

Searching for Historical Trauma Recovery Model: Applied to Jeju 4.3 Historical Trauma

AeDuck Im Ph.D. in Social Welfare Policy
(Jeju National University)

Abstract

In this study, the anxiety about Jeju 4.3 was perceived to be passed down from generation to generation, and it was approached from the perspective of a historical trauma. From the interviews with my father from 2008 to 2014, and the anxiety expressed concerning 4.3, which was discovered during the in-depth interviews with the grandparents and succeeding generations who attended the social work practice class at Jeju National University in 2013 and 2015, was recognized as a universal phenomenon. In 2016, a social healing program was conducted through 3 generations communication between elderly people living in Chongsu, Hankyong-myeon, Jeju-si, Jeju-do, and students and parents who volunteered for the Social Welfare Foundation Chongsu. In the intergenerational communication program, it was found that not only the 4.3 experienced generation but also the 2nd generation who were forced to be silence about it were anxious about the expression of 4.3. and it was the 2nd generation being identified with an overall lack of awareness of 4.3 and the refusal of discussing it. The third generation felt as if Jeju 4.3 had been a historical event a long time ago or they learned about it from their grandparents. In this way, Jeju 4.3 observes that generations of trauma have been transferred from generation to generation. In order to confirm the cause of this traumatic event, the national daily newspapers Donga Ilbo(1962-1999), Kyung Hyang Newspaper (1947-1999), Maeil Business Newspaper (1966-1999), Hankyoreh Newspaper (1989-1999) were analyzed by the key word Jeju 4.3 in the Naver news library[1]. And it was analyzed how the national press had reported about 4.3 from 1947 to 1999. In particular, the titles and contents of the news reports were analyzed through the spectrum of "safety" according to the first condition of Herman's trauma healing, and Bronfenbrenner's PPCT system theory. In the Naver news library, daily newspaper including the Dong-A Ilbo, the Kyunghyang Shinmun, and the Maeil Business Newspaper had reported Jeju 4.3 as a Communist Party riot until 1987. However, other aspects of Jeju 4.3 began to be reflected since 1988. But The Hankyoreh newspaper had reported it as the Jeju 4.3 uprising since 1989. The newspaper reports did not take into consideration the anxiety and fear that Jeju residents had experienced since 1948, but rather revealed limitations of reporting from the ideological point of views of the left and right. This study analyzed the sense of safety which residents could feel about Jeju 4.3 from the perspective of the 2nd silenced generation of residents unrelated to the ideology of right and left. As a result of the analysis, the sense of safety or security secured by the whole system among the macro, the exo, the mezzo, and the micro systems, Bronfenbrenner suggested becomes the starting line of recovering the historical trauma concerning Jeju 4.3. If this sense of safety or security is not secured, individual memory and mourning will have limitations in the healing of trauma. Therefore, the historical trauma of Jeju 4.3, which has been handed down through generations in the silence of 70 years, should be solved by the central government policy in terms of the macro, exo, mezzo, and micro systems.

Key words :

Jeju 4.3, Historical Trauma, Historical Trauma Healing Model, Naver News Library, Bronfenbrenner Ecological System PPCT, Safety

Introduction

Jeju 4.3 has had many approaches in the macro, social, political and cultural aspects. And the experience is mainly the victim's family or the survivor's dictation approach. According to the report of "4.3 Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and Depression in Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder" performed by the Jeju University School of Medicine in 2011, 68.6% of the 70 respondents were suffering from Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and 53.3% were depressed (Kim, Moon, 2011). This figure is high compared with that of the Gwangju 5.18 victim's post-traumatic stress disorder rate of 30%, and it is unprecedentedly higher considering that it is 60 years after the incident (Kim Jong Chul, 2014: 23). Though many linguistic approaches have been tried through spiritual rituals called Gut or testimony, etc, there has been no policy for 4.3 social healing publicly.

Hwang Sang Ik relied on the dictation of 4.3 survivors at that time to conduct research on the medical history. In order to escape from the physical and mental sufferings that were recorded in the experiences of genocide, it was said that repression, negation, avoidance, rebellion formation, and separation of personality were mobilized. Through this, we can look into the pathology of Korean society, but this discussion did not show a concrete approach to treatment. In addition, it examines the in-depth psychology of the individual, and trauma of the victim's families of 4.3 as approached by an art therapist approach (Kim, Yu-kyung, 2012). However, this study attempts to deal with anxiety as a universal historical trauma to the Jeju citizen's 4.3 from a de-ideological point of view, such as a study on fear and anxiety (Im, 2015, 2017).

Research Method

This study is based on the national daily press coverage retrieved from the Naver News library. 'Jeju 4.3' and 'Jeju incident' are used as keywords to analyze how Jeju 4.3 was reported by the daily newspapers nationwide. We want to analyze Jeju 4.3 in the daily newspapers of Korea in the macro system of Korea. First, this study is to analyze how the national daily newspapers reported 4.3 from 1945 to 1999. Second, Herman's Trauma Healing Model is applied to analyze how much safety Jeju people have received in the macro system of Korean society. Third, this study will explore ways to cure the anxiety of Jeju 4.3, which has been handed down from generation to generation.

Anxiety Passed Through Generation: Historical Trauma of Jeju 4.3

Historical trauma transmission was first conceptualized in the 1960s, based on ongoing studies of persistent trauma among Holocaust survivors and their families after World War II (Daniel, 1998) (Whitback, Adams, Hoyt, and Chen, 2004; Historical trauma as "the massive group trauma experiences (Brave Heart, 2003; Sotero, 2006) resulting in a cumulative and collective psychological and emotional injury.

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In fact, I realized that the anxiety about Jeju 4.3 is passed down from generation to generation. I realized that I, myself, was part of the silenced 2nd generation in the interviews between my father and me from 2008 to 2014, and I also have the same anxiety for fear that even the fact that I am talking about Jeju 4.3 or I am interested in Jeju 4.3 can be stigmatized as 'mob mentality' or 'leftist', or 'red', even if I don't know anything about Jeju 4.3. Only the fact that we are talking about Jeju 4.3 even in 2017, we have fear that we can be stigmatized as a 'red' or a 'leftist' or 'one of the mob'. Though I confess I am in the right, it can be denied by interpreting all this discussion as 'it's your subjective opinion, not an objective opinion'.

In 2013, I assigned the students to interview their grandparents about their memories concerning Jeju 4.3.

According to the elderly who participated in the student interviews from 2013 and 2015, "Jeju became a state of anarchy after liberation from Japan and knew that on April 3, there was an uproar, but they did not know what was going on. And they were reluctant to tell a concrete experience." In 2013, a grandfather of my student who attended my class asked for the professor's ID number to investigate if she was a red or an agent from North Korea. And I had to let him know my ID card number. This attitude, even after decades, showed that the generation from the 1980s did not differ from the interviews in 2013, and 2015.

Specifically, it took more than a decade to collect interview data from the 1980s to the 1990s. In the victim's interviews, their memory is not a 4.3 incident, not a 4.3 rebellion, not a 4.3 uprising, and is referred to as the Muzanyeon Accident on the lunar calendar. In addition, it shows anxiety about how much reluctance to interview or comment on 4.3 in interviewer selection process of experiences (Hallymhwa, 2003, 2015). In Kim Yoo-kyung's study in 2012, the study asked the 20 victims' families for interviews introduced by Jeju 4.3

Research Institutes, but only 2 agreed for the interview. One of the two was the same family as in Park Kyung-ryul's study (2009), which means that victim's family who granted interviews was able to easily open their experience otherwise it would have been difficult to open their mind.

According to Kwon, Ki-suk (2006), among the testimony, "Sansaram" for a mob in the mountain, "Namrodangwon" for a member of South Labor Party, "Assistant" for a guide, "Right and right wing family", "Refugee", "Peasant", "Jeju Police", "Jeju Vigilantes", "Daedong Youth" and "Northwestern Youth" (West), but among the survivors, there were few survivors who testified. In addition to the generation who directly experienced 4.3, the 'generation of oppression' who were forced to be silenced, born from 1949 to 1967, shared the experience of voluntary repression as well as the ideological institutional repression of memory from childhood to early adulthood (Kwon, 2005). In 2007, by amendment of the Jeju 4.3 Special Act, male survivors convicted in jail at that time became also included in the category of 4.3 victims, and in 2015 the Citizens' Solidarity for Identification of Jeju 4.3 and Recognition of Honor had a testimony program, for the first time, that the criminally convicted were able to testify.

However, in the process of interviews in 2013 and 2015, it seems that the victims were burdened with declaration of victims and testimony. In this way, to be sure, it is found that not only Jeju residents refrain from making statements about the 4.3 experience, but that they are willing to be silent about Jeju 4.3.

In summary, Jeju 4.3 trauma can be defined as an anxious, fearful, and depressive event that is repeated in daily life, even after almost 70 years, as an event itself that gave a psychological impact not only to the 4.3 experienced generation but also to the second generation who have grown up in the period of the paternalistic system. So 4.3 can be defined as a historical trauma.

As a historical trauma, Jeju 4.3: the Perspective of "Two faces of Jeju 4.3" Versus "Jeju people's desire to be independent from any ideology"

Unless safety and stability are presupposed, it is impossible to reintegrate with reality through memory or mourning (Herman, 2000). It is very important to analyze Jeju 4.3's wounds to Jeju people according to their social perception and how they have been historically recognized in Korean society. According to Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model, which analyzes the various systems surrounding individuals in time, it is necessary to analyze the macro, exo, meso, and micro systems from the viewpoint of Jeju people according to

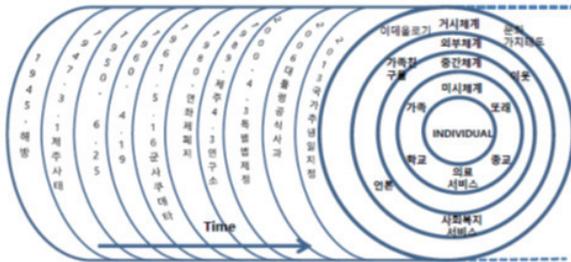
Korean history after liberation as a spectrum of safety. Since the liberation of 1945, after the UN's decision of the US and Soviet trusteeship for South and North Korea, the Korean Peninsula is not free from ideology of the left and the right. First of all, in the historical flow, it is understood that the Jeju people did not have any sense of safety in any system concerning Jeju 4.3 due to national ideology or anti-communism values, law and media as a macro-system, mass-media as an exo-system, and neighbors and relatives as a micro system.

When searching for "Jeju 4.3" in the Naver news library, one result was an interview on the background of Jeju 4.3 between a journalist and a jailed Jeju man arrested on June 25, 1949, titled "0000" on December 29, 1962. An article from 1948 entitled "The Returned Place in 14 Years" by the Kyung Hyang Daily Newspaper defined Jeju 4.3 as the "April(4).3 Riot Incident on Jeju Island". This was followed by the riots of Yeosu and the Suncheon rebellion later in 1948. The newspaper states that these incidents took over 86,000 lives. After that, the 4.3 case was identified along with the cases of Yeosu and Suncheon as Communist Riot until 1987.

However, when searching for "Jeju Incident", a news report entitled "Strike of the Jeju Provincial Government Officials" was found from Kyung Hyang Daily Newspaper from March 13, 1947. According to the news report at the ceremony for the March First(3.1) Independence movement in Jeju Island in 1947, six civilians were killed and eight were wounded, and all workers in the government offices of Cheju Island except for the police and executors entered a general strike on the grounds that they had to arrest and punish the policemen responsible for the incident. On the same day, the Dong-A Ilbo Daily Newspaper reported about a clash between police and citizens, "the general strike of Jeju public officials including local governments, courts, schools, government officials, and public organizations, to punish the policemen firing at Jeju citizens". When searching for "Jeju 4.3" in the Naver News Library, the Library searches past articles from the Kyung Hyang Newspaper and the Dong-A Ilbo starting from 1947, the Maeil Business Newspaper starting from 1966, and the Hankyoreh Newspaper starting from 1988. Through all of these publications, it was reported that the general strikes were caused by the shooting of the 6 civilians on March 1st, 1947.

Due to 4.3 in 1948, the 5.10 Presidential Voting Referendum was not held in Jeju. After that, Jeju 4.3 is defined as armed riot events and enemy insurgents. After that, Jeju 4.3 is defined as a riot started by the Communist Party. In this process, the ideological confrontation between the United States

and the Soviet Union was also reported. By 1987, the Yeosu & Suncheon rebellion incidents and Jeju 4.3 incident were identified and reported in relation to the suppression of red guerrillas.



〈Figure 1: Korean history and social systems surrounding Jeju〉

As the social control of the nation became stronger after the Korean War [see figure 1], the 'Guilt by Association' system restricted employment and overseas travel. This 'Guilt by Association' system was officially abolished on August 1, 1980. However, Jeju residents, who were not sure how their relatives were involved in Jeju 4.3, were anxious that they might be involved in the 'Guilt by Association' system until the 90s.

However in 1988, Dong-A Ilbo, Kyung Hyang Newspaper, Maeil Business Newspaper and Hankyoreh Shinmun simultaneously reported on Jeju 4.3 in terms different from previous ones.

In 1988, the Dong-A Ilbo reported Jeju 4.3 as 4.3 riots, 4.3 massacres and 4.3 incidents in different articles. For example, under the title of "Jeju 4.3 Incident, pouring into novels", the paper reported about "Mt. Halla" by Hyeon Gil-eon, "Uncle Sei" and the novel "Aunt Suni" by Hyun Ki-young and "Earth-Crying" by Kim Seok-hee.

The Dong-A Ilbo reporter, Hong Chan-sik, emphasized on March 28, 1988, under the title of "Jeju 4.3 riot, the work of identifying the truth," that the Sixth Republic should clarify the truth about Jeju 4.3 without deviating to leftist or rightist ideology by introducing various materials discussing Jeju 4.3: a paper by Professor John Merrill of Lafayette, USA, titled "Rebellion in Jeju Island", a 1980 book from Onnuri Publishing's "Sleeping South Island," which contains the record of Jejudo 4.3 recorded autobiographically by Kim Bong-Hyun, and fin Yang, and Han Kwon's master thesis on the background of the riot in Jeju 4.3 by Seoul National University in 1988,

On April 5, 1988, a journalist named Mun Il of the Maeil Business Newspaper reported, under the title of "The roots of conflict in politics and literature still appear, Yesterday and Today as seen in writings of the Halla Mountains" that a novelist Lee San-Ha, who published <Halla Mountain> in 1987, was sentenced to one year and six months

imprisonment on April 4, 1988.

On June 10, 1988, the Dong-A Ilbo reported that it was the anniversary of the publication of the writer Kim Seok-bum's "Volcano Island" on June 4, but the national government refused him entry to Korea as he was branded a fugitive and he returned from Gimpo Airport.

The Kyunghyang Newspaper reported the use of the terms "4.3 riot", "Jeju 4.3 Incident" until 1987, and "Jeju 4.3" or "Jeju 4.3 incident" in 1988, and reported a collection of poems titled <4.3 Island full of blossomed rape flowers> on Sept. 8., 1988.

The Hankyoreh Shimbun began reporting in 1988 under the terms 'Jeju 4.3'. On July 12, 1988, the title of "Jeju 4.3 event, the truth should be revealed" is a special series by Kim Suk-bum. On November 17, 1988, there was later a refutation and excuse for the term Jejudo rebellion given by Hur Sang Soo of the Jeju Social Democratic Council and Professor Merrill.

When searching for the keyword 'Jeju 4.3' in 1989, there are 11 cases from Kyunghyang Newspaper, 17 cases from Dong-A Ilbo, 2 cases from Maeil Business Newspaper and 54 cases from Hankyoreh Newspaper.

On March 29, 1989, the Hankyoreh Newspaper proclaimed the role of the US Military Government on September 8, 1945 under the heading "The Journal of the Fourth Rebellion," stating in the article that, "on 23 September 1945 that the People's Committee of Jeju was the only political party and government in Jeju." On September 28, 1945, the US military landed on Jeju Island, conducted US military missions, and on March 1, 1947, six people were killed in the March 1th celebration ceremony by the police... On April 2, 1957, the last red guerrilla hiding in Mt. Halla was captured at Kujwamyon Songdang-ri.

On March 29, 1989, a reporter named Cho Sun Hee of the Hankyoreh Newspaper categorized Kim Seok-bum's novel Volcano Island, and Lee San-Ha's novel, Halla Mountain into North Korean partisan literature, in the article, "The New Category of North Korean Partisan Literature as the Guideline into Reunification".

Likewise, the red, though it was one person in 1957, was identified as a symbol of Jeju 4.3, and Jeju residents have tried ever since to escape the 'red complex'.

On March 29, 1989, a reporter named Choe Sun Hee of the Hankyoreh Newspaper reported an article titled "Jeju 4.3 Carnage Demolition Site as a Newlyweds Tourist Site." It was reported that on April 1, for the 41st anniversary of Jeju 4.3, the remembrance was composed of an art festival, a madang-gut for the exorcism ritual for the dead spirit, a memorial lecture titled "How to see Jeju 4.3?", a 4.3 song performance, a slide show,

testimony and discussion, and a 4.3 literary festival. However, the report commemorated that the preparation committee for 4.3 Memorial Service is being blocked by the authorities from moving from the Civic Center to Gwangdeokjeong Palace Square.

On April 2, it was reported the anti-communist society distributed the leaflet "This is the reality of 4.3" at the event site. On April 7, the Hankyoreh Shimbun reported on the phenomenon of the 4.3 memorial rally commemorating the 41st anniversary of Cheju National University, titled "Two faces of Jeju that revealed the roots of tragedy".

Koh Chang Hoon, Moon Moo Byeong, Kim Myeong Sik, and Kang Chang-il shared the view that Jeju 4.3 was not a left-right confrontation but a national liberation struggle in which the ethnic forces fought against foreign powers. On the other hand, the anti-communist party presented the 4.3 case as being related to the South Labor Party on the basis of a flyer spread by red guerrillas, quoted Professor Jung Yoon-hyung, the chairman of the Jeju Social Problem Council, who said that the historical weight is different between the Gwangju Uprising in May 1980, and the Jeju Uprising on April 3, 1948.

On April 13, 1989, it was reported in the Hankyoreh newspaper that social groups of young people demanded the clarification of the truth about Jeju 4.3 and the Jeju Provincial Governor said that he should not "break the unity of the residents by recalling the fact that Jeju people have already forgotten."

On Oct. 19, the Hankyoreh newspaper reported, "Up until now, Jeju 4.3 has been illuminated only by perspectives based on left and right ideologies, which has caused extreme ideological controversy, hindering the unity of Jeju residents. Therefore, I (Mr. Lee KunBo, Jeju governor) do not want any investigation based on either ideology whether right or left. Instead, Jeju provincial government commissioned professors and historians to investigate the truth of Jeju 4.3."

The Kyung Hyang Newspaper reported on April 12, 1989, that several college newspapers rethink Jeju 4.3 from the time as a popular uprising. On May 10, 1989 the the newspaper reported on "The opening of the Jeju 4.3 Research Institute," which predicts the change to investigate the truth of Jeju 4.3.

On April 3, 1990, the Dong-A Ilbo reported that "a rally is taking place at every university in Seoul after the 42nd anniversary of Jeju 4.3." However, in July 1990, the Hankyoreh newspaper reported that "a publishing company representative was arrested on suspicion of violating the National Security Law by publishing three volumes concerning the Jeju People's Uprising."

On March 30, 1991, the Hankyoreh newspaper article titled, "The Jeju rebellion resides in the history of the Korean national division." The Jeju

4.3 Research Institute publishes a photographic edition of Jeju Sinbo daily Newspaper(47. 1. 1 – 48. 4. 20). According to Professor Ko Chang-hoon of the Jeju University, Jeju 4.3 is still unable to escape from the fence of the Korean Acts and despite the absolute poverty of the first historical data, the cause of the 4.3 revolt can be scientifically revealed through this photographic edition." A more scientific approach was tried by Jeju 4.3 Research Institute (Koh Chang-Hoon) in 1991 for the first time.

On December 1, 1994, Kyung Hyang newspaper reported, "It was the 50th anniversary of liberation (5). Jeju 4.3 was a day of destiny filled with red blood on Jeju Island. However, the beginning of Jeju 4.3 is the firing of the police toward the citizens at the ceremony of the March 1 Independence Movement day in 1947 ". The article deals with the cause and the process of 4.3 in detail, and describes the reason why the Jeju people have lived in the secrets of the political ideology of the left and right and why the politician who never belongs to any political party is frequently elected in Jeju." Nonetheless, it was reported the history books published by the Ministry of Education described Jeju 4.3 as '4.3 events' rather than '4.3 uprising'.

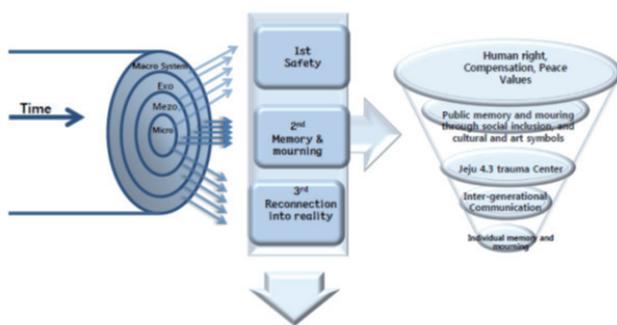
In this way, Jeju 4.3 is defined differently by media, writers, and scholars. The general Jeju citizens looking at arrest, imprisonment or the conflict of ideology have been silent about any ideology and have been from a political position, in neutral.

In 2000, the 4.3 special law was enacted. In 2006, the president officially apologized to the people of Jeju. In 2013, the central government designated Jeju 4.3(April, 4) as a national memorial day. However, Jeju residents with historical trauma to Jeju 4.3 are still worried about when and how the situation may change, while still seeing the ideological confrontation between left and right. According to Herman's theory of traumatic healing, Jeju residents with historical trauma to 4.3 are found to have failed to secure safety in ideology, law, media and neighborhood systems. Therefore, except for minor scholars, bereaved families, and specific groups, discussion of 4.3 was a burdensome subject, and I was able to confirm it in many interviews with the elderly in Jeju. August 2, 2013 the attempt of reconciliation between 4.3 victim's family association and the police family association (Jeju Sinbo daily newspaper, 2013, Aug. 2) proved that the conflict has remained unresolved until recently.

Thus, Jeju 4.3 has been repeated over a generation, and it can be seen that collective, accumulative psychological and emotional wounds are passed down to the second and third generations and remain a historical trauma to the Jeju people.

Jeju 4.3 Historical Trauma Recovery Model

How do you heal the historical trauma experienced by the first, second and third generations of Jeju 4.3? Using Bronfenbrenner's PPCT and Judith Herman's trauma healing model, 4.3 the historical trauma healing model can be designed as follows. As shown in [Figure 2], when we look at the systems that surround an individual through the historical prism, it can be seen that Jeju people can hardly find security and safety in their identity. For the purpose of suggesting how to recover from the historical trauma at various levels, a systematic 4.3. Healing model for historical trauma is presented as follows.



〈Figure 2: Jeju 4.3 historical trauma recovery model re-designed by Im, AeDuck(2017), based on Bronfenbrenner's PPCT(2006) and Herman's trauma recovery model(1992) combined〉

When the Naver News Library was searched by the key word of 'Jeju 4.3', various newspapers had reported Jeju 4.3 from various viewpoints depending on the national political position, which was not consistent but changeable. That's why Jeju residents have not wanted to be involved in any ideological controversy which can cause anxiety related to the red complex.

First of all, if there is no sense of safety in the macro system, the historical trauma of Jeju 4.3 is hard to heal. Therefore, when the de-ideological values in the macro system such as peace or human rights for Jeju 4.3 are not secured by the values of the state or having a legal stability which secures public compensation for the victims, the historical trauma of Jeju 4.3 seems to be difficult to heal on the macro level. De-ideological national reunification between South and North Korea seems to be the basis to heal inherently the Jeju 4.3 historical trauma.

At the level of the exo-system, cultural symbolism should be provided for an environment in which public remembering and mourning of Jeju 4.3 can receive social recognition from the right and the left.

At the Mezzo-system level, it officially enables the 4.3 traumatic trauma healing policy to heal the mental health of Jeju residents. It is possible to heal

trauma through Jeju 4.3 trauma centers or hospital services within the health insurance policy. For this, a Jeju 4.3 trauma center should be established in each city.

Micro-system should be provided for opportunities for individual memory and mourning of Jeju 4.3 through intergenerational communication at every village level.

Individuals in Jeju Island can recover from the Jeju 4.3 historical trauma by experiencing safety, memory and mourning, and reintegration into Korean society through various systems.

In addition to Bronfenbrenner's historical time concept, the ecological system model dealing with individuals in transversal environmental systems seems to be a very useful tool for healing the historical trauma of Jeju 4.3. The attitude toward Jeju showed various aspects. Jeju was named as "Red Island" by the US Military Government; Jeju 4.3 was identified as part of the Yeosu & Suncheon Rebellions, and considered as a riot by the Communist Party. Changeable perspectives of the media, how tolerant for expression of public or private mourning, the official apology of the President to Jeju people, the appointment of Jeju 4.3 as a national memorial day, the lack of "security and stability" for the Jeju people in relation to Jeju 4.3 was addressed in the macroeconomic system of time, state ideology, value system or ideology.

In the ideology and attitude of cultural values in the macro system, Jeju 4.3 was reported as a Communist insurrection from 1949 to 1987, shaking the identity of the Jeju people. Despite the abolition of the 'Guilt by Association' system, for example, the Jeju people were not free from employment until the 1990s.

While the traditional spiritual rituals, films, and publications designed for official mourning have been censored and watched the process of becoming banned, Jeju people have experienced threatened "safety and stability" in expression through culture and arts.

As an Exo-system, Jeju people were not able to secure "safety and security" from the media, neighbors, welfare services, legal services, and family friends. Unlike compensation, which was quickly resolved in Gwangju, 4.3 did not secure "safety and stability" in any social security system, including compensation.

Is it safe to pass the spectrum of Herman's "safety and security" as a micro-system to family, peer, religion, school, and health care systems? The resentment of the death of our family because of one of our relatives or someone in our neighborhood appears to be the most common expression (Im, 2015). Schools also seem to discriminate against students in the name of the "mob mentality" (Im, 2015). Analysis of this aspect reveals that 4.3

generation experienced the most trauma in micro systems. Since the ecological system perspective focuses on the relationship between the individual and the environment, the harmony between individual's coping ability and environmental needs can be the most important aspect of the Jeju 4.3 historical trauma healing process. In particular, the presentation of the Jeju 4.3 historical trauma healing model, which integrates the three phases of Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model and Herman's trauma healing, will be useful for the development of the 4.3 healing model in the future. Using ecosystem-based perspectives, social workers are interested in various systems surrounding the residents who have experienced Jeju 4.3, so that they can understand the client's situation in a broad sense and use historical perspectives, theories, methods and technologies to assess the trauma. Therefore, the ecological systematic view of the individual and the environment at various levels is very useful for healing the historical trauma of Jeju 4.3.

Conclusion

This study was to search for Jeju 4.3 historical trauma recovery model based on Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model and Judith Herman's trauma recovery model. Whether any anxiety of Jeju 4.3 has been transmitted to next generation was addressed in many interviews with Jeju residents about Jeju 4.3. And this study searched for the cause of Jeju 4.3 historical trauma in the macro-system of the Korean history through news coverage on the nationwide daily news searched using Naver News Library from 1945 to 1999, by the key words of 'Jeju Incident' or 'Jeju 4.3'.

The analysis result reveals that daily newspapers nationwide have reported different perspectives about Jeju 4.3 depending on political positions. Jeju people could not help feeling anxiety about Jeju 4.3 according to who had the political power. And Jeju people feel the situation surrounding Jeju 4.3 is improving these days and nobody is sure what will happen tomorrow. And to recover from this historical trauma, from the macro level to the micro level to the individual level, Jeju people should have a secured feeling of safety.

First of all, it is confirmed that if there is no sense of safety in the macro system, the historical trauma of Jeju 4.3 is hard to heal. Therefore, the de-ideological values, official compensation for the victims in the macro system, peace or human rights for Jeju 4.3 should be secured on the macro level.

At the level of the exo-system, public remembering and mourning through cultural symbols to the fullest, should be secured.

At the Mezzo-system level, Jeju 4.3 historical trauma center should be established to heal trauma within the health insurance policy.

At the micro-system level, opportunities for individual memory and mourning for trauma healing should be provided through intergenerational communication at every village.

As a result of the analysis, the sense of safety secured by the macro system among the macro system, the exo-system, the mezzo system, and the micro system becomes the starting line of healing of the historical trauma of Jeju 4.3. If this sense of security is not secured, individual memory and mourning will have limitations in the healing from trauma. Therefore, the historical trauma of Jeju 4.3, which has been handed down through generations during the silence of 70 years, should be solved by central government policies in terms of macro, exo, mezzo, and micro systems.

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