REFLEKSIJA DRUŠTVENIH TRAUMATIČNIH DOGAĐAJA NA ČLANOVE U ANALITIČKOJ GRUPI

/ THE REFLECTION OF TRAUMATIC EVENTS IN SOCIETY ON THE MEMBERS OF AN ANALYTIC GROUP

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SAŽETAK/SUMMARY

Tri traumatska događaja (dva ubojstva i požar) koja su se dogodila u Dalmaciji u ljeto 2017. godine u razdoblju od dvadesetak dana utjecala su na članove heterogene analitičke grupe koja traje dvije i pol godine. Iako su se tijekom duljeg razdoblja osjećali dobro, ti su traumatični događaji unijeli nemir, strah, uskrsnuće traumatskih sjećanja te potrebu za suočavanjem s novim, potisnutim dijelovima traumatskih doživljaja proživljenih u djetinjstvu ili u mladosti.

/ Three traumatic events (two murders and a fire) which happened in Dalmatia during the summer of 2017 over the period of around twenty days affected the members of a heterogenous analytic group which has lasted for two and half years. Although the members had felt good for a long period, the current traumatic events introduced unrest, fear, the resurrection of traumatic memories and the need for facing new and repressed parts of traumatic events from childhood or youth.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI / KEY WORDS

trauma / *trauma*, grupna analiza / *group analysis*, psihoterapijska grupa / *group psychotherapy*

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UVOD

Psihička trauma razara i donosi gubitak. Riječ *traumatizirati* znači uzrokovati psihičko opterećenje, traumu. Trauma može izazvati strah, otežati mogućnost uspješne prilagodbe na svakodnevne životne okolnosti, izazvati osjećaj bespomoćnosti.

Traumatska iskustva ponekad ostaju sačuvana u patološkom obliku, prekidajući vezu između sjećanja, emocija i spoznaje. Ponekad životne okolnosti probude elemente i dijelove prošlosti koje je osoba potisnula uz snažan osjećaj da se traumatični događaj zbiva upravo sada. Tijek vremena, fantazije, osjećaji i interpretacije traumatičnog događaja iz prošlosti miješaju se s traumatičnim događajem u sadašnjosti. Osoba često može intelektualno i na racionalnoj razini odvojiti ta dva događaja, ali emocionalno oni se često spajaju u jedan (1). U tom trenutku osoba može osjetiti kao da su se patnje iz prošlosti ponovo vratile i pojavile u sadašnjosti. I kao da se zatvorena trauma, rana, ponovo aktivira, krvari i boli.

Psihički aparat zatvoren je sustav koji se od intenzivnih podražaja štiti pomoću membrane i čiji je cilj zadržati konstantnu količinu energije u stabilnoj ravnoteži (2). Kad je stimulacija/trauma velika, nastaje rupa/pukotina

INTRODUCTION

Psychological trauma destroys and brings loss. The word *traumatize* means to cause psychological burden, trauma. Trauma can cause fear, reduce the possibility of successfully adapting to everyday life circumstances and cause the feeling of helplessness.

Traumatic experiences sometimes remain preserved in a pathological form, thus severing the connection between memory, emotion and realization. Sometimes life circumstances awaken elements and parts of a past that a person has suppressed, with a strong feeling that the traumatic event is happening right now. The course of time, fantasies, emotions and interpretations of the traumatic event from the past are mixed with a traumatic event in the present. The person may often be able to separate the two events on the intellectual and rational level, but emotionally they often fuse into one (1). In such moments, the person may feel as though the suffering from the past has returned and reappeared in the present. And it seems the encapsulated trauma, the wound, is reactivated and is again bleeding and causing pain.

The psychological machine is a closed system which is defended from intense stimuli by a membrane and has the aim of maintaining a constant amount of energy in a stable balance (2). When the stimulation/trauma is great, there is a rupture/break in the membrane, which releases an amount of energy, which then manifests

u membrani koja oslobađa određenu količinu energije što se očituje velikom boli i patnjom te stalnim izvorom straha. Ta energija, koja nije povezana s reprezentacijom, ne putuje po asocijativnim lancima. Djeluje sama za sebe, lebdeća je i nepovezana te djeluje kao pseudoinstinkt. Njezina stimulacija dolazi iz socijalnog svijeta, ali kako bi imala učinka, mora pronaći referenciju u unutrašnjosti psihičkog aparata. Mora dolaziti iz unutrašnjosti instinktivnog svijeta i biti izgubljena u nedostatku poveznica u susretu s vanjskim svijetom (2).

KLINIČKI PRIMJERI – ISJEČCI IZ ANALITIČKE GRUPE

Grupa traje dvije i pol godine u istom sastavu, sa seansama jedanput tjedno po sat i pol u ambulantnim uvjetima. Sastoji se od šest članova (tri muškarca i tri žene). Maja, Marko, Zoran (svo troje liječi se od PTSP-a), Ivana, Goran i Andrijana.

Maja je medicinska sestra koja se odmah nakon mature uključila u rat, u sanitet. Ondje upoznaje budućeg supruga koji je dvaput ranjavan i koji je „heroj" postrojbe. Trenutačno razmišlja o rastavi jer, kako navodi, PTSP je osim u ratu „dobila" i od svojega supruga.

as great pain and suffering and a constant source of fear. This energy, which is not connected with representation, does not travel down the chains of association. It acts on its own, is free-floating and disconnected, acting as a pseudoinstinct. Its stimulation comes from the social world, but in order to create its effect it must find a reference in the inner space of the psychological machine. It must come from the inside of the instinctive world and be lost in the lack of a connection when meeting the external world (2).

CLINICAL EXAMPLES – EXTRACTS FROM THE ANALYTIC GROUP

The group has lasted for two and a half years with the same members, with sessions held once a week for an hour and a half in clinical conditions. It consists of six members (three men and three women). Maja, Marko, Zoran (all three treated for PTSD), Ivana, Goran and Andrijana.

Maja is a medical nurse who joined the war as part of the medical division immediately after graduating from high school. That is how she met her future husband, who was wounded twice and is the "hero" of the division. She is currently considering a divorce because, as she says, she developed PTSD not only as a result of the war but her husband as well.

Marko and Zoran are war veterans who experienced a series of traumatic events

Marko i Zoran veterani su koji su tijekom rata doživjeli velik broj traumatičnih događaja koje su iznosili tijekom terapije, ali i u djetinjstvu su doživjeli traume koje su dotad u grupi bile iznesene na vrlo površnoj razini.

Marko je u svojoj devetoj godini bio svjedok pogibije prijatelja kojeg je usmrtio vlak. Često je pripovijedao da je kao dijete nakon tog nesretnog događaja „izazivao smrt". Znao bi voziti bicikl uz rub na vrhu nebodera i preskakati s jednog balkona na drugi.

Zoran je bio žrtva pedofila u predškolskoj dobi. Često govori o agresivnim nekontroliranim ispadima u prometu ili prema ukućanima koji ga nisu zaštitili u djetinjstvu te iznosi snove pune agresivnih elemenata i krvi.

Ivana se liječi od paničnih napadaja. Odrasla je na selu, u tradicionalnoj obitelji. Ima četrnaest godina stariju sestru, a rođena je devet godina nakon smrti brata koji je umro kao beba od devet mjeseci. U tinejdžerskoj dobi doživjela je pokušaj seksualnog nasrtaja starijeg susjeda nakon čega traži pomoć svećenika koji joj ne vjeruje što je kod Ivane izazvalo povredu i povlačenje. Ima dvoje djece i nije zadovoljna odnosom u braku.

Goran je uključen u grupu jer je zatražio pomoć zbog depresije i nakon što je nasrnuo na suprugu koja je pokrenu-

during the war, which they expressed during therapy, but who also experienced traumas during childhood, which had until then only been expressed in the group on a very superficial level.

When he was nine, Marko witnessed the death of a friend, who was killed by a train. He often said that, after this unfortunate event, he used to "taunt death" as a child. He would ride his bicycle along the edge of a skyscraper and jump from one balcony to another.

Zoran was a victim of a pedofile when he was of pre-school age. He often talks about aggressive, uncontrolled outbursts in traffic or towards members of his household who failed to protect him in his childhood and also talks about dreams full of blood and aggressive elements.

Ivana is being treated for panic attacks. He grew up in a village, in a traditional family. He has a sister who is fourteen years younger, and she was born nine years after the death of her brother, who died as baby when he was nine months old. In her teenage years she experienced sexual assault at the hands of an older neighbour, after which she sought the help a priest who did not believe her, which caused her to feel pain and retreat into herself. She has two children and is dissatisfied by the relationship in her marriage.

Goran joined the group because he sought help due to depression and after he assaulted his wife, who has initiated a divorce proceeding. He has three children. Although he is a regular group

la parnicu za rastavu. Ima troje djece. Iako je redoviti član grupe, zatvoren je, oprezan i u grupi uglavnom šuti.

Andrijana je samohrana majka, također uključena u grupu nakon depresivne epizode. Zaposlena je honorarno, nema stalna primanja, živi sa sinom i majkom s kojom ne komunicira.

Tri traumatična događaja, dva ubojstva, u jednom slučaju liječnika, u drugom supruge, nakon čega su ubojice izvršile samoubojstvo, te požar koji je buknuo nadomak Splita ugrozivši živote i imovinu ljudi dogodila su se u razdoblju od dvadesetak dana u Splitu i Dalmaciji (22. lipnja, 2. i 17. srpnja 2017.) i dovela do regresije grupe i reaktivacije individualnih neprorađenih trauma.

Prvi događaj

Prvi događaj (ubojstvo supruge i samoubojstvo počinitelja) iznimno je uznemirio Ivanu, koja se liječi od napadaja panike. Među ostalim problemima koje je iznosila u grupi tijekom liječenja, pričala je i o svojim strahovima od samoubojstva budući da je u obitelji imala slučajeve samoubojstva (dvije su se njezine rođakinje ubile). Ima strah od gubitka kontrole i nametajuće misli (nije smjela pogledati vrh zgrade jer bi joj se javljale misli kao što su „što bi bilo kada bih se sada bacila sa zgrade" bojeći se da bi mogla nesvjesno naudi-

member, he is closed off and careful and usually silent in the group.

Andrijana is a single mother who also joined the group after a depressive episode. She has a freelance job, does not have a regular income and lives with her son and mother, with whom she does not communicate.

Three traumatic events, two murders, that of a doctor and that of a wife, followed by the murderers committing suicide, and a fire which started near Split, threatening the lives and property of people, happened within a span of around twenty days in Split and Dalmatia (on the 22nd of June and the 2nd and the 17th of July, 2017) and led to the regression of the group and the reactivation of individual traumas that had not been worked through.

The first event

The first event (the murder of a wife and the subsequent suicide of the murderer) deeply upset Ivana, who is being treated for panic attacks. Among other problems she expressed in the group during treatment, she also talked about her fear of suicide, since she has had examples of suicide in her family (two of her cousins committed suicide). She has the fear of loss of control and automatic thoughts (she couldn't look the top of a building because she would have the thought "What would happen if I jumped off the building now?" and feared that she might hurt herself unconsciously). She claims she does not think about suicide otherwise

ti sebi). Inače navodi da ne razmišlja o samoubojstvu i da si nikad ne bi svjesno naudila, ali se boji gubitka kontrole nad sobom. Vijest o ubojstvu i samoubojstvu probudila je njezine strahove, posebno jer je počinitelja poznavala iz djetinjstva (iz istog su sela) i doživljavala ga kao dobra čovjeka bez psihičkih problema. Posljednji put vidjeli su se i razgovarali dvije godine prije tog događaja. Govoreći o tom događaju potpuno ignorira čin ubojstva zaokupljujući se isključivo činom samoubojstva (počinitelj se objesio u obližnjoj crkvi nakon što je ubio suprugu). Dvoumi se oko odlaska na pokop bojeći se napadaja panike. Prisjeća se događaja povezanog s počiniteljem kad je imala pet godina.

Živjela je na selu. Igrala se s djecom iz susjedstva u njegovoj kući kad je začula pucanj iz susjedne sobe koji je snažno odjeknuo. Kao dijete nije znala što taj zvuk znači i što se događa kad je čula viku, krik i jauke. Susjed ju je zgrabio i trčeći je odnio kući. Njegova sestra, osamnaestogodišnjakinja, tom je prilikom izvršila samoubojstvo. Ivana se sjeća panike i straha ljudi oko nje koji su se tog trenutka tamo zatekli, izraza lica i zadihanosti susjeda koji ju je nosio i trčao te vlastita straha.

Pita se je li samoubojstvo nasljedno i može li se i njoj to dogoditi? Zašto se objesio u crkvi?

and that she would never hurt herself consciously but is afraid of losing control over herself. The story of the murder and suicide awakened her fears, especially because she knew the murderer since her childhood (they both come from the same village) and thought of him as a good man with no psychological problems. The last time they saw each other and spoke was two years before this event. While talking about this event, she completely ignores the act of murder, focusing entirely on the act of suicide (the murderer hung himself in a nearby church after killing his wife). She has second thoughts about attending the funeral, fearing that she might have a panic attack there. She recalls an event related to the murderer from when she was five years old. She lived in the village. She was playing with the neighbourhood children in his house when she heard a gunshot from the other room, which reverberated loudly. As a child, she did not know what the sound meant and what was happening when she heard screaming and crying. The neighbour grabbed her and ran, carrying her in his arms, and took her to her house. His sister, an eighteen-year-old, had committed a suicide. Ivana remembers the panic and fear of the people who were there at the time, the facial expression and the lack of breath of the neighbour how had carried her as he ran, and of her own fear.

She wonders if suicide is inherited genetically and if this could happen to her. Why did he hang himself in the church?

Socijalna trauma reaktivirala je potisnutu individualnu traumu iz djetinjstva i osvijestila osjećaje koji su do tada bili potisnuti i neprepoznati. Proces razvijanja lanaca reprezentacije koji započinje u djetinjstvu oblikuje osobno nasljeđe i osobni stil odgovora na nove podražaje (2).

Počela se prisjećati svoje potištenosti i čestog plakanja i to povezala s obiteljskom situacijom u doba kad je imala pet godina. Povezivala je svoje osjećaje s tadašnjim događajima u obitelji: iznenadna trudnoća njezine starije sestre, studentice u drugom gradu, iste dobi kao i djevojka koja je počinila samoubojstvo, te njezino ostavljanje bebe (njezina nećaka) roditeljima dok nastavlja studij. Nećaka i danas doživljava kao brata. Prisjeća se i svojeg straha, plakanja u mraku sama u svojoj sobi i dozivanja majke koja se nije odazivala. Na pitanje što misli zašto se ne odaziva kaže da je mama vjerojatno ili preumorna od čuvanja bebe ili misli da je ona „dovoljno velika", da se ne bi smjela bojati i da treba „ojačati".

U razumijevanju straha od samoubojstva zanimljive su rečenice koje navodi Dragan Pavelić, a koje mu je u njegovu naukovanju uputila pokojna profesorica Duška Blažević: „Nitko se nije ubio zato što mu je današnji dan odjednom postao neizdrživim, a napor da ga preživi preteškim. Ubija se samo onaj koji

Social trauma reactivated a suppressed individual trauma from childhood and made her aware of feelings that had previously been suppressed and unrecognized. The process of the development of the chains of association, which begins in childhood, forms the personal legacy and the personal style reacts to new stimuli (2).

She began to recall her depression and frequent crying, connecting that with the family situation at the time when she was five years old. She connected her feelings with the events that were then happening in the family: the sudden pregnancy of her older sister, a student in another city, who was the same age as the girl who had committed suicide and who left the baby (her nephew) to her parents while she continued studying. She still thinks of her nephew as her brother. She also recalls her fear, crying in the dark, alone in her room, and calling for her mother who did not respond. When asked why she thinks she did not respond, she says her mother was probably too tired from taking care of the baby or she thought she was "big enough" not to be afraid and that she should "toughen up".

When understanding the fear of suicide, there are some interesting words which Dragan Pavelić points out, words that he heard from his late professor Duška Blažević: "No one has ever committed suicide because that day became unbearable and the effort to survive it too great. Only people who at some time failed

svojedobno nije uspio prevladati svoju dječju potištenost. Zbog tadašnje i ova sadašnja čini mu se nerješivom (3).“

Drugi događaj

Nakon tjedan dana na sljedećoj seansi Marko, koji se godinama liječi od PTSP-a, navodi kako ga je iznimno uznemirila priča o braniteljju koji je ubio liječnika. Nije mogao zaspati. Identificirao se s braniteljem i ispričao događaj koji ga je naveo da se počne liječiti prije osam godina. Navodi: „Meni je taj osjećaj bijesa vrlo blizak kad izgubim kontrolu i kad mi se zacrni pred očima. Tada nisam svjestan svojih postupaka. Ubiti čovjeka u takvu trenutku meni je poznat osjećaj.“

Godinama je nakon rata u kojem je proživio mnoge traumatične situacije (smrt suboraca, strah i agresiju) radio i uredno izvršavao svoje obveze na poslu i u obitelji. Ponižavajuća primjedba poslodavca o braniteljima u trenutku kad mu na radno mjesto dolazi prijatelj iz rata („Što vi branitelji hoćete, samo ste teret društvu i stalno tražite nekakve privilegije! Uhvatite se posla!“) izazvala je burnu Markovu reakciju. Agresivno napušta radno mjesto (izvrnuo je stol). Navodi da uopće nije bio svjestan kad je i kako sjeo u automobil ni puta od posla do svoje kuće. Došavši kući uzima oružje s namjerom povratka na posao radi osvete. Uvjeren je da bi u tom tre-

to overcome childhood depression kill themselves” (3).

The second event

A week later, during the next session, Marko, who has been treated for PTSD for years, claims to have been deeply unsettled by a story about a war veteran who killed a doctor. He could not fall asleep. He identified himself with the veteran and told about the event who prompted him to seek treatment eight years ago. He says: “To me, this feeling of anger was very familiar, when I lose control and I black out. Then I am not aware of my actions. Killing a man in such a moment is a familiar feeling for me.”

For years after the war in which he went through numerous traumatic situations (death of his fellow soldiers, fear and aggression), he worked and dutifully performed his obligations at work and in his family. A demeaning remark by employer at a time when a friend from the war came to his workplace (“What do you veterans want? You’re just a burden to the society and you keep asking for some privileges! Get working!”) cause Marko’s strong reaction. He aggressively left his workplace (he turned over a desk). He claims he does not remember when and how he got in his car, nor does he remember travelling home from work. Upon coming home, he takes a weapon with the aim of returning to work and seeking revenge. He is convinced that he could have murdered his employer in

nutku bio u stanju ubiti poslodavca da ga supruga i prijatelj nisu zaustavili. Ta ga je spoznaja prenerazila, kao i osjećaj da je u stanju učiniti „nešto strašno" mimo svoje volje i kontrole, nešto nagonsko i tvrdokorno. To ga je potaknulo da potraži psihijatrijsku pomoć i vrati policiji oružje koje je posjedovao.

Tijekom psihoterapijskog procesa u protekle dvije i pol godine prorađivao je osjećaj bespomoćnosti, bijesa te želju za osvetom balansirajući u borbi sa strahom i bijesom. Bio je iznenađen svojom sadašnjom reakcijom na događaj koji ga je uznemirio i izazvao mu nesanicu. U posljednje vrijeme osjećao se dobro i mislio je da je napredovao tijekom godina svojeg individualnog i grupnog liječenja. Sad je imao osjećaj kao da je nestala granica između prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti.

U takvim situacijama u nekih osoba s PTSP-om trauma pretvara doživljaj vremena u fragmentirano iskustvo koje je odvojeno od stvarnog vremena. Kao da se bilo kakav znak koji ima sličnosti sa znacima prijašnjih traumatičnih doživljaja percipira kao alarm za opasnost (2). Svi nakupljeni i potisnuti osjećaji poniženja, bijesa i osvetoljubivosti koje je Marko osjećao tijekom rata oživjeli su i usmjerili se prema novim osobama u životu, odnosno prema poslodavcu (koji ga je inače maltretirao na poslu), kojeg je počeo doživljavati kao neprijatelja.

that state if his wife and friend had not stopped him. This realization shocked him, as did the feeling that he is capable of doing something "so terrible" that is outside his control, something impulsive and hard core. This prompted him to seek psychiatric control and give the weapon he possessed to the police.

During psychotherapy over the past two and half years, he has been working through the feeling of helplessness, anger and a wish for revenge, balancing in a struggle with fear and anger. In the group he was surprised by his reaction to the event that unsettled him and caused him insomnia. Recently, he had been feeling well and he had the impression he had progressed over the years of individual and group treatment. Now, however, he had the feeling that the boundary between the past, present and future had vanished.

In such situations, in some people suffering from PTSD trauma transforms the experience of time into a fragmented experience separated form real time. As though any sign which is similar to the signs of past traumatic events is perceived as a danger alarm (2). All accumulated, repressed feelings of humiliation, anger and vengefulness that Marko felt during the war had been revived and directed at new people in his life, his employer (who usually mistreated him at work), who he perceived as an enemy.

Marko claims that the story of the veteran-murderer took him eight years back,

Marko navodi da ga je priča o braniteljju ubojici vratila osam godina unatrag i potaknula fantazije kako ubija šefa, a vjerojatno bi, jednako kao i taj branitelj, poslije ubio i sebe.

Nastavlja priču o tome kako mu predstoji izlazak na komisiju za dobivanje vojne mirovine i kako bi bilo najbolje da on „njima tamo" (liječnicima) pokaže da je on branitelj i kako bi ih trebao prestrašiti, razbacati stol, silom se izboriti za svoju vojnu mirovinu (u tri je navrata odbijen). Pritom provokativno i radoznalo gleda u terapeuta promatrajući reakciju.

Zoran, također branitelj, prepoznao je sebe u tim reakcijama komentirajući da je i on maknuo od sebe oružje jer nije siguran bi li u stanju bijesa mogao nekoga ubiti. Podržava Marka u tome da liječnicima na komisiji „pokaže svoje".

Andrijana se priključuje pričom o vlastitoj agresivnoj reakciji u svađi sa sestrom. Gotovo su se fizički obračunale nakon što se posvađala s majkom. Došlo joj je da im „smrska glave". To je prvi put da im se suprotstavila jer „oduvijek šuti i kupi u sebe" i navela je da se nakon toga osjećala „baš dobro, čak super".

Terapeut je bio zatečen i uplašen tim valom ekspresije agresivnosti i osjećao je da je ta agresija dijelom usmje-

when he fantasized about killing his employer, and he says he would have probably killed himself afterwards, just like the other veteran.

He continues the story by saying that he is facing a meeting with the commission for assigning war pensions and that it would be best if her showed "those guys there" (the doctors) that we is a war veteran and that he should frighten them, turn over a desk, use force to fight for his pension (he had been rejected on three previous occasions). During this, he looks at the therapist in a provoking manner and curiously observes his reaction.

Zoran, who is also a veteran, recognized himself in these reactions, saying that he too handed in his weapon because he was not certain he would be unable to murder someone in a fit of anger. He supports Marko's claim that the doctors in the commission "should get what they deserve".

Andrijana joins the discussion with a story about her own aggressive reaction in an argument with her sister. They almost had a physical altercation after she had a fight with her mother. She felt like "smashing their heads in". That was the first time she stood up to them because she "is always silent and holding things in" and she claims that afterwards she felt "really well, just great".

The therapist was surprised and frightened by this wave of expression of aggression and felt that this aggression was

rena i prema njemu kao što je bila usmjerena prema šefu, liječnicima iz komisije, majci i sestri kojima treba „smrskati glavu". Porukama o izbjegavanju konfliktnih situacija i stresa (Andrijani da se odseli od majke koja je frustrira i osamostali, Zoranu da ode na bolovanje kad ne može funkcionirati na poslu, Marku da se također povuče iz nekih odnosa koji ga frustriraju) terapeut je ojačao osjećaj bespomoćnosti u grupi, nezadovoljstvo i nepovjerenje prema terapeutu/autoritetu koji nije mogao u dovoljnoj mjeri zaštititi grupu od vanjskog svijeta i koji „traži" od članova da se radije povuku nego da „uzmu stvar u svoje ruke".

Navedena grupna dinamika može se promatrati kao grupni mehanizam obrane od anksioznosti. Prema Bionu grupa se u regresiji ponaša kao da ima zajednički nesvjesni cilj. U temeljnoj pretpostavci borba/bijeg grupa očekuje od vođe da se suoči s vanjskim neprijateljem i zaštiti je od sukoba. Dominantne značajke obuhvaćaju sklonost grupe da pokuša kontrolirati vođu ili doživjeti sebe kao da je kontrolirana od vođe, doživljaj bliskosti zajedničkim poricanjem agresije i projekciju agresije na vanjsku skupinu. Dakle, dominiraju cijepanje, projekcija agresije i projektivna identifikacija, sumnjičavost, borba i strah od uništenja (4).

partly directed at him, as it was at the employer, the doctors in the commission, the mother and the sister whose heads have to be "smashed in". By sending messages about avoiding conflict situations and stress (telling Andrijana to move away from her frustrating mother and to become independent, telling Zoran to take sick leave when he cannot function at work, telling Marko to leave certain relationships that frustrate him), the therapist increased the feeling of helplessness in the group and the unsatisfaction with and distrust toward the therapist/authority who was unable to sufficiently protect the group from the external world, "asking" the members to retreat rather than "taking things into their own hands".

This group dynamic can be observed as a group mechanism of defence from anxiety. According to Bion, during regression the group acts as though it has some common unconscious goal. The basic assumption of the fight or flight group is that it expects the leader to face the external enemy and protect the group from conflict. The dominant characteristics include the tendency of the group to control the leader or perceive themselves as controlled by the leader, a feeling of closeness through mutual denial od aggression and the projection of aggression to an external group. Thus, division, the projection of aggression and projective identification, suspicion, struggle and fear of destruction become dominant (4).

The story of the aggressive impulses of the group members had previously been

Priča o agresivnim pulzijama članova grupe bila je dotad potisnuta, a nedavni događaji reaktivirali su je. Kao da su se dotad trudili pokazati u svjetlu koje će zadovoljiti terapeuta i držali „neprimjerene" agresivne sadržaje izvan grupe. Terapeut je zbog vlastita straha od agresije svojim intervencijama inhibirao agresivne osjećaje u grupi, a nedavni vanjski događaj rasplamsao ih je.

Treći događaj

Nakon nekoliko dana dogodio se veliki požar nadomak Splita. Na seansi dan poslije sve je bilo u znaku požara i osjećaja koje je pobudio. Članovi grupe komentirali su događaj, uzroke, razloge, koliko ovisimo o silama prirode i drugim ljudima.

Maju je požar snažno podsjetio na rat. Miris paleži po cijelom Splitu, oblak pepela, panika koja je zavladala, praćenje vijesti (dokle je požar došao, što je uništio). „Vođe" izjavljuju da ljudi ne izlaze sami na teren, da se obrate policiji i vatrogascima ako žele pomoći, izjave o zatvaranju prozora, izbjegavanju određenih prometnica, zvukovi sirena, vojska angažirana u borbi protiv požara, ali i osjećaj zajedništva i pripadnosti, sve ju je to vratilo u doba rata prije dvadesetak godina.

Ivana je s djetetom bila u trgovačkom centru blizu požarišta i nije znala što

supressed and recent events had reactivated it. It was as if, until then, they had tried to show themselves in a light that would please the therapist and keep the "inappropriate" aggressive contents outside the group. Due to their own fear of aggression, the therapist inhibited the aggressive feelings in the group through their interventions, and the recent external event caused them to flare out.

The third event

Several days later there was a large fire in the vicinity of Split. In a session that took place the day after, everything was overshadowed by the fire and the emotions it had started. The group members commented on the event itself, the causes, the reasons, how much we depend on the forces of nature and other people.

Maja was reminded of the war by the fire. The smell of burning all over Split, the cloud of ash, the panic that took hold of everyone, following the news (how far the fire has reached, what has it destroyed). "The leaders" tell the people not to go out into the field alone, to contact the police and firefighters if they wish to help, warnings about closing windows, avoiding certain roads, the sound of sirens, the army fighting the fire, but also the feeling of togetherness and belonging, all this reminded her and took her back to the time of the war twenty years ago.

Ivana was with her child in a shopping centre close to the scene of the fire and

se vani događa dok nije navečer oko 20 sati nestalo struje. Na razglasu su rekli da se trgovački centar ranije zatvara i molili ljude da ga što prije napuste. Blagajnica joj je drhtavim rukama naplaćivala račun i panično komentirala da je iz Osijeka došla sezonski raditi u Split i da ju je ta situacija potpuno vratila u ratno doba kad je kao osmogodišnjakinja bježala s roditeljima u sklonište. Ivani je izlazak iz centra također bio uznemirujući, velika kolona automobila koja je okupirala izlazne ceste, dugotrajno stajanje na mjestu, nervoza vozača, panika, pogled iz automobila na blizinu vatre i opasnost koja se približava, strah i odgovornost za dijete od kojega je pokušavala sakriti paniku podsjetile su je na slike s televizije za vrijeme rata koje je gledala s roditeljima kao jedanaestogodišnja djevojčica i na njihov izraz lica i strah.

Naknadno su se u grupi, a usporedo i u medijima, pojavile kalkulacije o mogućnosti da su požari podmetnuti i da su ih podmetnuli Srbi. Slušajući članove grupe i njihove asocijacije, usporedbe požara i rata, moglo se primijetiti koliko su građani bili traumatizirani tijekom rata i koliko je požar kao prirodna nepogoda izazvao kod njih regresivne osjećaje i projekcije zbog kojih se i nakon dvadeset i pet godina osjećaju proganjanima od istog neprijatelja. Grupa je terapeutu pomogla razumjeti to iskrivljeno logičko zaključivanje,

was not aware of what was happening outside until later that night, around 8.00 p.m., the power went out. The announcement over the PA said the shopping centre was closing earlier and asked the customers to leave it as soon as possible. The cashier took her money with shaking hands and said in a panic that she was from Osijek, doing a temporary job in Split, and that this situation completely took her back to the war time, when she was an eight-year-old running for the bomb shelter with her parents. Ivana also found leaving the shopping centre unsettling, a long line of cars had occupied the exit roads, the cars waiting for a long time without moving, the nervousness of the drivers, panic, the view from the can of the vicinity of the fire and the danger drawing near, fear and responsibility for the child from whom she was trying to hide the panic all reminded her of the war-time images on TV she had watched with her parents as an eleven-year-old girl.

Later, both in the group and in the media, there were comments about the possibility of the fire having been started by Serbs. Listening to the group members and their associations, the comparisons between the fire and the war, it was possible to see that the members had been so traumatized during the war and that the fire as a natural disaster had caused regressive emotions and projections in them to such an extent that even twenty-five years later, they felt terrorized by the same enemy. The group helped the therapist understand this warped logical reasoning, however meaningless it may

ma koliko besmisleno zvučalo. Ako je požar izazvao osjećaje koji su nas podsjetili na rat i vratili sjećanje na njega, nekako je i „logično" da su Srbi krivi ne samo za rat, nego i za požar. U medijima je profesor Urlić sarkastično postavio pitanje jesu li i u Portugalu Srbi podmetnuli požar, jer je u isto vrijeme i tamo harao.

Urlić navodi stajalište Gladstonea da su razvoj sposobnosti za mržnju i nadilaženje mržnje dva najvažnija postignuća u razvoju ega prema upravljanju agresijom s obzirom na svijet objekata (5).

Važno je kako „vođe" interpretiraju traumatične događaje. Opasne situacije za veliku skupinu mogu se dogoditi ako ih vođe interpretiraju na način koji traži osvetu ili neke druge destruktivne aktivnosti što može uzrokovati demonizaciju neprijatelja i beskrajan krug nasilja i traumatizacija (2).

Nakon desetak dana, dok su požari i dalje harali Dalmacijom, u medijima je izašla obavijest da su uhićene dvije djevojke u dobi od 22 i 24 godine za koje se sumnja da su podmetnule požar blizu sela u kojem živi većinsko srpsko stanovništvo. Kao razlog su navele revolt prema Srbima jer su u Domovinskom ratu zapaljene kuće njihovih roditelja.

Nakon ta tri događaja Ivana izostaje s tri seanse, a ostali članovi izražavaju zabrinutost za nju. Marko se prisjeća

have sounded. If the fire caused emotions that had reminded us of the war and brought back memories of it, then it was somehow "logical" that Serbs were guilty not just for the war, but the fire as well. In the media, Prof Urlić sarcastically asked whether Serbs had also started the fires in Portugal, since there was a fire raging in that country at the time.

Urlić points out Gladstone's belief that the development of the ability to hate and overcoming hate are two of the most important achievements in the development of the ego towards controlling aggression with regard to the world of objects (5).

It is important that "leaders" interpret traumatic events. Dangerous situations may occur in a group if leaders interpret them in a way that seeks revenge or some other destructive activities, which may cause the demonization of enemies and an endless circle of violence and traumatization (2).

Ten days later, while fires were still raging across Dalmatia, there was an announcement in the media that two girls aged 22 and 24 had been arrested under the suspicion they had started the fire in the vicinity of a village with a majority of Serbian population. The reason for this, they said, was anger towards Serbs because their parents' houses had been set on fire during the Homeland War.

After these three events, Ivana does not come to three group sessions, and the other members express concern for her.

da nakon smrti prijatelja iz djetinjstva (a slično se ponovilo i u ratnim gubitcima) desetak dana nije izlazio iz kuće ni jeo. Prisjeća se majčine, a kasnije i suprugine zabrinutosti za njega pa navodi da se možda Ivana sad izolirala od njih.

Nakon što su se terapeuti i neki članovi grupe suočili s njom zbog nenajavljenih izostanaka rasplakala se i uznemirila. Na sljedećoj seansi navodi da se cijeli protekli tjedan osjećala iznimno loše i da je bila ljuta na terapeuta.

Pripovijeda san koji je sanjala nakon posljednje grupne seanse. Sanja da je izgubila ključ crkve, ali su vrata otvorena i na oltaru vidi svećenika koji se pretvara u sotonu. Neka sila podiže je na strop i odozgo prestrašeno gleda sotonu. Tada se nadovezuje i Marko koji ushićeno kaže da je i on sanjao sotonu kao žensku osobu koja trči maraton odjevena u trenirku s policijskom značkom. Kao izrasline policajka na jednoj ruci ima sotonu, a na drugoj zmaja (opisuje zmaja kao snažnog i moćnog).

Goran sanja ključ kojim ne može otključati dizalo ni mnogobrojna vrata koja su prepreke sve dok sam ne izradi ključ koji će ga dovesti do vrha nebodera.

Analiza sna pridonijela je osvješćivanju i proradi otpora prema terapiji u liku svećenika (terapeuta) koji im ne pomaže, nego ih na neki način trauma-

Marko recalls that following the death of a childhood friend he did not eat or leave the house for ten days (and something similar happened after losses during the war). He recalls his mothers, and later his wife's, concern for him, and expresses belief that Ivana may have isolated herself from the group.

After being confronted by the therapist and some group members regarding unannounced absences, Ivana was upset and started crying. In the following session she says she had been feeling very bad during the entire previous week and that she was angry at the therapist.

She recalls a dream she had after the last group session. She dreamt of losing the key to a church, but the doors are open, and she sees a priest on the altar turning into Satan. Some force carries her up to the ceiling and from above she watches Satan with fear. Marko excitedly joins in, saying that he too had dreamt Satan as a female person running the marathon dressed in a tracksuit with a police badge. On one arm she has a growth in the form of Satan, and on the other in the form of a dragon (he associates strength and power with the dragon).

Goran dreamt about a key with which he was unable to unlock an elevator and numerous doors that act as obstacles, until he finally made his own key that took him to the top of a skyscraper.

Dream analysis helped make them aware of and work through resistance to therapy through the figure of the priest (the

tizira i budi agresivne osjećaje i u liku policajca sotone koji je ujedno izdržljiv (maratonac), snažan i opasan. Osvješćivanjem i proradom ljutnje terapeut im „daje dopuštenje" da verbaliziraju svoje destruktivne pulzije bez straha od potpunog gubitka granica i kontrole („izvrnuti stol" ili disocirati se). Bili su sve kritičniji prema teškoćama reguliranja i izražavanja vlastitih agresivnih ispada što je pridonijelo jačanju grupnog identiteta i doživljaju grupe kao zaštićenog i sigurnog mjesta.

RASPRAVA I ZAKLJUČAK

Socijalna trauma posebno je važna u oblikovanju socijalnog nesvjesnog, a odnosi se na zajedničku mentalnu predodžbu masovne traume koju su preci grupe pretrpjeli pod rukom neprijatelja (6).

Koncept socijalnog nesvjesnog i njegova klinička primjena ključna je u radu S. H. Foulkesa. On je primjenjivao koncept socijalnog ili interpesonalnog nesvjesnog kako bi naglasio internaliziran socijalni svijet i značajke vanjskog socijalnog svijeta kojih ljudi nisu bili svjesni (7,8). Koncept je kasnije detaljnije objašnjen u Hooperovim radovima, koji socijalno nesvjesno definira kao dio individualnog nesvjesnog, odnosno kao situaciju kad društvo prodire u pojedinca, ali i kao značajku samog društva (9, 10).

therapist) who does not help them but traumatizes them in a way and awakens aggressive emotions, and the figure of the policeman-Satan who has endurance (runs the marathon) and is both strong and dangerous. By making them aware of and working through anger, the therapist "gives them the permission" to verbalize their destructive impulses without fear of total loss of boundaries and control ("turning over a desk" or dissociation). They were increasingly critical of the difficulties of regulating and expressing their aggressive outbursts, which strengthened group identity and increased the perception of the group as a safe and secure place.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Social trauma is of special significance for the formation of the social unconscious and relates to the common mental image of mass trauma suffered by the group's ancestors at the hands of their enemies (6).

The concept of the social unconscious and its clinical application is of central importance in the work of S. H. Foulkes. He used the concept of social or interpersonal unconscious to emphasize the internalized social world and the characteristics of the external social world which people were unaware of (7,8). This concept was later elaborated on in the work of Hooper, who defines the social unconscious as a part of the individu-

U prikazanim isječcima seansi u početku je prevladavalo individualno nesvjesno (strah od samoubojstva kod Ivane) potaknuto stimulacijom iz socijalnog svijeta, sve do požara koji je aktivirao socijalno nesvjesno, osjećaj žrtve i bespomoćnost koju su članovi grupe osjećali za vrijeme rata. Kada velika grupa regredira, u ovom slučaju zbog požara, njezina se „izabrana trauma" aktivira kako bi podržala ugroženi identitet grupe i aktivirala kolektivnu obranu od zajedničkih tjeskoba (1).

J. L. Herman navodi da rekonstruiranje traume nikad nije gotovo i razrješenje nikada nije konačno, a oporavak nikad nije potpun (11).

Svakodnevni događaji (kao navedena tri događaja u kratkom razdoblju) neminovno će oživljavati traumu i svaki put suočavati osobu s novim dijelovima traumatskog doživljaja. Simptomi i emocije oživjet će sa svakom stresnom situacijom koja joj se dogodi u životu i dotakne njezinu traumu. Ali nadamo se da će cijeli taj proces razrješenja traume te patnja i bol koju traumatizirani osjećaju s vremenom i liječenjem biti barem blažeg intenziteta. Kao znak početka razrješenja traume može se smatrati razdoblje kad osoba vrati svoju sposobnost da doživljava ugodu i osjećaj zadovoljstva sobom i u odnosima s drugim ljudima (11).

al unconscious, i.e. as the act of society invading the individual, but it is also defined as a feature of society itself (9,10).

In the presented extracts of sessions there was initial dominance of the individual unconscious (fear of suicide in Ivana), prompted by the stimulus from the social world, until the fire which activated the social unconscious, the feeling of victimhood and helplessness which group members experienced during the war. When a large group regresses, in this case due to a fire, its "chosen trauma" is activated in order to support the threatened identity of the group and activate the collective defence from common anxieties (1).

J. L. Herman claims that the reconstruction of trauma is never complete and resolution never final, while recovering never finishes (11).

Everyday events (such as the three events in a short time period) unavoidably revive trauma and confront a person with new elements of the traumatic experience. Symptoms and emotions are revived in every stressful situation which they experience in life and which touches upon their trauma. However, we hope that the entire process of the resolution of trauma and the pain and suffering they feel will over time at least reduce in intensity. One sign of the beginning of the resolution of trauma is the period when a person regenerates their ability to experience pleasure and the feeling of being content with themselves and in relationships with other people (11).

Sličica na kraju ovog izlaganja prikazuje početak tog procesa. Nakon svih iznesenih događaja Zoran na grupi iznosi kako je pri kraju ljeta u Splitu sa suprugom i prijateljima slavio prijateljev rođendan. Zaboravio je ponijeti šampanjac iz kuće te se morao vratiti po njega. Dok su ga prijatelji čekali u središtu grada, sa šampanjcem u ruci, prolazio je rivom i dijelovima grada s mnoštvom turista, glazbe i „šušura" koje inače nosi splitsko ljeto. U nekom trenutku, kad je čuo glazbu koju voli, stao je nasred rive i iznenađen oko sebe primijetio ljude koji se vesele, uživaju, smiju i izgledaju opušteno. Iznenadilo ga je što je to uopće primijetio jer nikad o tome nije razmišljao. Osjećao se kao „riba koja je prvi put primijetila vodu koja je okružuje" (12).

The scene described at the end of this presentation shows vividly the beginning of this process. After the description of all the events, Zoran tells the group how he celebrated his friend's birthday with his wide and friends in Split at the end of summer. He forgot to bring champagne, so he had to go back to his house for it. While his friends were waiting for him in the city centre, he was carrying the champagne and walking down the waterfront and through parts of the city filled with many tourists, music and the commotion that summer brings to Split. In one moment, he heard music that he loves, stopped in the middle of the waterfront and, with surprise, noticed people around him who were having fun, laughing and looking relaxed. He was surprised that he had even noticed this because he never thought about it. He felt like "a fish who had noticed the water around it for the first time" (12).

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