approach meets the idea that individuals develop by interconnecting with other people, their community and wider society.

Referring to the systems of the ecology theory, the approaches to treatment can be made from the individual level to the sociocultural level. For example, at the individual level, working with reappraisal on self positively (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Environmental change can be made not only by an individual's effort, but also by the level of assistance offered by the government: for instance, efforts for eradication of social discrimination by prohibiting the involvement system (guilt-by-association), so the bereaved families of Jeju Sasam can overcome unjust barriers to job promotion. The Saemaul Undong was also regarded as a governmental level of environmental change, and the narratives described the positive appraisal on their modernising of housing. Likewise, governance can significantly contribute to change of one's environment, especially through social services or support which were other elements that participants mentioned as the indicators of a positive world view. In the case of our participants, the authority level of change is essential for improving their condition where their risk factors have originated from the authorities. Social discrimination and the social climate against Jeju Sasam were issues driven by an anti-communism ideology.

Echoing the previous studies on resilience, community-based intervention and support is important to achieve the health of the community. Basoglu et al. (1997) emphasised preparedness for trauma for torture survivors' psychological distress. The strategy of preparedness is applicable to Jeju Sasam survivors, by offering the information about their possible psychological outcomes and symptoms from their traumatic experiences. The concept of psychological trauma or PTSD is a relatively new one, especially for the survivors' generation, and therefore proper learning about the psychological impact and distress should be followed. On top of this, the stigma of psychiatric treatment or counselling prevails in Korean

society, which can be removed by the efforts of communities. The government can also play its role: preparing the budget for treatment and offering good quality affordable facilities. For instance, the trauma centre for Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families on Jeju Island could contribute as a governmental facility.

The system of Gwendang culture can also contribute as a community-based recovery resource. It is a system deeply embedded in the community, and can be crucial, especially for the elderly population. 'Gwendang' can provide hospitality for elderly members if they do not have their children around them. Rural parts of Jeju Island still have a form of tribal village that is based on 'Gwendang' networks. People historically organised their villages under 'Gwendang' culture, operating as a main system for social support within the village. Gwendang culture can be a powerful resource for community-based intervention for collective coping strategies.

However, it can work as a malignant system for individuals if they fail to achieve the community's expectations. In other words, the bond within the 'Gwendang' can be too strong, one can be very vulnerable and even isolated from the community. Therefore, stigma can work more powerfully on Jeju than on the mainland. Due to the elaborate network of 'Gwendang' culture on Jeju Island, some individuals could not even consider seeking help for their mental health issues: psychiatric treatment still has a social stigma in Korean society, and this can be even worse under 'Gwendang' culture. The strict in-group and out-group distinction can narrow the range of social support and group can be narrowed (Chun et al., 2006; Hall, 2003; Triandis, 1989).

Likewise, successful resiliency should imply multidimensional aspects, as shown in the mechanism of trauma survivors (Figure 17). By capturing each element from the survivors, a tailored treatment and coping strategy can be developed. Our research population showed their post trauma trajectories and resiliency interdependently with their community. Therefore, the model for the community's healing should include interdependence between the community members. While it is important to provide treatment of trauma individually, in the case of a collective trauma like Jeju Sasam, the community as a whole should be treated for the healing to progress. As the Jeju Sasam occurred decades ago, the

community should be aware of the transgenerational aspect of their trauma. Therefore, a model for treatment of trauma should imply the communal characteristics of local culture.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

The thesis studied the psychological impact of state violence on its survivors, focusing on the case of Jeju Sasam. The Jeju Sasam began in 1947, with the authorities conducting intensive atrocities towards the Jeju people with multiple and accumulative traumas: mass murder, physical violence, torture, imprisonment, sexual violence, arson, and forced migration. These expressions of violence meet the criteria of crimes against humanity, a concept recognised by the United Nations and the International Criminal Court, though not yet fully codified in an international law (International Criminal Court, 1998). Crimes against humanity are listed in article 7 (p.3):

any of the following acts when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack:

- a. Murder;
- b. Extermination;
- c. Enslavement;
- d. Deportation or forcible transfer of population;
- e. Imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law;
- f. Torture;
- g. Rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity;
- h. Persecution against any identifiable group or collectivity on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender as defined in paragraph 3, or other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under international law, in connection with any act referred to in this paragraph or any crime within the jurisdiction of the Court;
- i. Enforced disappearance of persons;
- j. The crime of apartheid;
- k. Other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.

The 4.3 Special Law defines the period of Jeju Sasam as being from March 1947 to September 1954. However, the ensuing state violence continued beyond 1954. Furthermore, the authorities systematically discriminated against the survivors of Jeju Sasam, most notably through the guilt-by-association system. The bereaved families of the victims faced injustices in their occupations or in military service. Many were subject to surveillance put on them and faced obstructions in obtaining travel documents (Truth Investigation Report, 2003, pp. 496-508).

Through continued state violence and discrimination, the major ideology of anti-communism held its place in South Korean society, so the survivors of Jeju Sasam were forced into silence until the shift in the social atmosphere by the people's democratic movement from the 1980s. In 1999, the Special Law for Jeju 4.3 Incident was passed at the National Congress, and signed by President Kim Dae-jung in January 2000. It defined the Jeju 4.3 Incident, victims, and bereaved families and became a legal foundation for the truth investigation. The official Truth Investigation Report was published in 2003, at which time then President Roh Moo-hyun gave an official apology to the victims. The memorial park for Jeju Sasam victims was opened in 2008.

These official acknowledgements came several decades after the atrocities and many associated injustices. Previous studies with a psychological approach to Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families have emphasised the high levels of negative psychological outcomes such as PTSD, depression, and suicidal ideation (Jun et al., 2016; Jung & Kim, 2018, 2020). Women can be especially vulnerable in conflict situations and their aftermath (Kaiser & Hagan, 2015; Pohlman, 2013; Salzman, 1998; So, 2021), and such was the case for the female Jeju Sasam survivors (Gwon, 2011, 2014; Kim, 1998; Yang, 2008; Yoo, 2004). The lack of research interest in this population of women drove the current thesis to focus particularly on survivors' experiences according to gender-based differences.

The negative psychological outcomes meet the findings of studies on the long-term impacts of similar atrocities such as genocide and state violence. However, the survivors showed signs of resilience from their traumatic experiences. As shown in the study of Kim et al. (2012), some Jeju Sasam survivors showed

trauma recovery after participating in art therapy. The social atmosphere that became improved through the democratic movement also impacted the Jeju Sasam survivors' resilience (Kim et al., 2019). Previous studies on Jeju Sasam emphasised the quantitative level of psychological health, but some research found signs of trauma recovery and resilience from the population (Kim & Jung, 2021a; Kim, 2019f; Kim et al., 2012).

In addition to previous Jeju Sasam studies, the current thesis studied the psychological trajectories of trauma appraisal and resilience among Jeju Sasam survivors. What have they experienced and how have they since coped living with their traumatic memories? A selection of the narrative data strove to indicate the seven themes examined above to understand the survivors' appraisal of their traumatic experiences and post-Sasam lives. These themes were categorised into four elements governing the trauma resilience mechanism. The four elements are: self-appraisal, cognitive appraisal, social elements and culture.

As the previously studied theories described (Bandura, 2005; Epstein, 1990; Mead, 1934; Sullivan et al., 1953), self-appraisal explained the participants' behaviours and value attached to the group. The group can be either their family or community. The core mechanism for self-appraisal is linked to the interactive relationships with other people in the group. Individuals developed and appraised themselves and their behaviours by reflecting on information from their surroundings, such as other people's responses, or group values. The value attached to family (e.g., sacrificing for the family) or the community (e.g., harmonising with other people) were frequently observed. Also, gender-based differences were observed regarding their self-appraisal, especially in the value attached to the family as daughters and mothers. Additionally, self-worth was negatively appraised within the female population. Those results also linked to the culture of patriarchy and misogyny strongly prevalent in South Korean society.

To broaden the range of appraisal, cognitive appraisal was found among their emotional responses, beliefs, and worldview. The emotions and beliefs of the survivors were again bonded to their culture. For example, the emotion of Han was observed in the survivors, especially regarding their loss of family members and their ordinary lives, such as the loss of opportunities, particularly for their

education. People's beliefs and attitudes toward their lives were also appraised according to Jeju culture. 'Salamsimin Salajinda' was the way of thinking, comparable to the meaning of 'grin and bear it'. These cultural attitudes can be coping strategies for trauma resilience.

Regarding their worldview, the survivors' public appraisals were also affected by their surroundings: the social atmosphere and community, and the authorities' discrimination via guilt-by-association. Political issues related to Jeju Sasam negatively impacted participants' public appraisals. However, the participants positively appraise their world regarding environmental developments, such as modernising of housing and social support like pensions or social benefits for victims and bereaved family members. These social elements that significantly impacted the survivors' lives and public appraisals were integrated to the role of community, and ultimately nationhood.

Studies of other atrocities have shown that the provision of appropriate treatment and social services to support the survivors are a core elements for their health and wellbeing (Braveman & Gottlieb, 2014; Commission on Social Determinants of Health (CSDH), 2008; Solar & Irwin, 2010; Taylor et al., 2016). Unfortunately, the South Korean authorities failed to offer safety and adequate social services to survivors, and society discriminated against the Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families for decades after Jeju Sasam as described above (Yang, 2008). After the 4.3 Special Law was enacted, various social benefits became available, and recently the Jeju 4.3 Trauma Centre was opened to the public in 2020.

Before the above-mentioned interventions by the authorities were made, psychological wellbeing and social conditions were considered to be the sole responsibility of each individual. Therefore, the survivors had to find their own ways of dealing with the impacts of trauma. However, the stigma of accessing psychiatric or relevant mental health services in Korean society (Kang, 2006) could prevent them from seeking appropriate help (Clement et al., 2015). Where adequate social support exists, survivors can access required services at any point in their lives, whenever they feel they are ready.

The 4.3 Trauma Centre offered various services for the mental health of Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families, classifying the high risk groups by using a mental health assessment tool, and programmes such as in-depth counselling, mindfulness, storytelling and art therapy. The centre also offers physical treatment facilities with physiotherapy, which had the highest usage compared to other programmes of the centre. The preliminary research by Jung et al. (2021) on the mindfulness programme established for the Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families showed a positive impact to their psychological wellbeing.

The number of registered survivors and bereaved families attending the 4.3 Trauma Centre is currently 783 (4.3 Trauma Centre, 2021). Regarding the Covid-19 pandemic, the centre showed a high number of individual attendances, over 28,000, but this number can be assumed as representing multiple usage by the current registered users. As the centre is located in the middle of Jeju City, it cannot avoid an accessibility issue. To help resolve it, the centre staff visited four local communities to deliver the psychological wellbeing programme four times a year, but this is a minuscule measure considering the size of the victim society. In other words, the facility needs to develop a strategy to deliver the service directly to the survivors and bereaved families who find it difficult to access the centre.

The senior community centre can be an option to ameliorate the Trauma Centre's service delivering issue. As described in the narratives, the senior community centres were core places where the participants spend their times and meet their members (see Result chapter's theme and quote). The community-based intervention showed its positive outcome for psychological wellbeing among the extreme trauma survivors (Grayson, 2017; Habimana et al., 2021; Pearlman, 2013; Staub et al., 2005), the senior community centre can be a critical element for community-based intervention for Jeju Sasam survivors.

The communal spaces for social activities were important to the survivors' psychological wellbeing. The senior community centres are especially critical for their daily leisure activities and spending time together (Park et al., 2021). The centres play their role as places for caring for the senior citizens as well, for example providing programmes of light exercise, meals, and playing games.

Regular gathering, and spending the day together prevents isolation, which can carry critical risks to an elderly population, including to their mental health (Donovan & Blazer, 2020). Depression levels can be reduced by another person's social support, as in the case of PTSD (Gros et al., 2016; Johansen et al., 2022; Tengku Mohd et al., 2019). Various studies also understand the importance of senior community centres for senior citizens' quality of life and health. They asserted the infrastructure of the centres needs to be expanded for delivering social welfare services, by providing support to maintain the facilities and wellness programmes (Jeon, 2017; Oh, 2017).

As the research findings strongly emphasised the roles of community and governance, the senior community centres can be the option of community-based interventions for collective resilience. The current thesis did not focus on a particular programme or therapy, nor on the efficacy of certain interventions. However, as examples from previous studies indicate, community-based interventions and models for resilience such as self-trauma model and community resilience model are also applicable to our research population (Briere, 1996; Habimana et al., 2021; Pearlman, 2013; Robinaugh et al., 2011; Staub et al., 2005). Previous Jeju Sasam studies have also suggested an ecological approach, reflecting the idea of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1977) for the community healing model (Im, 2017).

However, while the community-based intervention can be a powerful tool for collective trauma recovery, it can at the same time be flawed. The Jeju community has Gwendang culture which makes the bond of kinship even stronger, which tends to form solid bonds among most of its members. Those who do not fit into or follow the group's values or identities can easily be ignored or ostracised. It can be dangerous to be an outsider within a strongly bonded community in terms of benefiting from social support. Studies have warned of drawbacks in community-based interventions, especially within a community where perpetrators and victims co-exist. The community's bond can be an easy tool for stigmatisation or creation of a vulnerable environment that prevents help-seeking behaviours (Clement et al., 2015; Kang, 2006). Therefore, community-based intervention should carefully give attention to each individual.

For individuals who have age-related mobility issues, the trauma centre and the senior community centres will still, inevitably, face accessibility issues. Therefore, how to deliver services, and their feasibility should be assessed. The current number of Jeju Island senior community centres is 458, with 47,393 members (Jeju Special Self-Governing Province, 2021). These numbers only cover less than half of the total senior citizens over 65 years old⁸ (Jeju Special Self-Governing Province, 2022). Even though the trauma centre can cooperate with senior community centres, the lack of facilities, resources and accessibility are issues that have been raised on Jeju Island as well (Oh, 2017). To tackle the accessibility issues, the authorities attempted to expand the visiting welfare care services nationally (Go & Kim, 2010), which can be the cooperative point between trauma treatment and promotion of the wellbeing of Jeju Sasam survivors.

In line with this idea, training the carers as a gatekeeper for survivors' mental health wellbeing can offer social welfare and help prevent them from experiencing isolation. Combining with the current welfare policies for the senior citizens could be another powerful tool for Jeju Sasam survivors' psychological wellbeing, adding to the system of senior community centres. The number of visiting services provided by Jeju Trauma Centre, as mentioned above, is four times a year and represents a lack of human resources to cover the whole population of Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families. Therefore, collaborating with senior day-care services could be an alternative way to fulfil the regular monitoring of psychological wellbeing, because early intervention and monitoring is a key point of mental health promotion and preventing further burdens (Reynolds et al., 2012).

In addition to the psychological therapy for Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families, it is important to consider the social aspects of Jeju Sasam trauma, learning from the Gwangju Trauma Centre. The importance of social healing access was raised by Jin and Kim (2020), who studied the Gwangju Trauma Centre, which was established in 2012 and was the first centre for the treatment of state violence survivors, especially those of the Gwangju 5.18 Uprising in 1980. The Gwangju centre also has offered various treatment programmes that are

⁸ Total number of senior citizens over 65 years old: 110,645 (Male: 47,365 / Female: 63,280), 2021 December

similar to those of the current Jeju centre. The programmes showed positive results for the users (Bark & Chung, 2017). However, trauma recovery should not be restricted only to psychological therapy, as the Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Uprising is a collective trauma linked to social justice and 'social suffering' (Jin & Kim, 2020, p. 165).

The study warned against only focusing on psychological treatment based on the view that trauma is only a medical condition to treat which could place a limitation on full recovery from the survivors' trauma, since the Gwangju 5.18 trauma has complex contexts and characteristics that are based on state violence, having social, collective and chronic conditions (Jin & Kim, 2020; Nho, 2016). Additionally, the impunity of the perpetrators, those responsible for massacres and other atrocities impacted the Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Uprising survivors psychologically (Kim, 2019e), showing that the individual level of medical treatment can have its limitation in solving trauma which is rooted in social issues.

Those social contexts are inevitably related to achieving social justice, truth-seeking and reconciliation, which the trauma centre cannot achieve on its own. In the case of the Jeju community, Jeju Sasam trauma also has a similar context; that social justice should be achieved to complete the trauma recovery. Therefore, it is important to cooperate with victim groups like the Associations for 4.3 victims and bereaved families, understanding the context of Jeju Sasam that is related to social atmosphere and attitude.

The 4.3 Trauma Centre faces the challenging issue of creating a balance between social care and the medical/psychological treatment for state violence survivors. However, there are various challenges to caring for the Jeju Sasam survivors, such as the lack of facilities and human resources. It is impossible to achieve complete health care and promotion only through the trauma centre. Therefore, cooperation between the authorities is essential for caring for Jeju Sasam trauma survivors. Also, civil societies and communities like the Associations for 4.3 Victims and Bereaved families also need to give their attention to this, to facilitate the social resources for the survivors and bereaved families' treatment, physically, mentally and socially.

Compared to other studies of state violence, those of Jeju Sasam are lacking in quantity in proportion to the size of the victims' community and the extent of intergenerational transmission. As described in the Literature review chapter, nine studies were identified in the fields of psychology and psychiatry from the population which suffered at least twenty-five thousand deaths and over eighty-thousand bereaved family members. Among the nine studies, a cross-sectional investigation with a sample size of over one thousand was conducted only twice. Therefore, the Jeju Sasam needs further investigation from a variety of perspectives. The current thesis was researched to contribute to Jeju Sasam studies. However, the availability of resources was insufficient to cover comprehensively the whole issue. Therefore, the following sub-chapters will describe the limitations of this thesis and necessary future studies of the Jeju Sasam. Furthermore, ideas for sustainable Jeju Sasam research are suggested, through lessons gained from the fieldwork.

1. Limitations

This thesis conducted qualitative research through semi-structured interviews. The recruitment strategy was 'snowballing': reliant on volunteers from randomly chosen senior community centres. The collected data were analysed with thematic analysis by inductive data-driven coding. The author and the two supervisors discussed the themes and interpretation of the data. This thesis followed the systemic framework for research reflexivity and trustworthiness. Even though the current research tried to mitigate any bias, it is impossible to eliminate some inevitably accompanied bias. The present thesis also faced bias by the nature of the research and the research environment.

1.1. Sample bias

This research cannot avoid sample bias because of the target population's age criteria. As the minimum age was eighty-two years, recruitment was inevitably related to the participants' health conditions. They were considered as still sufficiently healthy to participate if they were not suffering from serious illness. Therefore the criteria for exclusion included any severe health condition that

could make interview participation problematical. As the current research was rated as high risk, the exclusion criteria were critical to secure the participants' safety. Therefore, a sample bias remains in this research.

However, apart from the age-related issue of sample selection bias, recruitment was conducted to balance the number of females and males. The number of female survivors was nearly double that of male survivors (Yang, 2008). Therefore, the number of female participants was slightly larger than male participants although not proportionally so. Furthermore, to avoid selection bias, recruitment was conducted in all regions of Jeju Island. The researcher recruited outside of the circle of gatekeeper organisations, such as community centres for seniors, while the gatekeeper organisation introduced this research and promoted participation to potential participants. Therefore, the selection bias was mitigated to minimise disturbance to research trustworthiness.

1.2. Report bias

Reporting bias is applicable as this research conducted face to face interviews. The current thesis data is full of valuable information shared by the participants. However, the participants could minimise or downplay aspects of their narratives. This could be observed in their interactions with their children or grandchildren, with whom they are reluctant to share their violent memories, in common with survivors of other atrocities (Kidron, 2009). Furthermore, they often regarded their traumatic experiences as having negative impacts on others. Therefore, descriptions and levels of detail might be edited, depending on who they are addressing. Thus, the lived experiences behind the participants' narratives could have been far worse than what was shared in this thesis data.

Some survivors are still afraid to mention any topic related to Jeju Sasam. It was the main barrier to potential participants to joining the research. The social atmosphere against Jeju Sasam was negative for a long time, and punishments such as imprisonment or torture were also often implemented through the National Security law. Therefore, even though they know the current world is different from those days, they can still feel fear and be cautious.

The research protocol and the fact that a foreign institution organised the research may mitigate the reporting bias. The researcher offered the participants an information sheet and emphasised that the data would be secured and fully anonymised. This approach could reduce their concerns they might otherwise have about revealing their personal stories to other people in their community. Also, some participants asked about the hometown of the researcher, who is from the mainland, with no relations on Jeju Island, and therefore free from any of the 'Gwendang' connections. As mentioned above, where the 'Gwendang' culture is maintained, social stigma can prevent the participants from sharing their stories and they may have felt more comfortable with this researcher for the reasons explained above.

1.3. Recall bias

This research also expects recall bias regarding the time gap of many decades between the study and the Jeju Sasam experiences. As with sample bias above, recall bias is inevitable in historical trauma research. Additionally, participants may have experienced certain treatment or resilience post Jeju Sasam: their trauma appraisal, such as severity level, might have changed throughout their life. Also, ageing can merge or obscure memories. However, as the current thesis does not aim to be a historical fact check, recall bias is not considered as critical.

2. Future study

The topic of Jeju Sasam needs more academic attention, and there are various aspects to study, such as in the fields of psychological health science. Therefore, the following are suggested future studies that could branch from the current research. However, the population of survivors is elderly, and the time left to conduct further research is rapidly reducing.

2.1. Intergenerational trauma study

This research only focused on the survivors who were adults or became adults during Jeju Sasam. However, the collective trauma in the Jeju community needs detailed studies generation by generation. Broadening the narrow age range of the research population could lead to further understanding of the impact of Jeju Sasam. As with other extreme trauma studies, the main focus of the research could be the trauma of child survivors or the transgenerational trauma. There have been three or four generations following the generation of Jeju Sasam survivors. There are bereaved families who neither experienced, nor know about their grandparents' past. The aftermath of Jeju Sasam remains hidden throughout Jeju society. The shortage of trauma studies related to Jeju Sasam could possibly leave the people vulnerable in the future. Furthermore, from the analysis between the psychological wellbeing risk groups, the family was one of the core elements for the survivors' resilience. Therefore, intergenerational study is needed.

2.2. Gender-based study

The current research had the question of whether the data set could find a gender difference. It was able to capture themes that only female participants described. Although gender difference was not the primary research aim of this thesis, it is unfortunate that another gender perspective of research was difficult to conduct. As widowed women are one of the main parties in the victim and bereaved family community, the sole burden on women as mothers, householders or sole carers needs further study regarding their self-psychology and of the impact on their children. Additionally, the attitude of sacrifice under the hardship of Jeju Sasam impact, was mostly found in the female survivors. The social norm, misogyny culture and the societal role of women were interconnected influencing the female survivors' self-psychology which ultimately impacted their mental health. However, as the results showed in this thesis, the female participants were not particularly aware that their attitudes and behaviour might be thought of as sacrifice. It can be the results of cultural background like value attached to their community, or it could be the negative labelling learning from the misogynistic

society. Further detailed gender-based studies are essential for understanding and learning lessons from a population that has faced diverse discrimination.

2.3. Reconciliation and recovery/resilience study

The recent decision in January 2022 on compensation for victims and bereaved families implied the government's will to resolve the Jeju Sasam problem, whilst its practical reparation conditions (i.e. classification of victimisation, classification of disability level or length of imprisonment) are still doubtful. Reparation is always a vital element of recovery for state violence victims and the amendment of the 4.3 Special Law contained the issue of compensation. Compensation, which is understood as an official admission of legal responsibility, can also be interpreted as the authorities' will to resolve the Jeju Sasam issue and take a step forward towards reconciliation, which can ultimately heal the Jeju community. Therefore, as the current thesis participants described, the resolution of the Jeju Sasam issue can affect the victim society's Jeju Sasam trauma, especially their resolving of Han. Bringing justice by legal compensation is so often a main factor in completely healing the harmed victims. Therefore, it is worth investigating whether the authorities' steps towards making compensation will bring justice and help in resolving victims' and bereaved families' needs for psychological relief.

Studying the government's compensation policies and research on perpetrator groups is necessary to achieve the Jeju community's reconciliation. Since the Jeju Sasam, some individuals from perpetrator groups have settled on Jeju Island. In other words, for an extended time under the social climate of anti-communism, victims and perpetrators have lived together. However, the beliefs and attitudes towards Jeju Sasam differ among members of the Jeju society. Therefore, their behaviour can be different, potentially disrupting the movement of reconciliation and as Yamamoto et al. (2014) pointed out, the process of community healing from Jeju Sasam needs the stage of responsibility.

In line with reconciliation for the Jeju community, both the groups of perpetrators and victims made their efforts for reconciliation. In 2005, after the official truth investigation report was published, the Commissioner General of Police, Huh first

visited the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park to pay respects to the victims at the memorial. The local media and activists appraised the visit as a significant step towards reconciliation and peaceful coexistence (Lee, 2005). At his speech, the Commissioner General did not describe the nuances of the apology but showed his grief for those who died, and only mentioned President Roh's apology as an official one from the authorities. However, in 2020, the Commissioner General of Police, Min gave official apologies to Jeju Sasam victims. Also, the Minister of National Defence visited and paid respects at the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park in 2021 (Kim, 2020c; Yoo, 2021). Attempts at reconciliation by members of the police and military visiting the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park, representing perpetrators of the past, are important, but their apologies were unclear. Without describing exactly what atrocities were done in the past, they only exhibited their apologetic attitude and a will to respect the victims: whether these are sufficient to achieve reconciliation is questionable.

Since 2013, the Jeju community has tried to achieve reconciliation and peaceful co-existence on Jeju Island between the groups. In this time, the Associations for 4.3 Victims and Bereaved Families and the Korean National Police Veterans Association of Jeju have both visited Jeju's National Cemetery and the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park together for memorials. Their efforts for reconciliation were welcomed by political parties on both sides (Jeon, 2013; Joo, 2013). It was a significant step from the efforts at community for reconciliation. However, visiting the memorials together is almost the only visible effort for reconciliation so far; and these events involved only the executive members of both associations. It is hard to find any other general members from both groups who attended the memorial rite reported in the news media. Therefore, even though the association leaders represent each group, it still seems to be a top-down approach to reconciliation. It is a necessary effort, but the efficacy of leader-driven reconciliation is uncertain, because the individual members of each group can have different appraisal towards Jeju Sasam and each other.

Kim (2019a), while stating that a clear and sincere apology is not always necessary to achieve reconciliation, depending on culture, warns that immunity from punishment can be an option but can harm justice, and therefore it should

be the last option to consider. Realistically, it is now difficult to legally punish all the perpetrators. Furthermore, the truth investigation of the perpetrator groups is insufficient in detail to understand their structures and ordering systems during their operations (Jo, 2021). Therefore, if immunity is an option to feasibly consider clear and sincere apologies should be given, otherwise achieving meaningful reconciliation for the Jeju community will be difficult since the people's trust can be harmed, as has been observed in other historic cases of state violence. For example, the former President Chun Doo-hwan, who was responsible for perpetrating state violence during the Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Uprising, had not been punished and died due to his illness during the long period of his trial. His natural death meant the authorities failed to provide justice and frustrated the survivors and bereaved families. Impunity can mean that the authorities or the justice system still tacitly support the perpetrators' atrocities as legitimate.

Under the environment where the trust in the legal system and authorities is unstable, a bottom-up approach to reconciliation in the community is important. Studies also confirmed the idea of grassroots-based or community-based reconciliation process is important: East Timor found that the elite reconciliation between the political leaders failed to have much effect on the trauma of the wider population (Babo-Soares, 2004). Gibson (2014) also emphasised that understanding between the groups, specifically the racial groups is equally critical for reconciliation between the South Africans rather than only seeking truth. He tested contact hypothesis to see whether it can embrace the reconciliation between the groups and confirmed that interracial contact in the community is important for the reconciliation process. In the case of Jeju Island, the perpetrators and victims already have lived on the Jeju Island, therefore, we may expect less prejudice and understanding of opposite sides based on the contact hypothesis. However, the contact hypothesis requires some conditions, for example, the equality between the groups (Allport, 1954). As described above, the social atmosphere and environment was never equally given to perpetrators and victims regarding the ideological issues, therefore, further study on investigating each groups' appraisal of each other is critical. Therefore, study of appraisal and views on Jeju Sasam is essential to reduce the distance between the groups.

To achieve this goal smoothly, academia also needs to study perpetrator groups in various approaches, without attempting to manipulate historical facts. Further research can contribute to future reconciliation. Intergenerational studies can also be conducted to examine how the Jeju community has changed throughout the generations regarding their identities. The origin of an ancestor's identity can transfer to the next generation, which means that mixed identity is also possible. Therefore, a mixed generation can play their roles in reconciliation if they make their own efforts. To achieve or begin such a reconciliation effort, appraisals of Jeju Sasam issues according to each generation and their own defined identity can contribute to understanding of the Jeju community.

Also, researchers should study and ask: who are the appropriate subjects for any reconciliation; how can reconciliation be achieved between the groups from the bottom-up; will it be feasible to make apologies at the individual level and what is the meaning or definition of reconciliation to them? Each individual can appraise the approach to reconciliation differently, as either positive or negative to their psychological outcomes of the Jeju Sasam trauma. Reconciliation without agreement within the victim and bereaved family community can worsen their psychological distress, and lead to outcomes such as Han. As mentioned in the Discussion chapter, Han relies upon righting injustice for its resolution, so if the way of reconciliation cannot bring justice or fails to convince the victims, it can cause further Han to the victims. In other words, a careless reconciliation movement can harm the survivors' psychological health. The Jeju Sasam memories are still traumatic for individuals, and therefore forced reconciliation or a top-down approach can be another form of violence to them. Also, the ideological conflict is not only on Jeju Island, but also throughout South Korean society, allowing perpetrator groups to appraise themselves as honoured personnel following their 'achievements' during Jeju Sasam.

Reconciliation is an important process or goal for ultimate peace on Jeju Island. The efforts of both civil society and the government such as building the memorials, establishing truth investigation and storytelling of victim groups can be referred to as key elements of the process in building a mechanism for co-operation towards reconciliation (Kelman, 2008). However, it is questionable

whether such efforts will be enough to achieve the Jeju community's reconciliation. For instance, as described in the Introduction chapter, the 'Yeongmowon' memorial park commemorates both police and civilian victims, which can be considered as a significant reconciliation effort. However, the names of supposedly communist victims were not permitted to be engraved on the memorial stone (Ha, 2017). It throws doubt on the meaning of reconciliation between the groups. This also happened in the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park, so from the observations of this researcher, individuals from both groups are not always prepared to give and accept certain apologies. Therefore, true reconciliation can be achieved from reducing the different views and political ideologies on Jeju Sasam.

The reason why this author warns of the fact that the only efforts to reconcile have been at the group leaders' level is because of the spirit of Salamsimin Salajinda, which the current thesis found as a culture-based resilience in the survivors. As described in the Result and Discussion chapters, the attitude of Salamsimin Salajinda can be referred to as, not only the strong spirit to overcome hardships, but also as the giving up of hope, which can be the result of painful adjustment to their traumatic experiences. The goal of reconciliation can be achieved when the victims overcome their trauma from the atrocities. Therefore, it is important not to ignore the individual level of reconciliation, for their full recovery.

The United Nations Special Rapporteur Fabian Salvioli's latest statement after his visit to South Korea in 2022 warned there are a great number of victims due to crimes against humanity, including the Jeju Sasam, even though there are few efforts given to the victims. He also stated that he received numerous reports from various victim groups of state violence, which showed their horrible experiences and the current status of stagnation in achieving justice for them (Salvioli, 2022). It can be considered that the efforts for transitional justice and reconciliation are not satisfactory to the victim society. In other words, current efforts are not enough to achieve reconciliation and recovery from their trauma, and therefore more detailed approaches such as communication between the groups with general members or organising events such as sharing narratives,

could offer more opportunities to understand each other's different backgrounds and experiences. However, it is quite hard to achieve these kinds of aims unless there are sincere apologies from the community, rather than only between authority leaders and the board members of victim organisations. Greater efforts should be made, especially by the government.

Jeju Sasam's history of the truth investigation journey, the truth investigation is yet to be completed. Only victims were identified but none of the individual perpetrators. They were only defined by their occupations, such as 'police' or 'military'. The historian Joo Chealhee pointed out that the Jeju Sasam issue on Jeju Island is yet to be resolved because the systemic structural order of the perpetrator groups is yet to be investigated (Jo, 2021). Detailed investigation of the perpetrator groups should be a process for recording their responsibility and preventing similar events in the future, rather than simply punishing the individuals. Although undeniably a challenge, the research of perpetrator groups could add accurate details to truth investigation and identify further opportunities to contribute to the survivors' and bereaved families' wellbeing. Therefore, further study is needed for better reconciliation process.

2.4. Culture-based resilience study

The current thesis indicated that the culture is one of the core elements for trauma resilience mechanism. The further analysis of the survivors' differences between the risk groups of depression and PTSD also showed the culture-based factors explained how the survivors overcame their trauma or what are the risk factors to their psychological wellbeing. Most of the resilience or risk factors were attached to the culture. For example, the anti-communism culture installed by the authorities systemically discriminated the Jeju Sasam victims and bereaved families, which was also detrimental to their psychological wellbeing. However, the culture has been changed by community-based democratic movement, which also made the authorities admit the historical wrongdoings and encouraged truth-seeking. Also, the survivors can externally blame and ask the perpetrators to take

responsibility for restoring the victims' honour and achieving the reconciliation in their community as mentioned above.

In line with the cultural elements, the beliefs, way of thinking and attitudes based on the culture was another interesting finding in this thesis. 'Han' was obviously critical element to Koreans' mind and emotions, especially for those who experienced injustice and crimes against humanity like Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families. As the current thesis showed, the survivors' loss of opportunity was connected to their Han, however, it is still questionable whether it is resolvable by giving them the opportunity. How to resolve the Han can contribute to strengthening the resilience strategy for trauma survivors.

Furthermore, 'Salamsimin Salajinda' is one of the important cultural findings from Jeju Island, which can be the idea for the trauma resilience. As described previously, the attitude represents the strong spirit of Jeju Islanders, especially those of women. The current thesis also found the attitude of 'Salamsimin Salajinda', however, the research on this cultural expression was rarely found. Not only its value as Jeju language expression, but also the current thesis wants to focus further on its psychological value for resilience. As mentioned, this way of thinking is mostly witnessed from the elderly generation of Jeju Island, the further study on 'Salamsimin Salajinda' can contribute to the Jeju cultural heritage as well for the next generation.

3. Sustainable Jeju Sasam research

It is worth describing the barriers in Jeju Sasam studies to better understand the necessity for future studies. The following issues were identified by the observation and experience of the author. The geographical problem was the first barrier to accessing the population. Unless you are born on the island and have family or residence there, the challenge starts from seeking resources, including a residence. Certain resources are quite limited within the territory of Jeju Island. Therefore, efficient access to the research population for communicating with the stakeholder organisations is needed.

Secondly, even after mitigating the geographical issues, recruitment was one of the challenges. The research needed further details on the research population to confirm the criteria. Still, none of the stakeholders, including the provincial government, had detailed information on Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families' identification. Even defining the total size of the research population was challenging due to the lack of cohort data. Of course, the Jeju province government has the registration of victims and bereaved families admitted by the government. However, the registration details are not readily available to the public and very demanding conditions that must be met in order for them to be provided.

Thus, due to protection of personal data policies in South Korea, access via the government system was unavailable to researchers unless a government organisation was part of the research or employed by the researcher. Therefore, unless the study is granted use of governmental systems and has the registered victims and bereaved families' consent to be contacted, access to the potential participants will be a challenge to future studies. Traceable data can help define an issue that needs attention and easily access the research population.

However, even if the purpose of the study is to contribute to the good of humanity, research should seek not to disturb the survivors' everyday lives or minds. The number of survivors and bereaved families who experienced Jeju Sasam is currently quite limited, which means the research may become a burden to the same people in the future. Therefore, the core narratives, such as their trauma experiences or post-Sasam lives, as well as their general narratives, are valuable resources to be archived for future studies. The research questions and foci can be detailed and different depending on the researcher's approach and curiosities. The general narratives can be used as public resources to study the fundamental details of Jeju Sasam and can potentially find further unique aspects of research. A data archive can reduce the multiple processes of studies on Jeju Sasam.

Who then would be the leading party in collecting such data from the victims and bereaved families? The 4.3 Peace Foundation already has the budget by law for academic projects. The 4.3 Research Centre (which is a non-profit organisation) also contributes to archiving the history of Jeju Sasam. The Jeju 4.3 Trauma

Centre, a comparatively new organisation backed by a governmental budget, can easily access bereaved families who are the primary users of the facility. However, these organisations cannot serve as the leading department for data collection due to a lack of human resources and budget. Additionally, the Association for 4.3 Victims and Bereaved Families also started to collect research data from their members, but they have a lack of research expertise. The Center for Jeju Studies also researches Jeju Sasam. However, they explore various Jeju-related topics such as culture and language, so lack the resources to focus solely on Jeju Sasam issues. Therefore, it is worth considering the building of a research-based centre for Jeju Sasam, regardless of the academic fields.

As described above, the community's role is critical for the victim society's well-being. This also applies to academia, which should therefore have appropriate roles assigned to it. Although the community and social services offer their efforts to survivors and bereaved families, assessment is critical, and research should be continued in order to bring about improvement. In addition to the organisations mentioned above, the Jeju community-based groups provided essential support to the study, especially to the researcher who came from outside Jeju Island. In other words, solidarity within the Jeju community, including academia, can ultimately improve the victim society's wellbeing.

In conclusion, for future sustainable Jeju Sasam research, interdisciplinary solidarity and academic networks are needed. Also, stable research funds are essential regarding the high quality of research. As shown in the thesis, the survivors believe that the heritage of, and lessons from, the Jeju Sasam are essential to both themselves and future generations in South Korean society. Therefore, academia also needs to play a vital role in transmitting these to the next generation. Furthermore, written records are resources that remain within academia longer than other formats. Therefore, academia has a duty to be a contributor to the good of humanity.

4. Afterword

While working on the current thesis, the ultimate community role of nationhood emerged. Therefore, the questions ‘what is the nation?’ and ‘who are its people?’ should be considered. These questions are founded in the current day and illuminate how a conflict led by the authorities can disturb the personal lives of people. Interventions for the survivors of state violence and the treatment of psychological impacts upon bereaved families should continue to be studied. It is the South Korean nation’s duty to defend the fundamental human rights enshrined in the Constitution if it is to be truly called a democratic republic.

As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, the Jeju 4.3 Truth Investigation Report (2003) concluded that the authorities’ atrocities violated international standards as defined in the Geneva Convention (International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 1949). Additionally, in furtherance of the Geneva Convention’s aim to prevent future atrocities arising from conflict, there are other international laws and treaties to prohibit barbarism and protect human rights. The 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (the Genocide Convention, 1948) is a well-known convention that defines the crime of genocide. However, the Jeju Sasam cannot be defined as a genocide within the limited definition of the Genocide Convention, unless it includes the political and ideological purpose of mass murder. Crimes against humanity are more broadly defined and therefore crimes such as genocide can fall within its range. The atrocities of the Jeju Sasam can be classified as crimes against humanity (International Criminal Court, 1998).

In line with the scope of crimes against humanity, the nature of Jeju Sasam is a violation of human rights which are the core standards of international law towards citizens of all nations (United Nations, 1948). Especially as human rights are guaranteed to all human beings, regardless of their race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other defining status. Also, these rights include those of freedom from torture, which was violated during the Jeju Sasam period. As the authorities and their engineered social atmosphere under anti-communism forced survivors into silence, their freedom of opinion or expression was violated.

Furthermore, human rights include the right to work and education, but the guilt-by-association system frequently deprived people of their occupations. Also, the loss of educational opportunity was one of the main hardships which created negative psychological impacts on the survivors. Studies have criticised the 1948 Constitution and the authorities' actions. Lee (2010) argued that the Constitution was unable to function correctly due to the authorities' misinterpretations and violations for their own ends. They assumed absolute power through anti-communist ideology, wielding power for the security of their regime, rather than the security of the people.

The Constitution of the Republic of Korea, declared on the 17th of July 1948 during the Jeju Sasam period, lays down the fundamental human rights of individuals in South Korea. Equality for all citizens was declared by the provisional Constitution of 1919 by the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, an independence movement group located in Shanghai, China, which acted as a government in exile during the Japanese colonial rule. The Constitution has always stated anti-discrimination regarding sex or social class as a core value. The first Constitution (1948)⁹ stated the nation's duty to secure the individual's freedom and equality (article 5).

It shall be the duty of the Republic of Korea to respect and guarantee the freedom, equality, and creativity of each person in all areas of politics, economy, society, and culture, and to protect and coordinate them for the promotion of public welfare.

Thus, all citizens are in theory guaranteed equality before the law, that none shall be discriminated against regarding political, economic, and social life based on their sex, religion, or social status (article 8).

All citizens shall be equal before the law, and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic, social life on account of sex, religion or social status.

⁹ The first version of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea established in 1948 does not have English translated version, therefore, the researcher translated for quotation, especially the article 5. The article 8 and 2 of 1948 Constitution is almost same as article 11 and article 1 (2) of the current Constitution (wholly amended by Constitution No. 10, Oct 29, 1987). Therefore, the English translation for articles 8 and 2 were amended. The English translated version of the current one was translated by Korea Legislation Research Institute. The English translation is only for reference, having no legal or official validity. The English translation can be accessed from here:
https://elaw.klri.re.kr/eng_service/lawView.do?hseq=1&lang=ENG

No privileged caste shall be recognized or ever established in any form. The awarding of decorations or distinctions of honour in any form shall be effective only for recipients, and no privileges shall ensue therefrom.

Even though the first Constitution was declared during the Jeju Sasam period, the nation and its authorities should respect the people and the origin of their powers (article 2).

The sovereignty of the Republic of Korea shall reside in the people, and all state authority shall emanate from the people.

Despite the current absence of anti-discrimination law in South Korea, the Constitution is nonetheless written as the supreme law to defend the people's fundamental human rights. The authorities should respect human dignity, which they have failed, and continue to fail, to do. It was inhumane to lead systemic discrimination against a specific group of people in the nation. It was clearly state violence inflicted upon its own people, to conduct atrocities and to ignore their status, under the justification of political ideology. This fundamental value of humanity applies to all populations: those of the Jeju Sasam, and to similar victim groups. Studies have also argued that the authorities failed to follow their Constitution, and their actions contradicted their declared commitment to the people's human rights (Lee, 2010).

Jeju Sasam survivors and bereaved families were arguably the main group of victims of state violence prior to the establishment of the South Korean government. State violence resulted in many victims, including unrevealed or unacknowledged cases. Each event's victims and bereaved families tried hard to achieve their human rights and bring justice to society. Most of the victims were targeted by a politically ideological conflict and were framed as Bbalgaengi (ppal-gaeng-I, known as reds or commies), such as victims of the Korean War massacres, the democratic movements, and torture victims who had fought against dictatorship. People fought for their rights and justice, which the Constitution originally was meant to protect for them. As these were promised by the provisional Constitution, South Koreans uprose in order to achieve their rights, happiness, and wellbeing.

Therefore, the current thesis sought to explore the psychological impact on Jeju Sasam survivors, the understanding of which is the core element of pursuing happiness and wellbeing. The Jeju Sasam is a historical state violence event, which is still regarded as controversial for many South Koreans, and coming to terms with it is essential to restore justice and recover dignity for the victims. As with our research population, other hidden survivors can feel the fear of publicly revealing themselves as victims of state violence. Therefore, it is critical to show the Jeju Sasam survivors as an example of how their trauma has impacted them and how it has been, or is being, resolved.

As the authorities and the law failed to protect their own people and did not provide the guaranteed rights of the people, solidarity within the community became important. Herman (1992) said solidarity is the key factor in recovery from trauma, which threatens security, stigmatises memories, and isolates the individual from the group. Through the solidarity of the victim community and civil society and their efforts to speak up, and through continuing research, the Jeju Sasam issue has not been forgotten. The civil societies effort has been made until now. Recently, sixteen groups of Jeju communities collaborated to convict Jin-gyeong Park who was a colonel known as a main contributor to the massacre. The memorial stone is now surrounded by prison bars. It is the people's movements and their will to memorialise Jeju Sasam properly, but to exclude the perpetrators from the memorial, as any inclusion might be seen as tacit approval of the mass killings (Kim, 2022a).

Those kinds of communities' efforts have managed to establish the Special Law for truth investigation and compensation. It took a long time, and meanwhile, many victims and bereaved families have died before they could witness this progress of the resolution. The issue of Jeju Sasam is made vulnerable by uncertain social climates and the authorities' disposition as studied in this thesis. However, it must be stressed that the changing social climate and government policy can have positive as well as negative impacts. For instance, the conservatives won the Presidential election for the 20th President of Republic of Korea. On the day that the election was validated, the prosecution service of Jeju province appealed to the decision of special retrial order. The Jeju prosecution

service stated their appeal was to strengthen the victims' legal foundation for the retrial, but the victims' society claimed in a strongly worded statement that the appeal is against the aim of 4.3 Special Law.

It is a great coincidence that the 20th elected President was the Public Prosecutor General. Regardless of this, it is obvious that the victims' society still monitors and reacts shrewdly to the authorities' movements. Their response can be interpreted as the fear that a reignition of the negative disposition of the authorities could be a direct threat to them. They already learned that their safety and treatment can be affected by the authorities' disposition. Even though there was an appeal to retrial order, the retrial was heard on 29th of March and the verdict of not guilty was confirmed. The judge confessed his own ignorance about the issues of Jeju Sasam and victims, and admitted the wrongdoings of the past trials. Additionally, he offered his deep condolences and apologised to the survivors who had been through painful lives following the loss their families during the Jeju Sasam.

Likewise, the victims of the state violence can easily be made vulnerable. However, they can also be stronger than ever when the society gives them support. At the same time, it is our duty as citizens of a civilised nation to scrutinise the authorities' use of power, and to hold them to account where applicable. Only in this way can we be sure that an event like Jeju Sasam never happens again. This applies to any victims, therefore, the power of solidarity can secure the rights of members of society and can also give encouragement to victims elsewhere in the world.

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Appendix 1. Interview questionnaire

COLOUR INDEX

BLACK : QUESTION TO PARTICIPANT

GREEN : INTERVIEWER'S INTERVIEW SCRIPT OR PROMPT

ORANGE : INTERVIEWER'S TASK

Date		Location	
Start time		End time	
Did you bring your recorder and switch on?			<i>My signature here</i>
Send a text to the risk manager when I arrive at the interview location			<i>My signature here</i>
Check the location's address and fire exit in case of participant's medical emergency			<i>My signature here</i>
Gift provided?			<i>My signature here</i>

<Remember, you should ask participants if they need to have a break (at least 5 mins or more) between contents order>

Contents	Questions
General health condition	<p>1. What do you think is the most significant health problem that affects your daily life? (Check the time frame if it is necessary. Recently? Or in the past?) How does it bother you?</p> <p>1-1. What kind of regular treatments do you get for that issue? How often do you get the treatment and does it help you? If you don't get proper treatment, why?</p>
Break time	
April 3 rd experience (extreme trauma such as torture experience might be told. Be aware of the participant's condition.)	<p>"I would now like to ask you some questions about your experience of Jeju April 3rd"</p> <p>1. Can you please tell me about your experience of Jeju Sasam. (What happened to you?)</p> <p>1-1. What did Jeju Sasam make you sacrifice or endure?</p> <p>1-2. Can you tell me more about how you feel about those experiences? How do you think they have impacted your life since? (e.g. family functioning, economic crisis, social relationships etc.)</p> <p>2. Have you suffered any physical damage to your body due to Jeju April 3rd? If yes, what physical damage have you suffered and how has this affected you and your everyday life?</p>
Break time (Check the participant's condition. Any dizziness, sweating, anxiety, distress or increased heart rate)	
Aftermath of Jeju Sasam Exploring Guilt-by-association and	<p>"Please tell me about your life after the Jeju Sasam "</p> <p>1. How did people you knew such as neighbours/friends/families treat you after the Jeju Sasam? How did this make you feel?</p>

concepts of communist hatred	<p>1-1. How did people unknown to you e.g. strangers, treat you after they found out that you are a survivor from the Jeju Sasam? How did this make you feel?</p> <p>2. Did you experience any disadvantages or harassment because of your involvement/relation to the Jeju Sasam? If so, what happened and how did this make you feel? Please describe the experience.</p> <p>2-1. How did these experiences impact your life?</p> <p>2-2. Did you feel that some of your experiences resulted because people found you to be guilty by association or because of their attitude to communists?</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Break time</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-Check the participant's condition whether they feel uncomfortable or ill</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-Small stretches or body movements together</p> <p style="text-align: center;">After the break,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">“You did a great job so far. Shall we start the last part of today's session?”</p>	
Public and Communal Self appraisal	<p>1. Do you think that your beliefs have changed since the Jeju Sasam? If so, how? (In case more details are required; e.g., Do you think the event is because of your destiny/fate? Do you think that you feel let down by fate, beliefs, God, or faith since the Sasam? Or that your faith/religion/beliefs have been challenged by the Sasam?)</p> <p>2. How has your thinking about the world been changed? Would you mind telling details about how you feel about your place in the world? (e.g., Do you think you feel let down by the world or having no place in the world since the Sasam?)</p> <p>3. What typical thoughts do you have following the Jeju April 3rd experience about your relationships with others? (e.g., How do you feel about the significant members of the society/community/group after the event? Have you felt that you are no longer close to others since Sasam?)</p> <p>4. How have your values changed (or not changed; following the participant's answer)? Can you describe in more detail about yourself and how your values may have changed after the event? (e.g., do you think of yourself differently now? If yes, how? Can you give me an example?)</p>
The 4.3 Special Law	<p>What do you think of the 4.3 Special Law? Do you think it has actually impacted your life?</p> <p>(or have you experienced any changes to your beliefs after the establishment of the 4.3 Special Law?)</p>

“Thank you for your answers.”

-Provide the gift

-Check the participant's condition, whether they feel uncomfortable or unwell

Appendix 2. Code book

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Themes	Code	Quote	Code Description
1. State violence-related trauma exposure	1.1. Enduring hardship	"I rented the room and lived in a bad district. It was in the city. People from the upper side came a lot then. West side of the civic centre. Aigoo [expression of surprise, dismay or lamentation]... Just the poorest way of living." (A01091019F14)	Observed or participant's own appraisal of their experience of hardships during and after Sasam.
	1.2. Forced evacuation	"We needed to forcibly evacuate without anything, not even clothes, only our bodies. So, no food - we suffered a lot like that, suffered very much like that." (A02161019F05)	Authorities ordered people to evacuate to the coastal area; this was often forcibly.
	1.3. Sustained Injuries/disability	"I was shot in the back and stabbed in about 10 places. This arm was also stabbed. Look, this one is also a stab wound. So as a memorial, I got the date when I was stabbed tattooed." (A06180919M03)	Injuries or disabilities due to Sasam regardless of whether the individual was registered as a disabled survivor.
	1.4. Japanese occupation	"It was during the Imperial period, [Japanese Colonial period]. My heart is broken, it is stuck in my mind. Even when I get on an	Any traumatic experiences or state violence experienced during the Japanese Colonial Period (e.g. an airstrike,

		airplane. Men of my father's age were all killed." (A02161019F05)	harassment by the Japanese).
	1.5. Military experience	"I served in the military... I was honourably discharged after two years of service because of my wound." (A05140819M01)	Most of the male participants had experience of military service on the mainland. This could be related to their experience of social discrimination, as being personally identified with Jeju atrocities. It could also be related to gender differences.
	1.6. Forced labour	"Burned and built the wall. I lived there. The law mobilised people to rebuild their villages, asked for reports." (A01060819F02)	Forced labour mobilised by the authorities. i.e. building a wall and guarding the wall or village.
	1.7. Loss (death or disappearance) of family	"Because of the Sasam incident, my father died, my mother died, and my sister died." (A02150120M11)	Dead or missing family members during the Sasam.
	1.8. Witnessing someone being killed	"I was so scared when I saw the people were killed by firing squad, because everyone was our neighbours." (A05140819M02)	Witness someone being killed during Sasam
	1.9. Seeing the dead, mutilated corpses or mass graves	"There were gunshot sounds and fire everywhere. And after they left,	Seeing dead bodies, sometimes in massive numbers, during Sasam

		there were bodies everywhere.” (A05150819M03)	
	1.10. Witnessing a massacre	“The people who went to the school, as I said yesterday, they all died. 78 people from our village. When we went to (location name deleted) village, people were bursting into tears.” (A05180819M04)	Witnessed a scene of massacre or survived at a massacre site
	1.11. Destruction/loss of property	“There were many horses and cows but she let those go away. Unleashed them and drove them out. About 20 animals went out and we eventually lost them.” (A10281119F03)	Destruction or loss of house, contents, animals or money.
	1.12. Imprisonment	“After I was beaten and tortured, I was imprisoned for 10 months.” (A01250919F10)	Imprisoned illegally in a mainland prison
	1.13. Physical attack and violence	“The moment that my mother was handcuffed and taken by the soldiers, I tried to follow them. But the soldiers kicked me to get rid of me” (A01240919F05)	Any forms of physical attack and violence, including the threat of violence.
	1.14. Witnessing a fire/arson	“Nothing seriously, but I suffered a lot. The house was burned. Fire burned everything, so we needed to live in someone else’s house.” (A01060819F03)	Witnessed a fire or arson

	1.15. Torture	“When I was imprisoned, this (scar) was filled with pus after being tortured.” (A05150819M03)	Experienced any form of torture
	1.16. Witness violent destruction of village	“So (location name deleted) village was almost exterminated.” (A02161019F05)	Witnessed the violent destruction of village (e.g. attacks from the rioters)
	1.17. Homelessness	“Fire burned everything, so there was no house to live in. That made us live in a small side room of someone else’s house.” (A01060819F03)	Experiences of being homeless after forced evacuation or the like.
	1.18. Actively targeted by the authorities	“So, he climbed up to the mountain, and because he climbed up, he was treated as a reactionary element. So here, we were harassed, treating us as Bbalgaengee (‘Commies’). So we were in trouble from both sides.” (A01240919F05)	Suspected as a rioter or their side so actively targeted by the authorities.
2. Collective remembering and responsibility	2.1. Duty and commitment 2.1.1. Family of contributor 2.1.2. Leader position in the community 2.1.3. Rebuilding the community 2.1.4. Volunteer	“After I was discharged from the military, I was active in our village community. I organised the youth association. So I lived in our village at that time.” (A10291019M02)	Narratives of participants’ collective memories, and responsibilities as community members; experience of serving or contributing to their community as a leader or volunteer.

3. Survival	3.1. Having resources	“So I came here to marry. I haven’t known hardship. I didn’t have difficulties. We had farmland.” (A03290120F16)	Had resources such as property or money that contributed to their survival.
	3.2. Lack of resources 3.2.1. No access to medical services 3.2.2. Negative quality of life and life satisfaction	“At that time, there were no hospitals” (A10281119M04)	Lack of resources that negatively influenced or threatened their survival.
	3.3. Affiliation with government	“... my father was in charge of a platoon that assisted the authorities, so our family were never under suspicion.” (A06280819M01)	Experience of affiliation with the authorities that possibly made participants safe, e.g. participating in authority’s propaganda or joining their forces.
4. Intrusive memories		“I can never forget... That will last forever, until I die. ... well, it won’t go away. Those thoughts are just repeatedly stinging.” (A01060819F03)	Signs or narrative of intrusive memories of Sasam
5. Value attached to family		“It was very expensive at that time, so I needed to work in the field because of it [to afford the tenant fee]. But even if it was expensive, I couldn’t give up the children’s education in this kind of good time.	Narratives that show the participants’ value attached to family.

		Even though I couldn't do something special, but still." (A02161019F05)	
6. Han [an amalgamation of anger, regret and lamentation]		"Because father passed away because of the Sasam. ...That's what stuck in my mind." (A01091019F14)	Korean's uniquely expressed emotion, a word that refers to an amalgamation of anger, regret and lamentation
7. Positive quality of life		"Quality of life... It should be counted as good in the latter part of my life. I have a son and daughter, so it's good." (A04091119M02)	Positive appraisal of the quality of life
8. Grief		"I'm just sad, when I think that I've lived in hardship because I lost my parents while I was young, and those innocent people died. Just thinking sad things." (A01240919F05)	Observed or reported emotion of grief
9. Fear		"Well, so fearful, couldn't live because of the Sasam." (A02161019F05)	Observed or reported emotion of fear
10. Damaged self-concept	10.1. Self-Blame	"While my son grew, while he was raised, he couldn't grow well, so I was blamed. Because I couldn't do well for him, that's why he couldn't grow well." (A01060819F03)	Any form of self-blaming

	10.2. Unworthy/Worthlessness	“So I overcame the dangerous things, but nothing to talk about.” (A11271219F13)	Participants appraise their opinion about Sasam as unworthy of consideration or study.
	10.3. Injuries to self-concept	“Our house was not damaged. Yes, our family was not badly affected but only my older brother went missing.” (A07180120F05)	Any signs of injuries to the participant’s self-concept
	10.4. Any negative comments on self	“Even though I raised them by myself, they don’t come often. So I feel a bit sorry for myself because of that. But I can’t help it, it comes from my mental state. My Palzha (a concept of destiny - see 24. below) is just that way, that’s how I see it.” (A03210120F09)	Any negative comments or thoughts on themselves
11. Social discrimination	11.1. Involvement system	“Even though I lived alone in the city for schooling, I didn’t study. So it was guilt-by-association... Anyway people of my age, because of this guilt-by-association, couldn’t be civil servants, not even a low level clerk. Some people succeeded in not being found out. Some became teachers.” (A08180819M01)	Any forms or signs of experience related to involvement system
	11.2. Harassment	“I was too mortified. Because I was harassed because my father died	Any forms or signs of harassment that related to Sasam or Jeju identity

		due to Sasam. It was so sorrowful. I cried a lot.” (A01091019F14)	
	11.3. Disadvantaged/ Discriminated	“At that time, the coastal area treated people from the upper side of the mountain people as outsiders. My mother’s side of the family was in (location name deleted), but even though we went there, they didn’t accept us.” (A05151219F09)	Any forms or signs of disadvantage or discrimination because of Sasam or Jeju identity
	11.4. Forced silence	“The atmosphere in our village? It was the time that we couldn’t even talk about it. Nowadays, it’s possible to say something. Aigoo, back then you could be taken away.” (A05180819M04)	Forced silenced against talking about Sasam in public
12. Anger		“So I am very aggrieved. I couldn’t go to school because of Sasam. That is the biggest aggrievement, even now.” (A02191119F10)	Emotion or narrative of anger.
13. Negative world view	13.1. Still unsolved, complicated issue	“... 70, 71 years, now it’s been 72 years. But it’s dragged on until now. The government should do something, but they just discarded the issue.” (A04091119M02)	Participants’ appraisal that Jeju Sasam issue is still unsolved and complicated.
	13.2. Negative appraisal of world	“Disillusionment with the world is, well, when you watch television, ...	Any negative appraisal of the world, currently or in the past.

		this world is a bit messed up.” (A04091119M02)	
	13.3. Disappointment	“Now, the trial (against the government) will take several years, it won’t finish within a year or two. So I can’t witness whether we’ll win the trial or not, before I die.” (A01240919F05)	Narratives showing participants’ disappointment on the world or situations.
	14. Social roles		
	14.1. Recognition or acknowledgement	“So, I claimed compensation of a billion won for my father’s death. People liked it. Also, I said that the money can’t make the dead person alive. So, I was consoled by the people.” (A01091019F14)	Recognition or acknowledgement from the community – these include things such as gaining prizes awarded by the community, vocal recognition or compliments from community members.
	14.2. Marriage	“So, I didn’t even disturb my husband’s business. I just left him to do whatever he wanted. So, we’ve never fought each other.” (A02161119F08)	Mention about married life.
	14.3. Female	“Aigoo, we couldn’t do anything. Women were assigned to do the kitchen work, to make meals. Men used to do work outside.” (A01060819F03)	Female participant’s interview contents that potentially related to gender issues

15. Resilience		“... I was only concerned about where to go and what to eat tomorrow. (A02250719F01)	Narratives that show participants’ belief or value possibly contributing to their resilience.
16. Harmony		“We helped each other because we were all the same village people.” (A01260919M11)	To build harmony within the community and neighbours. Or having a person who was close or helped the participant to survive.
17. Autobiographical memory		“So I saw people killed three times, right in front of my face. [Deep sigh] So even now when Sasam story is mentioned, aigoo- everyone experienced it but just that memory comes out first. That I saw the killing of people. Killing. I can’t forget that.” (A05140819M02)	Narratives of participants’ autobiographical memories.
18. Loss	18.1. Education	“Because of the Sasam, I couldn’t study at school properly. This, Jeju island’s school, all schools on Jeju island were shut down because of the Sasam.” (A10281119M04)	Loss of opportunity or ability to be educated
	18.2. Expressions of loss of a normal life	“I mean, I was alone, so there was nobody to take care of me, to guide me.” (A08180819M01)	Any forms or expressions that showed loss of a normal life, e.g. working or social life

19. Sacrifice		“My parents died early and my siblings... We had lots of siblings. I am the eldest son, so I had to take responsibility for them.” (A02150120M11)	Any forms and signs of sacrifice of participants or their families
20. Hope		“Now I think the economic aspect is not enough. I hope the President makes more of an effort. (I) I have that kind of hope.” (A01020120M17)	Emotion or narratives of hope.
21. External blame	21.1. Blame rioters, authority or individual perpetrator	“I myself have nothing to be blamed for... Nothing. The Sasam incident was like... people who hid survived, others died... So, well, we lived through the hard times... can’t blame anybody. Blame the time, blame the Palzha.” (A02161019F05)	Narratives of blaming a situation of the time. Also, blaming rioters, authorities or individual perpetrators.
	21.2. No opportunity to think	“Never. Ay, it was impossible to do so. Life was busy and we couldn’t eat well. Ya, there is another thing to say. The grannies here, now they are all gone, but at that time, there was nothing to eat.” (A02161119F08)	Narratives that participants claimed that they had no opportunities and time to carefully consider their traumas.
	21.3. Political power	“This, the one thing that I feel now is, the province’s power is too weak. The Sasam, the governmental authority ruthlessly killed all people,	Participants blame a lack of political power as the reason why the Sasam issue is still ongoing.

		but until now it's not well known." (A05140819M01)	
22. Social well-being	22.1. Social activity	"Even though it's a bit hard, I rely on my cane and commute to the centre to spend time there. This is just my routine. It's better to commute than sitting alone. Listening to other people and speaking with them - that could be a good way to pass the time." (A01060819F03)	Social activities such as participating in social programmes or spending time with others at senior community centres.
	22.2. Helpful social support	"Ah, the atmosphere was a very close one (familiar each other) between those adults and their neighbours. They used to feed people who were poor." (A06180919M03)	Narratives of having a person or a group who supported the participant, possibly helpful to participants' social well-being.
23. Hopelessness		"Ah, just things were not in my mind. There were lots of things that I couldn't do as I would have wanted." (A01060819F03)	Narratives or signs of hopelessness
24. Palzha [destiny]		"Can't do things anymore. So, well, I lived through the hard times... can't blame anybody. Blame the time, blame the Palzha. Hahaha." (A02161019F05)	Comparable meaning to destiny. Belief that a person has their own 'Palzha' since their birth.
25. Jesa [a ritual to commemorate the dead]		"Jesa is, I've served it all the time, but when I became 85 years old, I couldn't serve the Jesa anymore. So	Ritual based on Confucianism, performed on the day of death.

		my children did a lot - mowing the grass at the grave, and so on.”	Commonly the eldest son is in charge of annually serving Jesa. It provides a time to remember and mourn family members.
26. Religion	26.1. Folk belief 26.1.1. ‘Gut’ (ritual event)	“Because I prayed for everything, prayed not to commit a crime. Even just walking along the street, I prayed not to fall. Or for no one to harm us. So if you keep a beautiful mind, then babies will be sent from the sky. So I have lived praying for my children.” (A11271219F13)	Folk belief or ritual event based on Korean shamanism. It was an alternative way of mourning or grief for bereaved families, different to Jesa.
	26.2. Religious activity	“Yes, I went to the temple. I went there to pray for my children, when they were quite difficult. So I prayed for their peace. But it was just a moment, now it’s nothing.” (A01060819F03)	Attended or played role in religious community
27. Salamsimin Salajinda		“So I said there is no ‘how’, just lived then (I) could live, and I lived without any calculations (deep concerns or rumination).” (A02161119F08)	‘Salamsimin Salajinda’ is a Jeju language expression, meaning; It’s able to live if you make your living (even though that bothers you). This expression is used to represent the strength of

			<p>Jeju people, especially women</p> <p>but is sometimes used to show their emotion of giving up or loss of life (i.e. I lived anyway somehow because I survived. / because my life was prolonged.) as well.</p>
28. Belief and value change		<p>“The main thing is as I said earlier, I freeloaded at someone else’s house ... So what I felt when I lived there was ‘ah, I should accept this basic life. I should accept it in a positive way, not in a negative way.’” (A04091119M02)</p>	<p>Narratives or signs of changes to participants’ beliefs or values after Sasam.</p>
29. Guilt and shame		<p>“At first when I was released from prison, I was deeply ashamed of myself.” (A01250919F10)</p>	<p>Emotion or narratives of guilt and shame.</p>
30. Reclaiming honour		<p>“There are innocent people who died. People used to make their cows and horses graze on the mountain pasture. ... So those kinds of people deserve to reclaim their honour. They can reclaim it confidently.” (A06180919M03)</p>	<p>Narratives about Sasam victims’ reclamation of honour or statements that their honour should be reclaimed.</p>
31. Memorials	31.1. 4.3 related event	<p>“When I went there [to a protest at the courthouse] and grabbed the</p>	<p>Participation in 4.3 related events and thoughts on</p>

		microphone, I spoke out that my father had a registration card and there was no evidence of his guilt, but he was killed. Why? There was no evidence against him. The police arrested him and never sent him home. Um? Sent him to a mainland prison. My father cannot be bought with the money. Even a billion won can't buy back my father. I cried a lot. I spoke up like that and people said that I did well to speak out.” (A01091019F14)	social activities and participating in events.
	31.2. Visit historical 4.3 sites	“...the 4.3 Victims and Bereaved Family Association brought me to the massacre site of (location name deleted) prison. So, the association gathered people and visited there.” (A01020120M17)	Visit historic sites such as massacre sites.
	31.3. Place to grieve	“My strongest wish is to make his grave. A grave. If I could make a grave for him, I can feel that I served my entire responsibility as a widow. But I am so sorry to him, even to be called a widow, because I couldn't do that, couldn't serve my duty as a wife ... I don't know where my husband is. And I couldn't find his body, so I feel my responsibility is	Narratives related to having a proper place to grieve their family's death. i.e. memorial park or grave.

		not fully served. I never forget that. Aigoo.” (A01060819F02)	
32. Gwendang culture		“So when serve the Jesa... There are my brother’s relatives. Close relatives. Gwendang. Close Gwendang serves the Jesa of my brother. So they serve well.” (A11271219F13)	Gwendang is a combined concept of the close social relationship in the community based on blood relations. It is a strong culture of Jeju island.
33. Lack of power		“But they only talk about it, nothing actually changes. So that’s, those are a bit, I think it never will change.” (A08180819M01)	Participant’s feeling of a lack of power.
34. Avoidance		“So he tried to convince me to attend there together. So I was like, I don’t want to be there and don’t want to be reminded.” (A08180819M01)	Signs of avoidance related to Sasam
35. Suicidal ideation		“At that time, I didn’t want to live anymore. I lost my parents, I have no house and no one, so I thought it would be better to die and be with them, rather to live and suffer like this” (A01240919F05)	Any signs of suicidal ideation
36. Nightmares		“I kept having nightmares. If I dream, it’s always nightmares. Like.... dreaming of being chased by the police, or that I was taken to the	Participants’ reports of their nightmares.

		soldiers and beaten by them. This is a nightmare. I kept dreaming these kinds of things in my nightmares." (A10171019M01)	
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