

Culture shock and moral panic:
An analysis of three mainstream Australian newspapers' response
to the Bali bombings in October 2002 and the arrest of 'smiling
Amrozi' in November 2002.

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Introduction

On the night of 12 October 2002, two bombs exploded in Bali, killing more than 200 people. The first bomb exploded in Paddy's bar, a well known Irish pub in Kuta and was followed by a bigger explosion less than a minute later at the Sari Club. Both were popular venues for Australian tourists. 88 Australians were killed and 196 were injured. The 'Bali bombing', as it came to be known in the media, became a tragedy for all Australians. The Australian media reported this tragedy by covering the stories of victims, the investigation into the bombing, political negotiations between the Indonesian and Australian governments and the capture of some of those allegedly responsible, including the man dubbed 'smiling Amrozi' by the media.

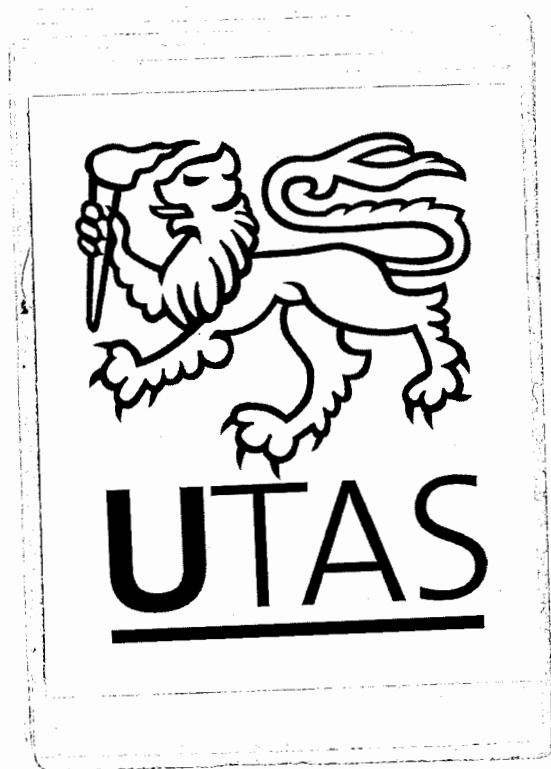
This thesis will examine the way three mainstream Australian newspapers reported on the Bali bombing. The three publications, *The Australian*, *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Australian Financial Review*¹ were chosen. The analysis will concentrate on the first seven days of coverage of the Bali bombing and the first four days of coverage after the interrogation of Amrozi. This thesis will focus on five different topics: Australian pain, 'Australia owns Bali', Indonesian pain, 'smiling Amrozi' and the way the three selected Australian newspapers reported on Islam.

The coverage of the Bali bombing during the first week after the blast emphasised Australian pain and devastation. The press concentrated on the idea that the Bali bombing was an Australian tragedy and implied a sense of ownership over Bali. Bali had

¹ Hereafter the publications will be referred to as, *The Australian: Aus*, *The Sydney Morning Herald: SMH* and *The Australian Financial Review: AFR*

been one of Australia's most popular tourist destinations for decades, and after the event, the press reported that 'Terror hits home', and that Australians had lost their paradise. The focus of reporting was on the Australians affected and little room was left for the Indonesians who, especially the Balinese, also lost people in the bombing. The bombing was an economic disaster for the Balinese who lost a large part of their tourist industry, Bali's main income.

The coverage, particularly the reporting of the arrest of Amrozi and his reaction, revealed a cultural divide between Australia and Indonesia. Amrozi's smiling created confusion and anger throughout the Australian community. Confusion also occurred during the reporting of the Bali bombing, with some members of the Australian Muslim community being mistreated by Australians who wrongly believed that Islam has an inherent connection to terrorism.



Literature Review

During the first week of coverage of the Bali bombing, *Aus*, *SMH* and *AFR* took most interest in the Australian victims and the devastation of their families and friends. The tragedy was described in detail and images of victims and the bomb site were sent from Bali to Australia. The repetitious reporting conveyed to the readers that the Bali bombing was an Australian tragedy. This literature review will examine what was said about the reporting during the Bali bombing, the emphasis on Australian devastation, the 'ownership' of Bali, and the pain of the Indonesian people. It will also illustrate the different views about the infamous Amrozi and the relationship between newspapers and Islam during the coverage of the Bali bombing.

Australian pain

Emma Tom, a columnist for *Aus*, on 16 October 2002 criticised the Australian media for ignoring the most disturbing aspects of the Bali bombing, the small details. By small details, Tom was referring to the reporting of personal experiences: the victims, rescuers, volunteers and bystanders who could describe the scene in detail. She said that the collapse of the building, the death toll and the international consequences did not paint an accurate picture of the devastation of the bombing, and that using a personal experience would have been more effective. Tom wrote: "It's testimony to the vast scale of the tragedy that terrible minutiae...appeared almost as afterthoughts in media coverage" (15). She believed that while it is the small details that bring readers closer to the tragedy, it was the small details that were left out of the reports of the Bali bombing.

Having said that, Tom stated: "The media must tread a fine line when it comes to the coverage of catastrophes. Although the small details are what make sense of the macrocosm, they also leave us open to accusations of exploitation" (15). Tom suggested the reason might be the "Western world's experience of death" (15). Death is frequently simulated in movies and on television, however there is not much contact with en masse mortality, as most of it is sanitised. In other cultures, including Bali, the idea of death is not far removed from reality.

Despite Tom's assertions, there were a vast number of articles in *Aus* that described the scene of the Bali bombing in fine detail. The stories were indeed effective in that they involved the readers and brought them closer to the tragedy, through most of this detail related to Australian casualties.

The main emphasis of the newspaper reports was the emotional pain of the Australians affected by the bombing and the casualties suffered. William Esposito, a columnist for INQ7.net noted a phrase used often in the media during the reporting of the Bali bombing: 'Paradise lost' ("Scaring"), which was repeated during the first week of the coverage in *SMH*, *Aus* and *AFR*. Through the use of this phrase, the media made the tragedy more prominent in Australians' minds and also supported the notion of Bali being their holiday paradise destination. Esposito believed that the media made the tragedy last longer for Australians. He argued, "Projecting the recent Bali tragedy as paradise lost to me is bordering on wild speculation and hysteria," and that "it's not up to

the terrorist to modify national behavior” (“Scaring”). He believed that with events like the Bali Bombing, “it is up to the media to set the tone of public thinking and reaction” (“Scaring”). Esposito accused the Australian media of putting too much emphasis on Australian pain and the losses of friends and family. Doing so did not help people get through their loss but instead enhanced the loss, enhanced the emotions of grieving and devastation.

Esposito asked whether it was necessary to do this: “The terrorists are responsible for scaring us on the day they accomplish their act. But we and our media take charge of scaring ourselves on the days that follow” (“Scaring”). Esposito believed the Australian media might have taken too much time reporting on the emotional side of the tragedy with the result that the media enhanced Australian pain and turned the events into a never-ending story, making healing even harder.

The extensive reportage of the disaster and the tone of grieving following the events of the Bali bombing in the Australian media was not unexpected. If newsworthiness means to have the news values of impact, conflict, timeliness, proximity, currency and the unusual, the reporting of the Bali bombing had all of those criteria. David Conley, author of *The Daily Miracle* said in his book that “the extent of the presumed impact and the number of people it will affect determines the amount of space a story is given and where it is placed” (40). The Bali bombing had an impact on victims’ friends and families but the impact extended to the whole of Australia. This was due to the popularity of Bali as a

holiday island for Australians and the high number of Australian casualties. The bombing became the most important story in the week following the blast.

Australia owns Bali

Due to the large number of Australian victims of the bombing, the Australian media immediately asserted that the tragedy belonged to Australia and that it was also Australia's responsibility to rescue victims and help local authorities in their various tasks. 'Terror Hits Home' appeared across the front page of *Aus* on Monday 14 October, in the newspapers first report of the Bali bombing: "AUSTRALIAN police, bomb specialists and special investigators were being rushed to Bali last night after at least 183 people, many of them Australians, were killed in a terrorist bombing that ripped through a bustling shopping and nightclub district of the resort island" (Greenlees 1). The use of *where?* the word 'home' in referring to Bali established the Australian readers' mindset that the bombing that happened in Bali was an Australian tragedy.

'Terror Hits Home' was used in *Aus* for the headline of the special report section on the Bali bombing throughout the month of October, and every day for the first week of the coverage of the bombing. *Aus* used the word 'home' in its headline in referring to Bali, known to many Australian holidaymakers as paradise on earth. Reporting "Australian police, bomb specialists and special investigators were being rushed to Bali" underlined the responsibility and involvement of the Australian government. In doing so, the press further emphasised that the tragedy belonged to the Australian people and that Australian government should take responsibility as though it was part of Australia. The headline *OK ✓*

and the ongoing theme of suffering did not allow Australians to ignore what had happened; instead it enhanced the emotional reactions of the readers. According to David Conley: "Politicians have prominence because of the recognition factor and their positions of responsibility. Their statements and opinions have power and, therefore, news value because they make decisions that affect the public" (50). The Australian government was a primary definer during the first week of reporting on the Bali bombing. This emphasised the Australian government as an important actor in the story. Where the government stood on the issue was significant to the press. The reports on the Bali bombing as being in Australia's 'home' may have stemmed from comments by the Prime Minister of Australia, John Howard. On 13 October, he told the Australian media, "People should get out of their minds that it can't happen here; it can, and it has happened to our own on our doorstep" (AFP "Seven"). He also said, "I know I speak for all Australians ... in expressing a sense of outrage, sadness and horror at what occurred overnight in Bali" (AFP "Seven").

Indonesian pain

The effect of the Bali bombing on the Indonesian and especially the Balinese people was far greater than the short term losses sustained. The Balinese not only lost their loved ones; their economy was also shattered. Bali faced losing its tourist industry, which was the most profitable industry for the Balinese people. Jakarta's centre for Labor and Development predicted that about 150,000 tourism-related jobs would be lost on Bali and close to 1,000,000 for Indonesia as a whole (Howell). According to Kathleen Turner of Murdoch University, a specialist on ethnic conflict in the Moluccas in Eastern Indonesia,

“Naturally the media have concentrated on reporting the bombing as potentially an attack by Muslim extremists as on Western targets, but the bombings were also firstly an attack on Bali and the economic rights of Indonesians” (“The Bali”). She explained that the bombings in Bali have destroyed Indonesia’s tourism industry which was the country’s fourth largest source of income. Turner also suggested that there would be an immediate economic impact on Indonesians with anticipated higher inflation and interest rates. This would largely affect small businesses and the poor. In addition, Turner believed, “the bombings in Bali could thus be seen as a calculated attack to capitalise upon Indonesians fragility and radicalize a large Muslim country” (“The Bali”).

The Bali bombings might not only have an effect on Bali and Indonesia but the event may have an effect on the region as a whole. “The potential economic damage inflicted by the bomb attack goes beyond Indonesia and could spread right across the region.”(The Economist 28). Tourists planning to travel anywhere in Southeast Asia would become more cautious and investment in the region might be delayed.

Cultural differences: Smiling Amrozi

Dewi Anggraeni, the Australian correspondent for Indonesia’s Tempo news magazine and the *Jakarta Post*, believed that Australia and Indonesia had a clash of cultures over the way the Bali bombing was reported, in particular during the reporting of the capture of the Bali bomber (“Bali”). Amrozi bin Nurhasyim confessed on 5 November 2002 in Tenggulun, East Java that he was involved in the setting up and planning of the Bali Bombing. The misunderstanding stemmed from the images relayed of Amrozi laughing

and chatting with the Indonesian chief of police and waving at the camera during the press conference that was set up by the Indonesian authority in Denpasar. This conveyed the fact that he was well treated by the police and evoked further anger from an Australian public still traumatised by the violent deaths and the loss of many loved ones. Anggraeni said “What I saw then was a public relations exercise gone wrong” (“Bali”). She explained that the press conference was obviously done to serve both the local and international media. Indonesian police could have been seen by Indonesian people as to threatening Amrozi for confession. “So in Amrozi’s case they (Indonesian police) wanted to show the world that they had not engineered anything or exerted any pressure in obtaining information from him”(Anggraeni “Bali”). The clash of perspective came from differences in cultural perception.

Tim Palmer, the Australian reporter for the ABC covering the aftermath the Bali bombing said: “You have to sort of have an understanding of both cultures but you are here as an Australian reporter in the end, it is necessary to be aware of the Australian perception back at home” (“Cause and Effect”). Palmer was surprised at the reaction to Amrozi’s smile, as smiling is habitual in Indonesian culture. He admitted that being a foreign correspondent was not easy. On the coverage of Amrozi, Palmer stated: “there has been some cultural misunderstanding clearly between Australians and Indonesians in a range of issues” (“Cause and Effect”). Palmer claimed that the level of interest in Australia made him exhausted. There was a lot of pressure for those reporting on the Bali story and not enough space to report other stories. Palmer said that may be he should have reported from an Australian point of view but it became a case-by-case judgment for him.

Media and Islam

The media coverage of the Bali bombing had the potential to cause tension in the community. The Islamic Council of Victoria created a webpage in November 2002, “Some points to consider when writing about Islam and Muslims” for the Australian media. The webpage contains questions and answers of issues that commonly arise such as, “What is meant by the phrase ‘Islamic fundamentalist’?” and “Is Islam a violent religion?” The aim of the Islamic council was for journalists and reporters to have a basic understanding of Islam and Muslims and to be able to make a distinction between terrorists and the religion of Islam (“Some points”).

According to the anti-discrimination board of New South Wales, racism “permeates everyday media practices of news gathering and the narrative structures of news reportage. It can manifest as stereotypical or consistently negative portrayals of Indigenous or non-white individuals or communities, or in their invisibility in mainstream reports, images and narratives” (“Race for the Headlines”). The board also argued that the media has the power to marginalize and construct racial or ethnic minorities as ‘others’ and an incompatible threat to ‘ordinary Australians’. The notion of nationalism and otherness rather than multiculturalism is evidenced through the report on the Bali bombing. The board also argued that the reports after the Bali bombing “have had the cumulative effect of generating a ‘moral panic’ in Australia. The central feature linking, simplifying and blurring these debates is race, encompassing concepts of ethnicity, culture, religion and nationality” (“Race for the Headlines”).

The Anti-discrimination board commented that the media in Australia has the power to break down the wall between 'us' and 'them'. The board believes that "today's media is now more pervasive and more persuasive than ever. With that power come great responsibilities" ("Race for the Headlines"). The Australian media, the board says, has responsibility to use its power to shape opinion in a positive sense, and affect change and understanding. On this point, the board recognised that "it is critical to challenge the everyday discursive practices of the media around the racialisation of debates and the pillorying of racial or ethnic minority communities" ("Race for the Headlines").

Nurcholish Madjid, an Indonesian scholar, said at the International Conference of Muslim Scholars in February 2004 that "the Western media does not really understand Islam and lately they have identified Islam with violence just because several Muslims have attacked them (Western targets). This is what I call an uninformed generalisation as their judgment is based on incomplete information" (qtd in Khalik)

In conclusion, the first week of the coverage of the Bali bombing by *Aus*, *SMH* and *AFR* concentrated on the victims' stories with Australian victims given the most attention. The reports of Australian victims and casualties were both emotional and descriptive. The reporting by the three publications in the first week after the bombing illustrated a sense of ownership of Bali. The choice of words such as 'home' and 'paradise' brought the tragedy closer to Australians as it evoked a sense of ownership and appreciation of Bali. The Australian government was the primary definer during the first week of the

coverage of the Bali bombing, and statements from the government, including the Prime Minister, indicated a sense of belonging with Bali and reinforced ownership. Indonesian victims did not get as much attention in the Australian press as Australian victims.

The arrest of Amrozi illustrated the cultural differences between the two nations. 'Smiling Amrozi' as he was dubbed by the Australian media was filmed smiling and waving to the cameras during his interrogation. These images seem to have contributed to the confusion and anger amongst the Australian public, some of whom had lost loved ones because of Amrozi's actions. During the Bali bombing, the Muslim community claimed that the way the Australian media reported on the Bali bombing had repercussions on how readers made judgments on Muslims at large, as the Australian media now has more power to shape public opinion than ever before. According to the Anti-discrimination board, reporters need to take care not to target a particular race or religion. The media have power to break the wall between 'us' and 'them', but the same power can just as easily result in the wall being reinforced if it is used incautiously ("Race for the Headlines").

Methodology

The research for this thesis consisted of a literature review and content analysis. The content analysis was conducted on three Australian newspapers, *Aus*, *SMH* and *AFR*. The analysis covered two periods of time. The first was during the first week of coverage of the Bali bombing, between 14 October 2002 and 20 October 2002. The second involved the period of 14 November 2002 to 17 November 2002, covering the reports of Amrozi's interrogation. The content analysis was conducted during the first period to find out the way the three newspapers reported on the Bali bombing, and the issues that arose. The second period was chosen in order to evaluate how the three newspapers reacted to the smile on Amrozi's face and the way it may have influenced the Australian public and to enquire into the cultural differences underlined by this action.

The content analysis in this thesis employs the method of Hansen, Cottle, Negrine and Newbold from their book, *Mass Communication Research Methods*, (Macmillan Press, 1998) which defines content analysis as "a method for the systematic and quantitative analysis of communications content" (123). The content analysis in this thesis concentrates on analysis of article themes, vocabulary or lexical choice, headlines, primary definers and story type. There are four key steps under the content analysis method of Hansen, et al.

Firstly, the research problem was identified. How was the Bali bombing reported by the Australian press? What and who got the most attention from the media? Secondly,

selecting media and samples, three Australian newspapers were chosen, *Aus*, *SMH* and *AFR*. The reason for choosing these three newspapers was the fact they are all mainstream Australian press publications. The two national newspapers, *Aus* and *AFR* have different audiences and focus on different things while the *SMH* is a regional newspaper.

Defining analytical categories was the third step. In this stage, primary definers, organisations or any individuals who received routine press coverage were considered in covering the bombing, that is who had the most say and had more impact on the community. An analysis of themes of articles was conducted in order to illustrate which stories were covered the most. Vocabulary was also important. This thesis will analyse the choice of words and language used in reporting and what meaning they conveyed.

The last key step was to construct a coding schedule, using a quantification approach. Different themes and primary definers were counted using the coding schedule, which is similar to a questionnaire.

Australian pain

The coverage of the Bali bombing during the first week after the blast emphasised Australian pain and devastation. The three newspapers, *Aus*, *SMH* and *AFR* focused their reports on the stories of Australian casualties despite the fact that there were victims from many other countries including Indonesia. This chapter will explore the ways that these three Australian newspapers reported on Australian casualties.

The bombing of the Sari Club and Paddy's Bar in Kuta, Bali grabbed the attention of the Australian media in a manner reminiscent of the coverage of the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States. According to Anggraeni, on the afternoon of 13 October 2002, journalists from all corners of the world flew into Denpasar, the capital city of Bali. Human stories about the Bali bombing were the main focus; the Australian media highlighted the stories of Australian victims and survivors (*Who did this* 41). On 14 October the Bali bombing appeared on the front page of *Aus*, *SMH* and *AFR*, occupying most of their front pages and a special section in the middle of each of the papers.

In the reports immediately after the event, the mainstream Australian press, *Aus*, *SMH* and *AFR* took most interest in the Australian victims and reported the event as an Australian tragedy. According to David Conley, the author of *The Daily Miracle*: "As a general rule, newsworthiness diminishes with distance. The farther away something is: the more significance drama, or human appeal it must display if it is to make a local news list" (48-49). The tragedy was described in detail and images of victims and the bomb

site were shown. Dominic Hughes, BBC correspondent in Sydney reported in his article: "Australians in shock after Bali attack" on 13 October, 2002: "This Bali bomb attack has come as an enormous shock to the Australian public," victims' families and friends were devastated ("Australians"). According to the Australian government's Bali Disaster Information webpage, disasters like the Bali bombing can have an impact on everyone in the community. Shock, fear, anger, helplessness, sadness and shame are some of the common feelings expected in the community ("How disaster").

From the first day of reporting *Aus*, *SMH* and to a far lesser extent *AFR* emphasised the stories of the victims, casualties and survivors of the Bali bombing. They portrayed the bombing as an Australian tragedy, due to the fact that there were more Australian tourists in the Sari Club and Paddy's Bar during the bombing than other nationalities. "According to the locals, 75 to 80 percent of the Sari's clientele were Australians on any one night" (Davies, DeBelle and Glendinning 3). The final death toll shows that 88 Australians lost their lives and 196 were injured (Emergency Management Australia)

The stories of other, non Australian victims were only recognised during the first week of coverage of the Bali bombing in two articles in *SMH*. One was on 14 October, "Prepare for the worst, Howard tells the people", reported on the lost and injured Britons and Americans (Davies, DeBelle and Glendinning 3). Another was reported on the same day: "Body too burned to identify", explained the scene of the Denpasar hospital in details. Two Germans were reported sitting in the hospital, "A German tourist has a huge diamond shaped burn on his back and Polly, another German, lies on her back sobbing; 'My friends are dead, my friends are dead'" (Middleton 3).

The Jakarta Post reported the final number of casualties from the Bali blast on 19 February 2003. According to the Disaster Victims Identification team² the final death toll was more than 202 people from 21 countries. *The Jakarta Post* reported that “Australia claims the highest loss with 88 victims. Indonesia has the second highest loss with 38 victims and Britain third with 23” (Boediwardhana “Bali blast”). The blast also killed nine Swedes, seven Americans, six Germans and four Dutchmen. New Zealand, France and Denmark lost three nationals each, while Japan, South Korea, South Africa and Brazil lost two. Singapore, Taiwan, Italy, Portugal, Ecuador, Poland and Canada all lost one national each (Boediwardhana “Bali blast”).

Stories of Australian casualties were reported throughout the first week of the Bali bombing coverage. Stories of Australian casualties represented 51 percent of the first week of reporting on the Bali bombing in *Aus*. This theme constituted stories about victims, survivors and what happened to them after the blast. Only 3 percent of stories were of Indonesian casualties. (Figure 1)

² The Disaster Victims Identification Team which was comprised of forensic experts from Indonesia, Australia, Singapore and Thailand was the team that worked in Bali for four months in order to identify the victims.

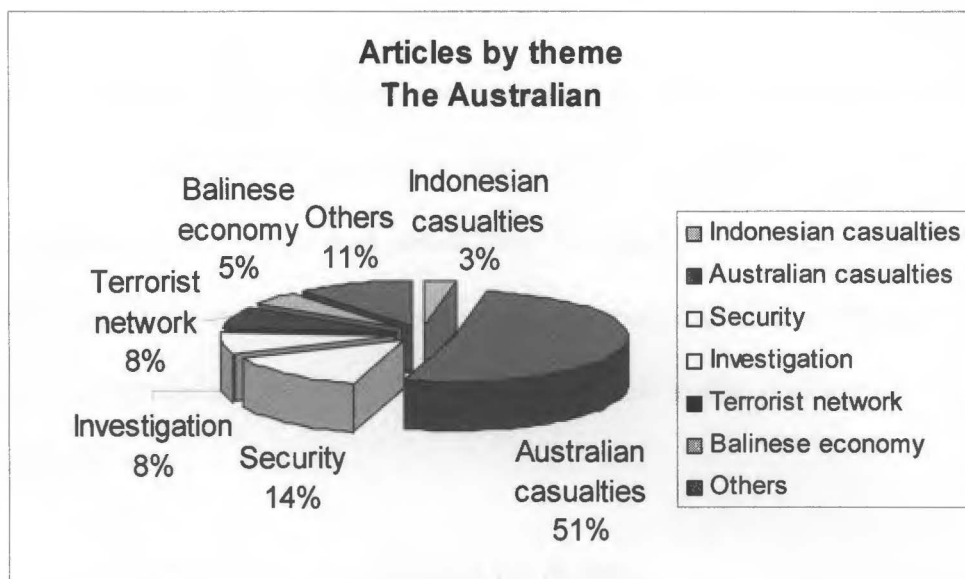


Figure 1: *Aus's* coverage of the Bali bombing grouped by article theme

The stories of Australian casualties represented 49 percent of the first week of reporting on the Bali bombing in *SMH* while stories of Indonesian casualties represented only 7 percent of the coverage. (Figure 2)

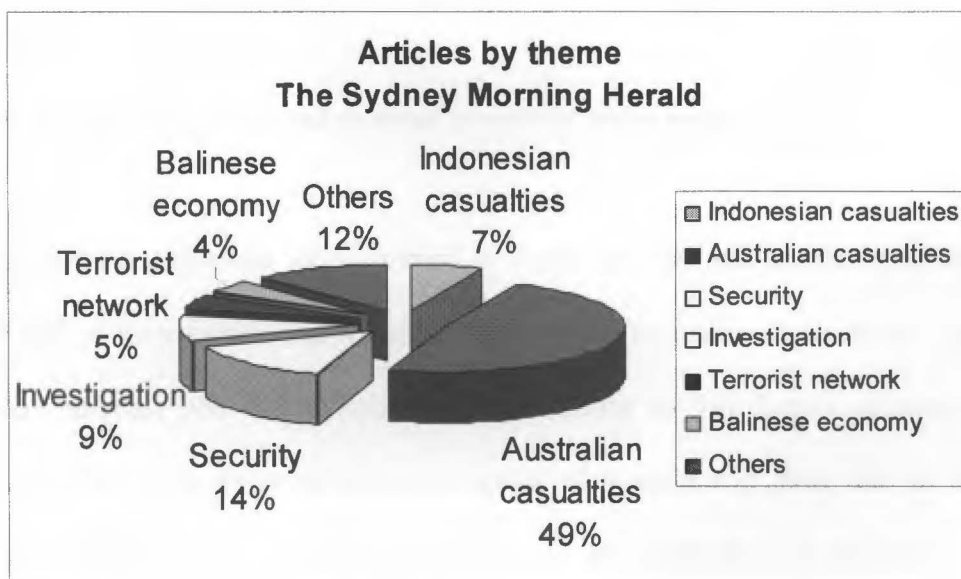


Figure 2: *SMH's* coverage of the Bali bombing grouped by article theme

Stories of Australian casualties represented just 24 percent of coverage of the Bali bombing in *AFR*. (Figure 3) This was probably due to the fact that “*AFR* is Australia’s pre-eminent business, finance and technology publication” (*Financial Review* “About us”): the focus of the newspaper is on business and political issues. This could explain the lower percentage of stories of Australian casualties in this publication compared to *Aus* and *SMH*.

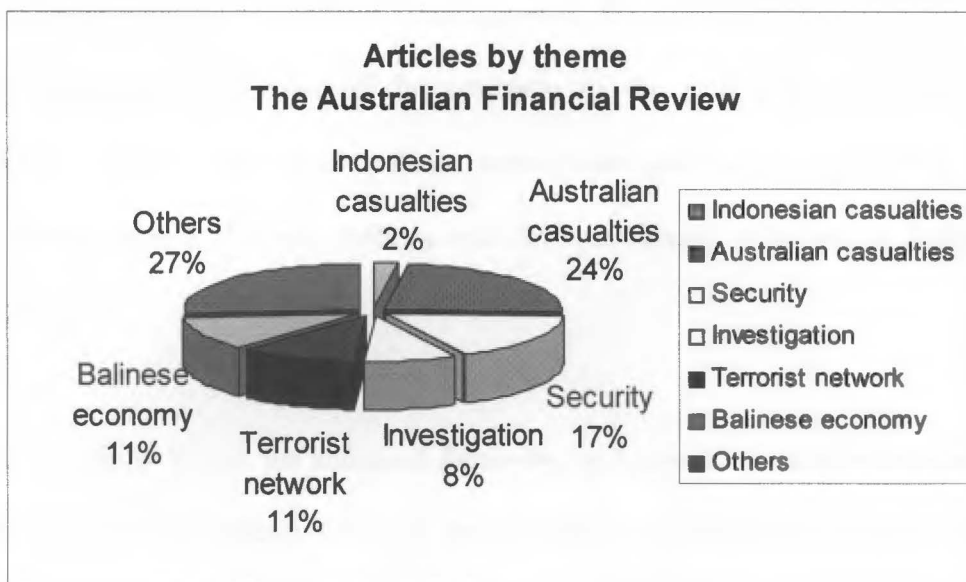


Figure 3: *AFR*’s coverage of the Bali bombing grouped by article theme

Many Australian casualties were football or rugby players and reporting on their lives and the loss of their family and friends dominated the reporting of Australian casualties. This may increase the newsworthiness. According to Jill James, a reporter from *Financial Times*, who believed the real culture of Australia is sport said in her travel article that, “Sport exerts on Australia’s culture - to the extent that it is Australia’s culture” (15). Because of this sport-orientated culture, the fact that some victims were footballers

and rugby players was considered newsworthy. The bigger the number of football club supporters, the higher the stories would have been on the newsworthiness scale.

Aus and *SMH* reported stories of victims and casualties in graphic detail to better illustrate the emotions of those involved. Identifying different types of news articles was an effective way to illustrate the way different newspapers reported the events because “different media formats/types/genres set different limits for *what* can be articulated, by *whom*, through what format/context” (Hansen et al. 107). Identifying the types of news articles during the first week of the coverage of the Bali bombing illustrated the articulations of issues such as casualties, investigation and security. Different types of articles demonstrated different feelings and different levels of power to influence an audience.

According to Sally White, the author of *Reporting in Australia*, hard news is essential for a newspaper or news bulletin. It is the justification of journalism. White explains that “hard news should be strong, clear and based firmly on fact throughout” (176). She also says, “Hard news is plain, to the point disciplined” (176). There is no emotional involvement. The shape of a hard news story is the ‘inverted pyramid’ form, where the most important information comes at the beginning. In contrast, soft news has no set structure. While hard news is the most important component of a newspaper, soft news is also necessary. Soft news is normally stories with narrative in the beginning, the middle and the end, and the absence of the rigid pyramid structure of hard news. White says that soft news “adds the human dimension because it gives opportunity to report on people

and events that are not truly significant but still captivate and involve many readers” (228). The feelings and emotion of an event can be sensed though the reporting of soft news.

In comparing the reporting of casualties from the three newspapers, *Aus* and *SMH* had similar amounts of soft news compared to hard news in their first week of reporting. Forty six of articles in *Aus* with Australian casualties as a theme were hard news and 51 percent soft news while in *SMH* 42 percent of articles about Australian casualties of the coverage of the Bali bombing were hard news and 53 percent soft news. (Figure 4 and 5) This demonstrates that the two newspapers emphasised reporting of facts at the same time as reporting on the emotions of the victims and victims’ families and friends.

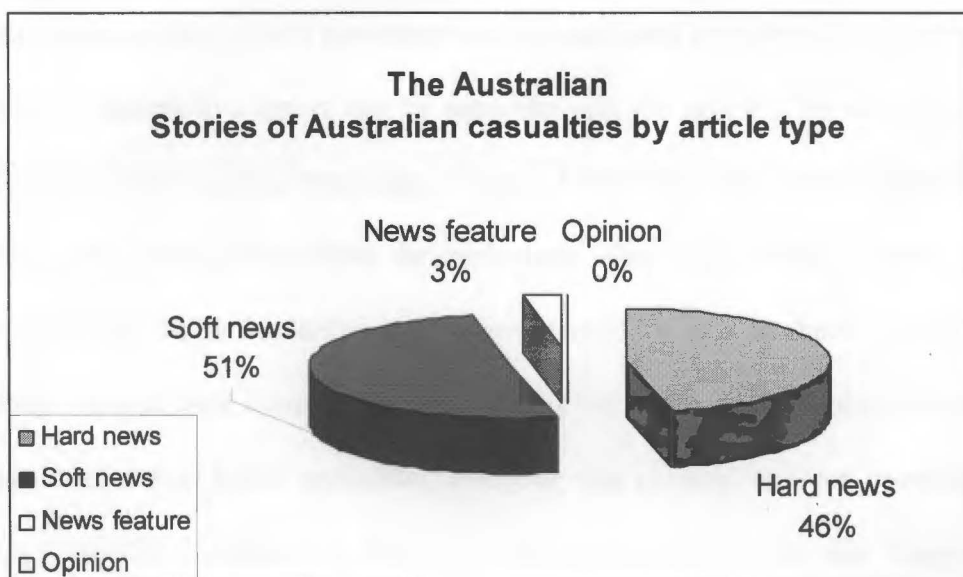


Figure 4: Stories of Australian casualties by article type during the first week of coverage of the Bali bombing in *Aus*

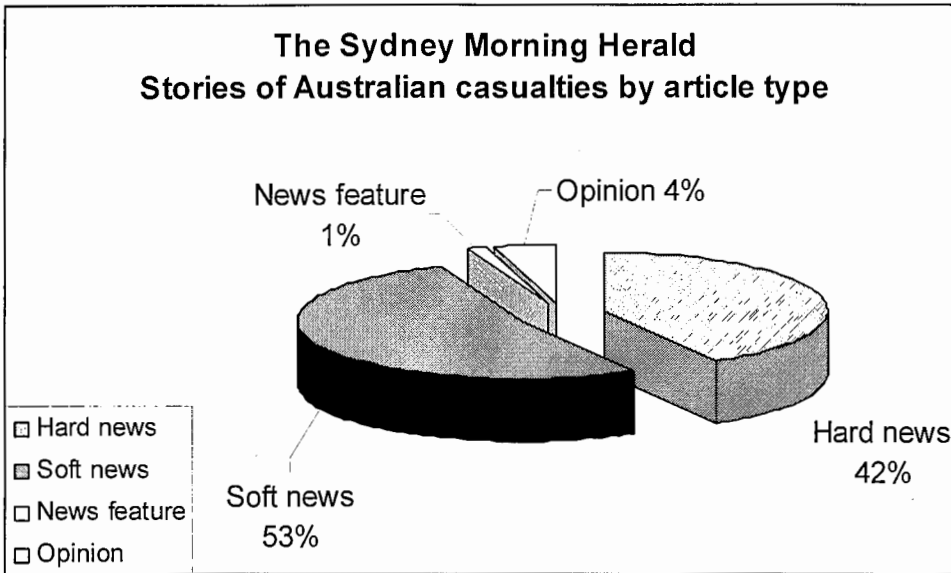


Figure 5: Stories of Australian casualties by article type during the first week of coverage of the Bali bombing in *SMH*

Most soft news articles in both newspapers were emotional or extremely descriptive. An example of a descriptive report can be seen through the article: “Friends for life defy death for each other”, on the front page of *Aus*, 14 October. The article reported the two best friends who have just survived the explosions. One was helping another. She was quoted as saying: “You couldn’t imagine how terrible it was in there. Everyone was screaming. People were dying, there was nothing we could do,” she also described that the place “was getting hotter and hotter, everyone was covered in blood, running around screaming” (qtd in Crawford 1). She was rescuing her friend who was “trapped under debris, her pants burned off and her skin smouldering” (Crawford 1). Describing the scene in this fashion evoked the reality of the tragedy and placed the reader in the situation.

Emma Tom, argued in her article in *Aus* that “we need to see the explicit photographs and to read the gut wrenching reportage. It might be disturbing, but then again, it should be.” She said that emphasising details is “the only way we’ll even get closer to understanding the true ramifications of disaster and war” (15).

Reporting soft news, especially in the case of a devastating event like the Bali bombing also influences readers’ emotions. *Aus* ran a special section of soft news reporting on life stories of individual victims, entitled ‘Life cut short’. These articles consisted of a small profile on the person in which the story of their life was told by their families and friends. In the first week of the reporting of the Bali bombing by *Aus* there were ten ‘Life cut short’ stories on different victims.

Each victims’ story was told in an idealistic way with an emphasis on their merits and how big a loss their death would be for their families and friends. For example, on 17 October, *Aus* reported on the life of a 19 year-old victim lost in the Bali blast. Her story was told by her family under ‘Life cut short’, describing her as a fun loving person, loved by her family, and for whom “the world (was) open”. The tragic loss was reinforced when her school principal commented that she was “a people person, with a delightful, bubbly personality, who was sensitive to the needs of others (Williams 4).”

This idea that the victims of the Bali bombing did not deserve to die was also emphasised by the choice of language used in describing these victims. An obvious example was on 16 October, under ‘Life cut short’, a story about Kathy Salvatori. Kathy was described

by *Aus* as “the life of the party – vivacious, sharp, entertaining and gregarious” (Sexton “Grief” 8). She also “had a closeknit family, an enormous circle of friends and an adoring husband, former rugby league Test player Craig Salvatori. She was the devoted mother of two daughters, Olivia, 9, and Eliza, 6” (Sexton “Grief” 8). Mrs Salvatori’s sister commented that “she was just an incredible spirit, larger than life” (qtd in Sexton “Grief” 8). This way of reporting and the choice of words or phrase in this case such as, ‘devoted mother’, ‘incredible spirit’ and ‘vivacious’ emphasised the newspaper’s point that she was a incredible woman who just did not deserve to die.

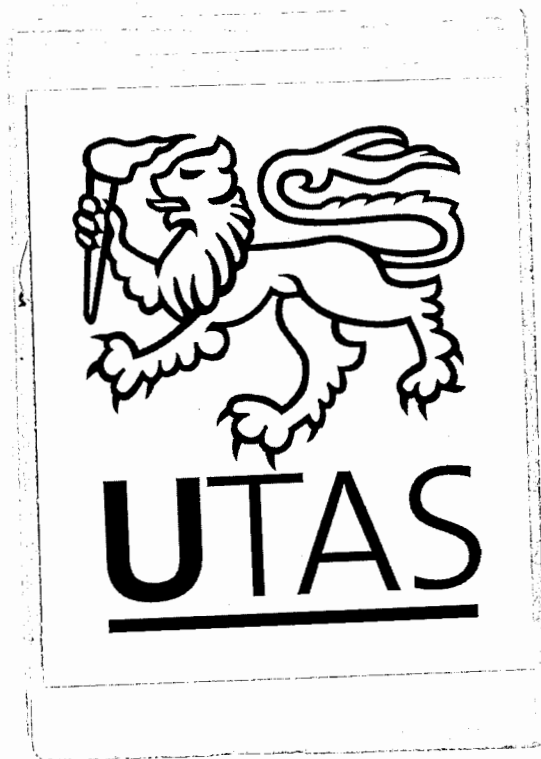
The tragedy was reinforced and achieved longevity through these individual life stories. Timothy Hawkins was described by his family in *Aus*, as a 28-year-old honours law graduate from Hobart Tasmania, destined to be a lawyer. *Aus* explained in detail his achievements and ambitions. A high achiever, *Aus* said Tim was also “a talented rower, starting at the age of eight and going on to complete in sculls, pairs, fours and eights. In 1995, he represented Australia at the under-23 world championships in Holland winning bronze...” (Altmann 2). Timothy Hawkins may have had a bright future in front of him, and have been an Australian achiever. These heroic qualities were repeated throughout the individual victims’ stories.

Aus and *SMH* also followed up on victims and their families and friends as individual stories. Those victims became familiar characters and readers followed what happened to them. This kind of emotional reporting gets readers involved in the event and defines the

tragedy as their own. It also elevates the importance of the individual and extends the important of the tragedy.

An example of the story of victim that came up continuously in *Aus* and *SMH* during the reporting of the Bali bombing was the story of the Salvatori family. It was so frequently reported that the readers could identify with the family's pain and loss. In *Aus*, the family's story was first reported in an article on 15 October. The article reported that Craig Salvatori, husband of Kathy Salvatori, one of the first victims identified missing, was at the Bali airport sending his two daughters back to Australia while he remained in Bali looking for their mother (Sexton, Brown and Porter 1). Mrs Salvatori's photo was also on the front page of the paper. On the same day, there was another article on Kathy Salvatori on the second page. The article described the family's regular visits to Bali. Mr Salvatori described his wife and commented on Bali, "Before this it was just the best place for a family holiday. It was cheap and fun and just the best place" (qtd in Sexton "Families grim" 2). He said that there had been a birthday celebration for his wife on the night of Saturday 12 October. The story appeared again on 17 October in *Aus*, "Salvatori's fury over ID blunder" over Mr. Salvatori's anger at the Indonesian police and the Australian government over the confusion of identifying Mrs Salvatori's body (Lyall and Sexton 3). The fact that the readers had a chance to get to know the Salvatori family from day one created feelings of involvement. The story of the Salvatori family was also continuously reported in *SMH*.

As the reports during the first week of the Bali bombing focused on casualties and particular victims, the pain of Australian victims and their families and friends was highlighted. Since the victims of the bombing were mostly Australian, the newspaper reports implied the fact that it was Australian tragedy. If the tragedy was Australian, the associated sense of ownership also extended to the place where the tragedy occurred, Bali.



Australia owns Bali

‘Australia owns Bali’. This message came through during the first week of coverage of the Bali bombing. The sense of ‘ownership’ was emphasised by *Aus*, *SMH* and *AFR*. The main reasons were the choice of words, the repetitive reporting and the primary definers. Bali was called ‘home’, ‘backyard’, ‘playground’ and ‘paradise’, which brought to the minds of the readers that Bali belongs to Australia. The repetitive reporting of the Bali bombing led readers to identify with the tragedy. This chapter will also discuss the importance of primary definers in a news report. In the case of the coverage of the Bali bombing, the main primary definer was the Australian government.

According to Conley, repetitive news reporting of any disastrous event and its aftermath has an impact on audiences who may not have been physically affected by the event. He cites the example of the flooding in Brisbane on 9 March 2001. On 10 March, Channel 9 devoted the first ten minutes of its evening news bulletin to the storm and its aftermath. The flood had vast impact on the city and many of its residents. Even those not directly affected still witnessed the flood. Conley explained that, “Virtually everyone could identify with and even claim ‘ownership’ of the resulting news reports. In that sense it was a shared disaster, with the media providing an almost ritualistic service in recording the cause and effect...”(43).

Aus and *SMH* devoted their front pages to the reporting of the Bali bombing for the entire week after the blast while *AFR* had its front page devoted to the bombing until 18 October. The bombing was reported in detail and victims’ sufferings were repeatedly

described in graphic detail. This repetition ensured the tragedy remained foremost in people's thoughts. During the first week of reporting the tragedy, *Aus* and *SMH* reported on the victims by individualising them. The continuing column in both newspapers profiling each individual victim in detail encouraged empathy and identification from the readers. The tragedy became an Australian tragedy and encouraged the whole of Australia to feel the pain.

Following the attacks in Bali, *Aus*, *AFR* and *SMH* reported in a way that made it seem as though the attacks had taken place in Australia's 'home'. 'Terror Hits Home' was the headline on 14 October in *Aus* (Greenlees 1). *AFR*'s headline on 14 October was 'Terror Blast Kills Australians', followed with a special section on page six with the heading 'Terror Hits Home' (Walker "Terror Blast" 1). *SMH* used the headline 'Terror Strikes Home', followed with a strong captivating statement, "The bomb blast that ripped apart Bali's entertainment precinct late on Saturday night has killed 187 people and injured 309, stamping terrorism's bloody fingerprint on Australian's door" (Moore and Riley 1).

The sense of ownership was not only produced by the continual reporting of the bombing but was also reinforced by the choice of words used by the Australian press. Proximity is a very important component in defining news values. If proximity concerns the news element of 'where', the choice of words of the Australian press was important in reporting the events of the Bali bombing. During the reporting of the Bali bombing, the Australian press emphasised their choice of words such as 'home', 'playground', 'paradise' and 'backyard' in order to ensure that the event had the same proximity as if it were local and that maximum impact was obtained.

According to Conley, "Proximity does not always relate to distance...Definitions of proximity can reflect ethnic and cultural bias within the media and community at large" (49). Almost half of the reports of the Bali bombing were devoted to Australian casualties. As mentioned in chapter one, in *Aus*, there was 51 percent coverage of the bombing dedicated to Australian casualties' stories through the first week, 49 percent in *SMH* and 24 percent of Australian casualties' stories in *AFR*. Even though the tragedy was in Bali, the fact that most of the victims were Australian and the amount of Australian casualties' stories reported diminished the distance.

The word 'home' was used continuously during the reports of the Bali bombing. According to *The Macquarie Dictionary*, the literal meaning of the word home is "a house, or other shelter that is the fixed residence of a person, a family...one's nation place or own country" or "a place of one's domestic affection" (Delbridge et al. ed 908). In the reporting of the Bali bombing, the word 'home' did not literally mean a place where Australians or the Australian victims lived, but as Bali is one of the most popular tourist destinations for Australians it was considered an extension of home. Bali before the tragedy used to bring feelings of comfort and relaxation for Australian holidaymakers. Although the word 'home' can also mean a place of one's domestic affection, the fact that the Australian press used the words "Terror Hits Home" for their headlines at first glance conveyed the sense of Bali belonging to Australia.

Another interesting choice of words was 'Bali playground'. These words appeared in *Aus* on the first day of reporting, 14 October. The article talked about the victims and the situation in the hospital at Denpasar, the reporter, Kimina Lyall used the words 'Bali

playground' in order to describe the place where the volunteers came from, "The volunteer has been drawn from Bali playground" (3). If the literal meaning of the word 'playground' is "a ground used specifically for open air recreation," or "an area where swings, etc. are provided for children" (Delbridge et al. ed 1463) its' meaning during the reports was altered in order to bring to mind the meaning of Bali to Australians. Susan Kurosawa, *Aus*'s travel editor, explained in her article "Blow for tourism in paradise lost" that Australian holidaymakers have always treated Bali as their 'playground'. She said, "For four decades, we have treated the island as a playground drifting over for bargain holiday, gloating over the decline of the rupiah" (6). The word 'playground' in this context was used as a metaphor describing Bali as a place for Australians to go and play, a place for leisure. It was a place to relax and holiday cheaply.

On the front page of *AFR*, 15 October, 2002, the headline "A harsh lesson about safety in our own backyard" appeared (Walker "A harsh" 1). The word 'backyard' pushed the readers to connect with the tragedy. In this article, security issues for Australia were discussed. The word 'backyard' was then used to reinforce to the readers the impact of the attack. John Carroll, a reader in sociology at Latrobe university, wrote an opinion piece in *AFR*, "Backyard terror has global implication". Using the word backyard in describing Bali. He claimed: "Bali is our own backyard...It's where you go to relax – to have fun, it's where footy teams go for their end-of season trip. Indeed, for many it's the only overseas plan they have visited" (Carroll 83). A 'backyard' is an "area, often of some size with garden and lawn, at the back of a building, usually a house" (Delbridge et al. ed 133). Speaking of Bali in conjunction with the word 'backyard' implied the fact

that Bali is Australia's backyard. This illustrated to the readers a sense of ownership and belonging. If Bali is our backyard, it conveys the idea that Bali belongs to us.

Another phrase that was frequently used was 'Paradise lost'. Bali was sometimes presented during the reports of the Bali bombing as a paradise on earth. The word 'paradise' was first mentioned in *Aus* by one of the survivors from the blast, talking about the scene in Denpasar hospital. She said that "It's like a refugee camp in paradise" (qtd in Emerson and Milligan 3). Following that, on the same day, in Kurosawa's article, the heading was "Blow for tourism in paradise lost" (6). Another occurrence of the phrase of 'paradise lost' in the headlines was in *AFR*, 19 October.

According to *The Macquarie Dictionary*, paradise is "heaven, as the final abode of the righteous," or "a place of extreme beauty and delight" (Delbridge et al. ed). Mark Drummond, who reported from Kuta for *AFR* with Lisa Allen and Sam Strutt, explained that Bali is a fair candidate for paradise on the lonely planet. With the heading, "Paradise: Bali and beyond", they said "the island was the first port of call for many young Australian travelers – their first taste of Asia" (Drummond, Allen and Strutt 21). This statement triggered recognition of how much Australia had lost, not only had many Australians lost their loved ones but also their 'paradise'.

A sense of ownership can also be created through what is stated by the primary definer of an issue. According to Hansen et al. "the analysis of who is portrayed as saying and doing what to whom... is essential to an understanding of media roles in social representation and power relationships in society" (108). The Australian government's involvement in the event was extremely significant in terms of rescue and evacuation,

investigation and political negotiation with the Indonesian government. During the first week of the reporting of the Bali bombing Australian government represented 66 percent of primary definers in *Aus.* (Figure 6)

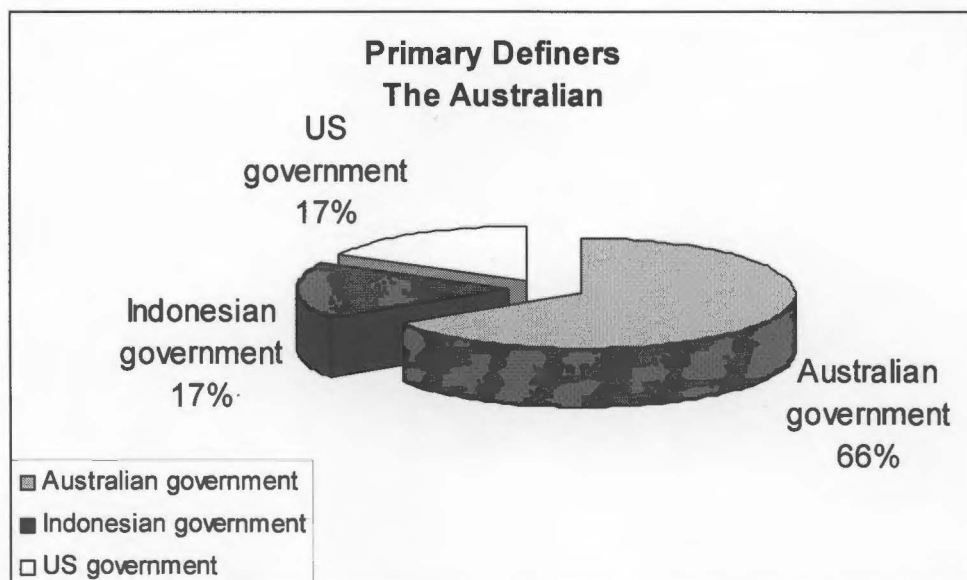


Figure 6: Primary definers in *Aus* during the coverage of the Bali Bombing

In *SMH*, the Australian government was represented in 71 percent of articles as the primary definer during the first week of the Bali bombing reporting. (Figure 7)

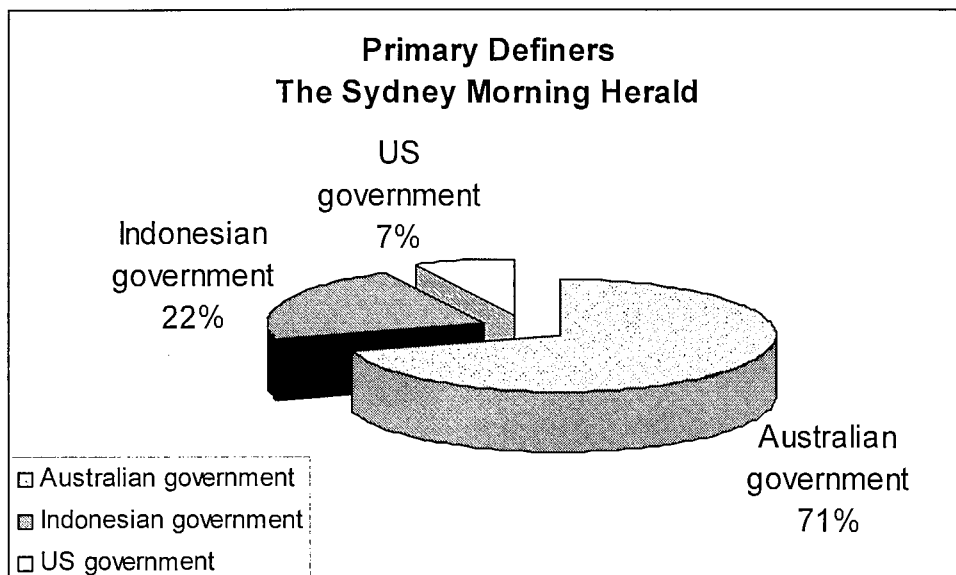


Figure 7: Primary definers in *SMH* during the coverage of the Bali Bombing

In addition, *AFR* had the Australian government as the primary definer in 59 percent of their coverage of the Bali bombing. (Figure 8)

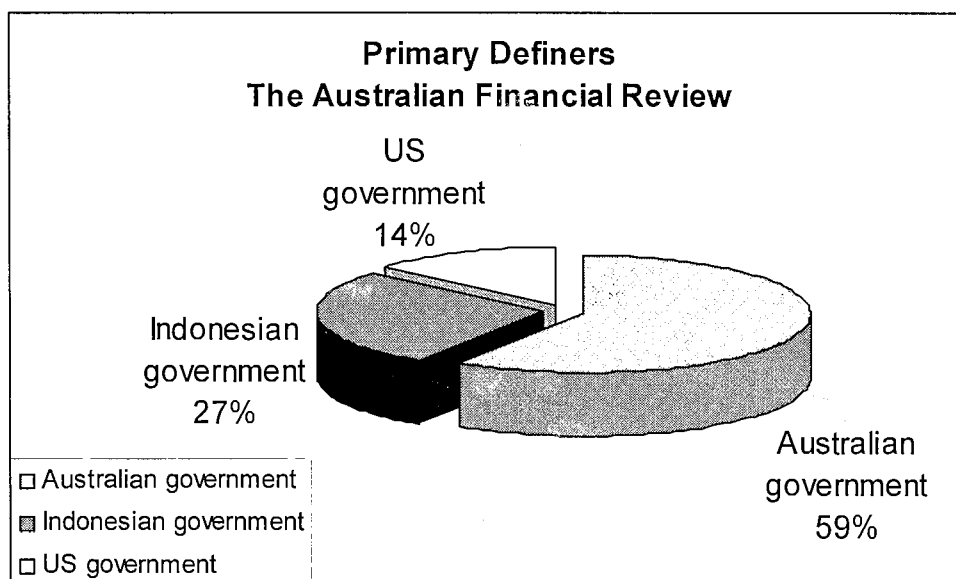
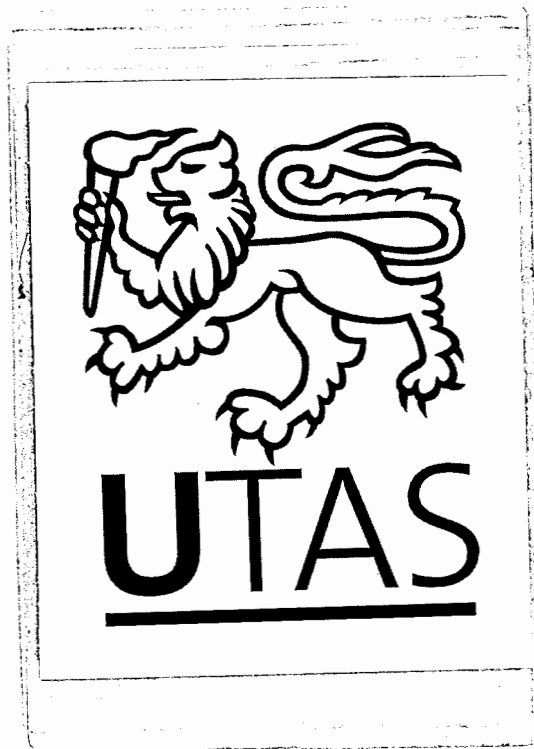


Figure 8: Primary definers in *AFR* during the coverage of the Bali Bombing

The Australian government, whether it was John Howard or other representatives (in particular Alexander Downer the Foreign Minister), had its say on most of the issues relating to the Bali bombing. This occurred not only in hard news, the government was also mentioned in opinion and feature articles as well. There is an unusually close relationship between government and media in Australia. According to Margaret Simons in her book, *Fit to Print*: "In Canberra's Parliament House work the politicians, the political staff, and the media. No other Western democracy concentrates so much power in one building" (Simon 6). The Australian government received a lot of attention from the press during the first week of the Bali bombing coverage. As Conley said, "politicians are prominent because they have the power to have an impact on people's lives" (51). Given the prominence of the Australian government as a primary definer in the reporting of the Bali bombing, it also contributed to the newsworthiness of the stories.

Due to the prominence that the Australian government had on the issue of the Bali bombing, what was said by the government also had an impact on the way that the media reported. For example, the word 'home' or 'doorstep' may have stemmed from the comment of the Prime minister, Mr John Howard when he said just after the bombing, "What happened on the weekend was on our doorstep" (qtd in Walker J. 1) and "People should get out of their minds that it can't happen here; it can, and it has happened to our own on our own doorstep" (Greenlees 1). The sense of ownership was emphasised by the Australian government. John Howard appealed to Australians' emotions and feelings of anger when he said, "What happened was barbaric, brutal, mass murder" (Tingle 3).

As the three newspapers, through their repetitive style of reporting, their choice of words and their main primary definer, emphasised 'Australia owns Bali'. The bombing was a tragedy for Australians, losing their paradise, an ideal destination. How much of a tragedy was it then for the people in Indonesia, when it was not just a loss of their loved ones but also their nation's economy?



Indonesian pain

The Bali bombing was a tragedy for Indonesia and the Balinese people as much as it was for Australia. According to the Disaster Victims Identification team the final death toll showed “Indonesia has the second highest loss with 38 victims” (Boediwardhana “Bali blast”). Not only did Indonesian lose their loved ones, they also suffered an enormous blow to their economy. Most Balinese are dependent, directly or indirectly, on tourism for their income. This chapter will examine the amount of attention paid by the three Australian newspapers, *Aus*, *SMH* and *SMH* to the pain and reaction of the Balinese and the Indonesians, their victims and their economic loss during the coverage of the Bali bombing.

The bombing in Bali took away the lives of 38 Indonesians and injured many more. During the first week of the Bali bombing, the pain of the Balinese and Indonesians was given little recognition by the three Australian newspapers under discussion in this thesis. During the reporting of the Bali bombing, *SMH* devoted seven percent of its coverage to Indonesian casualties and four percent to the Balinese economy (refer to Figure 1). *Aus* devoted three percent of its coverage to Indonesian casualties’ stories and five percent to the Balinese economy (refer to Figure 2). *AFR* had only two percent of its first week Bali bombing coverage representing stories of Indonesian casualties and eleven percent representing the Balinese economy (refer to Figure 3).

Australian newspapers were reporting to an Australian audience who most likely wanted to know about their own citizens. The impact of Australian casualties was great. According to Conley, impact is a major consideration for a newspaper as to whether stories will be run or not. He claims that, "the extent of the presumed impact and the number of people it will affect helps determine the amount of space a story is given and where it is placed" (43). Balinese and Indonesian casualties' stories were important and they did have the value of being newsworthy but were overshadowed by Australian casualties' stories. The impact on Australian readers was not enough for the stories to be given column space in the newspapers.

The types of articles that were used in reporting on Indonesian casualties were mixed. Due to the fact that there was only a small percentage of articles reporting on Indonesian casualties during the coverage of the Bali bombing, it is hard to effectively analyse the techniques employed by the Australian press in reporting on Indonesian casualties. There were only four articles in *Aus*, three in *SMH* and nine in *SMH*. However, *Aus* and *SMH* reported Australian casualties more descriptively and more emotionally than when reporting on the Indonesian casualties.

The suffering of the Balinese victims was canvassed by the editor of *Aus*, Michael Stutchbury on 16 of October in "Let's not forget about our Balinese friends." He argued that it was fair enough for Australia to concentrate on its own country and its own people first, but that it was also the time to stop thinking about nationality and to concentrate on saving human lives, including the Balinese. Bali was described as being in the "midst of

a medical emergency it was totally unprepared for. The island's single public hospital has only one emergency room, a small intensive care unit and no burns ward" (14). Stutchbury also said that the bodies were being kept in refrigerated fish trucks. This was due to the fact that local morgue was not large enough. Until 16 October, nine Balinese were reported killed in the blast and twelve more were injured. Stutchbury suggested that the two countries needed to help each other. He concluded that "we might not have heard much about their grief but the pain of those Indonesians who lost their loved ones is just as real as ours" (14).

The stories of Balinese casualties were first covered four days after the bombing in *SMH* on 17 October in an article titled: "After the mourning comes a widow's struggle" by Claire O'Rourke, which used the techniques of a soft news story in reporting on Wayan, a Balinese widow with two daughters, who lost her husband in the bombing. The woman lived in a village where eight people were lost. Even though the story was told as soft news, the same type of reporting that was used to report on Australian casualties, the emotional level was low. There was no descriptive detail about the victim or his attributes what a terrific man he was before he died, or the grieving and emotional loss of the Balinese widow. The story only told where the victims worked and where they came from. Wayan only said, "After the bomb went off I did not hear from my husband – I was confused and scared" but then she had to move on as the major income of the family was lost, "For now I cannot think about it but maybe I will do some tailoring" (qtd in O'Rourke 7). There was also no description of the individual victims' personalities in the

same way that had been the focus of the coverage of Australian victims to encourage readers to become involved in their plight.

The Balinese pain did not stop at the missing families and friends but included worry about the future of their economy. An article in *SMH*, "Long healing path for club's staff" explained the future for the Balinese especially the Paddy's bar and Sari club staff. A survivor and former Sari Club worker said: "The saddest thing for me is that I'm missing my friends and now I'm worried about my job and what the future holds. I don't want to go back to my village and be a farmer like my parents" (qtd in Stevenson 5).

Bali's economy was shattered after the bombing yes there was only a small percentage of articles on the effects of the bombing on this aspect. Jakarta's centre for Labor and Development predicted that about 150,000 tourism-related jobs would be lost on Bali and close to 1,000,000 for Indonesia as a whole (Howell). The Balinese were paying the highest price for the attack, not only had they lost their loved ones but also the regular Australian tourists who kept a lot of them in jobs. Eric Ellis wrote a piece entitled: "Nightmares on Dream Island", from Kuta in *The Weekend Australian*, 19-20 October in which he interviewed Steve Palmer, a Sydney born man and owner of a surfing business in Bali. Palmer said after the bombing that he worried about the coming year. "We are now budgeting business to drop off 80-90 percent in the next few months" (Ellis 34). But he believed that Bali would pull through the tough times, as the island had overcome big challenges in the past. However, Ellis believed the world would be hard to convince, due to all the travel warnings issued for Indonesia.

On the same day, Roger Martin reported on the economy of Kuta in particular in “Street traders fear for the future as tourists stay away”. He reported on the number of arriving tourists “On Sunday (14 October), 5219 people arrived at Denpasar airport. By Monday that number had been halved and on Tuesday it was halved again; just 1242 people emerged from the arrivals gate” (Martin R. “Street” 27).” The hotels were suffering as well as tours and other tourist businesses. Martin said that the locals still put on a brave face while they already knew the cost, “Trade has slumped by 70 percent, shop owners report. And there’s the unexpected costs – replacing shattered windows” (“Street” 27).

There was little coverage on the Indonesian perspective on the cause or effects of the bombing by the three newspapers. Dewi Anggraeni gave her opinion on the effects of the bombing on the Balinese people in her book, *Who did this to our Bali?* by exploring the opinions of two females in the Balinese community. She described Balinese women as being reluctant to express strong opinions (78). This does not mean they are not opinionated but rather that their opinion is private to them. However when it comes to events like the Bali bombing those who hold significant positions in the community have to speak up. When they do, their opinions are respected. Anggraeni interviewed Professor Luh Ketut Suryani, a psychiatrist and academic from Bali’s Udayana University and briefly spoke to Ida Ayu Agung Mas, a founder of Sua Bali Foundation (sustainable tourist body) and of Suar Ayu Foundation (a community empowering foundation) in Gianyar and senior lecturer in tourism at Udayana University in Denpasar.

Professor Suryani is known as a healer. She is head of the psychiatric department of the Udayana Faculty of Medicine and she uses traditional approaches as well as scientific methods to treat psychologically disturbed patients (Anggraeni 78). She was devastated by the event but still expressed her opinion to the media that maybe it was all the Balinese peoples' fault. Professor Suryani told Anggraeni what she said to the media after the event: "Are we be able to see beyond the sadness and shock of what happened, and see this as a punishment? In the context of punishment we should be able to look back at what we have done" (qtd. in Anggraeni 78). She believed that the Balinese have forgotten their first aim of developing tourism on the island as cultural tourism: "Now, we have tourism of iniquity, where we are no longer in control where we are chasing the dollars. So we have been punished" (qtd. in Anggraeni 78).

The Balinese and Indonesians felt pain after the bombing but their way of expressing themselves was culturally different from the Australians. Anggraeni believed that a lot of Balinese blamed themselves for what happened. Many believed that God was angry with them and therefore they were asking for God's forgiveness. A Balinese woman whose shop was a hundred metres behind the Sari Club said to Anggraeni when asked about the bombing: "It was a punishment from god. We must have neglected our religious duties, so we were warned and reminded to return to the right path" (qtd. in Anggraeni 86). She did not blame anyone but herself and her own people. This view was backed up by a security guard from the Sari Club and a taxi driver in Kuta who added that the "Balinese

have been too greedy. We've been too busy chasing the dollar, and neglecting our religious and cultural lives" (qtd. in Anggraeni 87).

Ida Ayu Agung Mas, explained that those who lived in Kuta were affected, not only killed and injured but also witnessed suffering which will stay with them for a long time. Anggraeni explained that "what were shattered immediately was their pride and dreams, even before they began to feel the rippling effect of social and economic change" (93). Australian was Bali's main tourist destination, according to the Bali tourist authority - the island was visited by more than 200 thousand Australian visitors a year. After the tragic event, the number of Australian tourists dropped from 238,857 in 2001 to 139,018 in 2003 (Kunjungan Langsung Wisatawan Mancanegara).

The Bali bombing did not only mark a tragedy for Australians but indeed marked a disaster for Indonesians. The Indonesians' voice was not properly reported by the Australian press. An example of how Indonesian people and its culture were misrepresented and misunderstood followed the arrest and interrogation of Amrozi, 'the smiling bomber'.

Cultural difference, ‘smiling Amrozi’

The first and most captivating image of the accused Bali bomber Amrozi bin Nurhasyim, was a picture of the 40-year-old Javanese mechanic smiling and waving to the cameras that was shown on television on the night of 13 November, 2002. Amrozi had been arrested on 5 November for plotting the Bali bombing. The Australian newspapers, *Aus* and *SMH* published his photo on their front pages the next day. However, there was no evidence of his picture in *AFR* on 14 November. Headlines such ‘laughing bomber’ and ‘smiling Amrozi’ were evocative, emphasising the fact that he was smiling. The smile on Amrozi’s face gained different reactions and interpretations from the press and general public. This chapter will explore the different perspectives of the public towards ‘smiling Amrozi’. Some believed that it was a sign of disrespect and rudeness, some argued cultural differences and some explained it was an ordinary terrorist response. No matter what the interpretation, *Aus* and *SMH* certainly played an important role in bringing the images of Amrozi to the public and also in placing such emphasis on the word ‘smile’. There were three photographs of Amrozi published in *SMH* and four in *Aus*.

Angus Trumble, author of *A Brief History of the Smile*, which examined the cultural, physiological, artistic and literary history of the smile explains that “smiling is perhaps the most immediately expressive muscular contraction of which our bodies are capable” (xxxiii). He says “the anatomy neurology, and physiology of it are pretty well understood, and deeply rooted in human instinct...” (Trumble xxxiii). He also explained that “the term ‘smile’ can be implied to numerous phenomena relating to the movement

of the lips and the contractions of various other muscles of the face...A smile may seem friendly to one person, obsequious to another, and frankly insane to somebody else” (Trumble xxxv-xxxvi). Trumble suggested that, “smilers may not even be aware that they are displaying a smile; or they may have deployed it with subtle forethought, aiming to tease or mislead. Either way, knowing or oblivious, the smile is a powerful form of communication” (xxxvi).

O. G. Roeder, the author of *Smiles in Indonesia*, says “Indonesians seem to be born with a smile” (9). However, he argues, a smile is not always pleasant, it can be ironical, cunning or cruel. A smile can be the answer to a life of misery. A man who, during the eruption of a volcano, had lost everything but his life could indeed be convulsed with laughter in overcoming the pain and despair. Roeder explains that in Indonesia sometimes a smile is more to hide a feeling or emotion than to reveal it. He says that Indonesians are not innocent childlike people: “They too have their human and social problems. What sets them apart from the rest of the mankind is the way in which they overcome their miseries” (Roeder 9). Indonesian people prefer to smile at each other.

Trumble believes that on the issue of ‘smiling Amrozi’, there was some cultural misunderstanding between Australians and Indonesians. He suggests that the relationship between smiling and happiness in some instances can be obscure and hard to judge. Different cultures and traditions can cause people to interpret a smile in a different way; also “various national and regional characteristics were thought to distinguish one sort of smile, or prompt, from another” (Trumble xxxi). Trumble explains that some particular smiles may cause contradiction in different cultures, such as in the case of Amrozi.

The Indonesian authorities arranged a press conference in Denpasar, while interrogating Amrozi, which caused outrage in the Australian media. The interview was broadcast on the night of 13 November with images of Amrozi smiling and waving to the cameras. The next day *Aus* and *SMH* had pictures of him smiling and waving to the cameras on the front pages of the papers with smiling Indonesian police officers in the background. The headline on the front page of *SMH* was captivating: "Laughing bomber on parade" (Goodsir and Miller 1). *Aus* mentioned the event in the middle of the front page article, "Smiling and waving to reporters during the interview, Amrozi revealed he had helped build a bomb used in the strife-torn province of Ambon" (Martin, R. "Celebrity" 1).

In contrast, *AFR* had little to say about the smiling bomber. The first article that reported on 'smiling Amrozi' appeared on 15 November, "Angry response to Bali suspect's mirth", in which Morgan Mellish and AAP reported on the victims' relatives and foreign minister Alexander Downer's reaction to the images of the Bali bombing suspect laughing and joking with Indonesian police during a public interrogation (4).

Amrozi's smile sent out a very strong but confusing message to the three Australian publications under discussion in this thesis. *Aus* and *SMH*, in particular displayed the smile of Amrozi to a still-traumatised Australian public. The last thing they wanted to see on television and the front pages of their newspapers was the smiling face of the man responsible. In a letter to the editor published in *Aus* on 15 November a reader, Fran McKenzie explained the insensitivity of the picture of 'smiling Amrozi' on the front page of the newspaper. McKenzie said, "as someone who lost a dear relative in Bali, I found the "cheerful' image of the suspected Bali bomber offensive and extremely upsetting".

She also suggested that, “perhaps a less confronting shot placed inside the paper would have alleviated some distress for all relatives and friends of victims” (McKenzie 14).

The issue of ‘smiling Amrozi’ was kept alive in *Aus* and *SMH* for three days after his interrogation using the news value of ‘conflict’ by reporting comments about Amrozi from grieving relatives. According to Conley, “Conflict attracts reader interest and, therefore, has news value... Readers become spectators – through the media’s eyes...” (45). On the issue of ‘smiling Amrozi’, the newspapers employed the comments from friends and family as arguments for conflict.

Aus reported on 15 November: “Smiling Bomber infuriates relatives,” describing the reactions of victims’ relatives towards the image of Amrozi smiling and waving to the camera that was shown on television on the night of 13 November. The grieving friends and families were very angry with the smiling face of Amrozi and some claimed that he should be “burnt to death”. Roger Martin who was in Kuta as a staff reporter reported on individuals by detailing their situations and their reactions towards Amrozi. Martin reported on Carla Lauren and Kimberly Knighton. The two sisters were in Bali for a cleansing ceremony for their mother who had just “died a painful death in Royal Perth Hospital” (“Smiling” 9). He quoted Lauren as saying: “He can’t sit there and laugh and joke...if only I could go to jail where he is now. That wanker can die to be honest” (qtd. in Martin, R. “Smiling” 9). She wanted to see Amrozi suffer with 82 percent burns to his body like her mother. Laura believed that he had no respect and that he showed no remorse for what he did.

Other victims also had strong angry comments and responses to the smiling face of Amrozi. One felt “like murdering the prick” (qtd. in Martin, R “Smiling” 9) and some victims assumed that “there must be something wrong with him in the head” (qtd. in Martin, R “Smiling” 9). By reporting on the anger of victims’ friends and family, the media evoked sympathy and anger from the rest of Australia. Due to the fact that Australian audiences had been fed by the Australian press with the individual victims’ information from the first day after the bombing, the image of Amrozi and the reaction of friends and families affected them even more and in a personal way.

The image of Amrozi was not the only reason for the Australian public to get angry and offended: the way that the media reported, the choice of words and phrases they used and the way they emphasised the words and sentences he spoke also contributed. *SMH* reported on 14 November on the front page: “The Javanese mechanic told of his delight at the success of the attack and at one point pointed to Western journalists and said in Indonesian: ‘Those are the sorts of people that I wanted to kill’” (Goodsir and Miller 1). Goodsir and Miller described the room full of police and reporters erupting with laughter. Martin Chulov also reported in *Aus* about the ‘The smiling assassin’ with the same quote from Amrozi in bold on top of the page, “Those (western journalist) are the sorts of people I wanted to kill” (Chulov 25).

However, these words were later denied by the General I Made Pastika, one of the police officers who interviewed Amrozi on 16 November 2002 in *SMH*. The General denied that Amrozi made a joke about killing westerners and making death threat towards the western journalists. He believed that between the journalists and Amrozi, “it was within

sight, but not within listening...so that picture that was published in Australia, people do not know exactly the substance of the conversation” (qtd in Goodsir 15). He explained that the Indonesian police needed to show people that they treated Amrozi like a human being during interrogation. General Pastika said that, “We understand the feelings of relatives and also the victims in Australia. We also have victims in Indonesia” (qtd in Goodsir 15). In reporting these messages, the press evoked anger towards the Indonesian government from Australians affected by Amrozi’s taunts.

In studying and analysing newspaper content and how much it influences the public, Letters to the Editor can be very important, as this section offers an opportunity for the public to provide responses to issues aired in the newspaper. In *SMH*, after the reports of Amrozi on the 14 November, half a page of letters to the editor on the issue of Amrozi was published the next day. All of the letters about Amrozi were negative. The readers went as far as saying that Australia is not part of Asia: “You only need to look at the main photograph on the front page to start to understand why” (Pocock 14). Most readers found the picture offensive and felt angry: “The smiling assassin and the laughing policemen are the most offensive images I’ve seen for a long time. Shame, Indonesia, shame” (Cornelius 14). Another reader found it disturbing from the point of view of the relationship between Indonesia and Australia: “If there was a vestige of good relations remaining between Australia and Indonesia, it has just disappeared” (Martin M. 14). In the case of reporting on ‘smiling Amrozi’, even though the newspapers did not directly tell their readers that Amrozi was offensive, the choice of words, ‘smiling bomber’ and ‘laughing bomber’, and the pictures that were shown on the front page of *Aus* and *SMH* said it all.

To the contrary, a letter to the editor on 16-17 November, in *The Weekend Australian* explained the different view of some readers. The media was blamed for the offensive picture of Amrozi: “If the media images of the Bali bombing suspect laughing and joking in an interview in Denpasar are, as the reports themselves state, “outrageous” and “offensive”, why does the media keep showing those images” (Anderson 18). Some readers were questioning whether we should be surprised at Amrozi’s smiling image: “What is it about Islamic terrorists that Westerners don’t understand? They want us dead. It’s not a matter of whether the victims are “innocent” or “deserving, it’s all the same to them...So why shouldn’t they smile when they kill us?” (Pakula 18).

This view was reinforced by the Australian government, the primary definer. The Foreign minister, Alexander Downer, described the images of Amrozi as ‘ugly’. He stated: “those people are so bloodthirsty. Their sort of ugly, sneering, amused attitude at the slaughter of innocent people is just horrific” (Miller 9). Given the prominence of the Australian government as a primary definer in the reporting of the Bali bombing (refer to Figures 6, 7 and 8), it also contributed to the opinion of the readers on the issue of ‘smiling Amrozi’.

Dr Ariel Heryanto, an anthropologist based in the University of Melbourne’s Melbourne Institute of Asian Languages and Societies; said that most angry commentators, Australian or not, failed to understand the culture of Indonesian’s smile. Dr Heryanto claimed that smiles have diverse meanings in Indonesian society. Smiling doesn’t always “imply delight, amusement, friendliness between the suspect and the officers, or an antagonistic attitude towards the victims of the Bali bombing. They ‘laughed,’ but they

did not 'laugh at' anything or anyone" (Heryanto "Politically"). While explaining the culture of Indonesia, Heryanto believed that the smile was done unconsciously. Indonesian people seem to smile because they cannot help it, that is something they have done since childhood. For this reason, the Indonesian public did not notice the smile on Amrozi's face. Heryanto said that "with an exception of the *Jakarta Post*, no Indonesian press has picked up the interview as an issue" ("Politically"). This illustrated that the smile on Amrozi's face may not have triggered anger in the Indonesian public due to their inherent cultural understanding of one of their countrymen.

According to Tim Palmer, ABC correspondent to Indonesia at the time of Bali bombing, there was some cultural misunderstanding between Australians and Indonesians during the coverage of Amrozi. Palmer said: "It surprised me as a journalist in Indonesia how great the reaction was to that press conference, that people would react to a photograph of this man smiling. I was quite staggered by it because culturally in Indonesia people will smile; they'll smile when you're discussing the death of a friend" (Palmer). He admitted that reporting on Amrozi, he needed to be aware of the perceptions of Australian people. "I'm not here to be an Indonesian reporter if you can understand the distinction. So when Australians react with horror to a picture of a smiling Amrozi it may be that I should be reporting that from an Australian point of view, but it's a case-by-case judgement" (Palmer).

On 15 November *Aus* reported the views of Rini Soewandi, the Indonesian trade minister who was visiting Australia at the time. The headline stated: "Minister blames media". The minister reassured the readers with the fact that the Indonesians were as remorseful

as Australians and that the pictures of Amrozi damaged the portrayal of Indonesia's fight against terrorism. She believed that images in the newspaper can reflect anything, not necessarily the way the Indonesian government reacted towards terrorism nor the way Amrozi feels: "He might feel fear but doesn't want to show it – he wants to show the world he has won" (qtd in Pitsis 9). The minister said she feared the images of Amrozi would send the wrong message to Australian people that the Indonesian government was not going to fight terrorism. However, the damage was already done since the picture had been shown on television on the night of 13 November and the headlines and pictures of Amrozi smiling had been published in the Australian press.

Trumble explains in his book that the Indonesian authorities arranged a press conference in Denpasar because they thought it was necessary to illustrate to the world that Amrozi has not been mistreated and that they were doing everything by the book. But to Westerners, seeing the police officers smiling and joking with Amrozi, made them think "How could the Indonesian authorities convey the impression that they and their prisoner were old friends? What on earth were they smiling and laughing about?" (Trumble xxxii).

On the topic of cultural differences, Anggraeni also argues in *Aus*: "The Bali terror and its aftermath have demonstrated a clash of cultures between Australia and Indonesia. Nothing better demonstrates this than Wednesday night's television drama in Denpasar" ("Make" 15). She believed that the Indonesian police were under pressure due to the fact that there was doubt in Indonesians' minds that Amrozi's confessions were not extracted by torture. Anggraeni also said of the interrogation that it was unusual for the Indonesian police to show the world that they are gentle and friendly and that Amrozi's confession

came voluntarily. The action was done to serve the interests of the international media as Indonesian police never had to justify themselves to anyone. At the end of her article, Anggraeni argued that “Amrozi began to feel his own importance. So what better way to show off in front of the world’s television cameras than to laugh and wave at the reporters?” (“Make” 15). Amrozi denied being an Islamic extremist but claimed that “he was a juvenile delinquent who had been led astray” (Goodsir and Miller 1).

David Mutton from the University of Western Sydney, who worked for 11 years as chief psychologist for the New South Wales police service was interviewed by the ABC for its ‘Bali Anniversary’ webpage about the psychology of the smile, in particular the smile on Amrozi’s face. Mutton explained that he was surprised by Amrozi’s reaction and that people had been asking him the meaning of it. He predicted that there were probably two common suppositions: one was that it was a sign of madness and the other was trying to register a great deal of self-satisfaction in what he had done. “One might not agree with what they do but certainly terrorists by tradition are not mad. Therefore I would assume that any smiling toward the cameras would be trying to register self-satisfaction with what they’d done or possibly a taunting of (the) West because they would have known the cameras of the West trained upon them” (Mutton “Chronology”).

On the issue of the relationship between terrorists and the media, Mutton commented that “terrorists are a very small and select band of criminals. One motivation for terrorists is to get worldwide attention; in other words the media is their stage. They need to get the media to pay attention to them so as well as setting off bombs their reaction to the media is part of that” (“Chronology”). He said that Amrozi was just like other terrorists around

the world. He used the media to get his message across. He was trying to get worldwide attention and promote his faith and his beliefs.

Amrozi became the centre of attention of the Australian media from the day he was smiling and waving to the cameras, the footage of which was aired on television in Australia. His smile created confusion among the Australian press and misperception within the Australian public according to letters published after his arrest. During the reporting of the Bali bombing, the coverage of 'smiling Amrozi' was not the only issue that created confusion for the public; the way the act of terrorism was reported also contributed. The connection of the Bali bombing with the act of a particular Islamic group created misunderstanding within the Australian community, resulting in violence targeted at the Australian Muslim community.

Media and Islam

The issue of race and ethnicity has always been important for the Australian media. Australia is a multicultural society. According to Michael O'Shaughnessy and Jane Stadler, co-authors of the book, *Media and Society*: "The media are important in giving us constructions, images and representations – discourses – of ethnic difference" (O'Shaughnessy and Stadler 260). The media have the power to influence the perception of society towards ethnic and religious groups. This power is wielded in the reporting of these groups. During the coverage of the Bali bombing, in *Aus*, *SMH* and *AFR*, there were concerns expressed by the Muslim community in Australia about the way the investigation of terrorism was reported. The choice of words in relation to Islam and Muslims resulted in innocent Muslim people in Australia being mistreated and their beliefs and faith being misunderstood.

In May 2004 the Australian Press Council News issued an article, "Religious terms in headlines", concerning the guidelines for newspapers and magazines in using headlines that unnecessarily emphasise ethnicity, nationality and religion. The council urged the media to be careful in only reporting on the group that committed the action and not portraying their associated ethnic group as being guilty by association; Islamic groups especially have been a centre of concern. The Council noted that: "the use of the words 'Islam', 'Islamic' and 'Muslim', in headlines on reports of terrorist attacks is causing problems both for the Muslim community in Australia and the Australian media" (Herman 1). The council also emphasised that "It is important for newspapers to identify

as clearly as possible the sources of terror; casting the net of suspicion and accusation too widely can be harmful” (Herman 1).

During the first week of coverage of the Bali bombing, even though most reports concentrated on the theme of casualties, the themes of investigation, security and terrorist networks were also in evidence. The Bali bombing was identified by the Prime Minister John Howard as an act of terror from the first day of reporting, as witnessed in *Aus*, 14 October: “This wicked and cowardly attack – clearly on the evidence available to us an act of terrorism – can have no justification and would be widely condemned not only by Australians but by people all around the world” (qtd in Greenlees 1). This view was backed up by Indonesian President Megawati Sukarnoputri: “Terrorism is a real danger and potential threat to national security” (qtd in Greenlees 1). The terrorist act was also reported on the first day to have been carried out by “Islamic terror groups”, on the front page sub-headline of *Aus*. The reporting of the Bali bombing as a terrorist act was thus associated with Islam from the first day of reporting.

During the first week of the coverage of the Bali bombing, in all three newspapers, reported on the investigation into finding the perpetrators of the bombing which focused on Jemaah Islamiah, an extremist Islamic group in Indonesia. The Australian and Indonesian governments had their suspicions in common that the bombing had been carried out by this terrorist organisation. The three Australian newspapers then focused their reporting on terrorism in conjunction with Jemaah Islamiah. The word terrorism

was often used in relation to Islam, such as, 'extremist Islamic group', 'Islamic radical' and 'Islamic terror'.

According to *The Macquarie Dictionary*, extremist means "one who goes to extremes, especially in political matters" or "a supporter of extreme doctrines or practices" (Delbridge et al. 662). 'Extremist Islamic group' implied a group of Muslim people who go to extremes in their political goals. The phrase refers to groups of Muslims who believe strongly in their political and religious views; it does not refer to Muslims as a whole. If 'radical' means "going to the root or origin; fundamental...through going or extreme, especially towards reform" (Delbridge et al 1561), 'Islamic radical' implies any Islamic group that is fundamental about its religion. By using these words and phrases in conjunction with the word terrorism, there is a chance of confusion. 'Extremist' and 'radical' do describe certain groups of Muslims, however the fact that the word Islam was included in the phrase created confusion within the public. Some readers may relate this to Islamic faith and Muslim people as a whole. In addition, Muslims are a minority group in Australia, and little is known about their religion by many Australians. It was unnecessary to use these words rather than the name of the organisations who actually committed the crime.

There were three reports of attacks on members of the Muslim community in Australia within the period of one week after the coverage of the Bali bombing. Two separate attacks on members of the Muslim community occurred. The articles focused on the Muslim community in Australia justifying themselves through the press. Anggraeni

argued that after September 11, it was not a pleasant time for Muslims who live in Australia or any other part of the world. Australian Muslims and Muslims around the world have had to make statements in order to distance themselves from terrorism and that terrorism is not part of Islamic teaching. Anggraeni asked "Can you imagine if Catholics around the world had to come out and make statements dissociating themselves from terrorism each time there were IRA attacks?" ("Bali").

An article appeared in *Aus* on 16 October: "Attack on school revives race hate fears". The article reported the attack on a Muslim cleric's home in Sydney. The Australian Islamic community feared for their safety after the bomb attack in Bali that was being blamed on Jemaah Islamiah. Imam Uzair Akbar from Holland Park mosque in suburban Brisbane feared for the Australian Muslim community as a whole. Through *Aus* he made a statement explaining his religion and its followers. "The message to our Australian brothers and sisters is that we too condemn that terrible attack, our religion does not respect the taking of innocent blood" (qtd in AFP "Attack" 2). In the same article, John Howard explained that Islam is a religion of peace and rejected the notion of the Bali bombers acting for a religious cause.

Robert Wainwright, reported in *SMH*, on 18 October: "Carr warns against attacks on Muslims", the main definers of the article were Bob Carr, the Premier of New South Wales, Stepan Kerkyasharian, the Community Relations Commission chairman and leaders of Sydney's Islamic communities. Bob Carr stated that he was "putting in place a plan to maintain community harmony should there be community unrest or incidents of

harassment resulting from any possible Australian involvement in a conflict with Iraq and the terrorist attack in Bali” (qtd in Wainwright 3). Mr Kerkyasharian asked the Community Relations Commission to help establish harmony in the community. He said that there had already been two attacks on Islamic buildings since 12 October. The leader of Sydney’s Islamic communities also made a statement responding to the attacks: “We deplore any recriminations against any part of the Australian community, including Australians of the Islamic faith” (qtd in Wainwright 3).

In *AFR*, 17 October Bob Carr was also a primary definer in the article “Community move after mosque hit”, trying to create harmony in Australian society while there was also a comment from the President of the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils who urged the public to “use sense and reason in dealing with the tragedy that occurred in Indonesia” (Moullakis and Stalley 10).

Reporting media and Islam has been a problematic issue for the Australian media for some time. Due to the power that the media has to influence the public, the media also hold significant power of influence over the opinions of many Australians on controversial subjects. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the media to be careful on what they report and how they report it.

Conclusion

The content analysis of the first weeks coverage of the Bali bombing showed that the three Australian newspapers, *Aus*, *SMH* and to a lesser extent *AFR* concentrated their coverage on reporting the victims of the Bali bombing. The theme of Australian casualties was represented strongly throughout the first week of the coverage in *Aus* and *SMH* and to a lesser extent in *AFR*, due to its economy orientated content. The stories of Australian casualties in *Aus* and *SMH* were descriptive and emotional; more than half of them were soft news. The newspapers reinforced the tragedy as Australian and there was an absence of reports about victims from other countries. Due to repetitive reporting and the choice of words used in reporting such as ‘home’, ‘backyard’, ‘playground’ and ‘paradise’ in referring to Bali, a sense of ‘ownership’ was brought to Australians’ minds. The analysis on primary definers concluded that the Australian government was the main definer during the first week of the coverage. This also evoked a sense of ‘ownership’ by Australians due to their government’s position on the issue.

Due to the amount of attention paid by the press to the stories of Australian casualties, the analysis shows that there was little news about the Indonesian victims or the effect on their nation’s economy. The Bali bombing was as much a tragedy for Indonesia as it was for Australia.

A significant cultural divide was revealed between Australia and Indonesia during the capture of the infamous ‘smiling Amrozi’. While the Indonesian press had little to say

about the smile on Amrozi' face, it was made out to be a big deal in the Australian press. The analysis showed that the image of Amrozi smiling presented a confusing message to the Australian media. The Australian media used the images of Amrozi to provoke anger among readers.

The analysis also showed that the coverage of 'smiling Amrozi' was not the only issue that created confusion for the public, the way the act of terrorism was reported also contributed. From the very early days of the coverage, the Bali bombing was marked as an act of terrorism. A particular Islamic group was reported by the media to be involved in the action. The misunderstanding or misinterpreting of this within the Australian community resulted in violence targeted at the Australian Muslim community.

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