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Transmission of Memory:
Heritage Trail and Jeju Uprising

Master's Thesis

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Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

Prague, 24.05.2021

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Acronyms

4.3	The April Third Incident
AHD	The Authorized Heritage Discourse
COVID-19	The Coronavirus Disease of 2019
DPRK	The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NWYL	The North West Youth League
ROK	The Republic of Korea
SKLP	The South Korean Labor Party
TRCK	The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Korea
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAMGIK	The United States Army Military Government in Korea
WHL	The UNESCO World Heritage Label

Abstrakt a klíčová slova

Přenos paměti: Stezka dědictví a povstání na ostrově Jeju

Tato práce si klade za cíl osvětlit příběhy jednotlivců při přenosu vzpomínek pomocí Stezky dědictví jako média paměti. Práce tedy zkoumá, jak Stezka dědictví funguje jako ztělesnění paměti a dále, jaká je její role při přenosu paměti. Výzkumné místo, ostrov Jeju v Korejské republice, bylo vybráno kvůli nedostatečnému uznání jeho kulturního i přírodního dědictví ve vztahu k historii povstání na ostrově. Tato událost se nazývá různými způsoby: "incident 3. dubna", "povstání na Jeju", "vraždy na Jeju" nebo jednoduše 4,3 (Sasam), což představuje datum ozbrojeného povstání na ostrově Jeju v roce 1943. Stezka dědictví povstání Jeju zvaná Stezka 4,3 byla zkoumána empiricky jako případová studie. Terénní práce probíhala na ostrově od 22. září do 10. října 2020. Data byla sbírána z rozhovorů a pozorování účastníků a poté narativně analyzována. Ve stejném diskurzu existují polysemické vzpomínky a příběhy, protože názvy události se liší od kontextu ke kontextu. K prozkoumání více dimenzí vzpomínek obklopujících Stezku, byli dotazováni strážci paměti a studována praxe chůze. Práce dospěla k závěru, že na Stezce dědictví se zkušenost chodců stává zralejší a rozmanitější prostřednictvím zapojených kulturních, narativních a komunikačních vzpomínek.

Klíčová slova: Přenos paměti, povstání Jeju, stezka dědictví, kulturní paměť, tvorba paměti, strážci paměti

Abstract

Transmission of memory: Heritage Trail and Jeju Uprising

This thesis aims to shed light on the stories of individuals in transmitting memories using the heritage trail as a medium. Thus, this thesis examines how the heritage trail works as memory embodiment and, further, its role in transmitting memory. The research site, Jeju Island of the Republic of Korea, was selected due to its little recognition as both cultural and natural heritage concerning the history of Jeju Uprising. This event is called in different ways, including the April 3rd Incident, Jeju Killings, Jeju Rebellion, and simply 4.3 (*Sasam*), representing the date of the armed uprising in Jeju Island in 1943. The heritage trail of the Jeju Uprising called the 4.3 trail was examined empirically as a case study. Fieldwork was conducted from 22 September to 10 October 2020 in Jeju Island. The data was collected from interviews and participant observation and then narratively analyzed. There are polysemic memories and narratives within the same discourse because the names of calling the Uprising vary from context to context. The memory workers were interviewed, and the practice of walking as a component of the trail was studied to examine multiple dimensions of the memories surrounding the trail. Finally, this thesis concludes that in the heritage trail where memory workers are employed and walking is practiced, walkers' experience becomes more mature and diverse through cultural, narrative and communicative memories.

Keywords: Transmission of memory, Jeju Uprising, Heritage trail, cultural memory, memory making, memory workers

Résumé

Cette thèse vise à mettre en lumière les histoires des individus dans la transmission des mémoires en utilisant les sentiers du patrimoine comme moyen. Ainsi, la thèse examine comment le sentier du patrimoine fonctionne comme une incarnation de la mémoire, ainsi que son rôle dans la transmission de la mémoire. Le site de recherche, l'Île de Jeju en République de Corée a été sélectionné en raison du peu de reconnaissance de l'héritage culturel et naturel en ce qui concerne l'histoire du soulèvement de Jeju. Cet événement est désigné de différentes manières, notamment l'incident du 3 Avril, les tueries de Jeju, la rébellion de Jeju, et plus simplement 4.3 (*Sasam*) représentant la date du soulèvement armé sur l'île de Jeju en 1943.

Le sentier du patrimoine du soulèvement de Jeju, nommé 'sentier 4.3', a été examiné empiriquement en tant qu'étude de cas. Le travail de terrain a été réalisé entre le 22 Septembre et le 10 Octobre 2020 sur l'île de Jeju. Les données ont été collectées au moyen d'interviews et d'observation participante puis analysées narrativement. Il y a six sentiers de patrimoine qui relient les lieux de mémoire et de patrimoine culturel qui se trouvent dans chaque village en l'île de Jeju. Ils sont analysés en tant que théâtre de deuil qui permet aux visiteurs de réfléchir aux souvenirs des villageois/locaux et de sympathiser avec ces souvenirs.

Il y a mémoires et des récits polysémique dans le même discours car la manière de nommer le soulèvement varie selon les contextes. Pour examiner les multiples dimensions des mémoires concernant le sentier, des travailleurs de la mémoire ont été interviewés et la pratique de la marche en tant que composante du sentier a été étudiée. Finalement, cette thèse conclut que dans le sentier du patrimoine où les travailleurs de la mémoire sont employés et où la marche est pratiquée, l'expérience des marcheurs devient plus mature et diversifiée grâce aux mémoires culturelles, narratives et communicatives impliquées.

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1. Introduction

Memories survive and are transmitted through different channels such as cultural objects, media, literature and intangible forms. Through this, memories are reproduced and attached, bringing them into a reinterpretation process in which they become narrative objects. However, memory is by nature intangible, and so its multi-dimensional phenomena are not likely to be captured fully by tangible means. However, that is why memory is being constantly modified and reinterpreted as a process between selection and rejection, remembering and forgetting, existence and non-existence in which symbolic power interplays in social space..¹

There are vague areas within memory and history when discerning one another. It is not necessary to draw a separate line to both. The emergence of memory studies at the end of the 20th century has allowed an independent discipline of memory studies concerning history. Memory has the nuance to be more colloquial with which manner collective memory is born from social space of communication with a lead of institutions that are deemed more likely an arranged narrative of specific times.² This can be seen as corresponding to history. If memory is seen as a process-wise notion from encoding, storing to retrieving the past events, history relates with processed meanings and narratives institutionalized from a certain period and discourse under authority. In this thesis, three concepts of memories are adopted: cultural, communicative, and narrative as a framework, to analyze the cultural heritage of Jeju Island of South Korea precisely, the 4.3 trails as a case study. The combined framework of memories is used to articulate the role of the heritage trail as a memory embodiment.

With attention to this role of memory and cultural heritage as a process, this thesis examines the memories of the Jeju Uprising of civilians, survivors, and memory workers on the Island of Jeju, the southern tip of the Korean Peninsula. Proven that the Island is an acclaimed site of natural heritage by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Jeju Island is well-known for its abundant nature. It has become a beloved attraction amongst Koreans; however, the history of Jeju exists beyond its beauty. The April 3rd Incident, as known as 4.3, took place from 1947 to 1953.³ During this period, ten percent of the population in Jeju Island was killed. In the wake of the 20th century, the memory of the

¹ Pierre Bourdieu, Social Space and Symbolic Power Sociological Theory, *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (1989): 14-25

² Halbwachs, Maurice. *On collective memory*, Coser, A Lewis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992)

³ a day is written before a month in Korea

Uprising appeared more in public as though it is ostensibly less known compared to the Island's natural gem from which account, the nickname was made, the honeymoon island of Korea.

The underrepresented history and memory can be quickly redressed and reinterpreted by the state and the institution for its lack of a collective understanding. In the early 2000s, the presidential announcement was made to name the Island as an island of peace, which narrative has been actively used and disseminated nationally. Thus, the motivation of this thesis started from the dichotomy in representing the Jeju Uprising found in its heritage, tourism, and recognition. Therefore, it aims to shed more light on the marginalized memory of Jeju Uprising in the realm of the individual, local, private, and village-level with the dynamic of narratives found in the official and unofficial sphere.

Historical facts, statistics and other relevant resources were gathered from the investigation reports published by the Korean government and the sequel report by Jeju 4.3 Peace foundation. Besides, materials provided by local institutions, such as Jeju 4.3 Research Institute, Jeju Research Institute, and Jeju Dark Tours, a Non-governmental Organization, were also used for cross-checking the facts. Many articles and journals specialized in Jeju Uprising and Korean studies were used, written by Korean scholars and foreign nationals. Above all, during the fieldwork, many local people asked to read the public investigation report, which showed that the report meant a lot to them, as the first-ever published document officially on Jeju Uprising. As the investigation was not completed yet and the related law is still underway, Jeju Uprising seems to be a work in process for the local people and activists. With that in mind, narratives and memories of villagers and official records were comprehensively interpreted to grasp the context and discourse from the bottom-top approach.

1.1. Research question

The central question proposed is

*How does the heritage trail work as memory embodiment,
and what is its role in transmitting memory?*

To investigate this question both in theoretical and practical levels, the 4.3 trails dedicated to remembering Jeju Uprising, the April 3rd Incident (or *Sasam* in Korean), are examined into two folds:

- to delve into the dynamic of narratives formed via cultural heritage such as memorials and heritage trails related to the memory of Jeju Uprising
- to articulate the relationship between walking and heritage in the heritage trail as means of improving heritage experience

In order to respond to the above questions, firstly, a theoretical framework is introduced with three levels of memory: cultural, communicative, and narrative memory, and the heritage trail within the history of Jeju Uprising is to be conceptualized to seek a linkage within them.

The memory within the heritage trail lies in different spheres of memories. The memory comes in everyday communication as **communicative memory**, be in a path that visitors can walk.⁴ Secondly, when heritage workers share the memory in narrative forms with visitors, it becomes **narrative memory**. Thirdly, concerning the narratives, the cultural heritage in the trails cultivates its meaning to walkers as **cultural memory**.

Walking in the heritage trail is an important physical activity that directs bodies from sites to sites and influences walkers' experience, memory scenes, feelings, and cognition on the heritage sites altogether. Walking in this thesis, not only practiced by visitors of heritage sites but also by memory workers, whose interaction was forged them into multi-dimensional sites of memory with various narratives as a sentient being.

Memory workers as actors and verbal agents of memory transmission, in this thesis, refer to those who work in the 4.3 trail. They are certified by the Jeju provincial government to provide guiding services to the walkers who visit the 4.3 trail. In total, thirteen memory workers are active in each trail, most of whom are residents of the village, a few of them are the experienced generation of Jeju Uprising. However, I also use this term in general as well to indicate people who put an effort to conserve and transmit memories of the Uprising.

The six different trails that connect the heritage of Jeju Uprising distributed in each village were introduced to see how this memory transmission process was enhanced, linking between lost villages and community, and villagers and walkers. In the context of suppressed memories, 4.3 heritage trails with the guidance of memory workers were evaluated as a successful medium of memory transmission for their experiential, informative and physical quality. Given that marginalized memory is individually owned and remembered, there were various narratives

⁴ Assmann, Jan and Czaplicka John. 1995. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* no. 65 (1995): 125-133.

from the state to the local. Therefore, before analyzing the 4.3 trail representing the village heritage and memory, cultural objects and memorials, such as Jeju 4.3 Peace Park, were examined to expand the spectrum of the research.

1.2. Structure

This thesis consists of three parts: 1. theoretic review on memory concerning heritage and how those two concepts complemented each other in the heritage trail; 2. theoretic review on memorials to analyzing cultural memory enmeshed; 3. practical review on a heritage trail as a means of memory transmission with a case study of the 4.3 trails and the walking as a cultural practice to augment the heritage experience. Three parts of this thesis were combinedly put to comprehend the discourse and narratives of the Jeju Uprising en masse and to subtract the reason of the dichotomous recognition of heritage to cast a possible suggestion.

Chapter 3 examined the transmission process of memory in Jeju Island as a particular space where the remembrance of Jeju Uprising was not permissible to be shared in the public sphere. On the contrary, this predicament gave birth other ways in commemorating 4.3 in a local sphere. To reflect the idiosyncrasy of Jeju Uprising, the framework was introduced to view this distinct memory-scape in remembrance of 4.3 through three memory spheres: cultural, communicative and narrative memories. find a viable relationship with cultural heritage as a house of memory. Accordingly, the Jeju Uprising was overviewed with its history and introduced the current agenda for its controversial past.

Prior to the field work, cultural memories embedded in the visual establishments were studied such as memorials in Jeju related to the authorized heritage discourse (AHD) regarding the Jeju Uprising. As an exemplary memorial representing the state-led narrative, Jeju 4.3 peace park was introduced to examine the dominant narrative—peace, reconciliation and coexistence, in-depth through the symbols and statues found in the memorial. Before delving into the case study of the heritage trail, the 4.3 trail, in chapter 5, walking was studied as a means to improve the heritage experience of visitors. The potential collaboration between walking and heritage was examined within the case study, applying the three-layered memory framework, which allows processing the multi-dimension of memory remembered and commemorated in different forms.

Thus, chapter 6 provides the empirical founding of this thesis that deals with the 4.3 heritage trail. It discovered how the heritage trail engages with heritage experience on-site to see how it becomes memory embodiment that enhances the transmission of memory through the act of walking. To specify, fieldwork was done to gather the necessary data in situ based on participant observation and interviews from 22 September to 9 October 2020. To be in detail, six memory workers who offer guide service in each heritage trail were interviewed as a core group, and local researchers, archivists, and activists were also interviewed aside. The sites of memory, such as refuge, garrison, sites of massacres and cemeteries, were observed how they were preserved and managed. The gathered resources were analyzed through a qualitative method using narrative analysis. Along with it, informational panels, texts on monuments and guiding signs within the trail were monitored to see if they were readable and self-explanatory for tourists and see if they possessed biased expressions.

In summary, chapter 4, theorizing sites of memory, deals with the memorial and the narrative of the institutionalized peace, representing the etic approach and chapter 6, analyzing sites of memory, is the outcome of the fieldwork embracing the emic approach. Thus, two parts are put together to fill the researcher's possible gap when practicing ethnography.⁵

1.3. Jeju Uprising

Jeju Uprising, the so-called April 3rd Incident, which is the better-known term, took place in a southernmost island called Jeju of the Republic of Korea (hereafter Korea). It is important to note the timeline from 1948 to 1953 of this set of massacres and uprisings since it is vastly related to the contextual background of the Post War period with the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. After the liberation from the Japanese rule in 1945, the atmosphere in Jeju, like other cities in Korea, was hopeful and dynamic at the same time for preparing a new Korea which people were eager to establish after the long suppression from the colonization.

The number official victims reportedly is 14,442 as of 2019.⁶ Large number of civilians were killed during the crackdown of the Island by the military, police, and a right-wing paramilitary

⁵ Hoey A, Brian. "A Simple Introduction to the Practice of Ethnography and Guide to Ethnographic Fieldnotes," *Marshall University Digital Scholar* (2014) http://works.bepress.com/brian_hoey/12/

⁶ Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation, *Jeju 4·3 Incident Follow-up Investigation Report I*. (Jeju: Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, 2019) 68.

group called the North West Youth League (NWYL), against the so-called communist guerrillas, members of the South Korean Labor Party (SKLP) or *Namrodang* in Korean. Because the number of casualties was far more than the total members of the labor party in which shows the excessive violence originally aiming to subdue the SKLP ended up mass-murdering the unarmed civilians. Thus, Jeju Uprising was evaluated in the official report published by the government as the state-violence over human rights.⁷ This was able to happen because the ideology mattered the most during the nation-building process of Korea under the auspice of the United States Army and Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK), while the other half, the North, was being built under communism backed by the Soviet Unions. The nation-building ideology under the extreme right-wing government of Rhee, Syngman, the first president of Korea, was anticommunism in which it still exists continuously in the political climate of Korea and the memory of 4.3 with a name of red complex and trauma, which is why some of the bereavement families are afraid to come out for registration as official victims.

Nonetheless, during such period, Jeju had become burdensome to take control of, which is why it was the only island where the constituent assembly election on May 10, 1948, was not valid due to the lack of voter participation. That occasion particularly expedited the aggressive military operation on Jeju oftentimes targeted to civilians regardless of ideology with which reason of difficulty in strictly identifying communists or dissidents among them.

1.3.1. Naming the Jeju Uprising (4.3)

In this thesis, the April 3rd Incident or just simply 4.3, and the Jeju Uprising are used interchangeably, referring to a set of events and massacres that took place in Jeju Island, Korea, after the liberation from the Japanese annexation and during before and after the Korean War (1948-1953). The April 3rd Incident is a legal term used to call this period from 1947 to 1953 as the seven-year-long duration implies, it is not destined to be explained by a single term. The date, 3 April 1948 is when the South Korean Labor Party (SKLP) attacked the police offices and the right-wing personnel in Jeju Island. Thus, the official term fails to include such spectrum as the whole process of the crackdown, the Uprising and mass-murder took place in Jeju. Likewise, the exhibition at the central memorial space of 4.3, Jeju 4.3 Peace park, divides

⁷ The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident, *The Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report*, (Seoul: The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident, 2015)

its section into seven stages of display in order to walk visitors from beginning to the development of the Jeju Uprising.⁸

Hence, the so-called naming movement has been underway to rightfully label this term. The naming issue also goes hand in hand with the discourse in which scholarship was formed around how 4.3 should have dealt as a rebellion, a massacre, an incident and an uprising. That which has been shaped in different time frames in which it feels safe enough to talk about ideology. The movement was implied as well from the monument called *Baekbi* located at the Jeju April 3rd Peace Park with no engraving, but a simple explanation on the side says, "One day this monument will be erected when 4.3 finds a proper name". In the same manner, according to the former representative of Jeju Dark Tour, a civil society organization that offers the organized tours on 4.3 used the term "Jeju Uprising and Massacre" within which to incorporate both characteristics of the Uprising and the mass violence.⁹ She explained the reason why it became "an incident" in which it shows a unilateral way of the similar civilian massacres are named as such in the first place, for example, Geochang and Yeosu-Suncheon Incident.¹⁰ The neutrality of the term, the Incident, allowed the sensitive events to become collectively titled in which state violence was able to be hidden.

Likewise, the history of the naming of the Korean war, it was first called the 6.25 War, which is very common in Korea to title a certain historical event of the date it is started.¹¹ In the manner of calling numerically, it often results in not associating with meanings of the Incident, so the tendency of making it neutral can be deducted where the ideological tension is highly problematized within the whole climate of Korea's politics and society. In a similar vein, the trait of a democratic movement was later attached to the *Donghak* Farmer's Uprising (1894) and Gwangju Uprising (1980) and the potentiality of the shift in historical definition with time as the interpretation of the past has been influenced by the necessity of framing in a present perspective. Thus, it seems to be after the settlement of democracy in Korea that in-depth discussions on 4.3 had unfolded. In 2003, the 4.3 special law was enacted, and the official commemoration day was established in 2006. The Jeju 4.3 peace park was established in 2008, now that it becomes a central commemoration place of the bereavement families. Last but not

⁸ See chapter 4.5. for the more detailed explanation of the park

⁹ Baek, Ga-yoon. interview by author, Jeju, September 28, 2020

¹⁰ Baek, 2020

¹¹ Kim, Hunjoon. "Expansion of Transitional Justice Measures: A Comparative Analysis of Its Causes," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota 2009), 222

least, the apologies from two presidents from the liberal governments were made in 2006 and 2018, respectively.

1.3.2. The Forced Silence

4.3 occurred during the occupancy of the far right-winged government of Lee Syngman when the ideology took apart the Peninsula from the South and North during the Cold War. Not only activists but also citizens were arbitrarily judged if they were associated with communist ideology by the ruling power. The imprisonment of potential dissidents was commonly conducted under the so-called preventive detention. For this account, the upper right side of the Jeju 4.3 peace park is dedicated to missing people arrested for such reason and prosecuted during the Korean War.¹² Jeju Island at that time was considered to be submerged with communist ideology by the state and was disregarded labeled as "the red island." The normalized value of Jeju island made citizens afraid of breaking the silence of 4.3 not to be associated with communism which might risk their lives. The end of the April Revolution, as known as 4.19 *Hyukmyeong*, initiated President Lee Syngman to resign his presidency due to manipulation of the election results to extend his administration. Therefore, Jeju people were full of hope that they could speak about 4.3, at last, and publicly rest the souls of the deceased in peace. Still, the desire was hindered by Park Chung-hee, who formed an anti-communist and military government from 1963 to 1979. Henceforth, the government often unfairly drop to employ the survivors and their children as a guilt-by-association system. It kept them from telling the truth and being free from the red complex and trauma. The forceful silence held back another eight years during the presidency of Chun Doo-hwan, who occupied the Blue House on 12 December in 1979 by a military coupe d'état. However, in the Roh Tae-Woo regime, the tension was loosened a bit in terms of ideology since the relationship between the Republic of Korea (ROK) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea(DPRK) was seemingly unfrozen by having, in total, the eight bilateral meetings.¹³ However, the truth-finding for 4.3 was postponed during Roh's government until Kim, Dae-jung, the first-ever president from a non-military background, was elected in 1997, who promised to uncover the truth-finding of 4.3 in his presidential campaign. Finally, in 2000, the long, painful fifty years

¹² Foundation, “상징조형물[Symbol Statue]”

¹³ Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism and Korean Culture and Information Service, “Inter-Korean Exchanges and Cooperation.” <https://www.korea.net/AboutKorea/Inter-Korean-Relations/Inter-Korean-Exchanges-Cooperation>

of silence ended with enacting the 4.3 special law, bringing the Jeju Uprising into the public and legal discussion. Jeju people and many civil groups actively put the effort at a grassroots level to finally unveil the truth of 4.3. Thus, the legal ground of 4.3 is a collaborated result of Jeju people, including students, scholars, and politicians based in Jeju.

1.4. Transmitting memory

“Prosthetic memory” was termed by Landsberg that is transmitted by new technology whose process took place in a transference space, referring to Freud's transference of therapeutic terrain.¹⁴ She projected an optimistic view on the world of emerging new media that is rapidly developing and replacing mnemonic functions of documents and archives.¹⁵ The potentiality of this is reflected in visual attributes as well as the prompt delivery and influence to the viewers, which could offset the fixity of cultural memory that is built-in monuments and memorial buildings. Choi as well described memorials as a potential theater of empathic mourning where the memories of survivors were being preserved.¹⁶ Both Choi and Landsberg are concerned about the life after the survivors who can verbally transmit the memories of the tragedy such as the Holocaust and the Jeju Uprising, and the fact that the memory after four generations of the experience has hardly survived.

Assman points out that the role of the Holocaust was a centrifugal force to build solidarity within member states of the European Union to find a sustainable ground for peace on the European soil.¹⁷ Still, the Gulag memories since the collapse of the iron curtain, unlike the comparably negotiated memory of the Holocaust, are lingering problems within the Eastern European members, the so-called post-socialist countries with relation to Russia. Meanwhile, in Korea, the Korean War, the so-called the forgotten as known to the international community, was the largest and unforgettable war for two divided Koreas, which in part strengthened the state building for each. It was a proxy war of ideological clash between the Soviet Union and the United States in the extension of the Cold War. The Jeju Uprising is civilian massacres and resistance against the division forces of Korea and unjust policies from the central government.

¹⁴ Landsberg, Alison. "America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: The 'Object' of Remembering." in *Prosthetic Memory: the Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 120

¹⁵ Landsberg, "'Object' of Remembering," 25-48

¹⁶ Choi, "Right to Mourn," 31-35

¹⁷ Assmann, Aleida. "Europe's Divided Memory," in *Memory and Theory in Eastern Europe*, ed. Uilleam Blacker, Alexander Etkind and Julie Fedor eds.,(Palgrave Macmillan, New York:2013), 25-41

The isolated status of Jeju Island supported the Uprising to happen perceived as periphery, and the chaotic and lawless condition of the ideological battle escalated the level of military operation in the land of liberation after the withdrawal of Imperial Japan. Furthermore, the Jeju Uprising is not the only case, but many civilian massacres took place during the Korean War, which had not been seriously negotiated yet upon though the Truth and Reconciliation Committee of Korea (TRCK) established in 2005 partially touched. Thus, those unresolved memories, since they are said to be too contemporary to deal with by historians, are not easy when they are associated with the system of a government building that remains active in the current politics of Korea.¹⁸ That is why with the turn of regimes, the Jeju Uprising has been brought up irregularly in the political arena, which many local activists and memory workers criticized it being a subject of political interests.

2. Methodology

The memory within the heritage trail lies in different spheres of memories. Be in a path that visitors can walk, the memory comes in everyday communication as **communicative memory**.¹⁹ Secondly, when heritage workers share the memory in narrative forms with visitors, it becomes **narrative memory**. Thirdly, in relation to the narratives, the cultural heritage in the trails cultivates its meaning to walkers as **cultural memory** (see Fig. 1).

¹⁸ Vansina, *Oral tradition*, 23

¹⁹ Assmann, Jan and Czaplicka, John. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique*, no. 65 (1995): 126, Accessed May 8, 2021. doi:10.2307/488538.

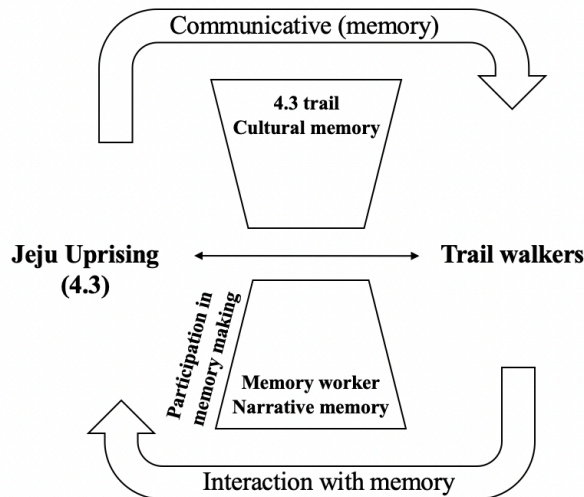


Figure 1. Transmission dimension of the Jeju Uprising with the 4.3 trails (Figure by author)

To be more specific, the 4.3 trails fill a floating gap within the memory sphere between the remote past and the recent past, where the Jeju Uprising settles. The sites of memory as the components of the trail turned communicative memory within the ordinary scenery through the guidance of memory workers, be in the social sphere, shared between them.²⁰ Each trail shows the interpretation of memory workers as well as the narratives of each village. The given stories are reinforced by cultural memories embedded in memorials and the sites of remembrance.

2.1. Research subject and site

I investigate heritage trails as a means of transmitting oppressed memories of the Jeju Uprising, particularly through the act of walking as the embodiment of memory and heritage, which gives a holistic heritage experience in order to approach heritage as a range of activities and a meaning-making process. Smith's concept of heritage, which is an ongoing process of negotiating the past in the context of the present, is accorded in the conceptualization of heritage in this thesis.

²⁰ Vansina, Jan. *Oral tradition as history*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 23

Heritage is a multilayered performance – be this a performance of visiting, managing, interpretation or conservation – that embodies acts of remembrance and commemoration while negotiating and constructing a sense of place, belonging and understanding in the present.²¹

Consistent with this view, memory is regarded as such stages of selection, interpretation, and permanent reconstruction, which comprises both forgetting and remembering.²² The fieldwork was done within the Island of Jeju as this thesis deals with the heritage sites of its contemporary history in relation to the massacre and tragedy. Thus, historical sites primarily registered in the 4.3 Archive, managed by the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, were visited. The earlier stage of the fieldwork was planned to know more about 4.3 heritage sites, the caretakers, characteristics of visitors, and the Jeju Island in general as the Island of memory where many cultural and natural heritage are sporadically distributed throughout the Island. Nevertheless, little was known to many visitors about the memory of the Jeju Uprising, who mostly happened to become more interested in the natural landscapes of Jeju that are well promoted with easy proximity. That makes sense since most of the massacre sites were difficult to access by public transport because, during the Uprising, security was the biggest priority to avoid military provocation. Therefore, such heritage was located in a rugged mountain range: natural heritage like *Gwe*(Cave) and *Oreum*(a volcanic cone).

Furthermore, the five trails out of six and myriad of massacre sites were located in mountain villages is not coincidental since the martial law announced in 1948 prohibited the mobility over 5km perimeter from the coastline, whoever violate to enter beyond this was regarded as a dissident (see Fig. 2). Accordingly, the initial plan for this thesis had to be modified by moving the research focus from the general sites of 4.3 heritage to the 4.3 trail specifically, for its practicality and accessibility, where the historical sites are located through the arranged and walkable routes in a village level.

²¹ Smith, Laurajane. "Introduction," *Uses of heritage*. (New York: Routledge, 2006), p 3

²² Cabecinhas, Rosa and Abadia, Lilla. "Preamble. Narratives and Social Memory: Dialogic Challenges," in Cabecinhas, R., and Abadia, L. (Eds.), *Narratives and social memory: theoretical and methodological approaches* (Lisbon, Portugal: Instituto da cooperação portuguesa, 2013), 5-9



Figure 2. Map of Jeju Island marked with the 4.3 trails²³

Thus, the 4.3 trails equipped with the signage and the informational panels to guide visitors are aiming to help lead them to the place rather delicate and hidden. Meanwhile, many of the sites of the lost villages are registered in the trails, which are comparably easy to find. Yet, given those villages were not inhabited for several decades, communal and cultural heritage were not used, disconnected to the memory of community once lively. That is one of the biggest losses of the massacre, the village community and the customs. After the massive crackdown of villages, the government was trying to revive and rehabilitate the villages. However, it was after the Korean War when the loss of people and infrastructure in the mainland got even worse, so rebuilding the villages was not an easy task. Furthermore, some of the survivors were children incapable of reconstructing the villages and community, and others were afraid of returning to their destroyed villages where the trauma could be repeated. Thus, for such reasons, lost villages had stayed uninhabited though some of them were in touch with memory workers of the 4.3 trail and tourists.

²³ source: Jeju Special Self-Governing Province, 제주 4.3 길 종합 리플렛 [Jeju 4.3 trail Collective leaflet] modified by author, see the original in Appendix 3.

2.1.1. Heritage Trail

I consider the heritage trail of the Jeju Uprising—the 4.3 trails as a direct application of the local bottom-up approaches to the creation of heritage tourism that gives a larger role to the visitors imaginations in shaping the memory that lay within the heritage development process of these fields.²⁴ Not only that, memory workers are major actors of the trails who were involved in large part to select and map the trail roads that can be seen with an actor-centered approach that actors' participation is valued and reflected directly.

Walking is an automatic behavior that human repeat in everyday life, such as eating. The heritage trail, which combines walking and heritage sites, gives a special meaning when it comes to processing traumatic memory. Winter sheds light on the effects of sites of battlefield sites for the visitors who visit the actual sites of memory and who could have in-depth feelings of the sites;

These battlefield sites enlarge the catchment area of museum reference; that is, they enable (indeed they require) visitors to situate themselves geographically as well as temporally and thematically in a particular region or landscape marked by war. In addition, the location of war memorials and war cemeteries nearby can provide a third and fourth vector of remembrance to those who visit war museums.²⁵

Knowing that, for those who visited actual sites, their experience in other remembrance sites later that might provide more indirect contact with memory can become more in-depth. People equipped with such experiences later turn out to be verbal agents, disseminating their experiences to their friends and family in a way that can be memory workers in their everyday life. Thus, heritage trails, in this thesis, explored to prove that how the heritage experience is strengthened, drenched with sites, physical and testimonial evidence *in situ* with the assistance of memory workers, and the ordinary walking practice.

²⁴ Chang, T.C. et al., Urban Heritage Tourism, The Global-Local Nexus *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 23, no. 2, (1996): 287.

²⁵ Winter, Jay. "Museums and the Representation of War," *Museum and Society* 10, no. 3 (April 2015): 159

The 4.3 Trails

The six trails of each village are made up of the sites of a massacre, the refuges, natural heritage, the old sites of villages, sites related to the village's legend and myth, the sites of ritual, memorials, monuments and cemeteries. Thus, there are places that are historical sites of 4.3 and sites that show the comprehensive history of the village and Jeju where visitors are able to picture the old village-scape and to reenact the massacre through the historic sites. Each place was selected after ample discussions with villagers, victims and experts on how to best describe and represent not only the history of 4.3 but also the community culture of Jeju. Thus, the process of making the trail itself is the heritage experience in which people who take part in the process revisit and rethink historical sites and sites of memory through a lens of the present.²⁶ Not only that, the work of collaboration within the state-local level in which negotiation has to be made to shape and design the trail allows the local agents and villagers whose participation were valued for improving their sense of ownership and belonging. Thus, in part, heritage trails were arranged to reconnect the lost villages that were forgotten for decades to visitors and villagers. By doing so, the history of villages and their forgotten memories are to be revived through walkers, tourists and memory workers whose visiting, care and observation enlarge sites of memory through which what make heritage alive.

The 4.3 heritage

Jeju people say that there are no sites and people in Jeju that are not related to 4.3. Indeed, there are in total 802 sites investigated and categorized by the function of sites and physicality that are: lost villages, 4.3 fortresses, refuges, massacre sites, sites of refuge and massacres, refugee camps, garrisons, victim cemeteries, monuments, historical sites and memorial sites (see Fig. 3).²⁷ The garrisons and fortresses where the military and the right-wing groups were based on subduing the guerillas are related to state violence. Lost villages, refuge and sites of massacres, and monuments are mostly related to the victims and the villagers, whereas the heritage sites for the guerrillas were little presented. The largest five categories of 4.3 heritage inspected are massacre sites (174), garrisons (129), lost villages (110), historical sites (101) and 4.3 fortresses (99).

²⁶ Smith, "Heritage as experience," 45-48.

²⁷ 4.3 유적지 현황 [4.3 Heritage Statistics], 4.3 department of the provincial government, December 2020.

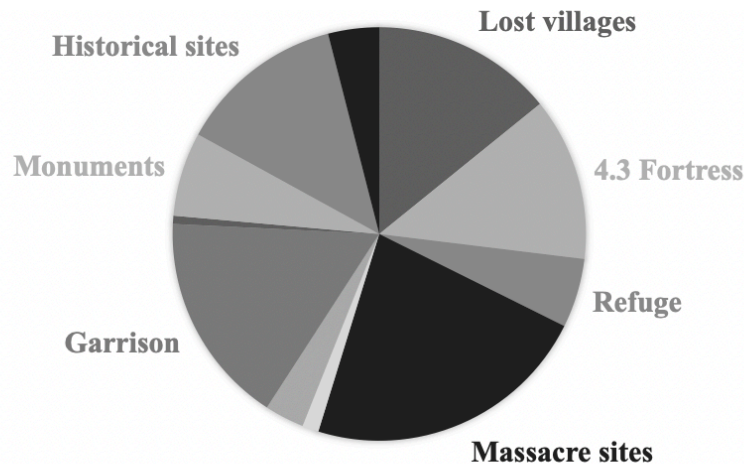


Figure 3. 4.3 Heritage

The 4.3 trails connect and cover 92 sites of historical sites and cultural heritage, as though they range from the areas directly related to 4.3 and its massacres to the cultural and communal heritage of each village. Regardless of their categorization, many sites succeed to picture each village narrative acknowledging locals' saying; no place is not historical concerning the Jeju Uprising. Therefore, the 4.3 trail as a program of the Jeju provincial government is made to connect the 4.3 heritage distributed in a village-level where memory workers relink the sites of 4.3 heritage and provide stories to walkers and visitors to keep the lost village alive.

Whose heritage and how to restore

Restoring the sites of a massacre is difficult because the sites belong to individuals who are not present at 4.3, and the sites were abandoned for a long time. Ashworth and Tunbridge pointed out that heritage is inherently dissonant since heritage itself legitimizes certain views and representations of whose social experience and memories are inherent.²⁸ Hence, for those who are not inherent with, entitling as heritage, especially if politically connoted, would not be acceptable. This also can relate to the recent boom on dark tourism in Jeju, while local people were reluctant about the negative nuance on the descriptor “dark” in their heritage.²⁹

On the other hand, a peace trip also has been used interchangeably, which is relatively known for human rights concerns as for the solidarity network for the peace of East Asia regions with

²⁸ Smith, "Heritage as a cultural process," 80-84; Ashworth, G. and Tunbridge, J. *Dissonant heritage: the management of the past as a resource in conflict*. (Chichester: Wiley, 1996), 21

²⁹ Baek, 2020

a similar history, such as Taiwan and Okinawa. However, it still raises some doubts about its use for the association of politics.³⁰ Likewise, people who owned the places within the 4.3 trails are not all agreeable on the use of heritage at a certain angle. The reason why this problem arose is that pulling the concept of heritage into a certain material form whose trait often reduces other meanings that may be more important to the proprietor or other type of audience. For example, the natural heritage in Jeju is largely known as a natural gem for tourists, whereas it was once a place of refuge during 4.3. Since the Island is a popular tourist destination thanks to the natural landscape of its geological origin, the other side regarding social memory had a lack of representation when it comes to a sense in linkage to the Jeju Uprising. Regarding the dichotomous recognition of the Island between cultural and natural heritage, it is dealt with further examples that can be count in the *Donggwang* 4.3 trail in chapter 6.1.

The "Leave it as it is" approach is often found in heritage restoration. A fair example is the Klaus Synagogue, whose deteriorated walls show its history as a labor camp, a refuge and even a paintbrush factory where the Moses Mendelssohn Academy is now located. This is not because of the lack of funds to restore them but because of the exhibition of the sheer face of the past without a make-up out of a desire to be original.³¹ Likewise, the Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland reuses the camp buildings whose association with the Holocaust effortlessly connects the exhibitions and contexts as the actual massacre site as stark evidence of the past. Such ways of the inexplicability of presenting and reenacting tragedy are evident of difficulty in conceptualizing and heritization of death and massacre. In addition, the question of how to exhibit massacres is examined in-depth in chapter 6.5.1.

2.1.2. Memory workers

The guiding works enable the narration of the villagers to be shared with visitors to make common ground, feeling compassionate on what they had experienced. Since the past was restrictive on public sharing of memory of 4.3, their pain was not recognized nationwide for 70 years, left them unsecured and lost the sense of belonging to their country. Therein, memory workers consisting of locals, such as villagers and victims, are crucial as verbal agents. Many memory workers were based not only in the 4.3 trails but also in the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation,

³⁰ Hyeon, Hye-kyung, interview by author, Jeju, 5 October 2020

³¹ Dick, Jutta. Discussion with author, Halberstadt, August 2020, part of a project of European Heritage Volunteers 2020.

where they provided a guided tour of the exhibition in the memorial park. Thus, it was a good coincidence to compare two experiences and tours done by memory workers to navigate the research focus on walking as a physical embodiment for improving the heritage experience. So the question was asked to memory workers to find the benefit of walking in the heritage trail and the differences from the indoor experience practiced in the memorial (see Appendix 2).

Village	<i>Donggwang</i>	<i>Uigwi</i>	<i>Bukchon</i>	<i>Geumak</i>	<i>Gasi</i>	<i>Ora</i>
	3	1	3	2	2	2

Table 1. the number of memory workers in the 4.3 trail

The Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation provides an education program called 4.3 academy, the graduates of whom work as memory workers. They also made an organization, 4.3 academy volunteering association, since 2011, which does various academic fieldworks and care work of the heritage sites.³²

2.2. Methods

This thesis attempted to include multilevel narratives from the institutional to individuals each represented by interviewees; to see how they make a linkage and confrontation which contribute to the dynamic of memories (see Table 2). The details on the guidelines of interviews and interviewees are presented in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2. The interviews lasted around 1-1.5 hours, equivalent to the length of the 4.3 walking courses, which was necessary to unveil the experiential process accompanied by the memory workers and other interviewees who dedicate part of their life to developing the memory-scape of 4.3. When it comes to the memory of 4.3, few people in Jeju are irrelevant considering the scale of the massacre, with more than ten percent of the population of Jeju victimized. Thus, mainly semi-structured interviews were made but also occasionally unstructured interviews were taken during the fieldwork. The official number of the victims could not cover the exact number of casualties for the following conditions: 1. there were numerous uncounted deaths due to the co-occurrence of the Korean War, and still, many bodies were to be excavated; 2. Many cases were found that whole family

³² M4, interview by author, 8 October 2020.

members were killed, leaving no descendants who could register the deaths to be identified. 3. it took around 50 years to officially investigate the Jeju Uprising as a public case at a government level, so most victims had gone already. 4. still, a fear of being labeled as a communist exists when it comes to being officially identified as the victims.³³

2.2.1. Semi-structured interview

Type	Categories		Number of interviewee
Semi-structured interview	The 4.3 trail	Memory workers	6
		Curators	2
	Others	Academics/Researchers	3
		4.3 Activist	1
		Archivist	1
	Total		

Table 2. Types of interviewees

There are some memories officially prohibited to be in the public sphere whose process of being transmitted can be differently put compared to other memories without political obstacles in memory-making. Therein, it may be crucial to know what cultural props mean to people and society who are incorporating the memory to themselves through intended or unintended normalization of the transmitted memories. Meanwhile, components of memories ranging from tangible to intangible elements can be transmitted through conversations at school, workplace, home between family members and friends in the private sphere while they can be shared in more open space via social media, television, radio, newspapers and magazines. Nowadays, with the rapid development of information technology, the world has been so much virtually connected more than ever before. Likewise, heritage trail as a medium of transmitting once repressed memories that took place in Jeju Island in Republic Korea is investigated. Thus, heritage trails are introduced in this thesis as space where cultural memories lay in and are investigated to explore the process of making memory and meanings to different agencies and how they are narrated within them.

³³ Peace Foundation, *Follow-up Investigation Report I*, 70.

2.2.2. Participant observation

Walking the six different 4.3 trails and the historical sites of the Jeju Uprising registered in the 4.3 Archive enable me to observe the status conservation and participate in local activities such as the annual ritual of *Hyeoneui* cemetery, the academy of 4.3 and the 4.3 voluntary association of memory workers. Thus, during the above-mentioned events, casual, unstructured interviews were done as well as note-taking of their environment and overall outlook of the sites as for an active emic approach (see Appendix 1). When I initiated talk with local people, I introduced myself as a student researcher. The interviewees could understand the purpose of the interviews and make them relaxed during the interviews where the questions were asked concerning the atrocity.

Due to the pandemic, many visitors during the fieldwork were rarely seen in the 4.3 trail. However, I have met some local groups who studied 4.3, visiting the historical sites during their gatherings. This occasional meeting of walkers and visitors was also incorporated in the observation process. The observation work was done for local people in the field and for the material heritage regarding conservation status, which says many things by the maintenance. Thus, cultural heritage, informational panels that help visitors' understanding, and guide signs were also observed: how did they effectively convey and interpret the given history; how well its cared by the institution, locals and memory workers; were there gap existing in the status of conversation within heritages; what kind of tropes and motives were embedded in material heritage.

2.2.3. Narrative analysis

Narratives are systems of personal knowledge, making sense of our lives to be cognizant of the past, present and future.³⁴ As Bruner says, "an individual's working intelligence is never 'solo'." Thus, the language within narratives is an effective tool for dialogic understanding in forming a social memory whose invention is influenced by social and political *milieu*.³⁵ Likewise, the Jeju Uprising is deeply rooted in national and international politics as well as regional and central relationships within Korea, which can be effectively examined through narrative

³⁴ Hunt, Nigel., and Sue, McHale. "Memory and Meaning: Individual and Social Aspects of Memory Narratives," *Journal of Loss and Trauma* 13, no. 1 (2007): 42-58, DOI: 10.1080/15325020701296851.

³⁵ Bruner, Jerome. "The Narrative Construction of Reality," *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 1 (1991): 1-21. Accessed April 29, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1343711>.

analysis. This analysis enables us to grasp the comprehensive social phenomena through the interdisciplinary approach that includes diverse narratives such as digital narratives, journalistic reports and oral speeches, etc. Starting from an incident taking place in Jeju, narrative construction embraces how memory is differently remembered, developed and influenced throughout generations and supranational phenomena.

2.3. Limitation

A narrative is a way of making sense of the things within a human scope of understanding with a form of emplotment. However, there exist happenings beyond the realm of common sense that is inexplicable in which the narrative becomes an arbitrary method of making a story out of a purpose.³⁶ Thus, narrative analysis inevitably brings an ethical discussion of making a simple story of complicated social phenomena is not acceptable in humanity, especially when it comes to the Holocaust, traumatic memory and social stigma. The same goes for dark tourism that is ethically being criticized. When making a theme park out of the memory of deaths and atrocities is involved, where special attention is needed to what has to be conveyed and transmitted to visitors via the platform of tourism.

Due to the novel pathogen, COVID-19, that pandemic was ongoing during the fieldwork, there is a lack of representation of visitors and walkers who were rarely to be seen within the trails. I occasionally encountered the *Olle* trail walkers with whom I tried to engage in a short conversation on 4.3 at the accommodation dedicated to the *Olle* trail programs, which is the most successful trail in Jeju. However, I hardly saw walkers while walking the 4.3 trails except for the trails, which merged with one of the *Olle* courses. Therein, I walked the six trails on foot to experience and to become a visitor, myself, while accompanied by memory workers or alone. This lack of visitors' representation is further reflected in the last chapter of this thesis for the conclusion of the narrative analysis.

This thesis is not intending to evaluate the 4.3 trails as a product of policy in which the fact that it is supervised and financed by 4.3 departments from the Jeju Provincial government. Rather, this thesis is aiming to find a relationship between the 4.3 trails as a medium of memory transmission that uniquely engaged with physical movement as walking and memory of the

³⁶ Schiff, Brian. "The promise (and challenge) of an innovative narrative psychology." in *Narratives—State of the Art*, ed. Bamberg, Michael (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2007), 27-36

Jeju Uprising. The policy review was included when needed to explain further the components and traits of the 4.3 trail at a limited amount. Therefore, the focus put in this research is the 4.3 trail to expand the spectrum of the narratives of villagers and victims whose stories were muted for several decades.

3. Transmission of memory

In this chapter, three levels of transmission are discussed. The purpose of discerning realms of memories in the transmission is not to divide them but to investigate the dynamics that those memories tell in each level, influenced each other. Thus, in this thesis, the three levels of memories are not strictly segregated but contextualized to comprehend the 4.3 trail through different discourses with memory workers and the subordinate resources, such as the monuments and the memorials. The sites of memory in the 4.3 trails were regarded as vehicles where the institutional and individual memories were immersed to transcend values beyond its form and representation. Therein, I suggest cultural heritage as a linkage to connect from big to little narrative within a *meso* level of transmission process employing cultural memory.

3.1. Transgenerational memory

The foundation of transmission of memories are based on remembrance activities represented by official commemorative events, rituals, art-formed cultural objects and exhibitions without which the sites of holding commemoration would not signify meaning to people of unexperienced such memory.³⁷ When the public discussion was banned under the authoritarian regimes, the only means of sharing memories were taken place in a private sphere, at best within families, not to be exposed from the eyes of the authority. However, ironically it had made the transmission within a private sphere actively practiced through shamanic rituals and ancestral rites channeling the spirits of the dead. Kim's (1989) observation on mourning rites and rituals of the Jeju Uprising, where the history is imagined and converted to healing practice, is notable in this view.³⁸ In the case of the Jeju Uprising, rituals were all the more an essential

³⁷ Winter, Jay. "Sites of Memory." in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. Radstone, Susannah. and Schwarz, Bill. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 312-324

³⁸ Kim, Seong Nae. "Lamentations Of The Dead: The Historical Imagery of Violence on Cheju Island, South Korea." *Journal of Ritual Studies* 3, no. 2 (1989): 251-285. Accessed May 9, 2021.

part of a transmission of history given that the form of ritual was the only way acceptable during the authoritarian regimes where this cultural practice was able to avoid being censored. Furthermore, Jeju has maintained the native shamanic culture based on its history and legend derived from geological features and external conditions. Thus, the way in which the Uprising was portrayed and transmitted through the local rituals and the ancestral rites of Jeju shows the meaningful relationship between the tradition and locality of Jeju as a theater where the memory was reenacted through a native form.

On the other hand, Gwon (2004), who investigated the transgenerational memory transmission of the Jeju Uprising, disclosed that when the liberal environment has arrived, despite various platforms, the transmission process of the post-memory of 4.3 has been less active than in the oppressive past.³⁹ Furthermore, different means of transmission of memory, the way in which they are described and interpreted, gives birth to a new memory which also influenced the discourses. The traumas and memories that lie within the emotional sphere of heritage with relation to a transliterate word of Korean ethos, *Han*, which was centered around the experiences of the colonization and the ensuing Korean War, are very much context specific to grasp by people who are inexperienced with such historical events.

"a uniquely Korean collective feeling of unresolved resentment, pain, grief, and anger. *Han* is often described as running in the blood of all Koreans, and the quality of Korean sorrow as being different from anything Westerners have experienced or can understand"⁴⁰

The grief and *Han* of victims can be mitigated by heritage and memory workers, a communicative agent that liaises feelings and narratives. That can put visitors in contact with the memory and experience. In such a way, a narrative is an effective way of delivering content with an organized storyline if the purpose is to reach out to a bigger audience to transform it into a collective memory and a way of understanding.

³⁹ Gwon, Gwi-sook. *세대간 기억 전수: 4·3 의 기억을 중심으로* [Transgenerational memory transmission: focus on 4.3 memory], *Korean Sociology* 5, no. 5 (2004): 53-80.

⁴⁰ Kim, Sandra So Hee Chi. "Korean Han and the Postcolonial Afterlives of 'The Beauty of Sorrow.'" *Korean Studies* 41, no. 1, (2017): 253–279, doi:10.1353/ks.2017.0026

3.2. Actor

The 4.3 trail has been a platform for releasing stories of the sufferings and difficulties of villagers in living during and after the massacres, which helped shed more light on a microscopic understanding of memory. Many mourners could not express nor be understood what they had been through during the oppressive regimes. Therefore, it is not surprising that many of the landscapes and sites of massacres were manicured and silenced, deliberately or not, whose process was expedited by disinterest and the rapid development followed by the economic growth in the 1980s.⁴¹ Thus, M1, the memory worker of *Donggwang-ri* trail, said the heritage works had given her opportunities to tell what she had been through and unfold the stories that had been long suppressed, which was very relieving for her. Henceforth, the memory workers not only guide the places of massacre and stories that cannot be heard from the textbooks but also lead the walkers to performance of mourning with their narration which evokes empathy of sharing emotion. After spending a few hours with memory workers walking and hearing stories of them, visitors can build a shared understanding with them which allows sentimental transmission of trauma and memories in walking along the routes of history.

Choi focused on the roles of empathetic mourning as a way in which trauma is transmitted.⁴² She argues that where all the representative tools to reinvent post-memory have disappeared, they can be replaced by empathic mourning facilitated by survivors who witness trauma through their bodies and minds.⁴³ Then, the argument of this thesis extended from her claim that the process of transmission can take place within the heritage trails of the Jeju Uprising, through the guidance of memory workers and survivors as borrowing her term, a theater of empathetic mourning. The 4.3 trail of the Jeju Uprising maintains the physical remnants that show the proof of pain, which triggers reflexive mourning, and is used to hold mourning rites.

3.3 Cultural memory

Many symbols are inevitable to express and describe 4.3 since the public discussion of the incident was forbidden for fifty years, making the lives of tellers risky. In that sense, the memory of 4.3 is being inherited with the solidified monuments and memorials as a communication device that enables interaction, surpassing times and generations. Assmann

⁴¹ Choi, "Proscription of Mourning," 21.

⁴² Ibid. 31-35.

⁴³ Ibid. 106.

also pointed out the importance of the material contact of memory: to be remembered, transmitted and institutionalized, by suggesting the concept of cultural memory as a niche of collective memory introduced by Halbwachs.⁴⁴ However, collective memory, based on his argument, is a communicative memory that is alive within the interaction of everyday communication. Nevertheless, the collective memory of 4.3 could not be built amongst Koreans for the past fifty years since public communication on 4.3 matter was banned by authoritarian regimes in the 1960s through 1980s whose novels and newspaper covered 4.3 were banned and whoever published were prosecuted. Therefore, the so-called imagined community neither the shared understanding could not be formed under the harsh anti-communist government.⁴⁵ Thus, the role of testimonies and memory workers is treasured in the case of forcefully silenced memory now that communicative memory can be formed, with cultural memories enclosed in sites of memory and memorial trails pass on them through.⁴⁶

Besides cultural memory, was the 4.3 memory benefited from digital media as the so-called prosthetic memory formulated by Landsberg?⁴⁷ The author coined this term with the emergence of technology in the wake of modernity as a medium to reconnect memories from parents to children, the experienced one to the inexperienced and one generation to the other.⁴⁸ The practicality of the role of technology was revealed in the Jeju 4.3 Peace Memorial by exhibitions. In the same manner, the visitors of the 4.3 trail were influenced to come and see the actual sites of history by digital media broadcasting the official 4.3 commemoration service. The films and literature contributed to disseminating the stories of the massacres in the villages. The concern may arise from the issue of authenticity that the construction of memory and its visuality can be interpellated with one's real memory in the media and generalize it.⁴⁹ However, given that the material heritage is scarce in the realm of traumatic memory when it comes to massacres where the evidence is killed, burnt, and annihilated, the digital media brought invaluable support for people to reinterpret commemorate and learn through the prosthetic memories represented. The benefit includes achieving a broad audience and appreciating the

⁴⁴ Halbwachs, "On collective memory,"; Assmann Jan, "Communicative and Cultural Memory, in *Cultural Memory Studies*, Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning eds. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook, Berlin, New York 2008, S. 109-118.

⁴⁵ Hobsbawm, Eric. and Ranger Terrence. *The Invention of tradition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁴⁶ Assmann, "Cultural Memory," 109-118.

⁴⁷ Landsberg, "Prosthetic Memory," 25-48.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Sturken, Marita. Memory, consumerism and media: Reflections on the emergence of the field, Vol 1, No 1 (2008): 73-78

creative reenactment that demonstrates the change in interpretations of the memory from the past.

3.4. Narrative and Communicative memory

Narrative memory, according to Janet, can be differentiated within the realm of traumatic memory. When it comes to communicating and dealing with a massacre, a narrative of it functions mainly to serve a social activity to appeal for help and reconnection with society; meanwhile, a traumatic memory itself is inflexible and invariable, utterly inexplicable or painful to be narrative.⁵⁰ The distinction of two memories may be best explained by "experiencing I" and "narrating I" that rests on the concept of memory.⁵¹ Thus, a narrative memory is made out whenever it needs to be explained when forming a collective memory within a social sphere to serve a broader audience. Communicative memory is relevant to narrative memory due to a verbal form that carries the memory. Traumatic memory is by instinct repressed since the traumatized do not want to remind the memory to let the painful moment be repeated.⁵² Thus, when the traumatized succeeded in making a narrative memory out of traumatic memory, it indicates they overcame what had happened to them to a certain level even though the memory is reenacted. They can feel safe or hidden by a new memory recreated, namely a narrative memory. Thus, in this thesis, narrative memory is transferred to cultural memory mediated by cultural heritage—4.3 trails, in this case, with an agent of the memory worker who narratively conveys cultural memories to the visitors and walkers of the 4.3 trail paths. The memory lies in 4.3, located neither too recent nor too old, existing in the floating gap of time that caused the difficulty in understanding by the current generation inexperienced with 4.3.⁵³ Therefore, this thesis examines the vehicles of cultural memory and narrative memory that are attached to cultural heritage and memory workers respectively. The 4.3 heritage trail has a vast array of community heritage presented the ordinary but empty village and the stories unveiled from memory workers are able to be learned through the

⁵⁰ A van der Kolk, Bessel. and Van der Hart, Onno. The intrusive past: The flexibility of memory and the engraving of trauma, *The American imago; a psychoanalytic journal for the arts and sciences* 48 (January 1991): 425-454

⁵¹ Erll Astrid, Traumatic pasts, literary afterlives, and transcultural memory: new directions of literary and media memory studies, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture*, Vol. 3 No. 1: 2011, 7186

⁵² Van der Hart O and Horst Ruter, The dissociation theory of Pierre Janet, *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 2 (1989): 397-412

⁵³ Vansina, "Oral tradition," 23

communication process.⁵⁴ Not an object of a political instrument nor a heritage belongs to a fixed group, but an ordinary matter, becoming a topic of conversation, can be perceived its values by walkers during the journey of heritage routes. Nonetheless, this can be easily achieved if there is already a collective understanding of the given memory. Therefore, this niche can be supplemented by the verbal agents, informational panels, and other prosthetic forms of digital media. Thus, material heritage in this perspective implicates memories not to impose people to remember but be in the realm of ordinariness where people casually encounter them. Consistent with this view, the 4.3 trails of each village try to reconnect to local communities and civilians to restore this ordinariness in whose manner, conservation, and remembrance practice of memory become voluntary and effortless.

3.5. Becoming collective memory

Gwangju Uprising is also known as the May 18 Democratic Uprising, is highly related when it comes to the settlement of democracy, including the June Uprising in which civilians stood up for justice and civil rights against the military authority in the 1980s.⁵⁵ Both of these pushed Korea towards a democratic turn resulting in the president, Cheon, Doo-hwan resigning. Above all, Gwangju Uprising was often compared to the Jeju Uprising due to its similar compilation of civilian massacre and the isolation of a city of Gwangju in the South-west corner of Korea from the central government. Gwangju Uprising has been nationwide commemorated annually as well on the 18th of May, which date is the civilian firstly demonstrated in 1980, which is why it was formerly called the May 18th incident. Having considered the official term change from the incident to the Gwangju Democratic Movement (*Gwangju Minjuhwa Undong*), the validation of being collective memory recognized by the public as a movement for a cause accompanied a change in name. Furthermore, a heritage trail has also been organized, titled the Oweol-gil (the May trail), in which walkers can visit the historical spots and places categorized by four thematic routes.⁵⁶ The collective understanding of Gwangju Uprising is settled nationwide compared to the Jeju Uprising since its value has been accepted earlier as a catalyst for the settlement of democracy in Korea, be it nearer past than Jeju. During the fieldwork taken, most interviewees brought up this comparison when it comes to the post-memory and

⁵⁴ Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, 109-118

⁵⁵ Kim Dong-Choon, *Korea's Movement to Settle the Issues of the Past and Peace in East Asia*, *Korea journal* 50(4), 2010, 152-185; Kim, *Transitional Justice*, 194-198

⁵⁶ see more information about the May trail at <http://518road.518.org/main.php>

acknowledgment of the two histories. Both events were labeled once as a communist rebellion at the earlier stage, and the two cities were completely isolated while the state army practiced the crackdowns.

For the traits mentioned above of two memories, Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, located at Jeju 4.3 peace memorial park, has signed the memorandum of understanding with the May 18 Democratic Uprising Archives as of 2020 for research and information sharing in partaking in listing its documentary heritage to UNESCO: Memory of the World Program.⁵⁷ Since Gwangju already submitted its documentary heritage and listed under the title; Human Rights Documentary Heritage 1980 Archives for the May 18th Democratic Uprising against Military Regime. This approach is compatible with the dominant and official narrative of 4.3, passing from grief and sorrow to peace and reconciliation. Some might say that is the process of sublimation, and others might say under the master narrative, conflicting memories are being repackaged with peace and reconciliation to be sold to the international community as if it suggests a peacemaking model out of such controversial history.⁵⁸ This official passing and discursive construction of 4.3 is further investigated in chapter 4.

As the public ban on speaking of 4.3 was lifted with the heat of democratic needs and voices shouting out for civil rights and democracy, incidents like the Jeju Uprising kept under a private sphere were floated up to be investigated with the newly elected democratic regime. The downside of being publicized and officialized certain memory which to become a shared memory and history is that the official discourse which a government takes control eats out and takes over the roles of innate movements and local services of commemoration. Smith indicated that the authorized heritage discourse (AHD) spatializes the heritage sites and rewrites the meaning of the past by selecting something worthy of being saved for the future generation.⁵⁹

The difference between the two historical narratives is how the public can easily reach and understand under the present frame of AHD. However, as narratives have been conceptualized with time influenced by political shifts, such emplotments help the public be cognizant of memories. Meanwhile, a site of memory and cultural props whose tangibility of memory can

⁵⁷ Park, Young-gu, "May 18 Democratic Uprising Archives-Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation collaboration for listing the documentary heritage," *Startup today*, 7 May 2020,

<http://www.startuptoday.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=41343>

⁵⁸ Baek, 2020

⁵⁹ Smith, "The discourse of heritage," 29

be visited, touched and smelled provides a sentient experience to visitors. Thus, to extend the narratives of the Jeju uprising and link with the sites of memory, the following chapter goes through the theoretical framework of this thesis: cultural, communicative and narrative memory through which narratives of 4.3 are transmitted with a medium of the 4.3 trails.

4. Theorizing the site of memory

Before moving on to the analysis of the 4.3 trails, this chapter overviews the discursive flow and existing narratives concisely within the memory of the Jeju Uprising through the representation of the memorials; Jeju 4.3 peace park and *Youngmowon* of *Hagwi* village. Both of them best represent the AHD of 4.3, whose narrative covers and codifies peace, reconciliation and coexistence. Jeju 4.3 peace park is comprehensibly examined as an ostensibly central place of commemoration and the site of mourning of 4.3, where it annually holds more than 300,000 visitors on average before the pandemic.⁶⁰ *Youngmowon* is briefly introduced as a unique site of a memorial established before the narrative of peace became dominant. Thus, it was a successful bottom-up initiative and voluntary effort made by the village community of *Hagwi* that they donated to build the memorial. Finally, the findings from those two sites are deducted to see how the state narratives are described and applied. The dynamic spectrum of narratives in different discourses dispersed in academia and the 4.3 trail is discussed further in chapter 6.

4.1 Discursive turn

The discourse has influenced the narratives of the Jeju Uprising, so it is worth being mentioned to analyze the narratives of the state and individual. The discourse of 4.3 has been constantly changed in conjunction with the turn of regimes. The perception to regard 4.3 has been actively developed in various ways after the settlement of democracy as a transitional justice process in the 80s democratic movement, which imbued the truth-finding work of 4.3.⁶¹ Under the authoritarian regimes when nationalistic spirit charismatically controlled the conceptualization of history and memories in the nation-building process, the Jeju Uprising was undeniably

⁶⁰ “4.3 평화기념관 관람객 현황[The statistics of visitors of 4.3 peace memorial].” February 2020, <https://www.jeju.go.kr/open/open/iopenboard.htm?category=1863&act=view&seq=1301680>

⁶¹ Kim, “Transitional Justice,” 194-198

recognized as an insurrection led by communist rebellions. This narrative had lasted for several decades since the regime of Rhee, Syngman of the first republic. There was a movement from the bottom of society, such as students and activists in Jeju attempting to investigate the case of the Jeju Uprising officially after President Rhee had had to resign his presidency after the April Revolution.⁶² Nonetheless, this effort was again oppressed by the regime, Park Chung-hee, who then, the major general, occupied the presidential house of Korea by the military coup d'état. Since Park, military regimes had maintained power until the 1980s when Gwangju and June uprising ignited the desire for justice of democracy. As of 2018, the Jeju Uprising has met its seventieth year of anniversary, whose year of commemoration accompanied various memorial practices, including commemoration events, films, rituals and arranged group tours of visiting the sites of memory.

4.3 has also been seen genocide on a particular group, Jeju people, one of which scholar regards a politicicide.⁶³ The state-led massacre had made a broad consensus so far in the official sphere of 4.3 discourse within which victims were left as an innocent and passive trope. In this discourse, politics are the inevitable cause of the social death of Jeju people to achieve sovereignty through exercising the right to kill. It shows that economic and social power was exercised on the human body.⁶⁴ Thus, Jeju Island as a political space corresponding to the concentration camps can be seen as the metaphor where the ultimate sign of the absolute power of the negative was realized.⁶⁵ From this perspective, to call 4.3 as Jeju Massacre seems the more appropriate term. A scholarship and movement for making a solidarity network within East Asia is part of the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation and Jeju Dark Tour business, the NGO due to the common interest to stabilize peace and human rights to where similar massacres took place.

⁶² Democratic movement from the bottom against the excessive ruling of Rhee's regime and manipulation on the presidential election in 1960

⁶³ Wright, Brandon. "Politicidal Violence and the Problematics of Localized Memory at Civilian Massacre Sites: The Cheju 4.3 Peace Park and the Kōch'ang Incident Memorial Park" *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 4, no. 1 (2015): 151-180

⁶⁴ Brandan, "Civil War, Politicide, and the Politics of Memory in South Korea, 1948-1961," (Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia, 2016).

⁶⁵ Mbembé, J.-A., and Libby Meintjes. "Necropolitics." *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003): 11-40. muse.jhu.edu/article/39984.

4.2. Narrative: reunification; 4.3 as a unification movement against division

The narrative of reunification in this part indicates the reunification of Korea's long desire and aspiration to bridge the divided powers. The division is a pretty thick word in Korea, where the divided status of two Koreas has continued since 1948, so it is evident that there had been many movements and efforts to reunite these two governments. 4.3 was also interpreted as a reunification movement by some scholars in which 4.3 was named as the Uprising endowing Jeju civilians as doers and active citizens who protected their country from external and dividing forces like the then government and the U.S. military regime. The SKLP was indeed against the decision to establish the south-only government. Consequently, Jeju became the only region that the May 10th election to form a congress was failed, resulting in imposing much heavier military operation as it was perceived as a challenge against the authority.

Ironically, this ideological division was repeated within the victims' groups whose separation was based on by whom they were killed, the state force or the SKLP so did the memorial service. However, in 1993 the united memorial service was held with a partial condition to exclude the armed protestors from the appeasement service, which was regarded to give up 4.3 as an uprising and resistance against the unjust state violence.⁶⁶ In a political arena, the political parties involved that the conservative and progressive wings had to compromise and meet at the halfway point for the enactment of 4.3 special law, whose process manifested the possibility of clearing the long history of ideological and political conflicts.

4.3 Narrative: peace, reconciliation and coexistence

The current state narrative to frame and interpret the memory and history of 4.3 in the discourse is peace, reconciliation, and coexistence, a commonly found slogan and message that decorate exhibitions, memorials, and the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation websites. It gives this sense that the incident has been dealt with and completed with a proper reimbursement procedure. Almost all memorials are decorated with national signifiers such as national flowers and flags, which might raise curiosity that the deceased who were killed dominantly by the state violence still support the state by having these national symbols at their memorials. The memorials are built

⁶⁶ Kim, Hun-joon. "Expansion of Transitional Justice Measures: A Comparative Analysis of Its Causes," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota 2009), 222

mainly by the 4.3 bereavement families associations of each village. The design and decorations are in the hands of the remaining survivors and families of victims, so the appeasement monuments represent their mentality and schema.

Currently, the dominant narrative of peace and the likes were first suggested endogenously from victims and civil society to overcome the inner conflicts within victim groups.⁶⁷ Within bereavement families associations, they are divided upon whom they were victimized; the North West Youth League (NWYL) worked as the police, the army and the guerrillas of the SKLP, namely, the mountain people. Thus, there is a visible hierarchy within the groups since the overwhelmingly dominant narrative labeled 4.3 as a communist insurgency. However, the apparent truth was that an awful number of civilians were killed during 4.3. Hence, 4.3 as a civilian massacre was able to close the confictions among different victim groups, which ultimately brought an ethical point of view represented—the state's collective violence enforced against civilians. In return, the ethical issue, which in a way allowed the political dispute to be faded away in which the victims left innocent and passive objects political ideology concerned. The perspective was developed and strengthened when the state started using the peace code in the memorial and the commemoration service. Now the supervisor of the narrative seems to have changed from the victims to the state.

The narrative of peace can also be explained in a socio-political way in which situational cause was reflected in order to reinvigorate heavily touristified Jeju.⁶⁸ Jeju was the most beloved tourist destination that is visited by domestic travelers in Korea due to the exotic landscape that the bountiful nature of Jeju Island environments offers. However, with economic development and segmentation of the tourism industry, Jeju Island has been out to compete with other foreign tourist cities when the rapid growth of outbound travels prevailed. To see it as a global and local relationship, differentiating Jeju's only identity combined with its historical narrative is the way in which the locality of Jeju can sell in a global market by letting 4.3 serve diverse roles not only for its tourism industry but the domestic competition of cities.⁶⁹ Furthermore, supporting 4.3 as a peace-making model is an approach to internationalize the history of 4.3.

⁶⁷ Jo, Myeon-gi. and Jang, Se-young. “Transference and Subsumption of Local Memory by State : Focus on Local Memory of Jeju 4.3 Incident, around Years 2000”, *역사와 세계*[*History and the World*] 43, (2013): 205-235.

⁶⁸ Kim, Boo-chan, “남북교류협력과 제주 ‘평화의섬 구상’ [The interaction and Cooperation between the South and the North and the conceptualization of Jeju as 'the Island of peace'],” *Jeju Development Research* 4, no. 12 (2000) 35-58

⁶⁹ T. C. Chang, *Urban Heritage Tourism, The Global-Local Nexus Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 285, 1996

Given the worn-torn memories of Korea as a domestic affair and a political product between axis powers in the extension of the Second World War, it seems that the responsibility of tragic memory lied in Jeju goes beyond its land and nation. Promotion of this value accompanied with the framing of 4.3 to be understandable on an international level as though the indispensable reinterpretation that might not be compatible with the victims and activist perspectives of the local. This can be further explained when applying this to the UNESCO world heritage label (WHL), whose criteria, in order to be able to be listed, have to satisfy the outstanding universal values. It resulted in some heritage being modified and standardized to be nominated by a prestigious label of WHL, ended up prioritizing the benefits and desire which to receive the label come above inherent meaning and values of the heritage itself.

4.4. *Youngmowon* in Hagwi village

Youngmowon is a memorial park in Hagwi village, arranged for both 4.3 victims and the Korean War soldiers, which fell into a patriotic narration, consensus with the official narrative of 4.3 of the state—peace, reconciliation and coexistence among perpetrators and victims. However, leaving the *Youngmowon* aside, most village-led 4.3 memorials were decorated with patriotic symbols such as national flowers and flags. At first, as an observer who did not know the meaning of such signifiers, I interpreted them as intended that the deceased must have loved their nation. However, throughout the interviews taken with one of the bereavement family association members, the reason behind those symbols was to erase the trace of communism out of the red complex. It shows that the stigmatization of the massacre and the communist labels continuously influenced their consciousness.⁷⁰ It is a seeming mismatch with the official narrative of the reconciliation and peaceful status in which seems to be settled. Nonetheless, the lawless times of isolation from the mainland and the authority during 4.3 could hardly be erased and resolved instantly. There are memorials constantly being built village-wide, and hence, the statistics are also being made by the 4.3 research institute.⁷¹ Thus, it will be meaningful to conduct comparative research in monuments and memorials between the state and locally built, in the future, to investigate the spatial and design elements to trace the mental schema and emotional residue of the survivors and the post-memory generation.

⁷⁰ Yang, Sung-joo. Interview by author,

⁷¹ Lee, Dong-hyun. a researcher of Jeju 4.3 research institute, interview by author



Figure 4. *Youngmowon* (Photo by author).

4.5. Jeju 4.3 Peace Park and peacebuilding

In this subchapter, the meaning-making process of the Park is examined via its landscape and aesthetics. The Park was historicized and valorized to become a collective memory shared nationally within the process. In detail, with the three-stage construction plan of the Park, the critical values and symbols of 4.3 within the Park, localizing the identity of the Park, are analyzed to see how they were conceptualized as a visual device to construct a public memory: the statues, the peace memorial, and the objects exhibited. By combining the messages of the given materials, I discover the relationship among them to decode peace within the collective narrative of the Park. Finally, I attempt to link the findings from the above in order to interpret them within the social and cultural, political milieu of Jeju that the emergence of peace is tangled with political interests and the innate culture of Jeju. The analysis ends by broadening the sphere in discussion from the regional to a global dimension.

Cultural heritage, or a site of memory, can be seen as inherently institutional from the beginning. First, it needs land to build a memorial, and second, there have to be recurrent expenditures for employees to be at work for preserving, gardening, and memorial activities.⁷² In the case of Jeju, April 3rd Peace Memorial Park was built as then the president candidate Kim, Dae-jung promised that he would work on truth-finding of the Jeju Uprising if he were elected. Thus, after being elected, the aspiring voices kept urging him to keep his words from the grassroots level nationwide. Thus, stage by stage, a law was signed by the administration of Kim, Dae-jung, from which the official investigation finally started. In 2008, after Kim's assurance on financial support to build a memorial in Jeju, the Jeju April 3rd Peace Park was finally established in *Bonggae-dong*, in the middle part of the Jeju Island. The construction of the peace park was historical and meaningful because it is the visualized result of the constant public appeal toward the authority who was the perpetrator of the past at the same time. The acknowledgment made by president Roh, Moo-hyun in 2003, on behalf of the government, pacified the victims and their families as the highest authority recognized their *han* and the oppressed memory.

4.5.1. Sustaining peace

Peace is a very appealing concept in the 21st century, not to mention that it is a universal ideal that the United Nations, including many other international organizations, pursue. It is a desirable mental status or the utmost state that an individual wishes to achieve. There are two perspectives to understand the meaning of peace; one is to be in a status without violence and threats of war, and the other is the status of when fundamental human rights are satisfied, and justice exists.⁷³ The stance of designating Jeju as an island of peace and building a peace park is to reach the latter kind of peace. In a global sense, peace has emerged in the era after the Second World War to reduce instability to avoid uncertainties of a possible war and an economic failure. Thus, it can be said that it is a strategic peace to stabilize a solidified future and the environment for a sustainable ground. This effort can be described as post-conflict peacebuilding.⁷⁴ In the Korean context, peace is needed for its divided condition and to treat the war-torn memories after the Korean War, and henceforth, peace seems not a given but a

⁷² Winter, Jay. "Sites of Memory." pp. 312-324

⁷³ Jeju Special Self-Governing Province, "Outline of designating island of peace."

⁷⁴ Barnett Michael, Kim, Hunjoon, O'Donnell, Madalene, and Sitea Laura. "Peacebuilding: What Is in a Name?," *Global Governance* 13, (2007), 35–58; The United Nations, UN, An Agenda for Peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping: Report of the Secretary-General, 1992

decision. Additionally, strengthening peace seems beneficial for Jeju and Korea and for a sustainable future within East Asia in the context of the post-war environment grounded that 4.3 was a by-product of a power crash between the US-supported capitalism and the Soviet Union-supported communism. Correspondingly, the Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation, a governing body of the Park, builds a peace network with the sites where the similarities can be found: the Memorial Foundation of 2.28 in Taiwan, the Hiroshima peace memorial and the Okinawa peace memorial.⁷⁵

4.5.2. Promoting peace

Collective memory-making of 4.3 has been actively growing with efforts of government under the name of peace and reconciliation. As of 2018, the 70th of anniversary of 4.3 was celebrated, which also serves as the equivalent year for the establishment of the South Korean government since 4.3 took place while building a national body of the Republic of Korea after Japan's annexation. Thus, the memory of Jeju is not only important for locals but also for entire Koreans and beyond within the post-war atmosphere of the failure in stabilizing the ideologic frame in East Asia. The emergence of a peace narrative in Jeju appeared actively after the apology of President Roh, Mu-hyun on 31 October 2003 during a public conversation with Jeju residents.⁷⁶

"As a president who is responsible for the national politics, for accepting the suggestion of the commission of April 3rd, I sincerely apologize for the wrongs of the past that national power did and send condolences to the bereaved families and citizens of Jeju. [...] We need to develop the important lesson learned from April 3rd by expanding the common human value, peace and human rights. With reconciliation and cooperation, we should end the division and conflicts in this land and, by moving on, open an avenue for peace in East Asia and the world. Honorary citizen of Jeju, you have built this beautiful and peaceful island of Jeju out of all the debris on your hands. [...] From now on, Jeju will stand as a symbol of human rights and an island of peace."⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, "Peace exchange nationwide and internationally"

https://jeju43peace.or.kr/kor/sub03_05_02.do

⁷⁶ "Jaemin Ilbo," 31 October 2003

⁷⁷ "Jejusori" 31 October 2003, translated by author, <http://www.jejusori.net/news/articleView.html?idxno=53>

The announcement of the Island of peace is a public assertion that Jeju will no longer serve as a basement of ideology, war and conflicts. After the announcement of Jeju as an island of peace, this narrative was spread and shared nation-wide. The president's authority even more expedited the promotion of the Island as a desirable peace model, aiming peaceful Jeju to go beyond national politics to international representation. Its legal base was in 1999 in Jeju Island Development Special Act in article 52-1 says: "the nation can designate Jeju as the Island of peace to contribute peace in global and the Korean Peninsula and its stability."⁷⁸ The earlier conceptualization of the Island as peace emerged after the submit, a meeting of two heads of Russia and Korea; Mikhail Gorbachev of Russia and Roh, Tae-woo in 1991. By publicly announcing Jeju as the Island of peace, the imagination was shared by people, scholars and tourists during the past seventeen years and was reproduced within various platforms of tourism and academia, above all, as a powerful narration. For example, various walking routes and travel paths were named after peace, and instead of naming 4.3 as a massacre, the peace memorial and foundation were established in 2008.

4.5.3. Internalizing peace

Chung-in Moon, a Jeju-born scholar, has stressed the necessity of studying the endogenous aspect of 4.3 by indicating the existing structural conflicts; explicitly within residents and non-residents, implicitly within the northern and southern mountain regions, and within the east and the west villages.⁷⁹ Thus, to find the solution from inward, he argued that Jeju has to develop its peace within its local culture, the mentality, and the spirit represented as *Sammu*. *Sammu* means three absent things in Jeju: beggars, thieves and segregating and securitizing gates.⁸⁰ It implies that Jeju society is highly based on the trust between members of the community.⁸¹ Along with the *Sammu* culture, the memorial park should not serve as a simple monumental space and as a testimonial but as a place for active interaction and a discussion through the education for peace.⁸² Moreover, the society equipped with firm solidarity was a sort of achievement against the harsh natural environment—*Samjae*, meaning three difficulties

⁷⁸ Jeju Special Self-governing Province, Discussion Process, n.d.
<https://www.jeju.go.kr/jeju/peace/summary/process.htm>

⁷⁹ Moon, Chung-in, "Implication on the park arrangement and future political context of Jeju 4.3", 2001, 65

⁸⁰ Kivimäki, Timo. "The Jeju Process and the relative peace in East Asia," *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* 22, no. 3 (2010), 355-370, DOI: 10.1080/10163271.2010.500024

⁸¹ Moon, "future political context of Jeju 4.3," 80

⁸² *Ibid.*

of Jeju; 1. the soil of the volcanic island is not ideal for agriculture; 2. the geography of Mount *Halla* with deep valleys allows chronic floods to occur; 3. seasonal typhoons in fall and spring enter from Jeju to the mainland of Korea.⁸³ The outer circumstance created a unique, innate culture of Jeju that is, reportedly, diligent, cooperative and frugal.

Similarly, Jeju People's Committee, which functioned as a practical government at the moment when Korea was liberated from Japan, reflected the following characteristics differing from the other branches of Committee in the mainland: 1. an autonomous organization with wide-ranging support of the Jeju Islanders; 2. a moderate stance toward the ideology; 3. the longest survived organization among the other people's committees; 4. it continued the collaboration with the United States Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) based in Jeju until the march shooting by the police in 1947 which ignited the Island-wide strike; 5. it kept its independence and sovereignty from the *Jeonnam* City Province and the central government.⁸⁴ When the values of the People's Committee are highlighted, which was frustrated its own effort of establishing an independent republic away from the USAMGIK, the narrative of the Uprising and reunification receives more conviction. Yang evaluated that the success of the Jeju people's Committee suggests the possibility of an ideal anarchist society based on local customs, myths and geological location, enables to pursue a small government with the least power from the mainland of Korea.⁸⁵ Correspondingly, peace is able to be balanced with the state-led narrative endogenously through its geological and historical characteristics, which identify Jeju society as peculiar from that of the mainland of Korea.

4.5.4. Construction plan with the extension of meaning

Peace Park is a collaborative work of the experts and the civil institution, the 4.3 Committee, and the government.⁸⁶ Thus, to realize the diverse opinions from such groups, the negotiation to meet different expectations was crucial where the three-layer of construction plan was implied. On reflection of each stage of the plan, the first one focuses on the park's symbolic values and metaphoric structure that is the construction of monuments and sculptures. It

⁸³ Kim, Bongok, *제주통사*[Jeju History], (Jeju: Jeju Development Institute, 2000), 15.

⁸⁴ The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident, *The Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report*, (Seoul: The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident, 2015) 72-74 (Korean version)

⁸⁵ Yang, Young-Soo. "An anarchistic interpretation of the April 3rd Incident," chap. 45, no 2, (2006): 39-67.

⁸⁶ Kim, "A Comparative Analysis,"

developed the stepwise process of meaning-making by extending the construction from the symbol statues to the experience hall, whose aim is to broaden the coverage of visitors. The presented spectrum shows each boundary of targeting groups ranging from, most importantly, victims and the bereavement families to non-locals and foreigners (see Table 3).

Concurrently, Mount *Halla* is the spiritual center of the Jeju people. While progressing the park, it was crucial that the visibility of *Halla* from the park had to be inclusive. Thus, the initial obtaining plan was extended to purchase a broader zone to enable *Halla* to be visible, solidifying the current landscape.⁸⁷ Spirit of place often mentioned when dealing with the authenticity of cultural heritage, and in this case of the Peace Park, the representation of *Halla* allows the park to finish the puzzle of Jeju's identity, adding a spiritual landscape of the park.

Phase	1 st stage	2 nd stage	3 rd stage
Duration	2001 - 2003	2004 - 2008	2014 - 2017
Construction details	Memorial tower, altar, square and supporting facilities	4·3 Peace memorial Space for the name tablets and supporting facilities	4·3 Peace Education Center including Children's Experience Hall, Water purification work and arrangement of peace forest
Spectrum	Commemoration & ritual	Archiving & remembrance	Values of sublimation & internationalization

Table 3. Jeju 4·3 Peace Park status of construction plan⁸⁸

A survey was conducted by Jeju Research Institute in 2001 to gather general opinions of the park, and it asked the three groups, which are Jeju Islanders, bereaved families and experts groups responsible for naming the park.⁸⁹The response options were the following: 1) 4.3 Soul Park, 2) 4.3 Peace Park, 3) 4.3 Park, and 4) 4.3 Memorial Park, and the responses were not significantly different among the Islanders and families (see Fig. 5).

⁸⁷ Jeju Research Institute, "제주 43 평화공원 조성 기본계획[Jeju 43 Peace Park Basic Construction Plan]" (Jeju: Jeju Research Institute, 2001)

⁸⁸ Source: Jeju Research Institute, "제주 43 평화공원 활성화사업 기본방향 연구[The research for the active application of Jeju 4·3 Peace Park]" (Jeju: Jeju Research Institute, 2018) 3-27

⁸⁹ Institute, "Construction Plan," 379-422

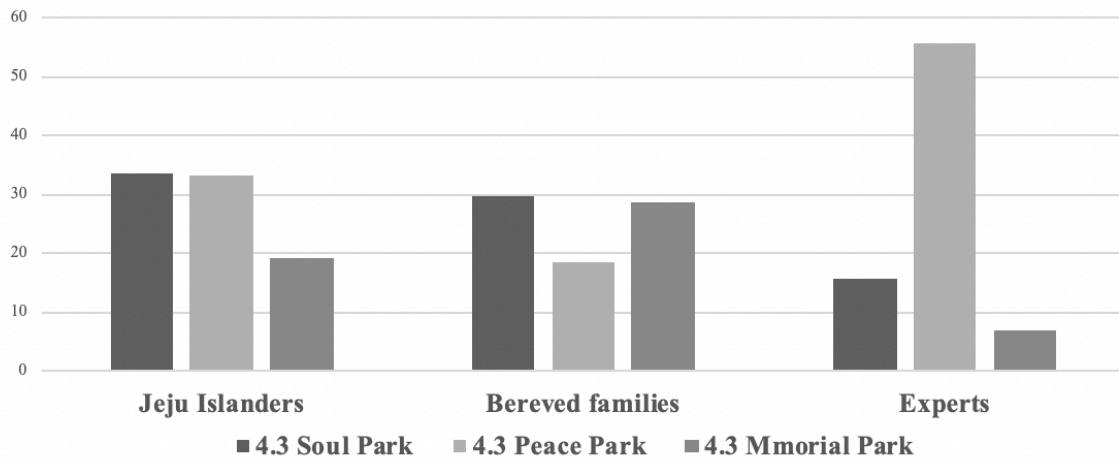


Figure 5. Naming the park⁹⁰

However, for the expert groups, the majority preferred 4.3 Peace park to other names. For this result, the different attitudes toward the memory of 4.3 between the scholars and victims: for bereaved families, as it was already mentioned in the initiative of building the site, they desired this place to be localized and individualized, making it a tangible site where rituals for the deceased would be practiced; by contrast, the experts would want to launch a collective memory initiative for the entire Korean society, and indeed, they endeavored to provide the prospection for the park to be narrated under Peace as Jeju 4.3 Peace Park with its expansion of meaning to serve beyond Jeju.

4.5.5. Motifs and symbols

The symbols and motifs revealed through the aesthetic-scape of the park not only shape the memory but are shaped by it in turn.⁹¹ The ontological prospect of Korea regarding the afterlife is reflected whose outlet such as shamanic rituals (*gut*) and ancestral rites was essential during the military regimes as an alternate memory sphere to share through the mouth of the dead and shamans (*mudang*). Thus, this part dedicates to highlight some of the representative monuments that clearly illustrate the spiritual culture of Korea, the identity of Jeju, and the explicit narrative demonstrated within the memorial and exhibition hall.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Erl, Astrid. "Traumatic pasts, literary afterlives, and transcultural memory: new directions of literary and media memory studies," *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture* 3, no. 1, (2011), 7186, DOI: 10.3402/jac.v3i0.7186

Biseol

The location of the park has been criticized because the land was promptly purchased without an in-depth public discussion. After it was obtained by Jeju Provincial Government, justifying its location was inevitable to redress the land as a proper space for a memorial. During the preliminary research process on the park construction, a story of victims was revealed; a mother named Byeon, Byeong-saeng and her infant were executed near the park in *Bonggae-dong*.⁹² The story played an important role in building authenticity for the historicity of the park. Hence, the statue, *Biseol*, has appeared near the entrance of the park, and the title means scattered snow associating with the lives of victims who disappeared frivolously.⁹³ Thus, *Biseol* evokes the solid visual impression of a mother holding a baby to protect from a gun shooting by soldiers (see Fig. 6). A stone wall surrounds the statue, which strengthens the folkloric culture of Jeju and the sense of belonging since stones are one of *Samda*—three abundances in the region of Jeju; stone, wind, and women derived from the natural and social environment of Jeju. Thus, the initial sequence is dominated by *Biseol*, whose story and materiality reassure that the park belongs to the heritage of Jeju residents.



Figure 6. *Biseol* (Photo by author)

⁹² Hong, Soon-yong, and Yook, Young-soo. "Traces of 'Entangled Powers' in Jeju 4·3 Peace Park", *Jungang History Journal* 42, (2015), 127-131.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

Haewon

The two establishments, a memorial tower and a square, were constructed during the first stage of planning the park, and thus, the first priority of the function of the park is a memorial—a place of remembrance. Within the spatiality of the two monuments, a culturally Korean view of perceiving the dead was inherited—*Haewon*, a process of releasing resentment of the deceased in order to appease their souls. Traditionally, the souls of the unfairly treated are believed to wander the land of the living in which victims of 4.3 had to practice *Haewon* to let the souls rest in peace by establishing two monuments that serve as a site of memorial and place to practice *Haewon*.



Figure 7. *Gwicheon* [Return to Heaven]⁹⁴

Likewise, *Gwicheon* is the five consecutive stone walls that symbolize the victims of different generations. Each monument was carved with *Sueui*, a burial garment. In total, five *Sueui* were drawn to represent female and male adults, a boy and a girl, and an infant. A poem is written

⁹⁴ Kim, Tae-hong, “위령광장에 세워진 '귀천' [Gwicheon, established in memorial square].” <http://www.newsje.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=6215>

which portrays the process of a funeral ritual, practicing *Haewon* to appease the deceased who did not have a proper funeral. Furthermore, *Gwicheon*, situated behind the memorial tower, functions as a folding screen in which normally stands at Korean funerals. Thus, the match of *Gwicheon* and the memorial tower plainly display the place for the mourning of the dead, which reflects a funeral culture of Korea. Meanwhile, these monuments are dedicated to the missing people who were arrested during 4.3 and sentenced to prisons in the mainland without a legal procedure by the military court. 4.3 broke out during a chaotic moment of history which was high time to justify a preliminary inspection. Therefore, the five consecutive monuments with black and white color attempt to sublimate the agony and pain to a higher stage where the souls are respected, and so, *Gwicheon* is dedicated to appeasing those bodies who had to end their lives unfairly in an unknown place during the Korean War.

Camelia

Camelia could be the most representational image of the April 3rd Incident since this flower, *Dongbaek* in Korean, blooms in the wake of spring after long, harsh winter. Therefore, the flowers affiliate with the code of hope and a new beginning. The image of Camelia, having a symbolic value, originates from the painting *Dongbaeckkot Jeeda* [Camelia falls] by Kang, Yo-bae, an artist-activist based in Jeju.⁹⁵ In the painting, the blooming scene of Camelia boasts its beauty while the bodies lying on the back, where their contrast made the scene more tragic (see Fig. 8). Likewise, the scene of their fallen buds aestheticizes the Jeju massacre since the color red and the bud seemingly fresh but ready to fall are connected with the victims of a young age and brutality of the massacre. Furthermore, the Island itself is a popular site for raising Camelia. Thus, Camellia became a successful code, representing the victimhood in 4.3, due to its seasonal trait and dominance in the Island. Therefore, they succeeded in being a visual rendition, and the image has been widely accepted and accessorized throughout the Island. Indeed, it appears often in the park as a statue, a motif of installation arts in the exhibition, and decorative items on the official memorial services taking place in the memorial square (see Fig. 9 and Fig. 10). It has been consolidated as a wearable badge. It was commonly perceived among the 4.3 annual commemoration service participants that politicians and the public wear it to pay condolences for victims and respect for Jeju people.

⁹⁵ Kang, Yo-Bae. "동백꽃 지다 [Camelia falls]," (Paju: Boribook, 2008, front cover)

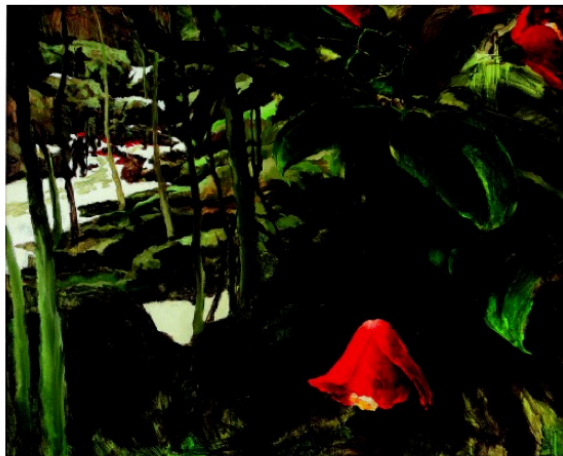


Figure 8. Statue, *Dangbaek* [Camelia]⁹⁶ (left above) (Photo by author).

Figure 9. *Dongbaekkot Jeeda* [The fall of Camelia]⁹⁷ (left bottom)

Figure 10. Rising from Falling, *Baramkkot*⁹⁸

Baekbi and the memorial hall

Jeju 4.3 Peace Memorial is a part of the second phase of the construction plan completed in 2008. The shape of the memorial hall has designed to symbolize a bowl whose metaphor is to become a container filled with facts, truth, and justice about the Jeju Uprising, and it symbolically visualizes the role of the memorial hall.⁹⁹ The permanent exhibition introduces

⁹⁶ "Symbol Statue." https://jeju43peace.or.kr/kor/sub04_02_02.do,

⁹⁷ Kang, "Camelia falls,"

⁹⁸ Source: Jeongeun Kim, "테왁에 '바람' 넣어 스러진 혼 달래다[Console the soul by flying *Taewak*]",

<http://www.jejunews.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=2116337>

⁹⁹ "4-3 Peace Memorial Hall." n.d. https://jeju43peace.or.kr/kor/sub05_01.do

visitors to the history of 4.3 with seven rooms of displays from the beginning to the tentative solution of 4.3 in chronological order.

As the exterior of the memorial hall visually reveals, the current interpretation of 4.3 seems indecisive and unsettled, confirmed by *Baekbi*, a white monument in Korean, located in the first exhibition room (Fig. 12). Through *Baekbi*, what to be told and what remains untold can be seen. In this way, unchosen stories become silent, so *Baekbi* remains silent intentionally. Initially, *Baekbi* was not planned to display at an earlier stage but later was installed by a civil organization.¹⁰⁰ Thus, it mediated a voice from the bottom whose presence overwhelms the air of the whole space of the hall. Furthermore, the interior of a simulated cave besieges *Baekbi* codified as a refuge and site of a massacre. It climaxes the dichotomy of darkness that the cave provides and the whiteness of the monument signifying the victimhood. Furthermore, the plain white stone without any engravement seems to refuse to be colored again; the Island was once called and labeled as a red island, becoming a political instrument.¹⁰¹ Meanwhile, a panel sits below *Baekbi* says;

4.3 *Baekbi* is an unnamed monument, not engraved for some reason. Jeju 4.3 has various alternative terms: the riot, uprising, rebellion, insurrection, and incident. It still does not have a proper historical definition yet. The sincere name will be engraved when divided North and South become one and reunited.¹⁰²



Figure 11. The Cave of History¹⁰³



Figure 12. *Baekbi*¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Minhwan Kim, "Contested memories in the Jeju April 3rd Peace Park the 'absent presence' of the Riot interpretation and solidarity spilt.", *Economy & Society* 10, 2014, 104

¹⁰¹ Jo Byeong-ok, the police chief of Jeju then, labeled Jeju as a red island conquered by communism after which was rapidly reproduced through the media

¹⁰² *Baekbi*, the first display: The Tunnel of History; Prologue, Jeju 4.3 Peace Memorial Permanent Exhibition.

¹⁰³ "the first exhibition room: the cave of history(prologue)." n.d. https://jeju43peace.or.kr/kor/sub05_02.do

¹⁰⁴ Source: Heo, Ho-joon, "*Baekbi* wants a name", http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/area/area_general/838647.html

Darangshi

Darangshi, the cave in the special exhibition, is a self-explaining testimonial; the cave was discovered with the eleven bodies of victims in 1997 when 4.3 was unheard of for most Koreans (see Fig. 11). Therefore, the discovery of *Darangshi* became the evidence itself that the public could see, recognize and believe that captured the public attention which to bring to the public sphere.¹⁰⁵ Thus, the trope, cave, within the memorial influences visitors' experience from the beginning, inviting visitors to the memory of the victims.

The caves in Jeju serve diverse functions; bunkers during the Japanese annexation, refuge houses during the military crackdown of the Uprising, and the natural heritage that attracts many tourists. Unlike *Baekbi* leaving some space for interpretation, the cave in this context is used as a storied matter embedded with polysemic memories. It is seen that cultural and natural heritage holds distinct meanings to locals as the symbols and iconography of the statues and monuments tell in the memorials. Likewise, abundant natural heritage in Jeju without the context-specific approach might lose diverse narratives correlated with the site of memory. The *Donggwang-ri* 4.3 trail in chapter 6 further investigated the interpretation and the representation gap between the natural and cultural heritage where the massacre sites were located.

The Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation and its symbol mark

Throughout the initial planning of the park, establishing a governing body of the park was discussed when enacting 4.3 special law.¹⁰⁶ In 2004, Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation was established and located inside the peace memorial hall. It has its unique symbol mark representing the park's identity and narrative titled "Wind of Mutual Benefit" (see Fig. 13). The symbol contains the locality of Jeju and the aspiration for peace with the color arrangement of red, yellow and blue. The color red and yellow motivated from the flower, Camelia and the blue associated with peace and reunification, whose color also appeared in the Korean Unification Flag; *Hanbandoggi*, and the exterior of the memorial hall in the park (see Fig. 14). The wavy shape of the symbol visualizes the windy weather of Jeju, and, as the title implies, proper treatment of the history

¹⁰⁵ Kim, "Contested memories," 198-205

¹⁰⁶ The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident, "*화해와 상생* [Reconciliation and Peace]" 310; Jo, Sung Yoon, 56

of 4.3 would benefit not only Jeju but for entire Koreans toward a peaceful and reconciled future in the Korean Peninsula.¹⁰⁷ The symbol mark is a telling representation that the state narrative is visually expressed—coexistence which ultimately hankers to build the peace model that expands from Jeju to East Asia and beyond.



Figure 13. Symbol Mark, Wind of Mutual Benefit¹⁰⁸



Figure 14. Carrying a unification flag¹⁰⁹

4.5.6. Apologies

The representation of a president can have a more substantial impact than any other figure since, in a democratic system, a president is a legitimate representative of the people in Korea whose words matter the most to the civilians. The presidential apology was regarded as a personified figure of authority who was the past perpetrator for some victims at the same time. Thus, the yearning of the victims of 4.3 was culminated in the early 2000s for seeking a sincere apology of a president.¹¹⁰ At last, in 2003, President Roh, Moo-hyun apologized for the first time on behalf of the government regarding the crime and violence done by the past government. It was a moment of recognizing the effort put by the association of Jeju 4.3 and the families of victims to let their *han* free. President Moon Jae-in likewise made an apology during his presence at the official memorial service of 4.3 in 2018. Not only that, Moon Jae-

¹⁰⁷ “Symbol Mark.”

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ The Denver Post, “carrying a unification flag.” <https://medium.com/sportsraid/the-two-koreas-to-march-together-at-the-upcoming-winter-olympics-da092971599c>

¹¹⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991), 220-251

in's administration include agenda of 4.3 to resolve its incomplete issues in its one-hundred policy tasks of his presidency.¹¹¹

Accordingly, as a sign of the will of the government, in 2019, Deputy Minister of Defense, Seo Ju-Seok and Police Commissioner-General, Min, Gap-ryong participated at the annual memorial service of 4.3 held in *Gwanhwamun*, Seoul and showed their respect and expressed their condolences to the victims and their families.¹¹² After all, the three responsible authorities in 4.3, the police, the military, and the government, acknowledged the guilt of violence of the government of the past. An apology is a necessary procedure for the victims who have been suffering from trauma and unforgettable residue of the past. However, as the memory worker, M3, said, the sustainable care work has to be followed after the apology, which not to make it superficial and last short.¹¹³ As the wish of the state, which supports the Jeju 4.3 peace model to become an exemplary case of peacebuilding in East Asia, the official apology of authority was indeed important to formalize the value of peace that was aired on television nationwide through the official commemoration service of 4.3.

4.5.7. Summary

In the first section of the analysis, I examined how Jeju 4.3 Peace Park gained its identity by going through a step-wise plan and its valorization process to justify the historicity of the location in order to be acknowledged by Jeju residents and beyond the Island. The Peace Park was not able to forge a perfect degree of the social agreement but the 4.3 special law and the according articles provided a base to include public and local interventions and in results, it formed a sense of ownership to Jeju residents. In the second section of the analysis, I investigated the ritual scene of the park as a site for practicing *Haewon*, and by having that outlook, the park authorized itself to become a heritage of 4.3 as a *lieu de memoire* for the victims in Jeju and beyond. Furthermore, *Baekbi* represents the hope and the resolution of Jeju people towards the 4.3's valid definition and evaluation in order to fill an ambiguity and a niche of 4.3 in the present discourse. Finally, the Peace Park institutionalizes peace with the memorial sculptures equipped with the localities and the culture rooted in community-based customs.

¹¹¹ The Government of the Republic of Korea, "100 Policy Tasks, Five-year Plan of the Moon Jae-in Administration", Seoul: Korean Culture and Information Service, 2017

¹¹² *Gwanhwamun* is one of the gates of Gyeongbokgung Palace whose square has become an agora that houses public demonstrations; "The Hankyoreh," 3 April 2019

¹¹³ M3, interview by author, 2 October 2020

Such aspect assembles a sense of belonging to build peace in Jeju and to promote 4.3 as a part of Korean history.

As of 2014, a public commemoration day for 4.3 has been officially designated, which means that remembering and commemorating 4.3 became a social obligation. In other words, 4.3 succeeded in belonging to the memory of South Korea. In a way, the park was successful in visualizing peace with the curation of the informational records and the monuments to become both Jeju's and Korea's heritage but, the important agenda still remains; broadening the recognition of 4.3 and the exchange of the meaning of peace internationally as the third stage of the construction plan was originally aiming for. Reconciliation with the ambivalent narrative of the Island may be possible through an understanding of the local environment, and then, it could be understood by global communities more easily with the values of peace. Since, in the context of Korea— a site of the ideological battle in the past and the current status of the division with the North, the meaning of peace seems to have a different nuance. In that sense, a Korean ethos and cultural emotion, *han* could contribute to the understanding of peace in the *milieu* of Korea. Park Kyung-lee, a recognized author in modern Korean literature, defined *han* as a complex feeling which embraces sadness and hope, who used *han* as a fuel of her literary works.¹¹⁴ Likewise, peace embraces hope and forgiveness by treating the heartbroken past by practicing 'Haewon' in the memorial square. Thus, with accepting the polemic dimension of peace in the local setting of Korea, the meaningful reconciliation and peace in the contested memories could find a sustainable agreement for the future.

It is hard to see the individuals on the site of the massacre since they are not going to return alive to tell themselves the stories. Thus, the gravity of caring for the dead through the mouths of the survivors, the bereaved families and the association, despite their difficulties of remembering the tragedy, should be more recognized. It is equally important to coin peace and the reunification of Korea on the Island of the massacre, where many people, regardless of ideological stances, were killed, but it should not come only with the projection alone. In accordance with that, an active discussion and solution should be brought for the individuals traumatized and for the post generation of 4.3 in order to be able to make sense of its history along with the conceptualization of the park as a house for sustainable peace. After the ample amount of time spent in mourning the wounds of 4.3, an invitation of the park is to become a

¹¹⁴ Korean Translation Group, "HAN(恨) - The Soul of Korean Literature." <http://www.koreantranslation.com/REPOSITORY/HanTheSoulOfKoreanLiterature/tabid/1557/Default.aspx>

repertoire, in the postmemory of 4.3, for a continual transmission of and active participation in memory.¹¹⁵

5. Walking and experience

This chapter overviews the act of walking as a critical component of making heritage experience more engaging and lively. In walking, walkers are in more control of time and space with their feet, while the encounters with heritage become embodied and sentient with various senses are involved. Before analyzing each heritage trail as a medium for transmitting memory, this chapter seeks the potential of walking as a bodily engagement in heritage trail that grows into an essential physical element to process memories to negate emotional fatigue of dealing with the memory of massacres. Finally, with the burgeoning trail tourism employing the natural legacy of Jeju, the 4.3 heritage trail as alternative tourism receives more value.

Going to a site is different from meeting a person, as though it may sound obvious. However, it seems compatible, considering both carry stories beyond their means. Site is a static thing in comparison to humans, which is mobile. If we think of calling sites "immobile estate," it is easy to think that we have this perception on sites that exist permanently or at least for a while. In this way, the stability and consistency come from the tangible sites where cultural meaning and values can be deducted and attached as the so-called *lieu de mémoire*, according to Pierre Nora.

How is the practice of walking in a heritage trail engaged in experiencing the past and transmission of memories? By walking trails and observing past remnants of the village visitors are invited to process the narratives and information projected where diverse visual-scape enables them to physically observe the past without time-travel with the informational signs of explanations and the intervals in between the sites. To figuratively coin the walk in the trail to an open-air museum, the panel explanation on each site is more straightforward than a regular indoor exhibition. There is more control and flexibility at the heritage trail site. The difference is that the visitors' walking and observing materials in the trail site are elongated with a landscape simultaneously. The sense of time is so natural to realize when walking in the sites

¹¹⁵ Choi, *Right to Mourn*, 6

of massacres in which tourists even do not notice but gradually grasp what took place in a given area.

Trail walkers can gently perceive and learn the historical spaces and memory scenes by encountering the sites, monuments, and old props with time. Thus, walking within the trails helps ease the emotional fatigue and the gravity of massacres, in which some visitors might find difficult to process at one visit. The function of walking is comparable to that of space between phrases and words in a book; it gives a consistent break by the intervals of the sites. In this same way, walking and reading share a similar trait. Walkers have spaces between the designated stops of places in which it allows a pause between the sites to process complex and emotionally challenging subjects of history. Moving one's attention from syllables to syllables is compatible with the steps of walkers to go forward and change the scene. As the fingers of readers turn the page, trail walkers move from monuments to sites with which the subject matter changes. So that the walkers can manage the speed of interpreting or making their own narratives, step by step as if readers of books do control of speed by the spaces between syllables and lines, which give them a pause from texts. Solnit (2000) stated; "writing allows one to read the words of someone who is absent, so roads make it possible to trace the route of the absent."¹¹⁶ Likewise, visitors of the trails are able to feel two ways of absence, one of which is the space in between the sites of heritage; the other is a literal void of community that was once bustling.

Films as prosthetic devices to store memories of the sites, refuges and memorials are extended storage to archive the past and memory of the Uprising.¹¹⁷ They can invite viewers to see the actual sites of history represented in films, which is why the *Donggwang* sites, one of the 4.3 heritage trails, attracted many visitors by becoming a motive of a film, *Jiseul*.¹¹⁸ However, it must be noted that the places and materials are also the bodies that house the memory, not the very past itself. Hence, too much artificial adaptation to represent the past might ruin the dynamics of memory in which memory by nature a thought process that is variant with times. If regarding cultural heritage as a physicality that captures the past, there might be no difference with an archive where the records are stored. Thus, cultural heritage performs as a medium and a process with cultural memory embedded in this sense, beyond space and time. Likewise, the

¹¹⁶ Solnit, Rebecca. *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*. (Westminster: Penguin Books, 2001) 136

¹¹⁷ Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*.

¹¹⁸ It is a film directed by a Jeju-based director called Oh Myeol. See detail in chapter 6.1. the *Donggwang* 4.3 trail

emotional statuses of pedestrians while walking and thinking are beyond the visual scenes, physically and mentally involved with the recognition of the past and future in presence with a walking body. Heritage itself is physically in existence, becoming a tool to let viewers contemplate the past, the future, and history on-site. The repertoire of walking, observing, and contemplating sites of memory offers heritage experience, whose process does not limit by its material shape and structure that flows with times and varied perceptions of whom observe and live within it.

5.1 Walking heritage trails

Walking is an active practice and an experience of using a physical and mental unit to orient a body to a destination while a social stroll like a promenade without a particular purpose but to communicate and socialize with people of a community. In other words, it is a walk to connect with people and the society to which they belong, making it possible to build social cognition and strengthen a community ship. In a similar vein, in this thesis, the 4.3 trail regarding heritage experience was investigated as memory embodiment that can connect visitors to the heritage by offering the physical and sentimental experiences of being present with the site of memory. Consistent with this view, a heritage trail is a path and an experience mediated by walking in which walkers sense and relate from what they should stop to see to the places where social and cultural memories are embedded. Thus, the trails function in situ as open-air museums whose artifacts are not alienated from the places where they are built. Hence, walking the trails includes this extensive span of physical elements and virtual sense, leading to a more active way of experiencing heritage.

Solnit (2000) described walking with different examples from human evolution of bipedalism, purposeful pilgrimages to social walks.¹¹⁹ She describes walking beyond mere primeval transportation to which extent humans' unique way of contemplating, socializing, and connecting with the world outside by putting one foot in front of one another.¹²⁰ Figuratively put, walking is a way of mapping the human mind with feet, like patterning stars of the constellation with human imagination.¹²¹ Likewise, when making the heritage trails, the heritage experts, the residents and the local stakeholders were involved in the memory-making

¹¹⁹ Solnit, *Wanderlust*.

¹²⁰ Ibid

¹²¹ Ibid.

of the 4.3 trail. They mapped the sites of memory of the Jeju Uprising on foot as if they connected the sites of constellation made up with the heritage sites, where the body, sight, and history are coordinated by walking.

5.1.1. Heritage Trails in Jeju

Walking different trails in Jeju is one of the most popular tourist activities thanks to the natural heritage created from the volcanic activation of the Island, offering an exotic landscape that appeals to many tourists. Thus, volcanic lava tubes, waterfalls and *oreums*, such natural formulations were registered as the UNESCO world heritage. Let alone the natural landscape, Jeju Island is also renowned for its unique culture and custom, one of which is *Hanyeo* culture. *Hanyeo*, whose literal meaning is sea women, indicates females harvesting marine life for a living. The culture was created since the Island's earth was not ideal for farming, which is a particular predicament for people whose main staple is rice. Thus, to make the best out of the Island environment surrounded by ocean, while males are out for fishing, females predominantly work inside the sea, which became distinct culture to give birth to the *Haenyeo* society. For this reason, Jeju has known for its spectacular landscape with distinctive culture in which many tourists find rare and discernible from mainland Korea. On the other hand, the Jeju Uprising has been fully recognized and received little spotlight by general tourists.

There are various trails across the mountains and sea-sides in Jeju thanks to the beautiful landscape with Halla mountain, a spiritual center of the Island and a cultural village-scape of mountain and coast villages. The thatched house is the historically common housing style, which was suited to windy weather, and thus, the climate of Jeju, which conveys strong wind, had had many houses equipped with wavy lanes called *Olle* in Jeju dialect. These would prevent storms from entering the habitats. Suh Myung-suk, an ex-journalist, found long-distance footpaths that include scenic sites along the coastline of the Island and titled *Olle* Trails, which is currently the best-known touristic trail in Jeju.¹²² Therefore, the huge success of the *Olle* trail gave rise to other trails in Jeju Island to be seen below as, in total, 68 courses of trails are currently organized; however, this number fails to count other trails that are being

¹²² See the walking routes and the course map here at <https://www.jejuolle.org/trail/eng/>

constantly created. There exist many other trails that can be categorized thematically; scenic, historical and religious trails (see Table 4).

Thematic	Trails (number of routes)		
Scenic	<i>Olle</i> trail (26)	<i>Badang-gil</i> (1) Coastal <i>Noori</i> route (8)	<i>Batdam-gil</i> (8)
Historic	The 4.3 trail (6)	The trail of exile (3)	The trail of legend and myth of Jeju (1)
Religious	Christian Pilgrimage (4)	Buddhism Pilgrimage (5)	Catholic Pilgrimage (6)

Table 4. List of walking trails in Jeju¹²³

In the same manner, Jeju's architectural style is vastly unique due to the weather and geology for which walls of basalt rocks can be commonly observed in the surrounding habitats and along the borders of farms, cemeteries and castles. Local people said that the stone walls barricaded graves in Jeju implicates the border between life and death, where the unique ontological view of Jeju can be seen from.¹²⁴ Particularly, these stone walls called *Batdam* aligning along farms are registered in the national agricultural heritage of Korea and globally important agricultural heritage systems of the United Nations. The boom of trail roads in Jeju can be interpreted as alternative tourism through which visitors who would like to experience different parts other than stuck in a touristified part of Jeju, which can be seen as slow tourism.¹²⁵ Not only that but also as those trails are mostly planned in a top-down manner whose purpose is to find a different way to attract tourists as well as revitalize the areas that are less developed and unpopulated.

Before approaching the topics on heritage trails, I briefly overview the heritage sites of the Jeju Uprising and go through the components of the 4.3 trail routes. The six different 4.3 trails make up with the site of massacres, the refuges during the crackdown, the old sites of villages, the community heritages, the memorials, the monuments and the cemeteries. They allowed visitors to revisit the past through a walking practice as a bodily engagement to envision the lives of

¹²³ Trekking routes are not included; the gathered trails are the collection of walking trails of natural and cultural heritage, and pilgrimage sites. Source: Jeju Tourism Organization (Visitjeju.net)

¹²⁴ unstructured interview by author, 10 October 2020, see Appendix 2.

¹²⁵ As it literally means it is slower and sustainable than normal tourism activity, spending time more in local community and sites, as an alternative tourism in contrast to mass tourism.

villagers and the massacre. Each site was selected based on active dialogues between villagers, victims and experts within and under a village office and the Jeju provincial government. Thus, the trails are not just a work of heritage managers but a collaboration with the residents who are memory keepers and survivors experienced with the Uprising. The whole process is a negotiation about how to shape and design the trail to be able to increase the sense of ownership of the town where people used to live. Thus, in part, the project of trails is oriented to reconnect the lost villages that were forgotten for years to visitors and villagers to save the memories and space from policy failure to regenerate the space.

6. Analyzing the site of memory

The 4.3 trails are introduced as a medium to link little to big narratives where state and vernacular narratives encounter each other within the sites of memory in the trails. I suggest the 4.3 trails as a theater of memory, remembrance and experience of the Jeju Uprising where the memory workers as actors play the variant narratives for visitors to help make sense of what they see, hear and experience the sites of memory. In accordant with this, I regard the memory workers making, continuing, and transmitting memories by their guidance as liaisons who convey each story of the village more experientially, which develops the sentient dimension of heritage. Ultimately, the 4.3 trails reveal its potential to serve as a proper tool of attainment to showcase the multi-laterality of memories and narratives entangled with sites. Thus, the meaningful combination of seeing, hearing and walking practice of visitors was found, which helped them understand, sympathize, and commemorate the deaths and the cultural memories that were distinctively articulated in the trail with the companion of memory workers.

Before analyzing the trails individually, I set out the stages of how the trails were established with the villagers' participation for their memories being embedded in making the trails (see Table 5). The Jeju Provincial office has the 4.3 department in charge of supporting 4.3 relevant works. Firstly, the consensus had to be made after the discussion with the 4.3 Committee for which village to install the trail.¹²⁶ Once the location was decided, the 4.3 department worked closely with a village (*Ri*) leader and local people.¹²⁷ Thus, the quality of trails regarding the

¹²⁶ It consists of public officers, members of the bereavement family association and local institutions, experts, and advisory board

¹²⁷ *Ri* is the smallest unit of the administrative district of Korea in rural areas

selection of spots, routes and informational displays were impacted by the memories and the experience level of the village leader and the villagers taking part in the making. When the trails were completed, equipped with the guide signs on each stop, the instructed memory workers were later joining the trails to give their service to the visitors.

Stages of plan	Who is involved	The details
1. Selection of village	The 4.3 Committee	Public announcement for site selection
2. Selection of sites		Based on damage and historicity
3. Design the routes	The leaders of the village and native residents (memory workers)	The best route to connects the sites
4. Arrangement		Construction of guide signs and informational displays; publishing promotional materials; instruction for memory workers

Table 5. The procedure of making the 4.3 trails¹²⁸

The 4.3 trails lie in the micro-level within the 4.3 memory-scape in which the memories and stories of villagers resided. The physicality of the sites allows trail walkers to realize the history and experience what had happened on-site. In so doing, the sites become a medium of transmitting memories from the past to the present, where cultural memories are embedded. The six trails arranged from 2015 to 2018 portray histories of the six villages and their legends and myths, which introduce a diverse spectrum of memories (see Table 6). Thus, when it comes to the memory-scape of the trails, their collective feature is to showcase the village's history, culture, and tradition even though the focus is on the 4.3 memory itself. Having included community fabrics into the trails evokes a feeling of nostalgia and the spirit of the old community in which the purpose goes for enabling community regeneration.

¹²⁸ M3, interviewed by author, 9 October 2020; 4.3 길 조성 기본 계획, 특별자치행정국 4.3 지원과 [The 4.3 trail arrangement plan, 4.3 department of the Self-governing administration], February 2016

Name	Year of creation	District (Myeon/Eup)	Village type	Number of memory sites	Hours/length
<i>Donggwang-ri</i> 4.3 Trail	2015	Andeok	Mountain village	17	4h/10km
<i>Uigwi-ri</i> 4.3 Trail	2016	Namwon	Mountain village	15	4h/14km
<i>Bukchon-ri</i> 4.3 trail	2016	Jocheon	Coast village	10	2h/7km
<i>Geumak-ri</i> 4.3 trail	2017	Hanlim	Mountain village	27	3.5h/12km
<i>Gasi-ri</i> 4.3 trail	2017	Pyosun	Mountain village	11	3h/9km
<i>Ora-dong</i> 4.3 trail	2018	Jeju	Coast village	12	3.5h/13km

Table 6. The 4.3 Trails of six villages¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Source: the leaflet of combined Jeju 4.3 Trails from the Jeju Special Self-governing Province

6.1. The Donggwang-ri 4.3 Trail

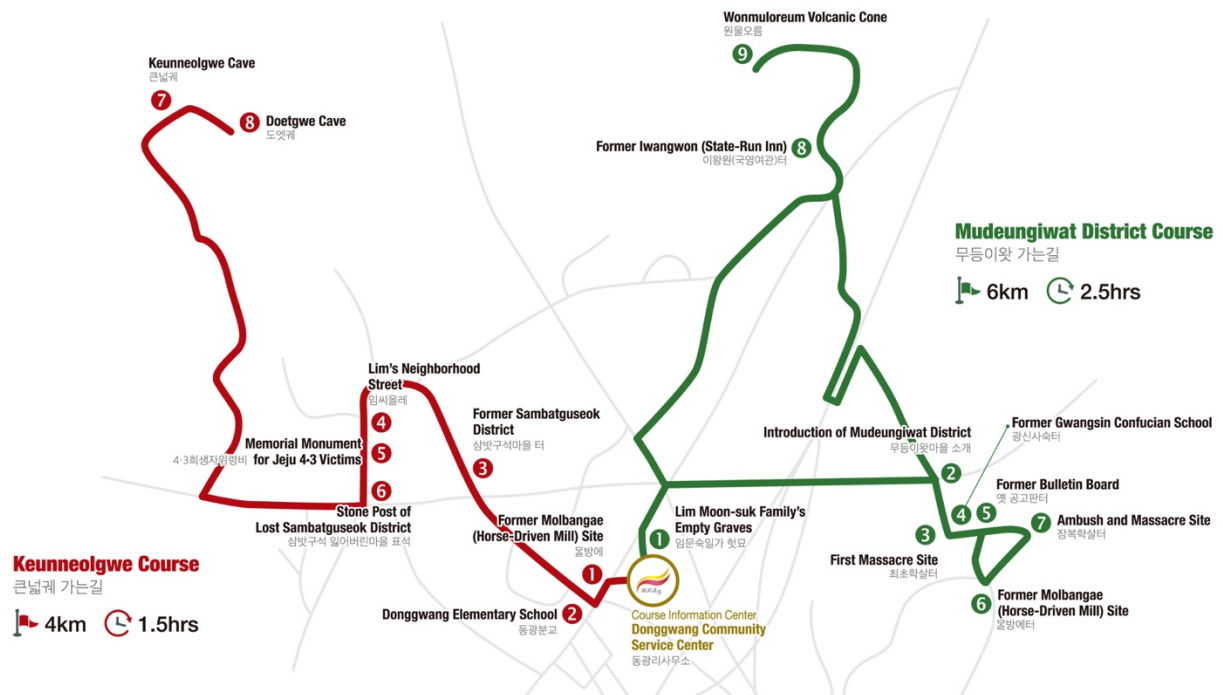


Figure 15. The map of Donggwang trail¹³⁰

In the subchapter of *Donggwang* trail, the first-ever arranged among the six other trails, the memory of the village is introduced with the community heritage, natural and cultural sites to deduct what they can mean to the villagers and visitors. The study of material ecocriticism was used to focus on the matter as a storied object to seek a more balanced and less anthropomorphic angle. It explores the interplays of a human and non-human agent, history and memory, and cultural and natural heritage within the current discourse.¹³¹ Furthermore, the subchapter proceeds with a quest on how cultural heritage is used to transmit the memory of the Jeju Uprising and its natural heritage where multilateral memories reside. What follows is how to collate the dual functions of heritage as a natural and historical matter within their imbalanced recognition.

¹³⁰ Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, "Donggwang-ri Village Jeju 4-3 Trail," n.d. <http://jeju43peace.org/site-visit-tour/peace-tour/donggwang-village-jeju-4%20%b73-trail/>

¹³¹ Iovino, Serenella, and Oppermann, Serpil. "Material Ecocriticism: Materiality, Agency, and Models of Narrativity," *Journal volume and issue* 3, no. 1, (2012): 75-91.

6.1.1. Poknang

The six different villages, none of them are entirely restored as they used to be. However, cultural sites still show the has-been active community culture and places such as communal wells, rice pounders, and *poknang* (see Fig. 16). *Poknang* (*Celtis Sinensis*) has long been considered as a spiritual tree of Jeju villagers, which grows in each and every village of Jeju. The trees provide a place to idle and a place to socialize and share the lives of each other. "*Bulteok*" does the same function where sea women (*Haenyeo*) gather to reheat their bodies and socialize after the long hours of working inside the water; whose profession is a distinct as working women listed as intangible heritage of Jeju in the UNESCO. For an island-level, the performance of *Poknang* is the equivalent of *Gwandeokjeong* square. It was used as a site to share and discuss social issues as a community place.¹³²



Figure 16. The *Poknang* within the *Geumak* village (Photo by author).

¹³² *Gwandeokjeong* is the oldest government office building and the historical landmark of Jeju, which was built in 1994 in the Joseon Dynasty. As a cultural and historical center of Jeju, it was a center of many revolts in the past. The 1 March uprising, considered the Uprising cause in 1947, started in Buk elementary school and intensified here at *Gwandeokjeong*.

However, during the Uprising, many of the trees were burnt down, including houses and communal wealth. Kang, Jeong-Hyo (2020), a Jeju-born photographer, published a photo collection titled "Poknang, Village Guardian of Jeju" and describes Jeju culture by the photographic subject that tells spirituality, community, and the 4.3 history.¹³³ The trees cannot tell stories of how the incidents and massacre were like directly, but they stood there as a witness of history as they were. In a way only by existence, the trees connect people in observing history to the past and provide rooms for imagination and contemplation. It is also used as a symbol of the 4.3 trail hoping to revive the community culture of Jeju, which desired peace as it were.

6.1.2. Communal heritage

Along the trails, especially near the site of the old houses, the copse of bamboos can be commonly observed. Because villagers back then had made everyday objects out of bamboo woods and sold them for a living. These are cultures and customs of villagers that visitors might not have noticed without the memory workers who have lived through those old times, and without them, the bamboo colonies would have stood out of the context. In a similar vein, cactus colonies are widely spread in *Wolryeong* village. The origin of cactus distribution in Jeju Island is not clearly defined yet, but it is assumed that the seeds from Mexico traveled to arrive in Jeju through currents. Those cactus colonies not only add an exotic and unique ambiance to the village but also have been valuable economic resources by their fruits. There is another reason why *Wolryeong* village has become known for visitors, which is the story of a granny Jin, Ah-young, who lost her chin during the Uprising by the subjugation army attack. She luckily managed to live through the gun raid; however, one bullet passed through her chin. Throughout her life, she had had to deal with chronic headaches and indigestion due to the incapability of chewing food. Hence, white fabric wrapped around her face to hide her look became a symbol of her pain and endurance, where visitors are able to sense at her house now turned into a site to display her estates, including several scarves, farming tools and cactuses growing around her place. The village walking trails are fairly arranged along the coastline as it is located to the west end of *Hanlim-eup*, which is favorable for visitors to come and see the exotic village landscape. Furthermore, the entire village was nominated as a natural monument

¹³³ "Jejusori", 17 December 2020. <http://www.jejusori.net/news/articleView.html?idxno=323740>

in 2001 for Korea's only native cactus habitat.¹³⁴

6.1.3. *Gwe*

Given that the Island originated from volcanic activities, there exists a diverse range of natural landscapes formed out of lava eruptions. *Gwe*, One of them, meaning a rock cave in Jeju dialect, is easily found throughout the Island that once played its role as a refuge during the Uprising. There was a pivotal moment when *Darangshi*, a 30m long lava cave, and the eleven bodies, including a 9-year-old boy, were discovered. It was solid evidence that the state violence was unveiled since the fifty-year of forced silence of speaking about 4.3 had left insufficient material proof. Thus, the discovery of *Darangshi* became a testimonial site that people were able to see and believe the sheer violence of the state against the civilians. Since then, a number of films and coverages specialized in the founding of *Darangshi* were made to raise awareness of the Jeju Uprising and the necessity of letting the oppressed memory be known.

Another lava tube registered in the 4.3 Archive is *Keunneolgwe*, named by its immense size, in which 120 *Donggwang* villagers were hidden for two months during the Uprising in 1948. The cave is located within *Donggwang* village of the 4.3 trail, and it became one of the most visited trails, including that of *Bukchon* village after the film, *Jiseul*, had been released in 2012. The film reveals the stories of the *Donggwang* refugees and the perspective of the military through a microscopic lens. It makes viewers become observers rather than critics for evaluating past wrongdoings. Having received more attention by winning awards such as the Sundance Film Festival, the cave has been used as a storied matter, rethinking its polysemic roles. The trope of the cave can be perceived variously: for persecutors, where enemies are hidden; for villagers, a shelter; for researchers and activists, a testimonial medium to realize justice such as the *Darangshi* cave.¹³⁵ Applying for scholarship in material ecocriticism can validate the natural heritage whose dual view coexists on perceiving the site within the 4.3 history of 4.3, not to limit the scope of the heritage of history in which the cultural and natural aspects are naturally enmeshed. Thus, put the caves of Jeju as a storied matter to the center of the narrative, not as mere background, is essential to understand the cultural and historical landscape of Jeju vis-à-vis the Uprising.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ see more about the village heritage at <https://ncms.nculture.org/story-of-our-hometown/story/6502>

¹³⁵ Eperjesi, John. "Caves as Storied Matter: The Jeju April 3 Events and U.S. Imperialism," *Journal of American Studies* 51, no. 2 (2019): 129-154. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22505/jas.2019.51.2.06>

¹³⁶ Eperjesi, "Storied Matter," 129-154.

6.1.4. Oreum

The *Donggwang* villagers, after having revealed the location in *Keunneolgwe*, the cave went to flee to the oreums, i.e., parasite cones which are smaller mountains that were ideal places for hideouts. The multiple functions of *oreum* during the military operation are worth being noted as they had become a fortress for partisans and a shelter for refugees. Meanwhile, oreums within the urban landscape of Jeju are an easy mid-range level course for tracking in which many themed routes have been arranged for the high demands for scenic experiences of Jeju. Hallasan, located in the center of the Island, is the highest mountain and the central vent of volcanic eruptions. While Halla Mountain plays as a spiritual center of the Island and the people, the *oreums* buffers the sole spotlight of Hallasan by its affordability and practicality. The Island's geography exhibits; the more it gets to the center, the more mountainous. Hallasan is located in the middle, and oreums are sporadically distributed throughout the Island. Henceforth, the paramilitary soldiers had difficulty catching the partisans once they fled deep into the mountainous alleys where the refugees were also hidden. Both of them were so-called *Sansaram* during 4.3, meaning mountain people seen as mostly rebellions regardless of whether they were associated with the anti-government movement.

6.1.5. Waterfalls

Not long after the *Dongkwang* villagers fled to the *Bolle Oreum*, they got caught and shot to death at the upper part of Jeongbang Waterfall, one of which is the three most famous waterfalls of Jeju; the other Cheonjaeyeon Waterfall is a site of massacre as well. They were the so-called slaughterhouse where bodies were thrown away along the falls, for which reason victims were still not identified. The 4.3 memorial at the *Cheonjaeyeon* Waterfall is set up with monuments with the general explanation of the Uprising in three different languages (Chinese, English and Japanese). The detailed information on the very site where it is located was not mentioned, while the main monument straightforwardly displays the victims of *Jungmun* district as a whole, the names of whom were engraved on.

During the fieldwork, I visited *Cheonjaeyeon* Waterfall to see the 4.3 memorial and asked those who work in the information center at the entrance of the waterfalls if visitors were aware of the existence of a memorial. She said that the visitors had never asked her about the 4.3

monuments or the massacres at the waterfalls. Meanwhile, the *Jeongbang* Waterfall has no signages either of monuments that acknowledge such events occurred on-site despite its bearing the most significant casualties throughout the southern Jeju area. Thus, given their fame for the outstanding outlooks, the aforementioned natural heritages have failed to transmit the memories of 4.3, carrying little evidence with which visitors could backtrack the stories of the past.

Perhaps, it would not be ideal for drawing boundaries in heritage between dark and bright, natural and cultural, tangible and intangible based on an anthropocentric perspective. Put the heritage as the matter of the narrative of the Jeju Uprising and its people and victims, whose objective enables to spice up the landscape of Jeju that has been often viewed as a unilateral space with scenic elements. In doing so, self-explanatory tools such as informational signs, guided tours and participatory programs would be able to improve the understanding of passersby and onlookers about the multilateral aspect of the heritage. Unlike the collective tombs and memorials, which are clear in making sense, space within the lost villages without proper explanations and the context tends to get overlooked of its dynamic. This thesis put *gwe*, *oreum*, waterfalls and *poknang* as the storied matter to tell the layers of memories intertwined. Consequently, there seems to need more attempts to discover heritage not as a showcase of history but as organic matter that constantly builds a relationship with people, we can call history.

To borrow the opening line of the novel, *Pachinco* and the author Min Jin Lee's explanation: "the history has failed us, but no matter.", meaning that history has failed to record the ordinary people and their lives by being it written from the elite since the overwhelming majority of the ordinary people rarely leave sufficient documents.¹³⁷ Consistent with this view, heritage has often been represented as a product of nationalism and ideology of a party if considering the recent threats of destroying certain heritage and disputes on whose heritage it belongs to. However, "no matter" how the heritage was shaped and used, the time has passed, and the memories resided. Jeju people embraced or even put aside the hurtful memory of 4.3 and have lived their lives. Thus, in those conflicting minds and situational decisions of silencing the past, shedding more lights on the unheard layers of memories receives more convictions. In so doing,

¹³⁷ "The Guardian," 2 August 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/aug/02/min-jin-lee-interview-frederick-douglas-200>

seeing the dynamic relationship between heritage and humans helps connect victims and unlisted lives with people living contemporarily in Jeju and the mainland peninsula.

6.2. The *Uigwi-ri* 4.3 trail

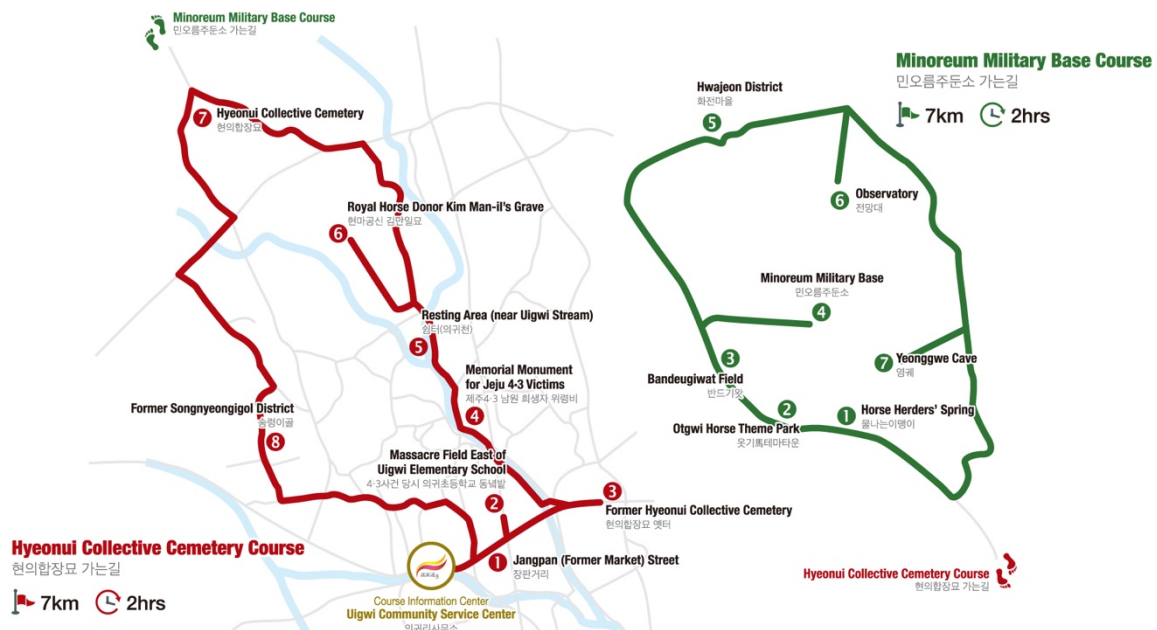


Figure 17. The map of *Uigwi* trail¹³⁸

The subchapter explores the multi-dimensional aspect of memory in the *Uigwi-ri* 4.3 trail. The state of conservation in each cemetery reveals how their memory has been commemorated differently and what narratives are mostly highlighted, demonstrating the politics of memory in the Jeju Uprising. Thus, when it comes to commemorating the memory, it shows a gap of perception that continues trail-wise, even though the nominal peace seems to have arrived. In a like manner, the narrative of 4.3 as a communist rebellion has still managed to survive through the minds of the villagers in which this chapter is further dedicating to investigate the role and representation of the trail. There were two important days for the *Uigwi-ri* 4.3 memory: the 10 and 12 January; the latter is the date of the *Uigwi-ri* battle and both dates, the massacres of *Uigwi* villagers. The *Uigwi-ri* 4.3 trail includes but is not limited to cultural sites, a military base, a civilian cemetery, *Hyeoneuihapjangmyo*, and a site for the guerrilla, *Songryeongigol*, where visitors can see variant sites of political deaths.

¹³⁸ “Uigwi-ri Village Jeju 4-3 Trail,” n.d. <http://jeju43peace.org/site-visit-tour/peace-tour/ora-village-jeju-4%c2%b73-trail/>

6.2.1. Hyeoneui burial ground (*Hyeoneuihapjangmyo*)

The graveyard was arranged by the *Hyeoneui* bereavement family association who caretakes the memorial regularly, which is why the cemetery has neatly ministered with a beautiful garden of grass, which I suppose one of the most well-cared memorials among the locally built by 4.3 bereavement families. The bodies were neglected forcefully, roughly covered by soil for some months, because even the act of gathering the bodies was seen as affiliated with communists; thus, the fear of military provocation kept the bodies unrespected. Then, they were later buried into three graves where the former name of the association came from, *Sammyo Dongchin* association, meaning three-grave-family in Korean. The bodies could not be distinguishable, recognized at best roughly, the number of bodies, genders, and ages.

There is a similarity of naming the graveyard of the civilian massacre in Jeju. For example, *Baekjoilsonjiji*, another cemetery of civilian victims of 4.3 and others, was named in a similar vein, meaning that 132 bodies buried are descendants from one ancestor and one family. It shows the difficulty of identifying each victim individually. This predicament of identifying bodies for bereavement families was one of the unresolved pains since their tradition was to hold a proper rite for the deceased with the body. The bodies from both graveyards could not be gathered and treated for a funeral right after the massacres had happened. It was the reason why it was even more challenging to distinguish one another when the progress of decay was severe.

The trail resembles the *Bukchon* 4.3 trail that houses a site to get information of the sites to overview, such as *Hyeoneui* cemetery. The site is a cemetery and a memorial equipped with a small pavilion that people can sit or lie down for a break from the long walks. There is a small place within the memorial for an exhibition that demonstrates: the stages from the cemetery arrangement, the village history, the massacres on 10 to 12 October 1949, the excavation of the bodies and its current settlement *in situ*. Additionally, Christian groups have established a monument since the Northwest Youth League (NWYL), an extreme right-wing paramilitary group, were Christians. They consisted of the proprietary class originally came from Pyeongan province of northern Korea, where Christians were the dominant religion. After that, they went down to the mainland opposing the communist regime of Kim, Il-sung, so they already had

strong anti-sentiments toward communism, which was exploited by becoming the constabulary force sent by the state to subdue the guerillas in the Jeju Island. This unfortunate occasion made them persecuting both guerillas and civilians. Thus, the monument is a token of asking for a pardon from the past violence done for civilians.¹³⁹ Accordingly, the leaflet of the cemetery says the history of 4.3 as an honorary journey to reconciliation and coexistence (see Appendix 4, front 1).



Figure 18. The Hyeoneui Burial Ground (Photo by author)

6.2.2. *Yuiryungje*, the local rites

I was fortunate enough to participate in the ritual ceremony at the cemetery annually on 26 August by the lunar calendar. There were many participants from the Jeju 4.3 academy volunteering association, local book and literature clubs, the village's bereavement family association, and so on. During the participation in the ritual, I have encountered academic group members studying 4.3, in which the effort from the bottom was perceived. The journalists from the local newspaper came and recorded the scene, indicating the ritual takes place in a public sphere, with various outlets to share the commemoration, unlike in the past. It was interesting to see that the ritual contains the religious element of Buddhism. The participants partook to read prayers based on religious texts distributed on-site, where it reads the names of victims by each village. The monks from a local temple, *Namseonsa*, sat on the front rows and led the prayers for the dead which the audience read aloud. There, I could meet

¹³⁹ M2, interview by author, 2 October 2020

Kim, the honorary teacher of 4.3 with whom the unforeseen interview was done at the exhibition area of the cemetery.¹⁴⁰

He lost his parents and two younger siblings during the Uprising, and he also expressed the vitality of oral transmission of the memory. The influencers, such as renowned academics who hold a public lecture that airs nationwide, exceptionally helped to disperse the recognition of 4.3. He was regret to say that even students in Jeju were not very much aware of 4.3, and for improving that, he highlighted learning 4.3 from an early age. The good news for that is that as of 2020, eight types of high school history textbooks include 4.3 as learning elements introducing mediums such as *Baekbi*, the film, *Jiseul*, and the novel, Uncle Sun-I as supplementary materials.¹⁴¹

6.2.3. Songryeongigol

One of the unique things about the trail is that it is the only trail containing the cemetery of the guerrillas called *Songryeongigol*, who were against the decision to establish a south-only government of Rhee, Syngman's authority. The cemetery deposited the bodies of those killed during the *Uigwi-ri* battle taken on 12 January 1949. The battle was one of the fiercest fights between the state soldiers and the guerrillas from the SKLP, making four deaths from the stateside and fifty-one deaths from the counterpart. After that, the activities of the guerillas were remarkably lessoned. As a revengeful action, approximately fifty people imprisoned in *Ugwi* elementary school were killed whose bodies, as well as others from massacres, were buried in the *Hyeoneui* graveyard.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Kim, interview by author, 10 October 2020

¹⁴¹ “Jejunews.” 17 December 2019. <http://www.jejunews.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=2152819>

¹⁴² Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, Jeju 4·3 Incident Follow-up Investigation Report I, (Jeju: Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, 2019) (Korean version).



Figure 19. *Songryeongigol* with the information panel

Politics of memory and deaths

Can the hierarchy exist among those deaths? It seems like it does when it comes to the cemetery sites of guerillas, civilians and the state army. The comparison was inspired by the leaflet found in *Hyeoneui* cemetery that introduces the history of the cemetery and about the relevant sites such as *Songryeongigol* and *Chunghon* (Royal spirit) cemetery where the bodies of guerillas and the state force were buried respectively. The questions may arise: how each site was presented and precepted on-site, and what narratives were formed in a current frame (see more details Appendix 4). Furthermore, a local activist of Jeju Dark Tour arranges a tour to show this gap by visiting three cemeteries within the Namwon region, the sites mentioned above. From what they see to the existing reality, the visitors can perceive that reconciliation is not practiced within the three tombs even though the dominant narrative—reconciliation and coexistence cover sites of 4.3.

6.2.4. The benefit of walking with a memory worker

The memory worker (M2) was three years old when 4.3 was devastating the Island, taught himself by reading 4.3 related materials such as the 4.3 official investigation report and testimonies gathered from survivors. He has been working as an honorary teacher that provides thematic classes about 4.3 histories for students ranging from elementary to high school. In like manner, he walked the stages of 4.3 during the phone interview taken, step by step. For that reason, his guidance would be beneficial for the visitors who have yet insufficient knowledge prior to walking the trail. The casualness and physical interaction with the memory workers widen the experience of walkers, which is the biggest advantage of walking with them.

M2, who organized this bereavement family and the cemetery, was one of the active memory workers in keeping the memory of the *Uigwi* village. His archive of the filming of re-excavating the former *Hyeonui* cemetery and the annual commemoration ritual was donated to the 4.3 Jeju Foundation who manages the 4.3 Archive.¹⁴³ From this, 4.3, as a mosaic of collective and individual efforts are combined, can stay alive. Given that the memory of 4.3 was oppressed, which was inevitably maintained from the private sphere of sharing its memory, in this manner, it shows the democratic voices have coincided with 4.3 memory-making.

6.2.5. Being as one

Division is perceived as incompleteness in the land of a divided nation. This is not only found in Asian philosophy, which put importance on the oneness of yin and yang, dark and bright, and positive and negative, whose value was also expressed in the Jeju 4.3 peace park and the Taeguk mark of Korea's national flag. M2 also pointed out the narrative of reunion, oneness when discussing what to be improved when it comes to memory work says;

Apart from guides certified by the peace foundation and the provincial government, they come and say absurd stories. Guide work should be managed by one institution; if two, then there can be conflicts between them. (I know)

¹⁴³ " *제민일보* [Jaeminilbo]," 20 August 2020 <http://www.jemin.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=701746>

since I am certified by both intuitions. This is not good like our divided country.¹⁴⁴

His general perception on 4.3 was not far from the point that 4.3 should find a consensus from the controversial past to the sincere reconciliation. Its beginning was started from the small things; the excessive violence was made toward the public who threw stones at the police because they had hit the child with his riding horse on the 1 March commemoration day in 1943. The conflict was intensified by the depressed economy and the policy imposed on the Island without careful consideration due to the lack of understanding of the local condition. His remark also can be understood that the Jeju's persisting separatism brought about much suppressive policy for the Islanders during 4.3. His narrative correlated with his belief on 4.3 as an Uprising for making a reunited government.

6.3. The *Bukchon-ri* 4.3 trail



Figure 20. The map of *Bukchon* trail¹⁴⁵

The subchapter of the *Bukchon* 4.3 trail investigates the predicament of reenacting and interpreting deaths when it comes to a massacre, where the deaths of hundreds of people cannot be individually explained. The trail was also comparatively analyzed with *Goneul-dong* that

¹⁴⁴ M2, 2020

¹⁴⁵ “Bukchon-ri Village Jeju 4·3 Trail,” n.d. <http://jeju43peace.org/site-visit-tour/peace-tour/bukchon-village-jeju-4%20b73-trail/>

has a similar topography, within which a tower is signifying communion ship of Jeju people, *Bangsatop*, was found and analyzed. The interviews were done with a memory worker (M3) and an employee of *Neobunsungi* memorial.¹⁴⁶ The long-standing narrative of separatism with relation to the past usage of an island as a political exile to be analyzed as well as the role of the heritage trail and the meaning of guidance work.

The *Buckchon* village (*ri*) marked the largest deaths *ri*-wise since the *Buckchon* massacre is the biggest one among other massacres that happened during the Jeju Uprising. More than 400 people were killed once at the *Buckchon* elementary school on 17 January 1950, and all the houses except five of them were burnt.¹⁴⁷ For such a reason and historical importance, the village was chosen as one of the 4.3 trails, and it has become the most active trails, annually attracting 20,000 visitors for several reasons: 1. *Bukchon-ri* has a well-managed walking path with the sites which to reflect and be informed, such as *Neobunseungi* memorial equipped with the exhibition, monuments and tombstones; 2. The novel, *Uncle Sun-I*, was motivated from the village, which has made a pivotal turn in disclosing the Jeju Uprising (4.3) in the 1970s, when the forced silence on 4.3 was imposed; 3. Compared to the other trails, it includes various scenic points exposed to the northern coast of Jeju and areas to shelter in which visitor's experiences become pleasurable.

6.3.1 Reenacting the death

In what possible way can sites of memory reenact that of death? As a subject cannot be more severe and heavy, the direct remnants or objects associated with a mass murder might bring overwhelming anxiety or emotional fatigue to visitors. Suppose the site of memory is designed to embrace a broad spectrum of visitors regardless of age, education and ideology. In that case, it might need a better strategy not only just showcase the cruelty, which is needed to be truthful but to deliver something that resonates with people. In addition, if the purpose of arranging sites is to sublimate the surface of the event and violence to transcend values beyond the death of villagers, the visual scape of the lost villages renders such emptiness would suffice its purpose with the sheer remains, associated with the aftermath of violence and catastrophe. The

¹⁴⁶ *Neobunsungi*, means a big rock field in Jeju dialect, M3 adds; it is the space where people took rest in between their labors, but it has been being disappeared due to rapid development.

¹⁴⁷ Jeju 4.3 Research Institute, *제주 4.3 유적 1 개정증보판* [Jeju 4.3 heritage, revised, vol. 1], (Jeju: Jeju 4.3 Research Institute, 2018).

void itself would be filled by memory workers who add to story and bring pedestrians to the milieu of 4.3 of the village memory.

In the exhibition "Shoah" at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, there is a room that exhibited children's pencil drawings, the works of which allow visitors to follow the psychological status by their pictorial journals, untouched and straightforward. As the deaths of children symbolize the utmost and undeniable crimes against humanity, putting the children's works together that survived through the Shoah is benign yet a practical appeal to the audience that comes with minimal depiction.¹⁴⁸ Thus, the hyper-detailed representation does not necessarily the only and perfect way of reenacting memory, in which case it even becomes rather a barrier for viewers to be deeply engaged in experiences of memory with excessive decorations. In a similar vein, children's graves captivated visitors' attention in the *Neobunsungi* memorial in Bukchon village that less than half of that of adult, without any further explanation and fabrication, simply says everything that happened to them.



Figure 21. *애기무덤* [Children's grave] (Photo by author).

¹⁴⁸ Yad Vashem, Virtual Tour of the Exhibition "Shoah" at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 26 January 2021, video, https://youtu.be/ON7NX_AuOD0.

There is a similar site of a massacre in Lidice village in the Czech Republic that has turned to a well-arranged memorial village with an exhibition and gallery building to see with a garden and park to walk. Each massacre was presented village-wise, completely swiped away from the state and Nazi Germany, respectively, where a narrative of children's death is very much highlighted in the memorials. In the Lidice village, the eighty-two lives of the children were represented with bronze sculptors, which is the first monument that visitors could observe as soon as they walk into the memorial. There is another sculptor that portrays the feeling of loss of a mother covering her face with her two hands stood with her daughter in which the pain of the mother is effortlessly delivered to the viewers. In a similar vein, a statue, *biseol*, located at the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park entrance, evokes equivalent sentiments in which a mother, holding a baby with a surrounding of unique Jeju stone walls on which a lullaby is written in its dialect. Both of them add universal feelings of maternal grief, and hence, there needs no padding to reveal what stories stay behind but the sheer loss.

6.3.2. The Coast village: *Goneul*

Consistent with this view, *Goneul-dong* can be a good comparison of this village for similar geography in coastal areas. Both villages shared the memory of 4.3 but had a resembling landscape. Hence, the village offers a beautiful seascape to sightsee and explore besides the historical heritage while walking along the trails. Unlike other trails located in the mountain village, these two trails are bordered with residential areas with which walkers can feel a sense of orientation during the long path. Unlike *Bukchon*, it does not have a memorial building but the old housing sites with a marker of 4.3 heritage, which shows it was lost since the Jeju Uprising. Unlike the 4.3 trails of the mountain villages, some walkers were seen because the *Goneul* trail merged with the *Olle* course. There were no residents within the sites; however, the walking trails were well managed with traditional stone walls and a sidewalk. The sites seem ostensibly empty regarding physical heritage as no houses and inhabitants existed. However, the sound conservation status could manage to offset the void, which does not mean it has no content.



Figure 22. *Goneul-dong* with a marker of 4.3 heritage site (Photo by author).

6.3.3. *Bangsatop* (Stone tower)

Bangsatop is a cultural monument within which the community culture of Jeju is best represented. The layers of stones from tiny pebbles to big rocks show the people's participation in making a complete tower, *Bangsatop*. Using native materials that are commonly found on a volcanic island, stone symbolizes the ordinary people of Jeju. The interest in this type of monument during fieldwork to the Bukchon-ri 4.3 trail was sparked by a group of people who study 4.3 that I coincidentally came across. They already had some academic sessions prior to walking the historic routes of the Uprising, whose visit was their last session which to come to the *Bukchon* village trail. At that time, I was most keen on the appeasement monuments that were built by each village bereavement association, not until one of the participants, Yang, said, "*Bangsatop* is the most genuine representation of Jeju villagers, I think. Because it shows local commemoration culture which shows the villager's participation."¹⁴⁹ The name card he handed it for academic advice was also printed with the image of a *Bangsatop*.

¹⁴⁹ Interviewee 5, interview by author, Jeju, 3 October 2019.



Figure 23. *Bansatop* stood at *Goneul-dong* (Photo by author).

6.3.4. Victimhood

The survivors often said they knew nothing about communism and the likes, putting themselves victimized and naive civilians, which is partly true. The view was consistent with the memory workers of the *Donggwang* and *Gasi* 4.3 trails, the experienced generation of 4.3. In regards to this, I had to ask a question about the educational level and awareness of politics and external affairs of Jeju people to know the learning environment and what he said;

Jeju was one of the active bases of the people's committee whose priority was the establishment of schools. Likewise, people had known the importance of education. According to the investigation carried by the USAMGIK, the number of schools was the highest per capita, and the illiterate rate was the lowest.¹⁵⁰ I have heard in my childhood from my father's memoir during his

¹⁵⁰ Jeju's literacy rate was second highest out of nine provinces of Korea, see the table 13 in Cumings Bruce, *The Origins Of The Korean War, Volume 1_ Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes, 1945-1947* (Princeton University Press, 1981), 281

military service in the mainland, and there were many illiterate people but not many in Jeju.

He explains the narrative of survivors was forced to take to detach the communism label attached to the victims for a lifetime, which made them struggle to survive and their families and children as collective punishment. This victim narrative has been dominant ever since the April 3rd Incident became firstly recognized as not a merely rebellious insurgency but wrongdoing of the authority of the past. However, a naming movement that claims 4.3 as an Uprising and resistance against the crime over humans rights would seem this passive victim status to be changed.

What did the victimhood condition?

The victim-centric epistemology enabled to limit the victim's role and hindered the further investigation in anti-communist extermination programs, such as the Bodo League massacre during Korea's nation-building period.¹⁵¹ If concentrating on a narrative of victims alone, then the attention goes to who are the proper victims of 4.3. This raises a serious conflict within victim groups divided upon whether the state or the SKLP killed them. To blame and compete inside the victim groups than do with the overly powerful state was safer for the stigmatized. It shows that stigmatization has been deeply engraved in their consciousness.¹⁵² The victims tried to make a line between them and communists as if that line would keep them safe from the involvement of the nation-threatening ideology. The conflicts can be seen as a self-protective strategy not to harm their self-esteem. Hence, the monuments and memorials of victims of state-led massacres were often decorated with national symbols and flowers, visually persuading potential viewers that they are, above all, loving citizens of Korea, not dissidents. Since this stigma was not born naturally but forced on them from omnipotent power, it was deeply ingrained that even until now, many victims are reluctant to speak about the incidents to protect themselves. The prejudices prevailed in the then Korean society toward communism

¹⁵¹ Wright, "Localized," 151-180

¹⁵² Crocker, Jenifer. and Major, Brenda. "Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma," *Psychological Review* 96, no. 4, (1989): 608–630. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.96.4.608>; The Bodo League massacre was first started by recruiting suspected communists, often not associated with the ideology, for re-educating to belong to South Korean society in Rhee, Syngman's regime. However, unlike its first idea, during the Korean War, they were mass-murdered, the number of casualties estimated from 60,000 to 200,000 by Historians and experts.

and *ppalgaengi*, a malicious term to call communists in Korean. Thus, the descendants of the victims were deliberately excluded from working for government sectors, reinforcing their stigmatization by guilt by association system.

Jiseul, a film, casts equal responsibility and understanding toward victims, the paramilitary groups and the communists to sublimate the blaming games by contextualizing 4.3 where the ideology took the people apart and when sovereignty was stood over people. This ultimately merges with the state narrative that is to forgive the past for the future and close the meaningless division between the perpetrators and victims. Nonetheless, the activists and bereavement families were not fully satisfied with the current state-led narrative regarding it is not a genuine but a forced reconciliation that is not reciprocal.

6.3.5. The central and the periphery

During the interview with M3 and the memorial employee, they pointed ignorance and discrimination of the past against Jeju Islanders from the mainlanders, which they think caused the genocide of civilians to happen.¹⁵³ The Islanders' resentment of being unfairly treated from the mainland had been long-standing.¹⁵⁴ They said the tribute system from the ancient dynasty of Korea was exploitative historically; regional districts had to send part of revenues for using land to the authority was too excessive that many islanders had fled to other regions to avoid this duty.¹⁵⁵ What makes it worse is that brokers who mediated this transfer to the royal house were unreliable, that the payment failed to arrive at the receiver.¹⁵⁶

Culture and language based on the separatism of Jeju are unique yet were disregarded occasionally. Furthermore, Jeju was recognized as a place for exiles in the old days, where a stereotype came. In this view, the Robben Island of South Africa can be explained with its similarity to house political criminals. However, now it is deemed a place of human rights and freedom as a registered site of UNESCO. The dichotomy of oppression and liberty in the Island shares a similar pattern as Jeju, an island of peace having announced by President Roh, Moo-

¹⁵³ M3, interview by author, Jeju, 9 October 2020.

¹⁵⁴ M3, 2020.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

hyeon in 2003, announced to designate Jeju Island as an island of peace. The Island was publicly redressed from a once negatively connoted Island to a positive and romantic one.

Thus, to expand its context to a broader spectrum in Korea's history, the focus can be put on the uprising aspect based on the history between the Jeju people and mainlanders. The history could be traced back to the Tamra Kingdom, a sovereign state established in Jeju Island, later annexed by the Joseon Dynasty in 1404. The once independent state of Jeju maintained its unique tradition, which can be seen through their language. The difference is a distinctive heritage that shows heterogeneous within Korea's ethnicity. However, it can quickly turn out to be foreign and vulgar, hindering the communication between the officers from the mainland and the villagers, as seen in the Uprising. Such difference reinforced the status of islanders within the nation-building process with prejudice.

Merrill found the traditions on resistance and independence of Jeju in its history of uprisings due to its remoteness and strong local traditions of the Island.¹⁵⁷ It was a way of redressing their claims against the new forms of society and politics imposed by the government on traditional societies under the influence of the Western powers.¹⁵⁸ He stated a similar pattern deducted from the Jeju rebellion though the circumstances were far more different than before. Furthermore, this contributed to the stability of the Jeju branch of the South Korean Labor Party by its tight clan structure and localism of the Islanders.¹⁵⁹ Thus, this micro-level of approach to put Jeju Island within its context of history regarding its locality and tradition helps to understand that the milieu of the Uprising is not a solely unexpected happening. In other words, to grasp the macro approach to put not only Jeju but also Korea in the context of the atmospheric change from the Second World War to the Cold War is essentially crucial to delve into the situational cause and result from Uprising outwardly. In the same manner, Heo, a Jeju-based journalist, researched 4.3 through the lens of the USAMGIK and their discrimination against difference under the value of human rights angle.¹⁶⁰ Additionally, he compared the

¹⁵⁷ Merrill, John. "The Cheju-do Rebellion." *The Journal of Korean Studies* 2 (1980): 139-197. www.jstor.org/stable/41490155.

¹⁵⁸ Merrill, "The Cheju-do Rebellion," 139-197.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Heo, Ho-joon. "State-Making and Civilian Killings during the period of the Formation of the Cold War : Focusing on Comparison between Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Greek Civil War." (Ph.D. thesis, Jeju National University, 2010).

Uprising with the Greek Civil War for similar ideological battles to establish their independent state in the Cold War era.¹⁶¹

Grounded the mass-killings of people would not be simply explained only by a political reason, but it should be grasped in the context of the memory and history of Jeju Island. The context-specific approach on the Jeju Uprising which allows seeing the accumulated issues that include lacks human right and regional conflicts within the politics of Korea to be able to find ways in which active and true peace stabilizes at which the current state discourse toward the Jeju Uprising aims. The approach considered the resistance of Jeju was forced as it was an inevitable reflex movement against the violence and injustice from the inefficient status quo represented by the USAMGIK, and the far-right authority failed at rebuilding the economy by establishing an incomplete nation of the southern zone of Korea only after the liberation from Imperial Japan. This perception of resistance of people regards Jeju civilians not as passive subjects but as active doers against injustice which leads current discursive shift within 4.3 narratives into the Uprising aspect. This perspective is closely related to see the Jeju Uprising as a human rights and democratic movement, not as a mere insurgency.

The exile narrative can be understood from the central and periphery dimensions. Jeju's long history as the site of exile has established the sentiment of unjustness, discrimination and stigma by the conduct and attitude of the authority in the mainland. It was hard to establish a shared memory since mobility from the Island to the mainland was not freely accessible before modern times. Thus, the informational gap even accelerated the regional difference that fails to establish this imagined community between Jeju Island and mainland Korea to shape collective memory. It often was expressed as discrimination or a top-bottom policy that did not reflect the local condition of Jeju; what made the image of the Island worse was that political dissidents were sent to the Island as a punishment. Thus, the separatism based on its location and function as political confinement, dissident and rebellious characteristics had been settled. In fact, in a different vein, those politically exiled disseminated progressive academic tradition to Jeju people from the capital. The periphery narrative seems to have continued as it was consumed as slogans of a demonstration (2019) and an exhibition (2018) as the aspiration for Jeju's memory of Uprising to become a shared memory of Korea.¹⁶² Its proximity to Japan also spurred the seemingly separate ambiance from the central government during the colonized

¹⁶¹ Heo, "State-Making and Civilian Killings."

¹⁶² see 32 (the plate above) and 40 (the plate below) in Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, Jeju 4·3 Incident Follow-up Investigation Report I, (Jeju: Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, 2019) (Korean version).

period. A ferry helped trans-border commuters from Japan to the Island regularly, which shows the closer relationship with Japan probably more than the mainland in those times. Many people fled to Japan during 4.3, where a Korean town was formed in Ikuno Ward, Osaka, Japan. Thus, when the investigation over the Uprising was frustrated during the oppressive regimes in Korea, there has been a constant movement among Koreans living in Japan where it was relatively liberal to talk about the Uprising.

The strength of guided tours operated by the residents who live and know the context of 4.3 is the locality and authenticity, which augments the visitors' experience more colorful and mature. In accordant with this, M3 says the experience of walking trail in comparison with the exhibition tour at the peace memorial;

Curating the Uprising at the 4.3 peace memorial could be too theoretical and conventional for visitors, which is a reason why that is easily forgotten and lasts for a short term. However, walking and storytelling on the trails make it different. It's a collective process of seeing and hearing in which people find it easy to connect with them.¹⁶³

I could very much relate to his words (M3) since, during his guidance of the trail, he told not only explanations of sites within the trail but also stories that go off the record, which made the tour not too loose yet enjoyable. Thus, visitors can see the multi-dimension of memory and stories that are different from whom experience and recall are walking with him. However, the subject of death can bring uneasiness and hard to put, so the way of telling the heavy topic is dealt in the chapter, the *Gasi* 4.3 trail with a memory worker who observed mass murders with his own eyes.

¹⁶³ M5, interview by author, Jeju, 9 October 2020.

6.4. The *Geumak-ri* 4.3 trail

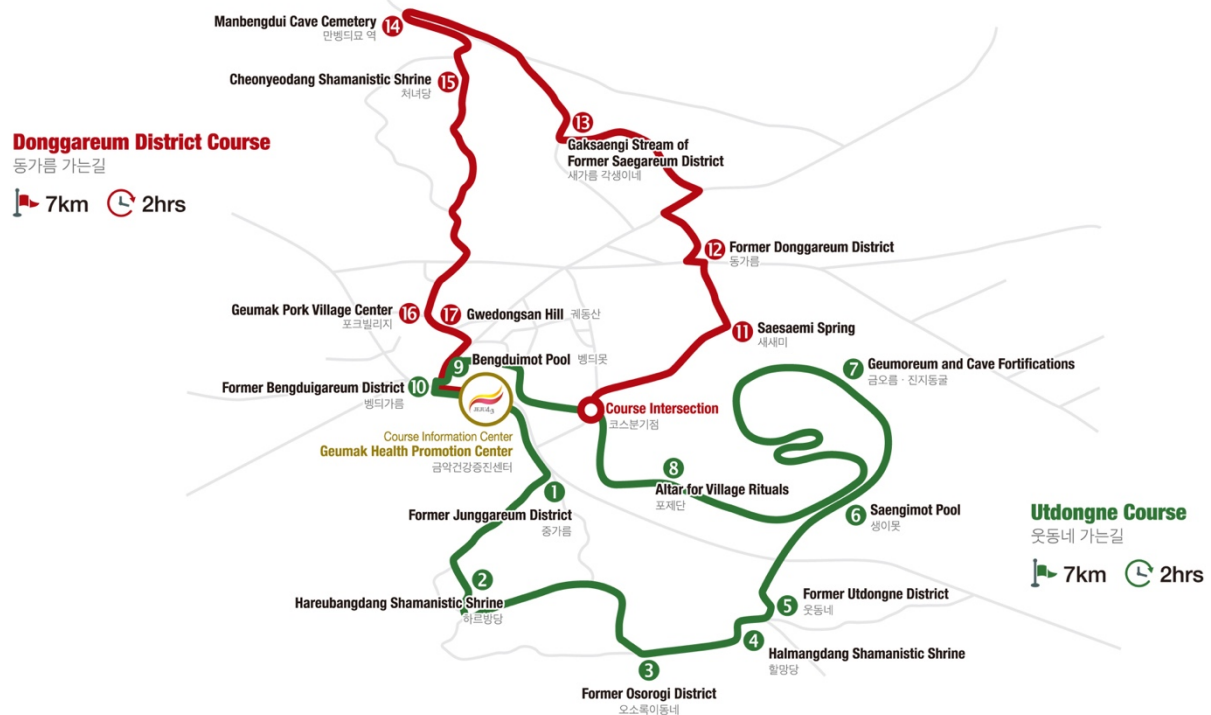


Figure 24. The map of *Geumak* trail¹⁶⁴

The *Geumak* trail consists of a number of the lost villages, *Geum Oreum*, where visitors can see the military heritage, the scenic view of nature, and the *Manbengdui* Cemetery of civilian victims. As highlighted in the subchapter of the *Donggwang* trail, the representation of *Oreum* within the *Geumak* trail, correspondingly, adds another layer of memory, the colonization of Japan. Before Japan's evacuation, the Jeju Island was prepared as a final fortification site of their garrison during the Pacific War. The *Geumak* village and many other areas in Jeju have retained the military heritage such as fortified caves, bunkers, tunnels, and fighter plane hangars within the natural landscape. In this subchapter, the multi-laterality of heritage is examined, covering memory ranging from the colonial times to the Uprising. Meanwhile, the memory worker, M4, selected three meaningful heritage sites within the trail are also further explained; one of which is *Geum Oreum*, the others are *Utdongne*, the lost village, and the *Manbengdui* Cemetery.

¹⁶⁴ “Geumak-ri Village Jeju 4·3 Trail,” n.d. <http://jeju43peace.org/site-visit-tour/peace-tour/geumak-village-jeju-4%20%b73-trail/>

6.4.1. The *Manbengdui* cemetery

The *Manbengdui* cemetery has a linkage not only 4.3 but also "preventative detention," the so-called *yebigeomsog* in Korean, which was collective imprisonment of people who were regarded as suspicious on their ideology against the nation during the state-building. Those who were prisoned, ranging from ordinary people, school teachers to public servants, many intellectuals were put to death, whose bodies were not identified yet.

Yebigeomsog brought one of the biggest catastrophes to which the Korean war gave birth, and that 4.3 as a collective term failed to include the broad spectrum of events associated with the Korean War. Oftentimes, the victims who were killed during the Uprising in Jeju are collectively categorized as the 4.3 victims, with which the local archivist I interviewed was not satisfied.¹⁶⁵ He was referred several times by other memory workers for the massive materials and knowledge that he has gathered throughout his life. Furthermore, his journals written for his investigation were used to fact-check the official 4.3 investigation report. He has been so into this 4.3 archival works because his brother was killed after the outbreak of the Korean War due to *Yebigeomsog*. Even though *Yebigeomsog* took out many lives during the Korean War, 4.3 related memorials and monuments had not made a further linkage with other massacres, for example, the Yeosu-Suncheon Incident the Geochang Incident, as Wright criticized.¹⁶⁶ The two Incidents are all associated with anti-communist measures taken during the nation-building period and the Korean War, and so the Jeju Uprising.

Seotal Oreum

Seotal Oreum has double connotations as the site of massacres and the military heritage of the Pacific War. At the ammunition storage in the *Oreum*, the two groups of civilians were sent to be executed. They were imprisoned in two different places for preventive detention and killed after the outbreak of the Korean War; part of the bodies was buried in the *Manbengdui* cemetery and the rest in the *Baekjoilsonjiji* cemetery. Currently, the monuments and information panels are written with victims and stories in the sites and the adjacent area. This memorial site and the war heritage in alongside area were categorized thematically for dark tourism sites, including the military garages and the Alddreu Airfield of the airbase of Imperial

¹⁶⁵ Yang Sin-ha, interview by author, Jeju, 4 October 2020.

¹⁶⁶ Wright, "Localized Memory," 58/

Japan, whose course overlaps with the *Olle* route (10th). For that reason, comparably more tourists were found than other sites.



Figure 25. The sites of massacre in *Seotal Oreum*; two pits where the bodies were dumped (left), and the memorial for the victims on site (right), (Photo by author).

6.4.2. Geum Oreum

Geum Oreum likewise has artillery caves connected to a volcanic crater, famous for its scenic view. However, both entrances were blocked from livestock to enter in the earlier days. M4 wished that the caves were open for visitors to view as a site of history that connects from Jeju's war heritage to the Jeju Uprising. Likewise, out of the 360 *Oreums* in Jeju Island, 120 of them have artillery caves made by Imperial Japan, most of which were disfigured. Some of them were protected by the national registration of cultural heritage. Ironically, there is only one registered heritage of 4.3 in the national system, the *Suak Garrison*.¹⁶⁷ *Geum Oreum*, as the trope in the Jeju Uprising, inherently has polysemic roles and memories where visitors could see the natural values and historical meanings, furnished with several layers of memories; war and natural heritage, community culture and possibly other memories.

¹⁶⁷ There is only one heritage registered related to the Jeju Uprising out of twenty-four heritage, see here at [제주도의 문화재](https://www.jeju.go.kr/culture/culturalAssets/culturalAssets.htm?category=19&page=1) [cultural heritage of Jeju].
<https://www.jeju.go.kr/culture/culturalAssets/culturalAssets.htm?category=19&page=1>



Figure 26. The volcanic crater in *Geum Oreum* (left) and the entrance of the artillery cave (right), the two entrances are currently blocked (Photo by author).

6.4.3. Utdongne

The lost village, *Utdongne*, was a village that housed thirty-eight households of around 141 people farming and raising livestock for a living. On 21 November, a relocation decree was announced that residents in this village had to leave, after which it was burnt down.¹⁶⁸ Based on the additional investigation done in 2019, in total, 134 villages were lost, 19 out of which were equipped with monuments indicating the history of 4.3. Out of the six 4.3 trails that were created until 2021, except *Bukchon-ri* trail, fifteen of lost villages out of the five 4.3 trails: *Donggwang*, *Uigwi*, *Ora*, *Geumak* and *Gasi* (see Table 7).

<i>Eup/Myeon</i>	<i>Ri/Dong</i>	Lost village	Households
<i>Pyoseon</i>	<i>Gasi</i>	2	30
<i>Namwon</i>	<i>Uigwi</i>	2	45
<i>Andeok</i>	<i>Donggwang</i>	3	186
<i>Hanlim</i>	<i>Geumak</i>	5	168
<i>Jeju</i>	<i>Ora</i>	3	45

Table 7. The number of the lost villages within the 4.3 trail¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Source: engraved texts on a monument in the lost village, *Utdongne*.

¹⁶⁹ Source: Jeju 4·3 Incident Follow-up Investigation Report I (Korean version), 125-131; *Eup/Myeon* is equivalent as a town, *Ri/dong* as a village, according to Korea's administrative district system.

Utdongne means an upper village in Korean which *Utddeu*, a malicious term, was based on its name where it shows the discrimination between mountain and coast villages. Yoo, the anthropologist, stated the economic gaps and hierarchical tradition within the villages especially, between mountain and cost villages.¹⁷⁰ When, back in time, the mountain villages were prosperous, they looked down on those who live in the coastal regions.¹⁷¹ During the colonial times, the economic center moved again to the coastal areas, that the discrimination was reversely aimed at the mountain villagers.¹⁷² It got severe when the evacuation order to the mountain villagers was announced during 4.3 to the coastal town where they were unfavored or even rejected to be received by the coast villagers.¹⁷³



Figure 27. The lost villages (left) and the bamboo corpus (right) within the Geumak trail (Photo by author).

6.4.4. The benefits of walking heritage sites

Most memory workers mentioned that the benefit of the 4.3 trails compared to other exhibition experiences is the flexibility in time. They have more time control on the long-distance walking route, and the stories are not rigid in focusing on various materials ranging from the lives of

¹⁷⁰ Yoo, Cheol-in. “결론: 잃어버린 마을의 살아남은 사람들 [Conclusion: survivors of the lost villages],” 317-328.

¹⁷¹ Yoo, “The lost villages,” 317-328.

¹⁷² Ibid. 317-328.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

residents to the massacre sites. Walking on site made the walkers' experience authentic and attentive on what they see and hear in which the gravity of the subject can be eased. On the other hand, the experience in the 4.3 peace memorial can touch upon a more general view to a broader extent due to the limited time that approximately lasts for 40-50 minutes per tour. Thus, the benefits of the 4.3 trails are the dynamic that the diverse types of heritage sites include cultural and historical places and the natural landscapes uniquely stitched with the village heritage. Such dynamics let visitors learn 4.3 visually to be immersed in the history *in situ*; meanwhile, the natural heritage enables them to exit the emotional phase by walking to shift the memory scapes. M5 accordingly recognized the importance of communicative memory that heritage comes alive with people in everyday life, in response to my question for the independent visitors walking the trails;

[...] Yes, one or two teams a day ask for a tour. People like them think and study 4.3 through everyday life as ordinary people while others who are biased with ideology think in a way that they see. So, I think it is a good way to reflect 4.3 through a living culture.¹⁷⁴

Skår et al. suggested cemeteries as the alternative green urban spaces that people mourn for the buried and contemplate life and death and take rests.¹⁷⁵ Their nominal function cannot limit the usage of the cemeteries. They can receive more value, accomodating the tombstones, and community and walk-bys who enjoy using the space for various reasons. They then surpass its conventional role, benefitting the neighborhood. A phenomenon "not in my backyard (NIMBY)" on unfavorable facilities like cemeteries can be overcome by making the place more open, useable, and green in which people can find it affordable and relaxing to build a sense of attachment ultimately. Similarly, places like Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris and Vyšehrad Cemetery on the grounds of Vyšehrad Castle in Prague can transcend the formality where many tourists and visitors oversee the life and death of the renowned figures in history to contemplate their lives and meanings. The psychological effect of heritage has not been spotlighted as much as that of materiality. Taçon and Baker (2019) noted the sentimental aspect of heritage as

¹⁷⁴ M4, interview by author, Jeju, 8 October 2020

¹⁷⁵ Skår, Margrete, Nordh, Helena, and Swensen, Grete. "Green urban cemeteries: more than just parks," *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability* 11, no. 3, (2018), 362-382, DOI: 10.1080/17549175.2018.1470104

enhancing the well-being of a community by quantitatively proving the benefit received from heritage appreciation.¹⁷⁶ Thus, heritage is brought up to the present moment, treating people with its materiality and the intrinsic values that lead them to contemplation and communication. The stance mentioned above on the use of heritage extended from the conventional perspective of heritage to the present and future usage. The term living heritage shows the literal initiative of regarding heritage as organic matter that is a sentient, dynamic and present being.

6.5. The *Gasi-ri* 4.3 trail

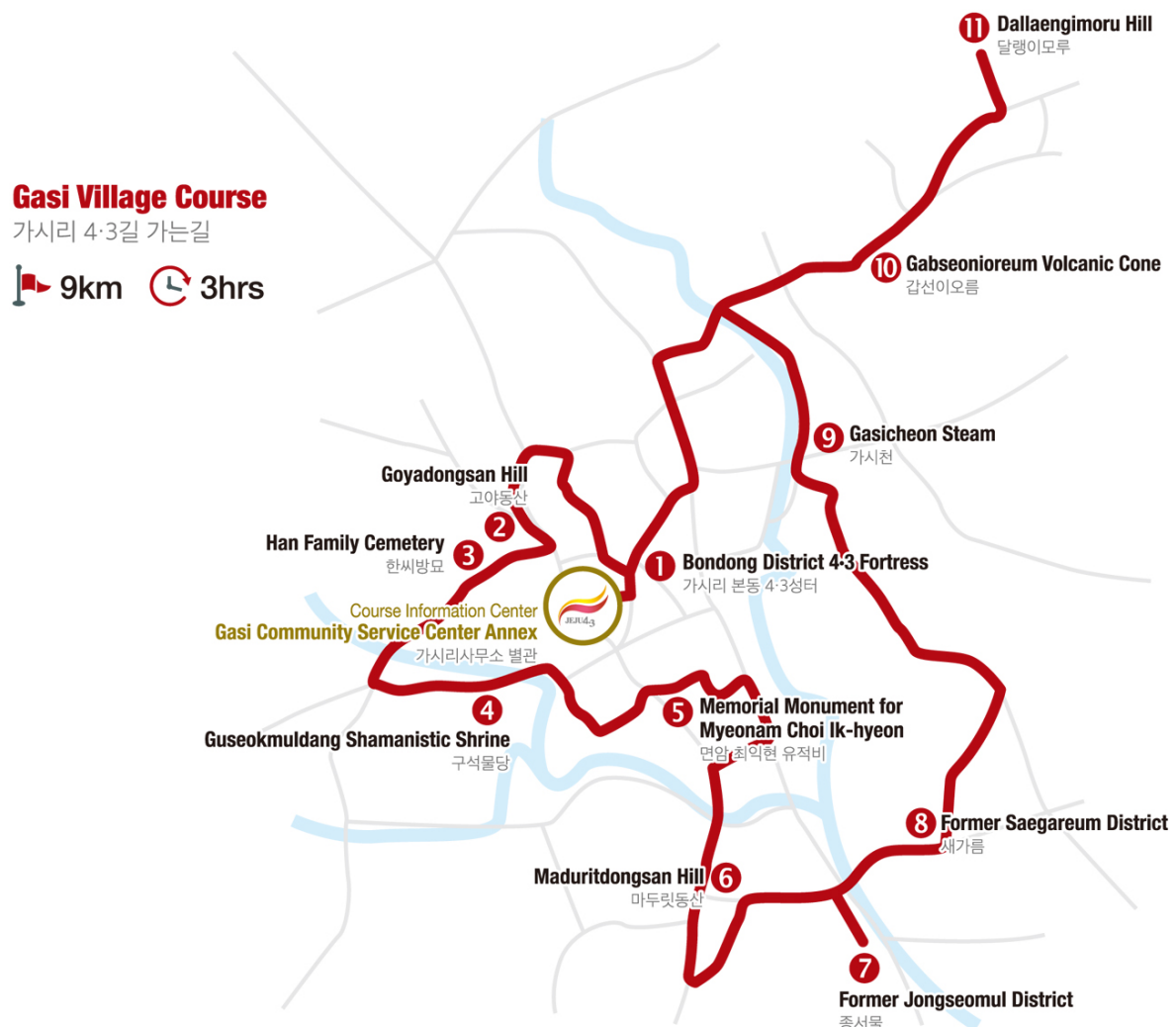


Figure 28. The map of *Gasi* trail¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Taçon, Paul S.C., and Baker, Sarah. 2019. "New and Emerging Challenges to Heritage and Well-Being: A Critical Review" *Heritage* 2, no. 2, (2019): 1300-1315. <https://doi.org/10.3390/heritage2020084>

¹⁷⁷ "Gasi-ri Village Jeju 4.3 Trail," n.d. <http://jeju43peace.org/site-visit-tour/peace-tour/gasi-village-jeju-4%20%b73-trail/>

The subchapter of *the Gasi-ri* trail extends the narrative of innocence to see how it is practiced and what it leads about. With that in mind, it sought an alternative way to narrate the past atrocity based on the remark of the memory worker (M5). Following this, the subchapter deals with how stories can be limited when portraying deaths as a tool to transmit memory. Thus, through an artistic medium and an exhibition, I find an alternative sphere of sharing and portraying traumatic memory with a post-modernism perspective.

The *Gasi* trail was established in 2017 after the trail project was firstly initiated in 2015. Including the *Donggwang* 4.3 trail, the memory worker of the *Gasi* trail, M5, is also a survivor who witnessed the Jeju Uprising. His explanation was more structured because he was eighteen when the Uprising began. How he remembered those times of the Jeju Uprising was so unforgettable and inexplicable that can hardly be transformed verbally to the extent that the current generation could not dare to imagine the suffering of the victims. His guidance and testimony were much more relevant with a dimension of human rights, referring to his words that; there was no authority to protect civilians from killing people or a juridical procedure where only an arbitrary inspection of ideology existed. Both M5 and M1 of the *Donggwang* trail agreed that they were at least grateful that they can finally send out their wound and sorrow, which had to be silenced during the past seventy years.

6.5.1. Exhibiting massacre

The memory worker, M5, said, "young students like you will not really understand the past how much it was inexplicably tragic."¹⁷⁸ Hanna Arendt says, "There are no parallels to the life in the concentration camps. Its horror can never be fully embraced by the imagination for the very reason that it stands outside of life and death."¹⁷⁹ The experience is inherently individual, lying in a private realm. It is destined to be dependent on the original owner of the memory. Adding on, the sense of the past unless a person directly goes through the same page, it is impossible to reexperience in the same manner. That is why the trails, cultural objects, and heritage to help experience the past as an effective medium.

¹⁷⁸ M5, interview by author, Jeju, 4 October 2020

¹⁷⁹ Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harvest, 1966), 444

Chris Jordan works with the enormous statistics to make them more comprehensible by translating them into the art, visualized language. For example, he digitalized a well-known piece of art such as *The Birth of Venus* by Sandro Botticelli. As soon as the image is zoomed into the exact detail, the viewer can realize it consists of small images of the 240,000 plastic bags equivalent to the estimated number of plastic bags consumed worldwide every ten seconds (see Fig. 29 and Fig. 30).¹⁸⁰ The memory worker, M5, said, "young students like you will not really understand the past how much it was inexplicably tragic."¹⁸¹ Hanna Arendt says: "There are no parallels to the life in the concentration camps. Its horror can never be fully embraced by the imagination for the very reason that it stands outside of life and death."¹⁸² The experience is inherently individual, lying in a private realm. It is destined to be dependent on the original owner of the memory. Adding on, the sense of the past unless a person directly goes through the same page, it is impossible to reexperience in the same manner. That is why the trails, cultural objects, and heritage help experience the past as an effective medium.

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¹⁸⁰ Jordan, Chris. "Venus." Digital image. Chris Jordan photographic arts. 2011. Accessed 10 May 2021, <http://www.chrisjordan.com/gallery/rtn2/#venus>

¹⁸¹ M5, interview by author, Jeju, 4 October 2020

¹⁸² Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harvest, 1966), 444

¹⁸³ Jordan, Chris. "Venus." Digital image. Chris Jordan photographic arts. 2011. Accessed 10 May 2021, <http://www.chrisjordan.com/gallery/rtn2/#venus>

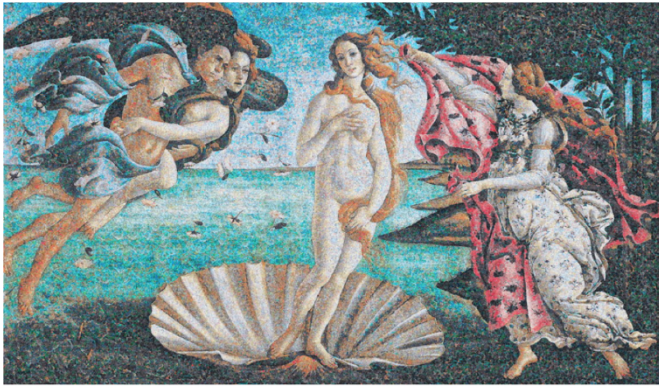


Figure 29. Venus, a remote view¹⁸⁴



Figure 30. Venus, close-up¹⁸⁵

There is another artist who uses a unique way of putting the death of students. The unfortunate ferry accident called Sewol Ferry Tragedy heading from Incheon to Jeju, Korea, occurred on 16 April 2014 made the whole country fall in deep sorrow and grief. The artist, Hong, Soon-myeong, collected 304 ordinary objects equivalent to the casualties from the Jindo port area, the nearest port of the site of the accident. Then, he wrapped them tightly with thin layers of plastic, titled as an ordinary monument (see Fig. 31).¹⁸⁶ The viewers can sense and grasp its meaning by observing and contemplating each object displayed, realizing what they meant is the deaths of each student. His work "memory scape" shows how the ordinary objects, neglected and considered trivial, found in the site of the accident and socially disputable space, can be recreated as a medium that conveys the memory scenes *in situ*. They become not trivial at all, radiant with the bare truth.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, the objects developed into sentient beings that witness and tell a story by trajecting the air and the memory in the accident on-site with an anthropomorphic view.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Jordan, "Venus."

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Daegu Art Museum, [대구미술관] 제 17 회 이인성미술상 '홍순명 : 장밋빛인생'展 작가 인터뷰 : 홍순명 작가, [(Daegu Art Museum) the 17th Yi In-sung Award 'Hong, Soon-myeong: Life in Pink' artist interview], video, 22 September 2017, <https://youtu.be/8VKRbhJJuw>

¹⁸⁷ "Life in Pink."

¹⁸⁸ Iovino and Oppermann. "Material Ecocriticism," 75-91.



Figure 31. Ordinary Monument, Hong Soon-myeong, found objects, wrapping, MMCA Collection (Photo by author).

6.5.2. Who were excluded from the acknowledgment of victim

The soldiers and the police were differently recognized by the Jeju villagers during the Uprising, since Japanese sympathizers were continued to serve as police after the withdrawal of Imperial Japan from Korea. Thus, they were considered betrayers and opportunists from the beginning of Korea's independence, that the trust was not given to them. The way the USAMGIK reemployed the pro colonialists into the administrative system of Korea after the liberation received much criticism, and so did the USAMGIK itself branched in Jeju. Hence, with the existing negative recognition against the police, the frictions between villagers and the police were worsened. Villagers used the argot during the Uprising; the police as a black dog, the soldiers, a yellow dog which the fearful emotion can be seen for both the police and soldiers.¹⁸⁹ At this point, M5 mentioned there was no authority to rely on to ask for help for the unfair violence and murders.

The victims of 4.3 can be categorized into four groups; 1. the victims within the SKLP; 2. the victims within the military; 3. civilians killed by the SKLP; 4. civilians killed by the military. The Korean government recognizes the victims officially limited to the 2, 3 and 4. M5 only

¹⁸⁹ According to the informational panel at *Maduritdongsan* Hill where villagers used to stand guard within the *Gasi* trail; see more in the back of Appendix 3.

spoke that there were no mountain people in the village, and his remark has reminded the victimhood of the currently dominant discourse that the government takes control.¹⁹⁰ He said that there were rebellions or mountain people somewhere but not in this village and added that there is no ritual held in the village, but instead, villagers went to the central one, which has been held in the 4.3 Peace Park annually.¹⁹¹ Grounded that the village residents consist of more non-natives than the native Jeju, according to him, it is understandable that the rituals for appeasing the victims are no longer held in the village. However, it shows the national led memory and ritual seem to be more leading than the local practices.

6.5.3. Narrative: sublimation and internationalization

There have been consistent voices to ask the US's responsibility which in a way it is an apparent turn after the domestic settlement of fact-finding of 4.3 was done; the recognition of state violence by the state of the past with the official apology from the two presidents, and the enactment of 4.3 special law. The unraveling of the Uprising nationwide was seemingly undertaken by several democratic regimes since the 1990s. However, the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK), which was practically garrisoned in Korea throughout Korea's nation-building period, has not announced any official remark upon the Jeju Uprising. Accordingly, many civil organizations and activists are working hard to receive the US acknowledgment of their responsibility for causing the massacres in Jeju. Because the Cold War's ideological battle transpired in the land of Korea, the indigenous new nation establishing movement was frustrated by the competing forces of the Soviet Unions and the US, which later developed as the Korean War.

M5, consistent with this view, went to the US to deliver testimony to the US Congress in Washington DC in 2017. He maintained a strong feeling about the US responsibility on 4.3 since the practical administrator was the USAMGIK whose mission was liberating and stabilizing Korea out of the sudden power vacuum after Japan's colonization. Several attempts to urge the repatriation of the US took part in the Jeju Uprising in the 2000s. Two survivors of *Bukchon* and *Donggwang* village also visited the US Congress and the University of Pennsylvania to deliver their testimony.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ M5, 2020.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid. "Pressian," 30 April 2019. <https://m.pressian.com/m/pages/articles/239026?no=239026#0DKW>

Given that human cognition is limited to follow the delicacy of emotional memory, two artists were introduced to see how the artistic and digital medium can be an alternative mnemonic devise. They are not the equal representation of the past, but as a telling and helping tool, they can process the memory scenes beyond explanation. Likewise, new materialism in a postmodern era is dedicated to rethinking the human and non-human relationship to let the objects in memory scape themselves speak as an organic house of the memory. The works of the artist, Jordan, are not an instant tool for unveiling social issues that he intended to deal with, whose mosaic yet provides space for viewers to process a given image. Similarly, internationalization might be the expected turn of the narrative from within national discourse now taken aim at the exterior force, the US. The dynamics of narratives revealed by the guidance of memory workers help see the pieces of memories from individual to public, state to international in which walkers can benefit to expand their understanding to be more colorful and vibrant.

6.6. The Ora-dong 4.3 trail

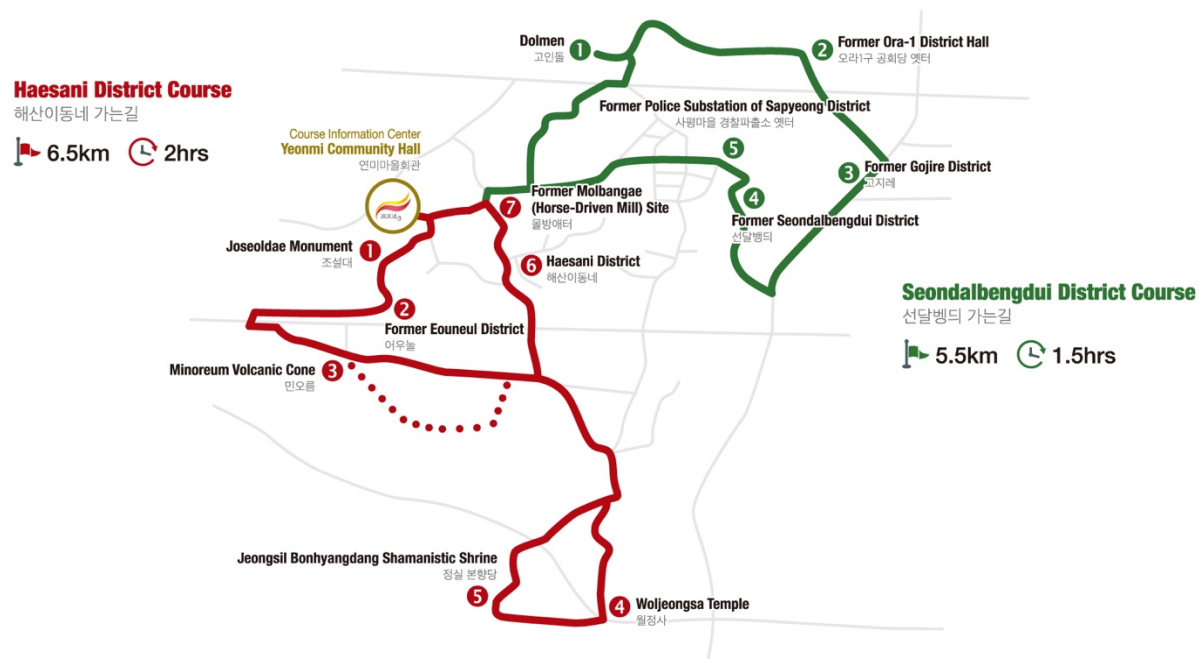


Figure 32. The map of Ora trail¹⁹³

The path of Ora-dong is the most recently arranged among other trails. The five other trails were selected based on the size of damage from the crackdown, while Ora selected by its

¹⁹³ “Ora-ri Village Jeju 4-3 Trail,” n.d. <http://jeju43peace.org/site-visit-tour/peace-tour/ora-village-jeju-4%c2%b73-trai/>

historical importance. In this subchapter, I investigate the village history of the trail and its narrative to become selected. The village trail connects to several events: the arson incident, the negotiation meeting between two powers, and the much-intensified oppression. Thus, the association in them is discussed in the light of the US-Korea relation of the time. Additionally, the current conservation status of the 4.3 heritage and what has to be done was also reviewed. There is a perspective that the arson taking place at the *Ora-dong* is the main reason for the negotiation between the 9th regimental commander, Kim, Ik-ryeol, and the leader of the guerillas, Kim, Dal-sam, was failed. Local people think that if that arson had not happened, the negotiation would have been peacefully attained. Others think, regardless of the negotiation, the scorched-earth policy was designed to be taken, which destroy everything that supports the enemy side. Because after this negotiation, Kim was resigned from his post, the hardliner Colonel, Park, Jin-kyong was dispatched. The much aggressive policy was enacted from mid-November 1948. Most of the mountain villages believed to be the base of the guerillas were burnt; 76.5 percent of the victims under age fifteen, and 76.6 percent over the age sixty-one, were reportedly killed during this period.¹⁹⁴ Not everybody is agreed on what triggered the development of 4.3 as that ruthless operation over civilians at this point. However, it seems that the *Ora-dong* trail intends to spotlight the conflicts between the USAMGIK, the constabulary force, and the civilians to see how the policy had changed to a much harsher level.

6.6.1 The May day

Many other memory workers evaluated that the negotiation on 28 May 1948 would have made a pivotal change. They think that the arson broke it, the much aggressive oppression was followed against the Islanders and guerillas. In the beginning, USAMIK and the military believed the guerrillas set fire to the village. Thus, it was regarded as the reason for breaking the negotiation. However, later it turned out that the members of the right-winged youth group in the village practiced the burning. Many activists and academicians believed the oppressive operation islandwide was planned, regardless of the negotiation. As the silent film called "May day on Cheju-do" was filmed the scenes of arson in *Ora-dong*, the houses being burnt, a villager interview was seen, it seems that the producer of the film had known that the incident

¹⁹⁴ The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident (2015), The Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report, p. 200 (Korean version)

was going to happen.¹⁹⁵ The captured scenes aimed at the communists for the incident and damaged the Island.



Figure 33. The monument that explains the arson incident and the importance of village as a site of history (Photo by author).

However, the incident seems not to be the only reason for the violent turn of the state and the US administration. The general election took place in the same month, 10 May 1948, when from large to small attacks were found toward the election committee and public servants in the approaching days of the election. Ultimately, the election could not be validated in Jeju due to the poor rate of participation. This was recognized as a critical hit against the authority because the USAMGIK's priority was by free elections in the south, establishing a legal government as promptly as possible. The US had bigger concerns to stop the expansion of communism in the European continent, so the US would have wanted to minimize the deep intervention and evacuate its troops instantly after the settlement of the Jeju Uprising. In a way, this ideological battle in the late 1940s to 1950s when McCarthyism prevailed in the United States out of seeking the American democracy brought the so-called red scare, the nominal hate and fear against communism. The extension of McCarthyism was repeated in the US-supported South Korea likewise, with the name of national security, democracy and liberty, the

¹⁹⁵ Merrill, "The Cheju-do Rebellion," 169

keynote of anti-communism ended up violating thoroughly other rights of human beings, the alleged communists.¹⁹⁶

6.6.2. Destructed community

The red scare prevailed on the Island, resulting in the villagers being forced to turn others to the constabulary forces to survive. Hence, the community culture was destroyed, and villagers became not trust each other. Not only that, the guilt-by-associate system was then legal, the state force practiced an immediate death sentence. Thus, if one of the family members were missing, deemed as possible guerillas, their family had to take the responsibility by being killed; this is called *Daesal* in Korean, which was the very common excuse for the execution of civilians.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, marriage within the perpetrators, such as police and villagers were common since, by marriage with authority members, their life was to be guaranteed. The physical damage and cultural destruction had left traumatic residue in the minds of people.

M6 unfolded the stories she gathered from the elderly of the experienced generation of 4.3; since she started working in this memory industry long after the Jeju Uprising had passed, nor had she experienced the Uprising. She also doubted the accuracy of the testimonies and the memory of the survivors, which can bridge the chasm between traumatic and narrative memory is seen between two realities. She said that survivors who were open to talking were then, at best, 5 to 6-year-old during the massacres. Hence, with that age, they could remember the mere impression and emotional residue out of devastation—feelings of fear, shock, and stigma that can hardly be explained as a verbal form. Furthermore, there were reportedly predicaments discerning the perpetrators from the communists or vice versa in the eyes of ordinary people since the paramilitary groups (NWYL) often wore plain clothes. At the same time, this confusion and fear had the villagers paranoid day and night. In daytimes, the NWYL from the stateside stripped the villagers since they were not appropriately paid to be dispatched in Jeju; at night, the guerillas who fled to the mountain came down to find food to avoid the eyes of the military. Hence, the separatist feelings could be strengthened, although the liberation came

¹⁹⁶ R. Y. Storrs, Landon "McCarthyism and the Second Red Scare." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History. 2 Jul. 2015; Schrecker, Ellen. "McCarthyism: Political Repression and the Fear of Communism." Social Research 71, no. 4 (2004): 1041-1086.

¹⁹⁷ The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident (2015), Investigation Report, 299.

to the Island. Moreover, the depressed economy was expedited by the population increase due to the return of Korean natives from Japan and the economic exploitation by the extreme right-wing group (NWYL).¹⁹⁸ Thus, the existing separatism and resistance continued to survive with the narrative of exile, seen as one of the reasons rooted in the Jeju Uprising.

6.6.3. What to preserve and what to tell

Ora-dong has three lost villages included in the trail: *Eouneul*, *Haesani*, and *Seondalbengdui*. M6 also said that the support of the public government was inconsistent with the frequent relocation of employees in charge of the 4.3 trail, so the restoration plan of the sites that she petitioned could not easily be reflected. Additionally, in response to the question asked about what others sites had to be preserved, she said, "There are three caves, two of them were used as military storage, the other is for a refuge at *Min oruem*. I hope that since 4.3 was unspoken history, at least one of them should be restored and reenacted for viewing." Furthermore, what is difficult for the memory workers of the post-memory generation of 4.3 is that they also need a visual medium as a narrative object and proof; to help their words to receive more assurance and enhance the visitors' experience.

There has been an active development boom in the construction of residential buildings, which started from the central Jeju, and now stretches out to the village level. Since many of the survivors had passed away and the oppressive regimes lasted for several decades, the memory of the Uprising was not successfully communicated through different generations. Moreover, the stigmatization was deeply engraved to the survivors who firmly closed their mouths so that the red label would not tag along with their children, preventing them from being employed and letting them be ill-treated publicly. The post 4.3 generation, lacking interest, continued the memory disconnected, which is also why not many physical remnants are restored and cared for. Furthermore, the survivors at best endured the consecutive military regimes and barely maintained their lives. It is the failure of the government to take care of the refugees of the Uprising. At the same time, the rehabilitation project for the burnt and lost villages was not fruitful due to the economic depression and the ensuing Korean War. Thus, caring for the past remnants and heritage was not the government's priority. The attention was paid at last to them in the early 2000s, with the emergence of several liberal regimes.

¹⁹⁸ Merrill, "The Cheju-do Rebellion," 155.

Nonetheless, this may also be related to the importance of the ritual and ancestral rites in the local sphere, which was the outlets for transmitting and engaging with their heritage. The so-called *Jesa*, commonly practiced in Korea, not only in Jeju, may seem to differ from the earlier categorization of heritage as a tangible form. For example, during the Uprising, for this *Jesa*, if the victims whose bodies were missing, in Jeju, *Simgbang*, a shaman summoned their soul, believed to wander the world of the living, and comforted them before making a grave without the corps. They are called *Hutmyo*, an empty grave symbolically made; one can be found within the trail of the *Donggwang* village where the nine victims of the Lim Moon-suk family were buried (see Fig. 34).



Figure 34. *Hutmyo* of Im Moon-suk family (Photo by author).

There have been consistent efforts on archiving, remembering, and educating memories of 4.3 starting from Jeju inland level to collectively nationwide. Many villages spared the space for cenotaphs written with the names of victims of each village. Given that these cenotaphs are located in unpopulated areas, few people recognized their existence. Neither did they regularly visit to pay condolences, though somehow it indicates the tragic past of the village. Thus, it can be said to include those cenotaphs to the village trail to manifest what they stood for, to be perceived. Meanwhile, the national registration of the 4.3 heritage has been being carried out.

However, out 800 sites are counted as the heritage of 4.3, and only one was registered in the national system.¹⁹⁹ It has been difficult since to be listed, the heritage has to satisfy several guidelines, and there are also the property right disputes with the landowner of the sites.²⁰⁰

6.7. The founding

In this chapter, I analyzed the six heritage trails and the memory sites within them in the light of cultural memory. Each heritage trail has its own narrative memory conveyed by the memory workers. The interviews not only the structured but also unstructured communication with memory workers were fruitful to know more about the villagers' lives of the past and stories from a different angle, gathered in the field. Through them, I was able to participate in the local ritual, meet with other memory workers who worked at the Peace Memorial, and other residents who shared the invaluable cultural knowledge of Jeju.

The difficulty of representing uncomfortable subjects was examined such as deaths, massacres and tragic memory. A simple yet effective way was suggested by introducing contemporary artists whose work was successfully translating the unexplainable subjects. The history of the Jeju Uprising with the events happened village wise with the narratives were studied as well provided by the memory workers: peace, separatism, reunion, exile, and victimhood. However, those narratives appear to be all connected to be able to structure the whole memory scape of 4.3. Because its chronological elements obviously form narratives within the narratives that they cannot be separated from one another.

Walking is not easy. It is a physical activity that needs effort and willpower. Especially, for a certain purpose, in the case of the 4.3 trail, of learning and discovering the unknown and underrepresented heritage like the Jeju Uprising. As the course detail indicated, each trail takes more than several hours to complete the plans. Besides, given they are located in mountain villages, for visitors, it might not be the ideal and best place to visit out of all the inconvenience.²⁰¹ However, the number of visitors showed that the interest was consistent in walking the 4.3 trails (see Table 8).

¹⁹⁹ 4.3 유적지 현황[4.3 Heritage Statistics], 4.3 department of the provincial government, December 2020.

²⁰⁰ "Jejusori," 12 April 2017. <http://www.jejusori.net/news/articleView.html?idxno=189537>

²⁰¹ see table, chapter

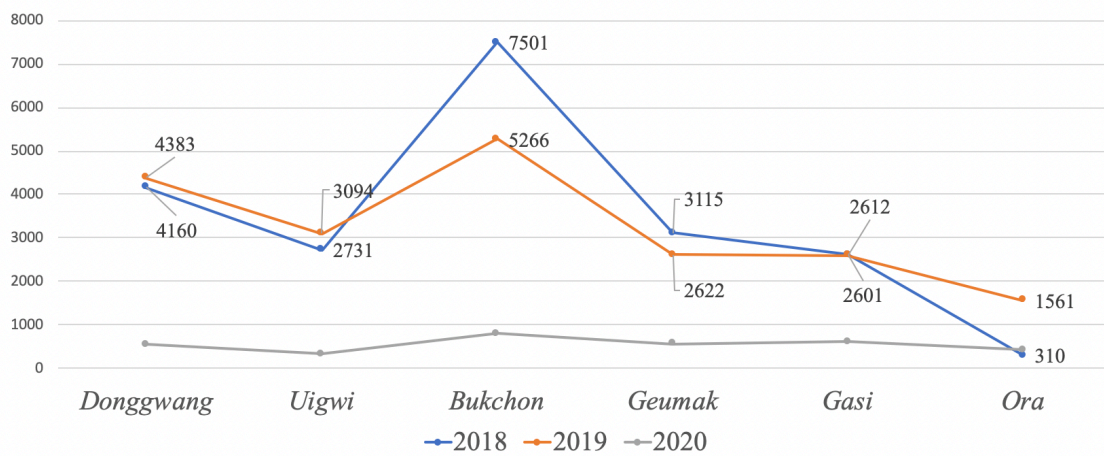


Table 8. The number of visitors of the 4.3 trail over the past three years²⁰²

The *Bukchon* trail was the most visited since it has been known for Uncle, Sun-I, a novel which revealed the tragic life of the elderly, Sun-I who lost her child and husband during the Uprising ended up killing herself out of trauma at *Ompangbat*, which was a field of her living and the site of the massacre at the same time.²⁰³ That very place motivated is located at *Neobunsungi* memorial, where the monuments were established for the author, Hyun Ki-young, dedicating his work. In there, the several monuments are unorderly layered one another, engraved the lines of the novel, Uncle Sun-I, as the metaphor of the bodies killed in the massacre in *Ompangbat*. Right next to them, a statue of Sun-I, lying at the very place she killed herself in the novel (see Fig. 35).

²⁰² Source: 2021년도 4·3길 해설사 운영 계획 [4.3 trail guides management plan, 2021], 4.3 Department of the Jeju Provincial Government.

²⁰³ *Ompang* means a sunken area in Jeju dialect and bat, a farm in Korean.



Figure 35. Monuments for the novel, Uncle Sun-I (left), statue of the uncle, “Sun-I” (right), (Photo by author).

The second most visited, the *Donggwang* trail, has received attention due to the film, *Jiseul*. The film was the first-ever film that received considerable attention from the Jeju Uprising. It offered a chance to spotlight the caves as a site that once villagers lived to avoid the violent oppression of the military. Thus, the cave, *Gwe* in Jeju dialect, *Keunneolgwe*, located in the trail, has been the main site visitors come to see the actual site and evidence of living and massacre. As both trails add, the memory of the village was able to be transmitted through literature and digital medium. Thus, those cultural mediums are powerful in convincing visitors to come with material culture. The cultural memory embedded becomes easily transmittable and approachable to the vast public. That is why many memory workers, including that of the *Ora* trail, exceedingly distressed the necessity of restoring 4.3 heritage to be seen. The *Ora* trail has especially lacked material remnants to show, selected for historical importance. Thus, it needs more information or guiding materials to share meanings to visitors if the trail is not equipped with enough material heritage.

The *Uigwi* trail is also unique as the only trail marked with the cemetery of guerillas. From the trail, the still existing hierarchy among the victims and the representation were highlighted compared to the civilians' burial ground, *Hyeoneui*. The *Geumak* trail also possesses the civilian cemetery, *Manbengdui*, with which the massacres during the Korean War were correlated in the name of preventive detention of the political dissidents. Thus, I found that the necessity of finding and expanding a linkage with the narrative with the naming movement of the Jeju Uprising in connection with other massacres that took place pre and after the Korean War period.

As the Island was not an exception for the pandemic of COVID-19, the number of visitors of the year 2020 drastically decreased. Nevertheless, it gives more potential to the heritage trail like 4.3 trails set up with the long walking paths outdoor, located in mountain areas, has little risk of contact with a massive number of people unlike the touristic center of Jeju. As alternative tourism, visitors could spend more time in the local community to interact with the area's culture. Walking tours that the 4.3 trail offers are advantageous for relinking the village once disconnected with people to rejuvenate the area. It is also accorded with the intention of the 4.3 trail policy that the Jeju provincial government pictured to regenerate and connect the sites of memory.

However, to be able to attract more visitors, and to help them not only learn history but also provide them with good experiences, there seems to be a need for some improvements to take into consideration. For example, the management of information panels was not in the best condition. Many of them were worn out due to the volatile weather of the Island. Jeju Dark Tour investigated the status of the information panels located in the 4.3 heritage sites for three months, starting from July 2020. They pointed out several problems: 1. the twenty-eight out of a hundred sites examined were not equipped with informant panels. For example, the most representative site of the massacre, the Jeju international airport; 2. there are panels with wrong information, and some natural heritage failed to present the 4.3 histories. Furthermore, a sensitive term was still used—the term like rebellion (*Pokdo* in Korean), which connotes ideological framing; 3. there are some words misspelled and mistakes in translation in the English panels; 4. the sensitivity of gender, human rights and peace was not yet considered; 5. some panels are too damaged to read the contents.²⁰⁴

Correspondingly, when I visited the massacre sites such as *Yuksiwooyoung* and the Jeongbang waterfall, no information panel was installed. Especially at the former site, I had to ask where this place was located to the resident who experienced the Jeju Uprising.²⁰⁵ Luckily, she guided me to the place and told me some of her memories. Without her, I would have skipped the site of that area, which turned out to be a citrus orchard (see Fig. 36). Establishing information signs indicating 4.3 heritage is not as easy as it seems, as the property owners are unwilling to

²⁰⁴ See more at the investigation report, 제주지역 다크투어 유적지 안내판 조사, <https://www.jejudarktours.org/ko/news/>, accessed online 10 May 2021.

²⁰⁵ *Yuksiwooyoung* is a site of 27 villagers of *Hagari* were mass-murdered; on 3 October 2020, the field visit done by author.

contribute the space or be associated with the traumatic memory. Furthermore, seventy more years passed since the Uprising, left the sites no longer the trace of the history.

Out of fifty sites registered in the 4.3 archives, half of them were visited, some of which were difficult to navigate to the written address because they were not accurate. Neither were the registered sites on the map, such as Google and Naver maps, the international and local service. According to the researcher in Jeju 4.3 Research center, they have been working on the address registration of the 4.3 heritage sites. Thus, they were to be uploaded before March on the Kakao map, one of the popular navigation services in Korea.²⁰⁶ The blue-dotted sites are the registered heritage sites on the map; their number was far more than that of the 4.3 Archive, operated by the 4.3 Peace Foundation (see Fig. 37). The registered sites are substantial, covering lost villages and massacres, appeasement monuments, *Gwe*(lave cave), fortress, and more. The sites of the guerrillas were also marked, showing the potential in reducing the representation gap within the 4.3 heritage.



Figure 36. *Yuksiwooyoung* (Photo by author).

²⁰⁶ Lee Dong-hyeon, text message to author, 13 March 2021

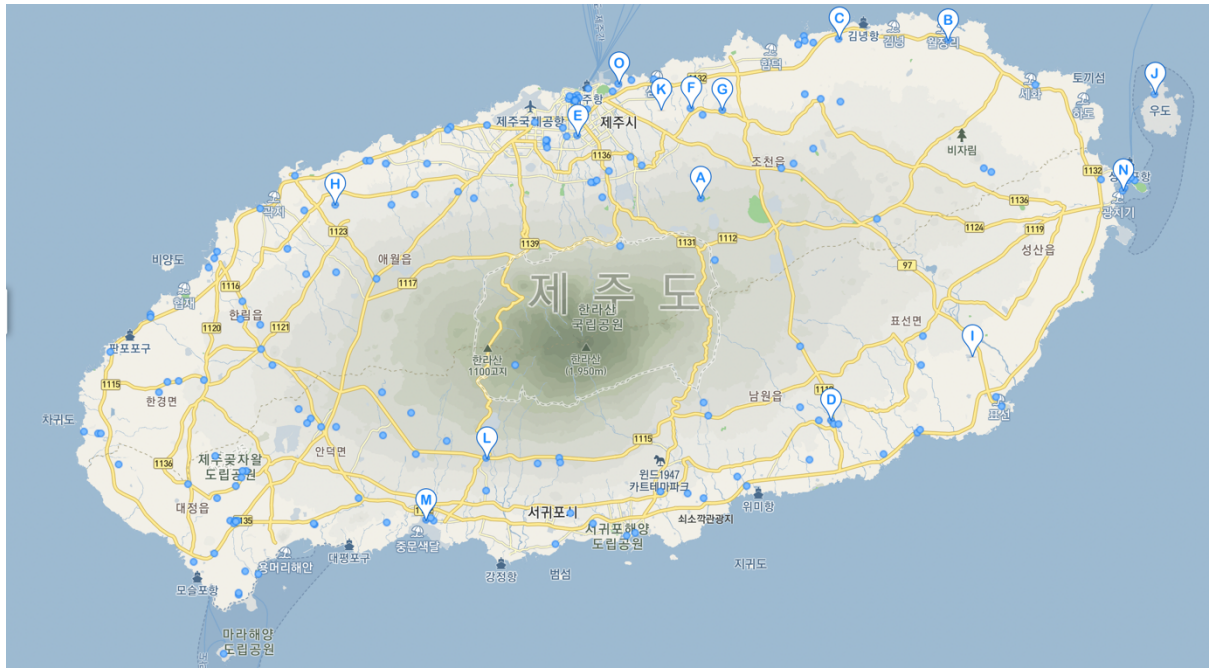


Figure 37. The registered 4.3 heritage in Kakaop map, screenshot 10 May 2021²⁰⁷

Above all, the history of the Jeju Uprising is still comparably unknown to many Koreans, which is why those additional information panels are crucial to informing visitors to allow them to understand and resonate with the sites and memory. Furthermore, the written contents of the display are also important because they reflect the villagers' interpretation and participation involved in the heritage making. Likewise, in the circumstance, the role of memory workers is crucial to fill the necessity of providing information and narratives of their own, of the state and local, of the hidden and individual.

7. Conclusion

In this thesis, the memory of the Jeju Uprising with a case study of the 4.3 trail was examined for how it works as memory embodiment through diverse narratives with the guidance of memory workers and walking as an effective memory processing activity. I began with overviews of different memories argued by scholars in academia of the memory industry. The cultural, communicative, and narrative memory were adopted as a framework to analyze the memory of the Jeju Uprising. Following this way, I examined the memory of the Uprising from

²⁰⁷ Kakao Map, “4.3 유적 [4.3 heritage].” 10 May 2021, <http://kko.to/09BZELRDH>

diverse angles for walkers and memory workers, the state and individuals, natural and cultural heritage, human and non-human, official and unofficial sphere.

Chapter three explained how **the narratives** became an effective tool for memory transmission regarding Jeju, a traumatic one. Secondly, through **communication** in a social sphere, the 4.3 trail helps build the communicative memory for visitors and ordinary pedestrians in the realm of commonality. Thirdly, **cultural memory** was analyzed embedded in memorials, monuments, and memory sites; the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park as a central place representing the state narratives and the Korean ethos *Han* and *Haewon* to be able to function as a theater for mourning, a ritual and official memory site for collective remembering. Last but not least, the 4.3 trail was empirically examined, which lies in a diverse spectrum of the memory sphere with the sites of memory, village heritage, and the arranged walking paths. The long walks made easy and liberal conversations for processing rather emotional memory of heritage accompanied by memory workers. Cultural memories attached to the sites of memory ranged from colonial times, the Uprising period, and the natural landscape through which visitors and memory workers could mitigate the empirical tension.

In chapter five, I reviewed the potential of walking as a cultural practice to help visitors to be engaged in the heritage experience. Considering the extensive cultural and natural landscape of Jeju, it was not a coincidence that many heritage trails are being made and have been spotlighted as alternative tourism; that assists not only the local community and economy but also advance tourist's experience. According to the interviews with memory workers, they responded that the walking trails with sites of memory had allowed visitors to be more persuaded to compassionate about what they see and hear with their guidance. Furthermore, walkers and memory workers could be flexible about the course plans. They could spend time at specific sites more and less depending on their preference, thematic and levels of understanding. Such freedom allowed memory workers to liberally unfolds which stories to be told on the knowledge level of visitors, which benefits both of them.

It also means that with or without the company of memory workers, visitors can walk to see the memory sites and the natural and cultural landscape with which they can gradually gather historical information by informational panels, monuments, and memorials found in the trail. Nonetheless, every experience is individual, that it cannot be generalized. However, the

elements of visual supplies, the guidance of the memory workers and the landscape along the trails support walkers' experience to be more mature, reciprocal, and synergetic.

When it comes to the memorials and the 4.3 trails, it cannot be categorized separately to be embodied with state and individual narratives. Likewise, I did not strictly draw the line between the state and local narratives in memory of the Uprising since the narrative is adaptable depending on who uses it to support the subject. For example, the peace narrative came from the victim's families initially, and later, the state took it over to redress the memory of the Uprising. Ostensibly, the memorial, with more physical and artificial elements decorated with the state narrative: Peace, reconciliation and coexistence, while the trails, located in villages, some are lost, and some are inhabited, embedded with the narrative of villagers and memory workers that are more individual, flexible and less materialistic. However, to note that the state finances both, the official sites of memory cost public capitals to construct and preserve. In other words, the invested funds made them supervised by the public eyes.²⁰⁸ Compared to the funding of two sites, the Peace memorial overwhelmingly consumed huge public capital. It has received immense public attention from criticism and cynicism to love and hate from the beginning of the construction to the present establishment. As the memorial holds the annual commemoration of the Jeju Uprising and the current president, Moon Jae-in, participated twice giving his speech, it cannot be more evidential why the state narrative is assured and explicit in the memorial official. However, as the shape of the memorial building in the peace park symbolizes, it hopes to be a container of historical facts. It can gather them to exhibit to the visitors for remembering and educating yet, should not frame the narratives to be a mold (see Fig. 38).

²⁰⁸ Winter, Jay. "Sites of Memory," 318.



Figure 38. Jeju 4.3 memorial hall (Photo by author).

This thesis explored the dynamic of 4.3 narratives with the ongoing naming movement. In the field, many of the locals, activists, and memory workers still often brought up this issue, and they somewhat agreed that after some time pass, people would remember 4.3 as the Uprising. From the communist insurgency to the Uprising, 4.3 has walked a long way from the oppression of the ideological battle, liberation, freedom, democratic shift toward human rights. Thus, the dynamic of their narratives shows that the shift in memories has been made through the perspective attached to the discourse, political situation, and people's need. From this, memory and cultural heritage as *a process* receive more conviction and affirmation, floating around in the social, communicative, and cultural sphere to make meanings in the present.

Hence, the name shifts of 4.3 manifest the process that out of the current frame, the change seems inevitable or even desirable, which cannot be judged or blamed. Hence, this thesis titled the Jeju Uprising, considered the present or possible future of the name of 4.3 for this foreseen change. However, to call 4.3 as the Jeju Uprising needs to go over several hurdles such as proper financial compensation and the existing labeling of the ideology, where the confictions within bereavement families and political parties arose. Accordingly, having heard people's claims in Jeju to request the US repatriation on the Uprising, the memory discourse went from local to global nexus. Regarding the governmental effort to make a peace model out of the Jeju Uprising, this will be an assignment to unfold in advance because the Uprising cannot be solely understood in the local dimension. As seen in the US as McCarthyism, the ideological battle that once was prevailed the so-called red scare, exported to many other colonial countries in the Cold War era, to name a few, Argentina and Vietnam.

Memory workers are indispensable verbal agents who successfully transmit memories by their performance. Not only their empirical memories as the survivor and villager have but also the care works that they do for the sites are invaluable:

1. As guidance of memory, giving constant care works such as hanging the guide ribbons for walkers not to lose the orientation while walking the trails
2. As a memory keeper, studying 4.3 histories voluntarily, gathering and archiving the testimonies of the village to provide quality guidance to walkers
3. As a memory agent, letting the underrepresented village history be known through their words

As a walker and researcher of the trails, I learned a lot from them, who provided with the stories that go off the record, local memories, and variant narratives that I might not have known without them. In the same manner, making a narrative is also an effective way to treat traumatic memories. According to Pierre Janet, a psychologist, the patients could negate the uneasy feelings by letting out the hidden memory, disposing of them by translating them into a verbal form.²⁰⁹ In a similar vein, during the fieldwork, memory workers like M1 and M5, who are survivors themselves are able to share stories and express emotions to the walkers, who can mourn with them, compassionate and understanding what they had been through.

I have met four other travelers at a hostel called *Olle* Stay that accommodates specifically the *Olle* trail walkers during the fieldwork for a week and a half. I tried to engage in conversations with them and found out they were having difficult times during the pandemic and about their careers. Thus, they decided to come to Jeju Island to walk the *Olle* trail to dump the uneasy feelings by walking and exploring nature. While we were introducing each other, I said that I came to research the history of 4.3, unlike other trail walkers, which they found very intrigued, since it was not yet very much a known topic to them. Thus, I introduced a few of the 4.3 heritage that I had gone and told simple stories behind. After some days later, they came across the 4.3 heritage, such as *Seotal Oreum* and the *Neobunsuengi* memorial, which merged with the *Olle* courses. So, two of them texted me the photos they took and said, "If I had not heard the stories from you at the hostel, I would have had a peek at them and passed by. After our conversations, I got to resonate with the victims of the sites of memory more to take a closer look." As this concurrence shows, walking and the verbal agents, their combined potential can transmit the narratives and meanings in memory transmission. Accordingly, the heritage trail

²⁰⁹ A van der Kolk and Van der Hart. :The intrusive past," 425-454.

worked as a theater and a medium that transmit the memories and values of the unknown heritage to the walkers and tourists.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. List of responders

Type	Categories	Name	Date	Recording	Language used	Interview location
Semi-structured interview	Memory workers within the 4.3 trails	M1	25 September 2020	Yes	Korean	<i>Donggwang-ri</i>
		M2	2 September 2020	Yes		Jeju
		M3	9 October 2020	Yes		<i>Bukchon-ri</i>
		M4	8 October 2020	Yes		Jeju
		M5	4 October 2020	Yes		<i>Gasi-ri</i>
		M6	9 October 2020	Yes		<i>Ora-dong</i>
	4.3 Peace Memorial	P1	6 October 2020	Yes		Jeju 4.3 Peace Memorial
		P2	6 October 2020	Yes		Jeju 4.3 Peace Memorial
	Academics	Hyun, Hye-kyung	5 October 2020	Yes		Jeju Research Institute
		Lee, Dong-hyeon	6 October 2020	Yes		Jeju 4.3 Research Institute
	Activist	Baek, Ga-yoon	28 September 2020	Yes		Jeju Dark Tour
	Archivist	Yang, Sin-ha	4 October 2020	Yes		Jeju
	Bereavement family	Yang, Sung-ju	8 October 2020	No		Jeju
Kim, Myeong-won		10 October 2020	Yes	<i>Uigwi-ri</i>		
Unstructured interview	<i>Olle</i> trail walkers	Interviewee 1	23 September 2020	No	Olle Stay	
		Interviewee 2	23 September 2020	No	Olle Stay	
		Interviewee 3	25 September 2020	No	Olle Stay	
		Interviewee 4	27 September 2020	No	Olle Stay	
	Activist	Interviewee 5	3 October 2020	No	<i>Bukchon-ri</i>	
	Government official	Interviewee 6	23 September 2020	No	Jeju	
	Villager	Interviewee 7	3 October 2020	No	Jeju	
	Curator	Dick, Jutta	August 2020	No	English	The Moses Mendelssohn Academy (Halberstadt)

Appendix 2. Interview and observation guides

Interview guide for the 4.3 Trail

Memory workers

1. Could you briefly introduce yourself?
 2. Could you explain the village history and the memory sites of the trail?
 3. Could you explain the process of making the route of the trail?
- What is the reason behind for selection of the trail?
 4. Were you involved when making the village trail?
 5. What kind of people usually walk the trail?
 6. How many walkers annually walk the trail?
 7. Do you think independent visitors can navigate themselves without the guiding service?
 8. Who works for memory workers in the 4.3 trail in general?
 9. Were you or any of your family and relatives associated with the Jeju Uprising?
 10. Do you think that the peace arrives in the Island?
-if not, what has to be done?
 11. How much extend that the 4.3 Department is concerned with your guiding service?
 12. Is there any difficulty guiding the visitors when walking the trail?
 13. Could you suggest any more memory sites that should be added?
 14. What is the benefit of walking while practicing memory service to visitors?
 15. Is there any suggestion for improving the trail and guiding service?
-

Interview guide for others

Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation

1. Were the foundation involved when making the trail?
2. What is the focal point in the commemoration program of the foundation?
3. What kind of archives and heritage that the foundation maintained?
4. How many people visit the memorial annually?

Jeju Research Institute

1. How is tourism used in memory-making?
-What is the role of dark tourism within?
2. How the peace narrative came to the Uprising?
3. Could you explain how 4.3 has been represented and transmitted culturally?
4. What do you think about the current narrative of the Uprising?

Jeju 4.3 Research Institute

1. Could you explain the role of the institute for the Uprising?
2. What kind of investigation work does the institute currently manage?
3. What do you think about the monuments built by the bereavement family association?
- Does it have a difference from the state-built?

Jeju Dark Tour

4. What has to be done for the memory-making of the Uprising in current discourse?
1. Could you briefly introduce yourself and the organization?
2. What kind of tour programs are in service?
3. How do you interpret the Jeju Uprising?
4. What kind of tourists participates in your tours?
5. What do the Islanders think about the dark tour?
6. What do you think about the representation gap between natural and dark heritage in Jeju?
7. What do you think about the narratives of the present as peace and reconciliation?

Bereavement family

1. Could you briefly introduce yourself?
2. Are you consensus with the stance of the government about the Uprising?
3. Do you have any suggestions for raising people's awareness on the Uprising?
4. Do you think the trauma still exists within the victims?
5. What has to be done for solving the Uprising and for its victims?

Site and ritual observation guides

1. How are the impression and feelings monuments and exhibition first sight?
 2. Visual signs and establishments within the site are readable and clear to understand?
 3. Is there any particular narrative or unique expression shown in the sites in comparison to others?
 4. Does the site itself self-explain enough?
-If yes, does it guide visitors to a specific narrative?
 5. Are there some visitors and participants to be seen?
If yes, what they do and the purpose of the visit?
-

Appendix 3. The combined leaflet of the 4.3 village trails



함께 걷는 4.3길

제주 4.3길은 4.3 당시 사람들의 투쟁의 기억과 생존을 위한 흔적이 남아 있는 과거의 현장을 이어주는 길입니다. 현재의 산생으로 4.3을 체험해 온 제주인의 노력을 알리고, 제주 4.3길에서 인문과 문화의 소중함, 아름다운 제주도과 4.3 역사를 올바르게 인식하는 계기를 마련하고자 합니다.



4.3길 상징 로고

제주 사람들의 영혼과 사랑의 마음을 담아낸 상징적이고 깊은 상징성을 지닌, 4.3의 의미를 상징적, 극복하는 아름다운 제주, 평화로운 제주, 밝은 미래를 열어가는 제주를 통해 희망의 의미를 '4.3'로 명명합니다.

4.3길 상징 띠

붉은색은 정열, 희망, 진심을 뜻하며, 흰색은 순결, 맑게, 평화 등을 뜻합니다. 제주 사람들은 옛날, 지금이나 제주지역엔 훈풍이 잘 적잖아 아름다운 제주에서 아름답게 살아가는 사랑함을 의미하고 있습니다.

문의

- 제주특별자치도 4.3지원과 064) 710-8454
- 안덕 동광리 사무소 064) 794-8722
- 남원 의귀동 사무소 064) 764-6105
- 북촌 낙본동 사무소 064) 783-4331
- 한림 송파리 사무소 064) 796-6388
- 표선리 사무소 064) 787-1305
- 제주시 오아수유민센터 064) 728-1541

제주 안덕 동광마을 4.3길

교통정보: 동광합승정류장(오슬로 방면) ▶ 152, 251, 252, 253, 254, 752-1

산생구석마을 터
과거 주민들이 로진, 반물 등을 만들기 위해 산을 채취했던 장터 자리인산생으로 불립니다. 4.3 당시 임시 집성촌으로 46가구가 살았는데 토벌대의 초포화 학살으로 주민들은 살육을 피해 인근 산사태를 찾아 관음대 등대 곁에 모여 살았습니다. 마을 주민들은 토벌대에 죽임을 당하거나 불타서 이듬해 7월에 광복으로 인해서 모두 추방당했다. 현재는 길바닥에 무성모퉁이 남아 그 흔적을 짐작할 수가 있다.

도영계
관남계의 대불이 4.3 당시 동광의 주민들이 집단으로 피난 생활 했던 곳이다. 곧 내부는 30여 미터의 벌레 천막에 이어져 있었다. 동광 바깥에는 주민들이 가지고 있던 생활용구 파편들이 널브러져 있어 그때의 상황을 생생하게 보여준다. 영하 겨울의 활영 장소라기도 하다.



인목속 일가 고택
1948년 11월 15일 주은 이후 관남계에 숨어있던 동광의 주민들이 토벌대에 의해 피난처로 불려왔다. 죽은 후 주은 속에서도 주민들은 제대로 숨지 못했고 대다수가 불타서 죽었다. 50여 가구를 포함하여 9세 이하 어린이를 포함한 주민들이 인목속 일가 집에 모여 있다가 밤에 대 내리가 칠을 수가 없어서 희생자 7명을 포함 17가로 총 21인 24간 30명

무등아랫마을 최초 학살 터
1948년 11월 15일 동광리에 들어오던 도망치는 소년들을 제대로 진압하지 못한 주민들을 무등아랫마을에 감금시켰다. 동광에는 주민 50여 가구를 포함하여 10여 명이 유혈 도망 구획했다는 일 뒷이야기 유신은 이른날은 도망길로 살고 나머지는 모두 이곳에서 총살 당했다.

집책학살 터
1948년 12월 17일 토벌대는 안솔촌현을 뒤쫓아 왔었다. 토벌대는 김두배 등 일가족 10여 명을 관음대로 끌어들여 당나라의 명사 등을 불러 그들 모습을 지어는 안솔촌 마을에 촬영하는 그중 하나에 촬영 할때서 죽어간 이들은 대다수 여성, 노인, 어린이였다.

제주 남원 의귀마을 4.3길

교통정보: 의귀합승정류장(의귀초등학교) ▶ 131, 132, 231, 232, 295, 743-1, 743-2

의귀초등학교
4.34년 당시 의귀초등학교는 의귀리, 수평리, 함평리, 선봉리 4개 마을을 아우르며 함께 다녔던 학교공용체였다. 4.34년 12월 28일부터 육군 제2연대 2중대가 학교에 주둔하였다. 1949년 1월 12일 새벽, 경찰과 의귀초등학교를 습격한 연군이 발생하였는데 이때 군인 4명과 유학생 5명이 사망하였다. 이 습격사건에 대한 보복으로 의귀초등학교에 수용 중인 여학생 14명과 영미 주민들을 학교 건물에서 학살해 버렸다. 이 때 희생자들은 현재 함평합동묘역 안장되어 있다.



송랑마을
이곳은 4.3 당시 의귀초등학교를 전학시켜서 사범학교로 편입시킨 곳이다. 1948년 1월 12일 새벽, 무장대는 의귀초등학교 주둔 부대를 공격했으나 2간만에 전투에서 57명 사상자를 내기도 하였으며 이 때 사범학교 학생들은 송랑마을로 피난처를 찾게 되었고 이 때 송랑마을 주민 17가구가 주둔하여 남아 있는 무장대를 진압하기 위해 싸움에 참가했다.

만오동주둔소(영귀주둔소)
만오동주둔소는 1948년 100명정도의 인원으로 17가 소가족 주둔하여 남아 있는 무장대를 진압하기 위해 싸움에 참가했다.

양계
4.34년 당시 토벌대의 강압적인 조치를 피해 의귀를 주민들이 은신했던 곳이다. 해 일가족 10여 명에 불과하지만 하룻밤에 50여 명이 숨진 것으로 추정되는 50여 명이 숨졌다. 양계는 오동양현 피신처로 활용되지 못했지만 임시 피난처를 제공하며 추위를 막기에는 충분 하였다.

제주 조천 북촌마을 4.3길

교통정보: 북촌리 ▶ 201, 900 북촌해돋이 ▶ 201, 704-4

북촌 낙본동 사무소
1948년 1월 17일, 북촌초등학교 사학 고질병 해산 투쟁의 기점으로 군인 2명이 피살되자 이에 대한 보복으로 북촌마을에 들어온 포병 대가 마을 주민 30여 명을 대량학살 함으로 200년 전 평안남도 북촌 37년전 일 투쟁을 일깨워줌으로써, 북촌의 사학을 소멸해 싸우려 쓰러진 한7명의 소실 '우의삼촌'의 문책에도 이어져 세워져 있다.



북촌묘구
1948년 6월 17일 무등아랫마을에서 제주읍으로 탈출한 한 가족이 갑자기 불타 죽어간 때문 북촌묘구로 불리는데 이 때는 무등아랫마을 송송을 제외한 4.3 17명만 동거하고 있었다. 당시 거창읍의 죽목포구에서 들머리에서 고기 배를 함께 총을 쓰었는데 이 총사자를 들고 접근한 무장대에 의해 경찰 2명이 희생당했다.

당막
1949년 1월 17일 북촌초교의 북촌국민학교 운동장에 있던 북촌초교를 군인들을 의해 이곳으로 강제이동. 군인들은 주둔을 지우도록 요구하며 관세로 총살했다. 당시 북촌초교는 북촌국민학교 중심도로 동쪽의 '당막'의 서쪽의 낙본동으로 1.5km가 떨어져 있고 당막에는 100여 명이 희생당했다.

장지룡간 기념비
이 곳은 장지룡의 영적 안이 조선시대 때 만들어서 신성이라는 장소이다. 장지룡은 수령 800년 된 나무-마루의 원형의 장지룡을 하였으나 1959년 1월 새마을 운동의 일환으로 파괴되어 버려진 적이 있었다. 이 나무 영적 안은 제2차 세계대전 중 4.3 사건 당시 총사자가 되어 생명이 남아 있다.

Appendix 4.

The leaflet of the Hyeoneui Cemetery
(Front 1.)



의로운 넋들이 함께 잠든 곳
현의합장묘

꽃이 피는 희망처럼 애국이 새록 돋아날 날까지
함축한 시정인양 세월 바래 오지말라 밭고 밭이
뒤덮인 오진 역사 부처의 향토 참사는 갈매이
뫼문 다지고 길의 안의 애국의 빛을 새우다.

이제 말없는과 아랑이애
잠시 손짓을 여미어 한 가닥 재와와 인연의 소중함 조물조 가릴이엔
한진 죽은 이의가 후덜되는 제 사랑이겠나이다.

- 김대환장묘 제정추진위원회 공약문 -

현의합장묘 4·3유족회

찾아오시는 길



현의합장묘 4·3위령공원

제주특별자치도 서귀포시 남원읍 중산간동로 6242-56
(남원읍 수망리 893번지)

현의합장묘 4·3유족회에서?

43의 아픔을 넘어 화해와 상생을 통한 평화와 인권의 소중한 가치를
깨닫는 후세교육의 장으로 요역을 조성하고 관리해 나가고 있습니다.
현의합장묘 직은전시관 관람은 문의바랍니다.

문의처 : 010-3698-2086

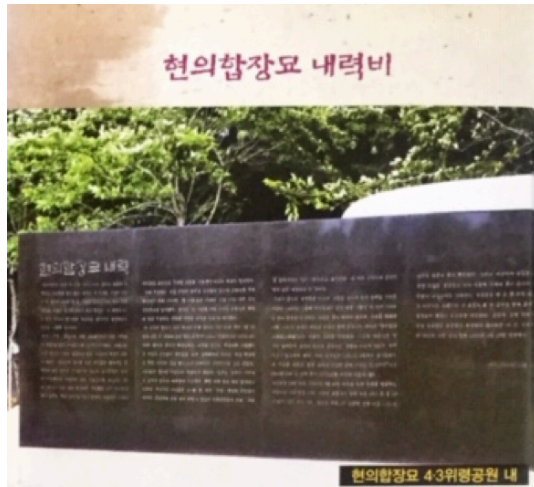
제주4·3 화해와 상생으로 걸어온 위대한 성과

지난 2000년 '제주4·3사건 진상규명 및 희생자 명예회복 특별법'이 제정
된 후 국무총리를 위원장으로 하는 '제주4·3사건 진상규명 및 희생자 명예회
복위원회'가 발족되면서 국가 차원의 진상조사와 명예회복의 추진되어 괄목
한 성과를 남겼다.

- ▷ 2003년 정부는 「제주4·3사건 진상조사보고서」를 확정하여 제주4·3사건
을 "국가 공권력에 의한 인권유린"으로 새롭게 규정.
- ▷ 2003년 「제주4·3사건 진상조사보고서」
결과를 근거로 제주4·3피해에 대해
대통령의 공식 사과했고, 이어서 평화
의 섬 선포, 4·3희생자와 유족 결정,
4·3평화공원과 기념관 조성, 유해 발굴,
4·3평화재단 설립 등으로 이어졌다.
- ▷ 2014년도에는 4·3희생자추념일이
국가기념일로 지정되어 4·3해결의
전환점을 이루며, 소외와 침탈로 얼룩
졌던 제주섬의 고통의 역사가 당당히
국가로부터 인정을 받는 진실의 역사로
자리매김 된 것이다.

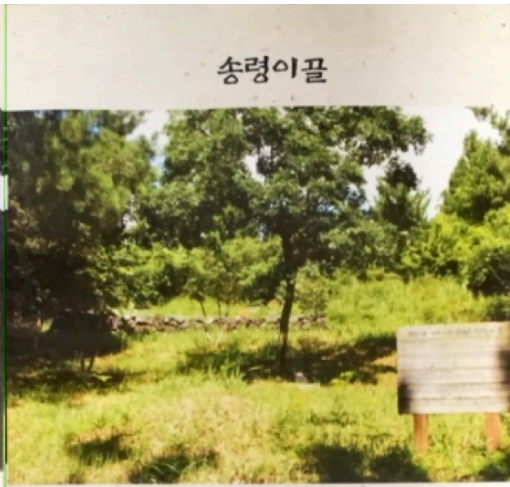


(Front 2.)



현의합장묘 내력비

현의합장묘 43위영공원 내



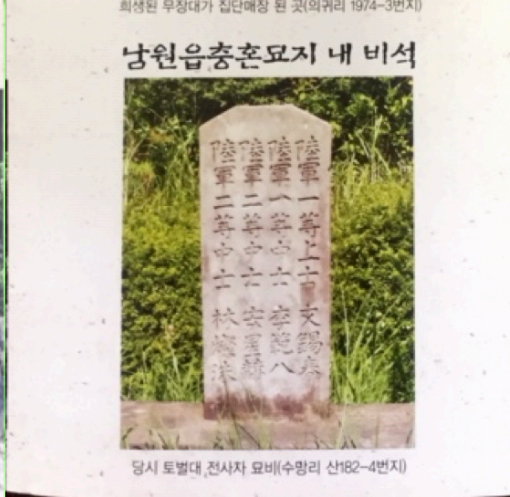
송령이골

희생된 무장대가 집단매장 된 곳(의귀리 1974-3번지)



현의합장묘 구묘역비

현의합장묘 43위영공원 내



낭원읍충혼묘지 내 비석

당시 토벌대, 전사자 요배수망리 산182-4번지


제주4·3 눈물로 새겨진 불멸의 역사

아름다운 제주산아와 해변을 붉게 물들였던 참혹한 양민학살의 역사, 오랜 세월 동안 발설조차 금기시 되었던 한과 눈물의 역사, 지금도 정명(正名)을 갖지 못한 제주4·3의 역사는 한라의 풍광 뒤에 숨어 허공을 떠돌고 있다.

1947년부터 시작된 43사건 당시, 우리나라 최남단의 섬 제주도에서는 군인, 경찰, 서북청년단 등 국가공권력에 의해 수많은 제주도민들이 목숨을 잃었으며, 중산간 마을 등 수많은 가호가 불에 타 버려 엄청난 재산피해를 입었다. 당시 27만의 인구 중에서 2만여명의 제주도민이 목숨을 잃었으며, 130여개의 마을이 잿더미가 되어 사라지고 만 것이다. 전쟁이 아닌 상황에서 특정 지역의 인구 10퍼센트가 정부 공권력에 희생되는 경우는 세계사적으로도 찾아보기 힘들다.

제주4·3은 제주도민들에게 큰 아픔을 주었고, 우리 현대사에서 한국전쟁 다음으로 많은 피해를 가져온 비극적인 사건이었다. 43사건으로 인적, 물질 피해 및 제주 공동체 파괴 등 알로 표현할 수 없는 시련과 고통을 겪었던 43 유족들과 제주도민들은 '화해와 상생의 정신'으로 이를 극복하고 미래로 나아가기 위해 부단히 노력 했다. 그 만큼 제주도민의 고통은 지난 20세기를 관통하며 제주도민과 제주사회에 필설로 형용할 수 없을 만큼 깊은 상처를 남겼다.

제주4·3이 오늘이 있기까지 수많은 국민과 유족들의 열정적인 진상규명 운동이 있었기에 일정한 한계속에서도 진실과 해원을 향한 빛의 역사를 그려가고 있다. 화해와 상생으로 43사건의 피어난 상처를 극복한 제주민의 평화정신은 이제 국민통합의 상징으로 영원히 기억될 것이다.



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현의합장묘 영령 희생 경위

전대미문의 비극 4·3은 기어이 이곳 한라산 남동쪽 자락에도 피바람을 몰고왔다. 의귀리 약 300명, 수망리 100여명, 한남리 100여명 등 수많은 인명이 사태 중에 희생되었고, 마을은 완전히 폐허가 되고 말았다. 그 와중에 80여명의 주민이 한꺼번에 학살되는 참사까지 발생했으니 참으로 비통한 일이었다.

의귀 수망-한남리에 대한 초토화 작전은 다른 지역보다 열흘쯤 앞선 1948년 11월 7일부터 시작했다. 토벌대는 이곳 중산간지역에 집집마다 불을 지르면서 학살도 사슴지 않았다. 순식간에 살터를 잃은 주민들은 불타버린 집 주변과 돌담 밑에서 기거하거나 산으로 숨어들었다.

당시 의귀국민학교에 주둔하고 있던 국군 제2연대 1대대 2중대는 수색 중에 발견되는 사람들을 마구 죽이는가 하면 일부는 학교 안에 임시로 수용했다. 토벌대는 수용된 주민들을 대상으로 무차별 고문을 가할 뿐만 아니라 학살도 일삼았다. 이에 무장대는 이들 주민의 안위를 도모함과 동시에 토벌대를 무력화시키기 위해 1949년 1월 10일(음 1948년 12월 12일)새벽, 의귀국민학교를 습격했다. 하지만 이 사실을 미리 간파한 주둔군의 화력에 밀린 무장대는 전멸에 가까운 타격을 입은 채 퇴각했다.

이 사건이 발명이 되어 학교에 수용 중이던 주민 80여명은 1월 10일과 12일 두 차례에 걸쳐 학교 동쪽 약 200m지점(의귀리 1506-6번지)의 밭으로 끌려가 학살당하는 비극을 맞았다. 무장대와 내통했다는 구실로 군인들이 양민들을 살해해 버린 것이다.

묘역조성 및 제례봉행

사건이 끝나고 한참 세월이 흐른 후에야 유족들은 버려지듯 방치된 묘역을 정비할 수 있었다.

- 1964년 12월 묘역 매입, 해마다 벌초
- 1968년 불 봉분 단장 및 산당 조성, 제례 봉행
- 1983년 불 의로운 넋들이 함께 묻혔다는 의미의 '현의합장묘(顯義合葬墓)' 묘비 건립



유해발굴 및 이장

사건발생 54년 만인 2003년 9월 16일 이장을 위해 유해를 발굴하는 과정에서 서쪽 봉분 17구, 가운데 봉분 8구, 동쪽 봉분 14구 등 총 39구(남자 15구, 여자 7구, 청소년 추정 2구 포함)한 성별 미상 17구가 다수의 유물과 함께 확인됐다. 그러나 어린이의 유골을 비롯한 수많은 유골들은 이미 세월의 더께에 흩어져서 가뭇없이 사라져 버린 상태였다.




발굴된 유해와 유물

현의합장묘 유허비





유허비 비문

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새롭게 단장된 묘역

현의합장묘역이 안락한 도로에 돌출되는 상황에 이르자 새로운 유적 조성이 필요했다. 이에 유족들은 심시일반으로 기금을 모으고 관계 요원에 간청하여 수암리 '신산모루' 지경에 부지를 마련하고 2003년 9월 새롭게 안장했다.

그리고 매년 음력 8월 24일에 위령제를 봉행하고 있다.



현의합장묘 43위령공원 전경



현의합장묘 위령제 모습

현의합장묘 작은전시관




현의합장묘 조성 배경

현의합장묘 조성 배경

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