

# Searching for Jeju 4·3 Trauma Model : Collective Stigma and Jeju 4·3 historical trauma.

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## Abstract

This study was analyzed from the perspective of the 2nd generation of Jeju 4·3 experienced residents, unrelated to the ideology of right or left. This study was approached from the perspective of a historical trauma. In order to confirm the cause of this traumatic event, collective stigma politically imposed on Jeju at macro system were analyzed and four Korean national daily newspapers titled 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 at exo system[1]. And interview results were analyzed at micro system. Incurring the “unidentified unsafe feeling”, anxiety and fear that even innocent ordinary people from Jeju Island could be stigmatized in “red” without their knowledge whether they were left or right, different attitudes changing at various systems have had influence on trauma transmission from generation to generation since 1948 until now. This research showed that the sense of safety or security at all the level of systems was never secured over 70 years. Therefore, publicly guaranteed safety feeling at macro system should become the starting line of recovering the Jeju 4·3 historical trauma. The Jeju 4·3 related historical trauma, which has been handed down through generations in the silence of 70 years, should be solved by the central government policy.

**Key words** : Jeju 4·3, Historical Trauma, Historical Trauma Healing Model, Naver News Library, Bronfenbrenner Ecological System PPCT, Safety

## Introduction

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 Du, 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). In spite of traditional spiritual rituals called Gut or oral testimony, etc, there has been no policy for 4·3 social healing in public, and study about social healing was not found except for An art therapy for a Jeju 4·3 (Kim, Yu-kyung, 2012) and social practical approach by Im(2014, 2016, 2017).

Regardless of whether Jeju local people are experienced generation or 2<sup>nd</sup> generation or 3<sup>rd</sup> generation, most of them are usually reluctant to talk about Jeju 4·3. Why are they reluctant to talk about Jeju 4·3 experience in spite of over 70years? This study is to analyze the cause of anxiety at different levels including macro, exo, mezzo, and micro system according to chrono-system of time which Bronfenbrenner suggested(2006) to identify the cause of anxiety, defined as Jeju 4·3 historical trauma(Im, 2017) transferred to next generation.

According to Bronfenbrenner, a child's development is shaped by the varied systems of the child's environment and also by the interrelationships among the systems. The relationship between the child and the environment as he saw it is reciprocal; the environment influences the child and the child influences the environment. Human beings, Bronfenbrenner suggested, cannot develop in isolation, but within a system of relationships that include family and society(Vijaya Krishnan, Ph.D. 2010). It is required to analyze the varied systems of the environment surrounding Jeju residents to identify the unidentified anxiety most of them are reluctant to talk about Jeju 4·3 experience over 70 years, and to suggest the ways to get over it.

## Research Method

First, this study is aimed to analyze the anxiety related to Jeju 4·3 at macro, exo, mezzo and micro level system over chrono system which Bronfenbrenner suggested. Interview reports and previous literatures and the national daily newspapers from 1947-1999 retrieved from the Naver News library for mass media were analyzed. 'Jeju 4·3' and 'Jeju incident' are used as keywords to analyze how Jeju 4·3 was reported by 4 national newspapers. Second this study is also to explore ways to get over

the Jeju 4·3 trauma, which has been handed down from generation to generation.

## Collective stigma and collective trauma at macro level

We cannot account for the antagonism and stigma pervading Jeju memorial cultures, without acknowledging the role played by individual emotions in generating and shaping collective emotions(Jill Stockwell, 2014). Powerful collective memories about the period of massive killing in Jeju island from 1947 to 1954 have left collective trauma to Jeju people over 70 years, and incurring political and social tensions in Jeju.

Since Korea's liberation in 1945, the Korean peninsular was in a state of chaos attributed largely to the emerging Cold War rivalry. The communist population of the island opposed the establishment of a separate government in the South and launched an attack on the police in 1948. Jeju Island since then has been labeled as the "Red Island" in Capitalist South(Kim Miyoung, 2016). The police began to characterize Jeju as an "island of Reds" even though U.S. investigators found few communists among Jeju residents. Once labeled an "island of Reds", the U.S. anti-communist policy opened doors to sustained violence(Petition, 2014). A US intelligence report points out, "They [members of the Seobuk Young Men's Association] have engaged in a "Red-hunt", energetically lashing out against those persons they suspect of being "anti-Democratic."(168). (Hq. USAFIK, G-2 Weekly Summary, No. 90, June 3, 1947).

The stigma of "red island" or "red-hunt" in Jeju island have great influence on people from Jeju island. Because it was reported by for the South Korean government, the Jeju 4·3 Incident was not just a regional problem but a strong challenge to the legitimacy of the government. The Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report. Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation. 2003. US Army Forces in South Korea reported that "They [members of the Seobuk Young Men's Association] have engaged in a "Red-hunt", energetically lashing out against those persons they suspect of being "anti-Democratic."(168). (Hq. USAFIK, G-2 Weekly Summary, No. 90, June 3, 1947).

Collective stigma not only changes their behavior, but it also shapes their emotions and beliefs.[2] Members of stigmatized social groups often face prejudice that causes depression (i.e. deprejudice). [4] Jeju people have developed red complex such as anxiety that they can be stigmatized and harmed by political position. This anxiety made a lot of Jeju natives change their permanent address to disguise their identity.

As the social control of the nation became stronger after the Korean War, 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.

### **"Two faces of Jeju 4·3" in the mass media vs. "Jeju people's desire to be independent from any ideology" at Exo system**

This study for exo system analyzed 4 national newspapers from 1947 to 1999 by the key word "Jeju 4·3" in the Naver news library. 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. Kyung Hyang Daily Newspaper defined Jeju 4·3 as the "April(4).3 Riot Incident on Jeju Island". The newspaper reports that these incidents took over 86,000 lives. After that, Jeju 4·3 was identified along with Yeosu and Suncheon riot as Communist Riot until 1987.

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. 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. The Yeosu & Suncheon rebellion incidents and Jeju 4·3 incident were identified and reported in relation to the suppression of red guerrillas.

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. 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 San> 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 Shinbun 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 a refutation and excuse for the term Jejudo rebellion given by Hur Sang Soo of the Jeju Social Democratic Council and Professor Merrill.

On March 29, 1989, the Hankyoreh Newspaper proclaimed the role of the US Military Government on September 8, 1945 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 Kujwa-myon Songdang-ri". On March 29, 1989, Cho Sun Hee ,Hankyoreh Newspaper reporter, categorized Kim Seok-bum's novel Volcano Island, and Lee San-Ha's novel, Halla Mountain into North Korean partisan literature: "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, 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 reflect Jeju 4·3?", 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 Shimmun 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 Korean Labor Party on the basis of a flyer spread by red guerrillas.

On April 13, 1989, the Hankyoreh newspaper reported 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 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 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 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 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."

In this way, Jeju 4·3 is defined differently by media, writers, and scholars. Jeju local people, watching arrest, imprisonment or the conflict of ideology cannot but 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 related 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.

### **Evidences of Jeju-4·3 related anxiety at micro-system level**

Micro system refers to family, school, religious institutions, neighborhood, and peers. A lot of evidences of Jeju-4·3 related anxiety at the micro system level could be found in the process of looking for interviewee related to Jeju 4·3 accident. 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(Kwon, 2006;Im, 2017). Because talking about Jeju 4·3 was forbidden for a long time. When someone talked about Jeju 4·3, he or she could be reported to the police by the neighborhood. Han(2003, 2015) who conducted interview related Jeju 4·3 experience showed that it took more than 10 years to collect interview data from the 1980s to the 1990s because nobody wanted to talk about Muzanyeon Accident and they wanted to report interviewer to the police. She wrote the Jeju 4·3 experienced interviewees named Jeju 4·3 accident as the Muzanyeon Accident which is lunar calendar name for 1948 when the accident broke out. They didn't name the Muzanyeon Accident as Jeju 4·3 accident nor 4·3 rebellion, nor 4·3 uprising. 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). Im observed that in spite of close friends, once talking about Jeju 4·3, the elderly taking part in the interview showed anxiety and then silenced one another (Im, 2014). Even in 2016, students reported that even when they were sisters in law, they didn't want to talk about 4·3 experiences together at the same place during interview, because they pointed their finger at each other, blaming she was a red, mob family while the other was for the police. It evidenced 4·3 related anxiety at family level system.

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 showed a testimony program, for the first time, where 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 silenced about Jeju 4·3.

Through my interviews taken from 2008 to 2014 with my father who experienced Jeju 4·3 when he was young (Im, 2014), and the Jeju National University students' interviews with their grandparents who experienced Jeju 4·3, their anxiety expressed while talking about Jeju 4·3 accident (Im, 2017) was recognized as a universal phenomenon. This anxiety was defined as Jeju 4·3 trauma (Im, 2017 a).

In 2016, a social healing program was conducted through 3 generations communication between elderly people living in a farming village named Chongsu in Jeju Island, and middle and high school students and their parents who volunteered for the Social Welfare Foundation Chongsu. In the program, it was found that not only the 4·3 experienced generation but also the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation forced to be silenced about Jeju 4·3 were reluctant to talk about Jeju 4·3 even 2016. What is worse, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation showed an overall lack of awareness of 4·3 and the refusal of discussing it. The third generation composed of middle or high school students, felt as if Jeju 4·3 had been a historical event a long time ago. In this way, it was observed that Jeju 4·3 -related anxiety has been transferred from generation to generation. This generational trauma was defined as Jeju 4·3 historical trauma (Im,

2017 b).

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.

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 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.

### 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.

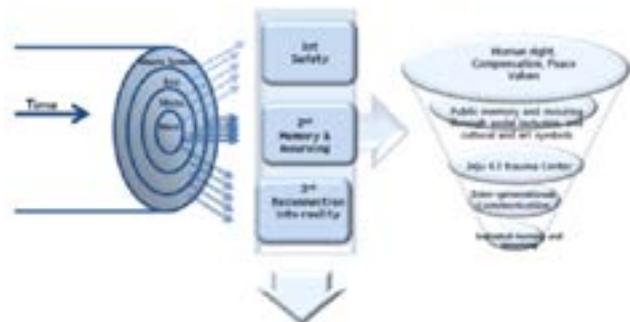


Figure 2. Jeju 4·3 Historical Trauma Recovery Model designed by Im, Inhyuk (2017).  
Based on Bronfenbrenner's PPCT and Herman's Trauma Healing Model (1981) modified.

When the Naver News Library were 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 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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