

Searching for Historical Trauma Recovery Model: Related to Jeju 4. 3

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Abstract

This study was approached from the perspective of a historical trauma. 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. In order to confirm the evidences of this historical trauma, the Korean national daily newspapers titled Donggallbo(1962–1999), Kyung Hyang Newspaper (1947–1999), Maeil Business Newspaper (1966–1999), Hankyoreh Newspaper (1989–1999) were analyzed by the key word of Jeju 4.3(제주 4.3) and 제주사태(Jeju incident) in the Naver news library. This research showed that the sense of safety or security at the level of exo system including media as well as at the macro system including ideology was never secured for Jeju people related to Jeju 4.3 over 70 years. If this sense of safety or security at both macro and exo system is not secured, individual memory and mourning at micro system level cannot approached. Therefore publicly guaranteed safety feeling at macro system level including policy and media should become the starting line to recover the Jeju 4.3 historical trauma. The historical trauma related to 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

National University School of Medicine in South Korea 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). Though many ideological approaches have been tried for Jeju 4.3 study, there has been no policy for 4.3 social healing publicly except for traditional spiritual rituals called Gut to sooth the spirit of the dead, even which was banned by government, or some testimony events. 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. My study started in 2008 from the in-depth interview with my father which lasted for 6 years. My father was 1st generation of Jeju 4.3. I had no idea because I was 2nd generation who has been banned to talk about Jeju 4.3. We have learned it to be a taboo to share or remember "4.3" memory from childhood to adulthood. I had to observe my strong and proud father all his life crying and wailing over drawing his experience for 6 years. Now he stays in bed, saying only Amen, Amen, Thank God! Now he cannot remember anything about it. I found his drawing work was very helpful to ventilate his anger, horror and anxiety which he felt during Jeju 4.3 and kept them over 65 years in his deep memory. I wrote an article titled "Jeju Arirang: Jeju 4.3 trauma case study through I would like to fly like an eagle by Im, Kyong Jae The applicability of psycho-social approach to Jeju 4.3 trauma" (Im, 2015). I developed my study by asking my students at Jeju National University in 2013, 2015, 2016 to take the same psycho social approach to their grandparents who experienced Jeju 4.3. I found old people native to Jeju showed the same kind of anxiety during interviews. I defined the anxiety as Jeju 4.3 trauma. And I found the 2nd generation also has the same kind of anxiety not to talk about Jeju 4.3 over 70 years now. I defined it as historical trauma. Because I found anxiety related to Jeju 4.3 was transmitted from 1st generation to 2nd generation to 3rd generation too.

According to Judith Herman (1992), THE ORDINARY RESPONSE TO ATROCITIES is to banish them from consciousness. Certain violations of the social compact are too terrible to utter aloud: this is the meaning of the word unspeakable. The

conflict between the will to deny horrible events and the will to proclaim them aloud is the central dialectic of psychological trauma. People who have survived atrocities often tell their stories in a highly emotional, contradictory, and fragmented manner which undermines their credibility and thereby serves the twin imperatives of truth-telling and secrecy. When the truth is finally recognized, survivors can begin their recovery. But far too often secrecy prevails, and the story of the traumatic event surfaces not as a verbal narrative but as a symptom. The psychological distress symptoms of traumatized people simultaneously call attention to the existence of an unspeakable secret and deflect attention from it.

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 (Sotero, 2006) resulting in a cumulative and collective psychological and emotional injury.

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'.

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 ecological systemic practice model, which analyzes the various systems surrounding individuals in time, it is necessary to analyze the macro, exo, mezo, and micro systems from the viewpoint of Jeju people according to Korean history after liberation as a spectrum of safety.

Collective stigma and collective trauma as “Red” 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, incurring political and social tensions in Jeju.

Since Korea’s liberation in 1945, the Korean peninsula 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 Jeju natives. Because it was reported by the South Korean government that the Jeju 4·3 Incident was not just a regional problem but a strong challenge to the legitimacy of the government.

Collective stigma not only changes their behavior, but it also shapes their emotions and beliefs. Members of stigmatized social groups often face prejudice that causes depression, 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 the employment and overseas travel of the 1st and 2nd generation with Jeju 4.3 trauma. However, Jeju residents with Jeju 4.3 trauma, even if not sure how much their relatives were involved in Jeju 4.3, were anxious that they might be involved in the ‘Guilt by Association’ system until the 90s. It left a lot of Jeju natives depressed, feeling anxiety over 70 years. Even now they are the same, even if this ‘Guilt by Association’ system was officially abolished on August 1, 1980.

The Evidences of historical trauma related to Jeju 4.3 at Exo Level :

The reports of the national mass-media such as the Dong-A Ilbo can be searched for in the naver news library from 1920 to 1999. In order to confirm the evidences of this historical trauma at exo level, the Korean national daily newspapers titled Dongallbo (1962–1999), Kyung Hyang Newspaper (1947–1999), Maeil Business Newspaper (1966–1999), Hankyoreh Newspaper (1989–1999) were analyzed by the key word of Jeju 4.3 (제주 4.3) and 제주사태 (Jeju incident) in the Naver news library. And it was analyzed how the national news papers had reported about Jeju 4.3 Incident depending on political power, which can have influenced trauma transmission from generation to generation trauma. 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 ecological system theory. Daily newspapers 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. Likewise the newspaper reported Jeju 4.3 from the ideological point of views of the left and right. Incurring the “unidentified unsafe feeling”, anxiety and fear that even innocent ordinary people from Jeju Island could be involved in collective punishment without their knowledge whether they were left or right, different attitudes of media reports according to political power has influenced trauma transmission from generation to generation since 1948 until now.

In concrete, when I search for key word of “Jeju 4.3” in the Naver News Library, the Kyung Hyang Newspaper and the Dong-A Ilbo began reporting about Jeju 4.3 from 1947, the Maeil Business Newspaper began reporting it from 1966, and the Hankyoreh Newspaper began reporting it from 1988. When searching for “Jeju 4.3” in the Naver news library, Kyonghyang Daily Newspaper reported an interview on the background of the Jeju 4.3 between a journalist and the convicted arrested for Jeju 4.3 on June 25, 1949, titled “Uncomfortable of slaughtering of the innocent people” (Im, 2017).

On December 29, 1962. it defined Jeju 4.3 as the “Riot incident on Jeju Island on April(4).3” in 1948, followed by the riot of Yeosu Suncheon rebellion in 1948. It is defined as an event that took over 86,000 lives. After that, the 4.3 case was identified as Yeosu Suncheon Case and the Communist Riot case until 1987 (Im, 2017).

However, when searching for the key word of “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".

Even over 70 years, South Korea didn't agree at the naming of the incident because of the ideologically different position. Now we have 70s memorial ceremony in Jeju, where Korean President Mun Jae In attended the ceremony for the first time. The national media have reported about Jeju 4.3 70s memorial ceremony from different perspectives even in 2018. Reading these politically different attitudes shown in national media, next generations of Jeju native residents have learned unidentified uncomfortable anxiety over and over again.

Mass media's naming itself left trauma on Jeju people like "Two faces of Jeju 4.3" in the mass media-4.3 riot? or 4.3 Incident or Jeju Incident or Muanyeon Incident(무자년사태). Therefore if we would like to recover the historical trauma related to Jeju 4.3, the naming may be de-ideologically changed into Muzanyeon Incident, which was named by Jeju people while Han Rimwha took interviews in 1980-1990(Han, 2003, 2015). The naming as Muzanyeon Incident can incur reconciliation or tolerance from both sides of right and left wings.

Evidences of historical trauma related to Jeju 4.3 at exo-level: Guilt by association or collective punishment

Exosystem involves links between a social setting in which the individual does not have an active role and the individual's immediate context(Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2007). At the exo level, public memory and mourning can be recognized in public through social inclusion, cultural & art symbols in media, local politics, and establish Jeju 4.3 trauma center for compensation, medical and social services. In fact, Jeju 4.3 memorial event for victim's spirits was banned for a long time, which means any public ceremony for Jeju 4.3 was recognized as illegal and any

public performance or publishing was censored and banned. This social setting surrounding Jeju prevents Jeju locals from expressing their negative feelings and memories over generations. The experienced generation feared their children could be involved with the guilt by association or collective punishment not to get a job in public service. In fact many of 2nd generation from Jeju 4.3 were involved with the guilt by association.

Evidences of historical trauma related to Jeju 4.3 at mezzo system and micro level

Mezzo system involves interconnections between the micro systems, interactions between the family and teachers, relationship between the child's peers and the family. Micro system refers to family, school, religious institutions, neighborhood, and peers. A lot of evidences of Jeju-4.3 related anxiety at the mezzo and micro level could be found in the process of looking for interviewees.

Jeju "4.3" trauma related to symptoms of fear and anxiety in those elderly people who experienced Jeju "4.3", who could be easily identified. in choosing interviewees for research. For example, in the interviews collected from the 1980s to the 1990s, Han(2003, 2015) showed their anxiety of local people about Jeju 4.3 by showing reluctance to interview or comment while sampling the "4.3" interviewee for the experience of the deathless experiences. 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, which they named it instead of Jeju 4.3. It 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, she 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 interviewee as in Park Kyung-ryul's study (2009).

I observed that in spite of close friends, once talking about Jeju 4.3, the elderly taking part in the same interview in 2014, they showed anxiety and then silenced one another(Im, 2015).

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 the same interview, because they pointed their finger at each other, blaming one was a red, mob family while the other was for the police. It evidenced 4.3 related anxiety at micro level system including family or neighbors etc.(Im, 2017a)

In addition to the 1st generation who directly

experienced 4.3, the 'oppressed generation' 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 was found not only that 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, 2015), 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 for trans-generational communication 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 1st but also the 2nd generation related about Jeju 4.3 were reluctant to talk about Jeju 4.3 even in 2016. What is worse, the 2nd 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).

As such, the Jeju 4.3 trauma can be defined as negative feelings such as anxiety, fear, and depression that is repeated in daily life even after 70 years as an event that gave a psychological impact not only to the "4.3" generation but also to the second generation that has grown in the era of the guilt by association system.

Social Healing Practice Model of Jeju 4.3 Historical Trauma

How can we heal the historical trauma experienced by the first, second and third generations of Jeju 4.3 in different way? Using Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model and Judith Herman's trauma healing model, Jeju 4.3 historical trauma healing model can be designed as follows. As shown in Figure, when we look at the systems that surround an individual through the trauma recovery 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 Jeju 4.3 Healing model for historical trauma is presented as follows.

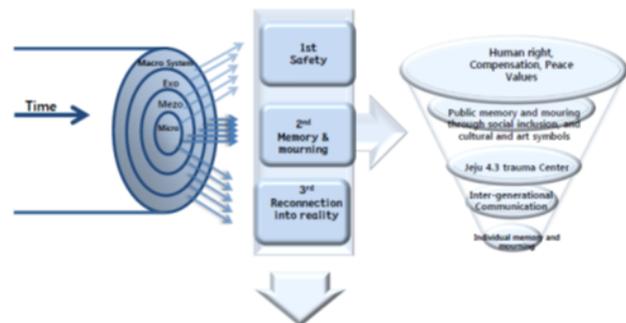


Figure 2 Jeju 4.3 historical trauma recovery model re-designed by Im, Audeck(2017), based on Bronfenbrenner's (1997)2008 and Herman's (1981) trauma recovery model(1992) combined

Jeju people has had anxiety that any time they can be stigmatized as red even if they are in the right wing, which had bad unfavorable impact on their daily lives at all level systems. Whether they are red or not could make Jeju people isolated from other local area in Korea at macro, exo, mezzo, and micro systems, which has been collective stigma, resulting in universal collective historical trauma.

Therefore we should treat Jeju 4.3 historical trauma from very universal perspective.

To develop social healing practice program, we should presume and agree that all Jeju residents and 2nd and 3rd generations as well as victims of Jeju 4.3 incident have been unconsciously sacrificed by media and national political ideology beyond neighbors surrounding Jeju people, who have been harassed by anxiety of red complex over 70 years. And we need to pass all the systems through prism of Judith Herman's trauma recovery model.

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 a legal stability which secures public compensation for the victims, the historical trauma of Jeju 4.3 seems to be difficult to heal at 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 level, the 4.3 traumatic trauma healing policy to heal the mental health of Jeju residents should be officially provided in public sector. 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.

At the micro level, Reconciliation between neighbors, between families, and between right and left, should be done through community program by ventilating their long lasted negative feelings in public. And also opportunities for individual memory and mourning of Jeju 4.3 through intergenerational communication should be regularly provided at every village and every school.

Individuals with Jeju 4.3 trauma in Jeju Island can recover from the Jeju 4.3 historical trauma by feeling social safety, memory and mourning in safe setting, and reintegrate safely and healthily 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.

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 felt 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 evidences 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'.

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, by analyzing news reports searched for by the key word of Jeju accident or Jeju 4.3 in a few national news papers in Naver News Library from 1947 to 1999, in the historical flow, it is understood that the Jeju people could not have any sense of safety in any system related to 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. Because Jeju accidents against the UN's decision of the US and Soviet trusteeship for South and North Korea in Jeju in 1947 and 1948 were reported and defined as communist riots in the national newspapers for a long time until the 1990s.

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 that any time Jeju 4.3 political position can be different depending upon who had the political power. And Jeju people feel the situation surrounding Jeju has been improving these days. But nobody is sure what will happen tomorrow. And to recover this historical trauma, from the macro level to the micro level to the individual level, Jeju people need to have a secured feeling of safety.

First of all, it is confirmed that if at the macro level there is no sense of safety, the historical trauma of Jeju 4.3 is hard to heal. Therefore, the de-ideological values, official compensation for the victims, 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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