

Media Framing of Disasters and Its Implications for Tourism Industry Policy: Case of Surabaya Terrorist Attack 2018 and Mt. Agung Eruption 2017, Indonesia

Erda Rindrasih

Department of Management and Public Policy, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia Email: erda.rindrasih@ugm.ac.id

ABSTRACT

Tourist destinations worldwide are periodically jeopardised by natural disaster events that threaten tourists' safety; consequently, the tourism industry is impacted. Mass media has a role to communicate and warn the public about disaster. Media portrayal on disaster events is likely to contribute to the tourism industry recovery and resilience. However, media has played a role in sending a negative message to tourists, making them hesitate to visit the destination. Limited researches have focused on how the media frames disaster events, and how policy makers could intervene. Based on analysis of media coverage of the Surabaya terrorist attack in 2018 and Mt. Agung eruption in 2017, this paper looked at how media framed disaster events and its consequences to the tourism industry policy. A content analysis of mass media from both national and international newspapers of Australia, Malaysia, and Singapore were conducted. The research identified five different framings on the two disasters, including source of problems, impact, solution, responsibility, and adaptive versus maladaptive. Findings also highlights the limited policy response towards these potentially negative media portrayal. Based on these findings, partnership between media and the government should be fostered to encourage post-disaster recovery.

Keywords: disasters; framing; media-coverage; policy; tourism

INTRODUCTION

Disaster is a sudden accidents or natural catastrophes that can leave traumatic events. According to the Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disaster, various disaster events have been increasing worldwide, or at least more recorded than before. During two decades, 1995 – 2015, 2,300 million people were affected by the flooding; 1,100 million people were affected by drought; 660 million people were affected by the storm; 94 million people were affected by extreme temperature; and 8 million people were affected by landslide and wildfire (Statista, 2022). Moreover, the pandemic Covid-19 has gained the attention that media has a role in distributing

knowledge and education for communities.

In the tourism industry, disaster may impact the performance due to its effect on the potential visitor's safety perception (Rindrasih, 2019). In the tourist perception, image is often taken for reality in the tourism industry. For instance, a tourist might perceive that a destination is an unsafe and a dangerous place to visit (George, 2017). One of the knowledge sources of disaster is news media coverage. Furthermore, the media has a social responsibility to promote and update knowledge related to disasters. The powerful effects of media communication can also influence the attitudes

and behaviour among the key actors in local, national and global tourism. It is therefore, the research on media coverage, tourism and disaster are imperative for decision maker to build a policy regarding on tourism development.

The media's framing and circulation of images and imagery in a globalized world do not spare places of war, ongoing socio-political conflict, death, and disaster (Buda, 2015; Tzanelli, 2013). Media coverage has been attributed to deterring tourists from visiting the destination. In terms of policy formulation, media can help the government to inform, educate and distribute the information for public and build a trust for government. However, studies related to disaster, tourism and media coverage were still limited. To contribute to the debate on tourism, disaster, media coverage and its role in policy formulation; this study discusses how the media has presented stories about disasters to the public based on a content analysis of the selected newspapers on the Mt. Agung eruption and the Surabaya bombing in Indonesia.

Though most disaster evacuation studies have focused on residents, tourists are also a vulnerable population (Rindrasih, 2019). Tourist destinations reflect a concentration of people who are not familiar with the area. The relationship between tourism and disaster has been recognised, especially regarding disaster impact on the tourism industry and the framework to understand the dynamic. It is understood that faster recovery is influenced by the level of preparation as the central element for providing strength and resilience to disaster and decreasing the community's susceptibility (Blaikie, Cannon, Davis, & Wisner, 2004). In managing preparation, Smith (2013) notes dissemination, which means transferring the information and warning of danger to the people in the hazard zone. The role of media communication such as TV, radio, and the emergency government body such as the police department and emergency services agencies are vital.

The roles of news media are not only primary functions, not only to inform but also to educate people as the result of the interaction between media and other social systems (Miles & Morse, 2007). Mass media has a role in communicating a warning to the public, describing what occurred, keeping the public informed post-event, and contributing to the individual and community recovery and resilience (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008). Currently, the additional function emerges to dominate the pattern of the relationship between disaster and recovery (Miles & Morse, 2007).

The coverage of the disaster in a particular area

may negatively impact the region's economy. Various tourism scholars have identified this and concluded that tourism is very vulnerable to such adverse events that lead to dropping economic flow (Rindrasih & Witte, 2019). The communication study can be linked to the lack of interest in visiting the impacted location due to the high magnitude of a disaster.

Media is identified as stakeholder in tourism development policy. However, lack of research focusing on the role of media in the policy development. The policy is developed by understanding the problems in the society or system before developing the vision and mission of the planning or policy (Subarsono, 2022). Similarly, in the tourism industry the policy should be formulated by identifying the problems in the tourism system. Related to disaster, the tourism industry has been known to face the challenge due to disaster events. It happens because of the sensitivity of tourism towards such an event.

Tourism demand is particularly sensitive to security and safety concerns (Avraham, 2017). Avraham (2017) studies that policy-makers applied three groups of strategies to promote their destinations during and after tourism crises: (1) source-focused strategies (media cooperation and media relations, physical/economic threats and media blockage, and internet use as an alternative source), (2) message-focused strategies (ignoring the crisis, negative image acknowledgement, scale of crisis reduction, counter-message delivery, association with well-known brands and celebrities, tackling the crisis and the spin of liabilities into assets), and (3) audience-focused strategies (patriotism and personal/national heritage, and target audience change).

In the following sections, the paper develops the research framework by reviewing the previous literature on tourist vulnerability, disaster knowledge and media coverage. Furthermore, section 3 describes the methodology. Section 4 four explains the findings that include the media frames. Then, section 5 discusses the implication and reflection of the research on the tourism industry. Finally, section 6 provides conclusions to summarise the debate and develop a new recommendation for practice and further research.

CONTEXT AND METHODS

Context of Indonesian Disasters

This paper selected two cases of events, i.e., Surabaya terrorist attack 2018 and Mt. Agung eruption 2017-2018. Choosing these two cases allows to compare two types of disaster, i.e., natural and human-induced disaster. First,

the 2018 Surabaya bombing was reported as the deadliest terror attack in Indonesia after the 2002 Bali bombings. The Surabaya bombing was a series of terrorist attacks occurred in East Java Province Indonesia. The first three bombings occurred on the same day, 13 May 2018 which targeted three churches in Surabaya, i.e., Immaculate Saint Mary Catholic Church, Indonesian Christian Church and Surabaya Central Pantecost Church. The fourth bombing accident occurred in an apartment rented by the terrorist in a complex of Sidoarjo, a regency located in South of Surabaya. This fourth bombing killed three of the terrorists and injured two children and teenager. The fifth and final bombing occurred on 14 May 2018 at the Surabaya police headquarters. It was reported that 10 people (four policeman and six civilians) were wounded and four suicide bombers were killed. The series of the terrorist attack gained a lot of media attention from both national and international.

The second case is the eruption of Mount Agung, a volcano located in Bali Island Indonesia. The volcano has erupted since the last year of 2017 up to beginning 2018. The alert level was increased at 27 November 2017, forcing more than 40,000 people from 22 villages to evacuate in 270 safer nearby locations. The activity of Mt. Agung continued until 3 July 2018 that was again reported to erupt due to the minor strombolian explosion¹⁾. Because Mt. Agung is located in Bali, where most of the economic activity is tourism, the eruption impacted the flow of travel and flights. Media covered the news on the volcano's activity, as well as its impact on national and international flight.

Data Collection

This is exploratory research capturing two events of disaster based on content analysis of media from four countries in the 60 days of timeframe after the event. Data from the media was last accessed on July 13, 2018. Data were gathered from two sources, i.e.: domestic and international newspapers, using internet search. Kompas was selected to present a national newspaper considering its reputation as one of the most prominent printed and online news in Indonesia. In 2017, Kompas received the Best Website Award in News Category by Indonesia Bubu Awards.

International newspapers were gathered through two sources, i.e.: LexisNexis database²⁾ and official websites. The international publication was limited to all English news and Malay in the LexisNexis database of Australia, Malaysia, and Singapore. The Australian newspapers were presented by The Age, Canberra Times, The Sydney Morning Herald, The Daily Telegraph, The

Courier-Mail, Herald Sun, Mail Online, Sky News, WA Today, ABC Premium News, The West Australian, Illawarra Mercury, Postmedia breaking news, Sunday Age, and The Australian. Due to the limited number of articles from Malaysia and Singapore in LexisNexis, several online newspapers were examined to add the number of articles, i.e., for Malaysia newspapers: Malaysia General News, Malaysia Kini, The Star Online, MyMetro and Malay Mail and for Singapore newspapers: Today Online, Harian Berita, Asia on and The Straits Times. Some newspapers were written in Malay, but were translated into English.

To search the database, similar keywords were applied to the chosen newspapers in both the database and official websites. For example, to search news on the Surabaya bombing, the words "bomb" and ''Surabaya'' were typed in the search bar. Table 1 summarises the events, time frame and search keywords.

Table 1. The event, time period and search keywords of LexisNexis for international newspaper

No	Disasters	Search Time frame	Key words
1	Terrorist attack, Surabaya	13/05/2018 – 13/07/2018	ʻbomb'– ʻSurabaya'
2	Mt. Agung eruption	21/11/2017 – 22/01/2018	'Agung' – 'Eruption'

Source: Author's analysis, 2022

Newspaper articles have been selected in this research because of their more significant influence in forming the opinion of the elite (Putnam, 2000). For international media, the media's audiences by this analysis were adults understanding English. Due to time constraint, other media outlets such as blogs, television, and other media were not analysed.

This research gathered 611 articles consisting of 154 articles from Australia, 118 articles from Malaysia, 134 articles from Singapore, and 205 articles from Indonesia. The articles were downloaded and inputted in MSWord. Table 2 provides the number of articles and words per country and newspaper.

Data Analysis

The theory of framing is popular in the recent years. It gains attention from a lot of researchers who debate the conceptualization and operationalization of framing for increasing its validity and reliability (Cacciatore et al., 2016; Matthes & Kohring, 2008). The inductive frame analysis is claimed give solution for to harness

Table 2. Events,	, country, number of	of articles,	number of w	ords and newspaper

No	Events	Country	Number of articles	Number of words	Newspaper
1	Mt. Agung eruption	Australia	102	52,486	The Age, Canberra Times, The Sidney Morning Herald, The Daily Telegraph, The Courier Mail, Herald Sun, Mail Online, Sky News, WA Today, ABC premium News, The west Australian, Illawara Mercury, Postmedia breaking news, Sunday Age, The Australian
		Malaysia	85	25,128	Malaysia General news, Malaysia Kini, The star online, MyMetro and Malay Mail
		Singapore	79	38,171	Today Online, Harian Berita, Asia One, The Straits Times
		Indonesia	58	15,572	Kompas
1 2 1	Surabaya Bombing	Australia	52	38,909	Mail Online, The Sidney Morning Herald, Telegraph Herald, The Australian, Mail Online, ABC Premium News, The Age, The Courier Mail, Herald Sund, Hobart Mercury, The Advertiser, the Daily Telegraph
		Malaysia	33	11,430	Malaysia General news, Malaysia Kini, The star online, MyMetro and Malay Mail
		Singapore	55	28,442	Today Online, Harian Berita, Asia One, The Straits Times
		Indonesia	147	38,049	Kompas
Total 611 248		248,187			

Source: Author's analysis, 2022

computational tools which could automatically cluster components into frame packages based on linguistic patterns (Matthes & Kohring, 2008; van Gorp, 2010). In this research, the frames are identified through an inductive frame analysis.

To analyse the data, the first step was to develop coding on frames identification. This step was conducted using MS Excel to give the code and sum the number of articles. The researcher looked and read all articles carefully, identified the contents and listed the big pictures of each article. Author classified the big pictures in the list of themes to identify the frames. Second, author identified frames abstracted from this list of themes and elaborated them into full stories. Two tables consisting of each case were developed. The similarities and differences between the two cases were analysed to gain new insight of the media framing of disasters in a touristic destination.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Descriptive of Media Coverage and Timeline of Events in 60 Days Post-Disaster

The result shows a mildly similar distribution pattern of coverage in all countries and events. National and international newspaper tended to publish more articles

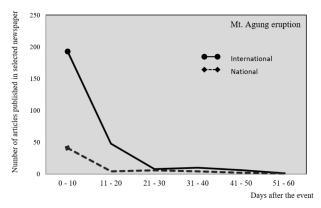


Figure 1. Distribution of articles published about Mt. Agung eruption in 2017/2018 in both national and international newspaper based on the days after the event. **Source:** Author's analysis, 2022

in the day 1-5. They covered more articles for Surabaya Bombing compared to the Mt. Agung eruption (147 articles vs five articles). Similar pattern of coverage between Mt. Agung eruption and Surabaya bombing has been shown to drop significantly in the period II (day 11-20) and continued to drop until not existed. Figure 1 displays the distribution of articles of Mt. Agung eruption.

The Australian, Malaysian and Singapore newspapers also showed the similar pattern. High

coverage was in the day 1-20 after the Mt. Agung eruption and Surabaya bombing. In the day 6-10, the Mt. Agung eruption got higher coverage, and it became the peak of coverage for 60 days (58.2% of the total articles published by three countries). After day 21 the coverage had been less than six articles per day, and no articles were published between the day 51-55 after the Mt. Agung eruption and after the day 46 in Surabaya bombing. International and national newspapers showed the different content especially in the day 1-10. International newspaper covered the story of travel warning to Bali, straight news of the latest condition of the Mt. Agung; internal country issued such as travel insurance, story of Balinese responds, and the shuttled down of the I Gusti Ngurah Rai international airport.

National newspaper covered the latest update of the condition of the Mt. Agung based on the expert monitoring report, statement from the officer for villagers and tourists to leave the dangerous zone, flight cancellation, the closing of the airport, the story of villager's evacuation and the responds of government, tourists and community towards the eruption. The differences were shown by the lack of persuasive and warning information in the international newspaper for tourists from their own country. In the national newspaper, warning, persuasion and instruction from the Disaster Management Board were published several times in day 1 to 15. In the case of Surabaya bombing, a similar pattern of quantity article distribution was identified, but the contents of the news were different. In the day 0-10, international media covered not only the straight news of what, when, where, who, and how but also the condemn statement from their government such as Malaysia, Singapore and Australia. At day 56-60, national newspaper again published a quite high number of articles due to the update of the police investigation.

The chronological story of the bombing and number of the victims was also reported many times in different articles with the quite similar contents. Moreover, the international media also highlighted a lot in the connection of the Surabaya bombing to the international issues of ISIS by saying that ISIS claimed the act was part of their responsibility. More coverage also focused on the police investigations and the update of the latest progress. The story of the victims and perpetrators became the major concerned of the international media, particularly the woman and kids who became he bomber. The series but smaller events after Surabaya attack was also covered such as Riau Police officer attacks, Pasuruan bombing, and Karanganyar attack. Furthermore, there were four articles writing the opinion and analysis about

the attack and terrorism which discussed the motives, the profile, the types and the necessary acts that should be done by the Indonesian government and their government in order to help Indonesia and the international world to deal with the terrorism. Figure 2 displays the distribution of articles of Surabaya Bombing.

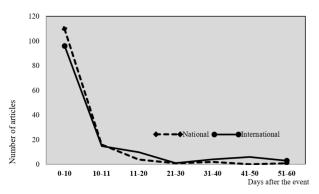


Figure 2. Distribution of articles published about Surabaya Bombing 2018 in both national and international newspaper based on the days after the event. **Source:** Author's analysis, 2022

In the national newspapers, Surabaya bombing was highlighted very high in the day 0-10 in about 126 articles or 12-13 articles per day. The contents of the media included: update police investigation and analysis of the perpetrators and their motives, statement from the government official, the Mayor of Surabaya, the governor of East Java and Central Java and president, the issues of woman, kids and family mission for terrorism, the link between ISIS and the attack, straight news of the events (what, when, who, where and how), story of the victims and processing of the burial service, instruction from the government of the necessary things to do, respond of the community towards the events. Additionally, the news also covered the arrested of a civil servant who stated in her social media account that the terrorist attack in Surabaya was a mere of manipulation from the government in order to diversify issue.

Media Frames on Two Types of Disasters

This study identified five themes that were used by the media to cover in both Mt. Agung eruption and Surabaya Bombing including a source of problems, impacts of the event, solution, responsibility and adaptive versus maladaptive responses. These themes have become the theme of the frames. Some articles contained more than one themes, but the frame remains the same.

Mt. Agung Eruption

Frame 1: Source of Problems of Mt. Agung Eruption was the Act of God

This framing presented Mt. Agung-eruption as a natural phenomenon in which there was no single person to responsible for the cause. Many articles indicated that there was no single authority, person or officer to be responsible for the event of Mt. Agung eruption including the last eruption that killed more than 1,600 people. Both local and international newspaper mentioned that it was a natural phenomenon in which the disappointed, scare and loss were not having a person in charge. One example is a sentence in Sky News below:

"The last time Mount Agung erupted was in 1963, and it killed nearly 1,600 people" (26 November 2017, Sky News, Australia.

The frame that the source of problems was not a human was also published in several articles both in a direct sentence and indirect sentence. The direct quote was covered by the Malay Mail in the article directly interviewed several tourists stranded in the Bali international airport. It can be seen from the sentence below:

"This is nobody's fault. It's a natural disaster that no one expected."- Indian tourists and "Ash is dangerous for planes as it makes runways slippery and can be sucked into their engines. Nobody's fault" – German student (29 November, 2017, Malay Mail, Malaysia).

Another frame covered by the article saw that the eruption was an act of God. As presented in several articles that mentioned the story of how the Balinese community prayed at the mountain to ask God to prevent the eruption.

"Dozens of Balinese Hindus took part in ceremonies near the volcano yesterday, offering prayers in the hope of preventing an eruption." (27 November 2017 – Malay Mail, Malaysia).

Frame 2: Impact of Mt. Agung Eruption for Tourism

The second frame was the impact of Mt Agung eruption. Majority of articles mentioned the story of the impact of eruption om the economic activities in the island especially tourism activities. As mentioned in the sentences below:

"Shops and restaurants in Ubud were eerily quiet,

as the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics stated the number of foreign tourists visiting in November 2017 was down 16 percent from the previous month." (5 December 2017, Mail Online, Australia).

Most of the article covered the closing of the Bali international airport which then imparted to thousands of tourists. The detailed stories of how several tourists had to deal with the situation were also reported in some articles. The travel agent also framed to have problems in dealing with the eruption.

Frame 3: Solution for Safety

This frame represented the solution of the problems and impact resulted from the Mt. Agung eruption. The solution was reflected by the response of the government and private companies in dealing with the problems. In order to keep villagers and tourists saved, the first solution was to keep them away from the danger zone. Therefore, the evacuation process became a central story in the local newspapers while in the international newspaper the flight's cancellation and the closing of the airport were the major themes. The prohibition to fly and operate airport were framed as the solution to keep people safe and avoid the possibility of an accident due to the risk of plane engine failures. Australia, Malaysia and Singapore warned their citizen not to climb the mountain and to avoid the dangerous areas.

The more technical solution was covered in the aspect of direct service to the tourists, for example, Malaysian government provided the free bus to Java Island, reimbursement of flight cancellation to Bali and rescheduling of flight from Bali, and Indonesia government prepared buses and ferries for stranded tourists in case of a massive eruption.

The agency's chief, Budi, said major ferry crossing points have been advised to prepare for a surge in passengers and vehicles. Stranded tourists could leave Bali by taking a ferry to neighbouring Java and then travel by land to the nearest airports. (27 November 2017, Today Online, Singapore).

Frame 4: Responsibility Took Place on Government Agency

The responsibility frames were shown in many articles, especially seeing the role of Centre of volcanology and geological hazard mitigation (PVMBG), local governments and airlines managements. The domestic and international newspaper highlighted the role of

the local authority in managing the risk of Mt. Agung eruption. The official statement of the PVMBG had become the basis of a decision to close or open the airport, in which impacted to the airline operation as well as hotel, restaurant and any other travel agencies in Bali. Moreover, it also influenced the mobilisation of tourists to and from Bali. Some examples of framing the role of PVMBG can be seen below:

"The centre of volcanology and geological hazard mitigation, PVMBG, raised the volcano observatory notice for aviation to the highest level, he added. Planes were banned from flying above the volcano territory." (27 November 2017, The Strait Times, Singapore)

Frame 5: Adaptive vs Maladaptive

In response to the Mt. Agung eruption warning, media, adaptive responses and maladaptive responses have framed two responds. The adaptive respond was indicated by the necessary acts conducted by the people following the guide and warning of PVBMG to keep them safe. The lack of awareness showed the maladaptive responds, neglect the risk and more in their own rationalities basis in doing certain activities. Majority of the articles that framed in the dimension of adaptive vs maladaptive emphasised in adaptive response, i.e., evacuation of people, a tourist left the area, closing of the airports, and cancel the flight. Moreover, the maladaptive response was also captured in several articles such as the two Australians were arrested after climbed the mountain

and the refusal of tens of villagers to evacuate in saver place. As can be seen in the quote below:

"Two Australians have been arrested and questioned in Bali for climbing the island's active Mount Agung volcano, although the men said they were unaware an exclusion zone was in force around the intermittently erupting mountain." (5 January, 2018, The Australian, Australia).

Summary of the frames and sub-frames of media coverage in the event of Mt.Agung eruption can be seen in the table 3.

Surabaya Bombing

Frame 1: Source of Problems was Group of Extremists

In contrast to Mt. Agung eruption event frames, the sources of problems in terrorist attacks were directed to human acts and seem nothing to do with the God act. No article emphasised the act of God in the terrorism. In the international newspaper, the human acts were connected with the international extremist organisation called ISIS. Moreover, in couple days after the Surabaya bombing, ISIS claimed responsible to the act. Hence, in the local media, less article mentioned ISIS rather than focusing on the story of the victims. Here is the example of how media frame the Surabaya bombing as international acts rather than domestic acts.

"The infiltration of Islamic State into the region, following the routing of the terror group

Table 3. Frames of Mt. Agung eruption (2017/2018) in national and international newspaper

Frames	National newspaper content	International newspaper content
1) Source of problems	Eruption is a natural phenomenon Eruption is the act of God	 Eruption is a natural phenomenon Eruption is the act of God
Impact to tourism activities Impact to the closing of the airport		Impact to tourism activities Impact to the closing of the airport
3) Solutions	 Evacuation of the villagers Warning Prohibits the flight to pass Mt. Agung Rescheduling flights and reimbursement 	Travel advises Rescheduling flights and reimbursement Offers buses and ferries for stranded tourists
4) Responsibilities	• PVMBG	• PVMBG
5) Adaptive vs Maladaptive	Villagers' evacuationClimbed the dangerous zoneCancel flightClose the airport	Villagers' evacuationClimbed the dangerous zoneCancel flightClose the airport

Sources: Author's analysis, 2022

in Syria and Iraq, has prompted a rethink of regional security measures that have recently seen Australian special forces deployed to The Philippines to suppress terrorist cells." (15 May 2017, The Australian, Australia).

Both international and domestic media focused on the use of children and woman in the Surabaya bombing. After police released the investigation that the perpetrator in the series of Surabaya bombing was two families, wife and kids became the bomb planter; media used to put those issues in the articles. Media framed the bombers in the very negative words such as a 'Satan', 'devil', 'barbaric' and 'mother of atrocity'. The use of woman and kid to plant the bomb was also framed in two perspectives, as a victim and a perpetrator. Especially the kids were framed as victims of their father and mother extremism, but the mother was framed as a perpetrator.

Softer sentences were framed by the Malaysian newspaper such as "Terrorism is a crime against humanity which has nothing to do with any religion" (15 May 2018, Malaysia Kini, Malaysia). It framed that the root of the problems was the ignorance and lack of sense of humanity rather than attacking Islam as a religion. Moreover, the frames that terrorism broke the human right was also framed by local media by quoting the statement from the leader of the Human Right Commission of Indonesia.

Frame 2: Impacts to the Safety

In this frame, the majority of the articles mentioned the impact on human injured and killed. Many of the stories also published the profile of the victims including their daily activities, their kindness, their ordinary life and how the family and friend perceived the victims. The international and national media framed that all the victims were the good people, and terrorists were the terrible people although people surrounding them saw the perpetrator as normal people in daily life, for instance, the news from Kompas (16 May 2018).

"For the families of the victims of the bombing of Pantekosta Church Surabaya, Sri Pudjiastuti who is usually called Tutik is a formidable figure. As a tough woman, Tutik is used to working hard. Become a night bus driver until the taxi driver has been done by her" (Kompas, 16 May, 2018).

Eight articles discussed the impact of Surabaya bombing to the tourism in Kompas 15 May 2018. The Ministry of Tourism, Arief Yahya stated that his team would always make sure the tourism industry remains safe for international and domestic travel post-Surabaya bombing. There were 13 countries declared the travel advice to Indonesia post-Surabaya Bombing (UK, USA, Australia, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Singapore, Malaysia, Poland, Ireland, Canada, French, Philippines and Swiss).

Frame 3: Solutions on Law Enforcement

The frame of the solution was provided as a big picture of some articles. Direct respond to the blast such as giving the first emergency assistance was mentioned in first and second day of the articles. Following that, the acts done by police such as raid between police and terrorist gangs, arresting 110 terrorist suspects and strengthening the security in the public space were framed as the solution to keep the safety for people and tourists. After that, articles framed the Surabaya bombing in the prevention scheme such as meeting with religious teacher and leader conducted by the Mayor Surabaya and strengthening law enforcement. However, we noticed a different point of emphasized between international and national newspaper. The national newspaper more highlighted the need to integrate military in the anti-terrorism act, which previously was only the work of the police. International newspapers focused more on the law enforcement both in Indonesia and in their own country. For example, one article mentioned:

> "Revising a 2003 law became a top priority for the world's biggest Muslim-majority after suicide bombings claimed by Islamic State killed more than 30 people in the country 's second-biggest city of Surabaya this month." (24 May 2018, Today Online, Singapore).

Frame 4: Responsibilities of Either National or International Government

In the case of Surabaya bombing, the frames of responsibility were found to focus on sub-frame police responsibility and international world responsibility. Police became the main actor that appeared as the subject of the media coverage both in national and international newspaper. The majority of the articles published day by day of the progress of catching perpetrators. The police were highlighted on the spot with almost all the released, and news came fom the official statement from the police. In the international media, the role of the bigger institution in their origin country was also framed as necessary.

The military role was framed as well in several local newspapers. The Indonesian military became the backup forces of police, if necessary, action was needed.

For example, in the raid to catch a terrorist, the military worked together with the police, as mentioned in this story:

"We have reported to the President that the Police, TNI, BIN other than those arrested two days ago I report to TNI we will be a joint operation, the arrests to the cells of JAD-JAT or those who will take action." (14 May, 2018, Kompas, Indonesia).

Frame 5: Adaptive vs Maladaptive

The news also framed Surabaya bombing in adaptive and maladaptive reaction. The local media discussed more on the content of adaptive, and maladaptive was more discussed by the local media compare to the international media. Although international media framed the adaptive and maladaptive, however, the focus became the direct action conducted by the Indonesian government to catch the terrorists as well as to treat the victims. In the local media, more diverse stories were presented such as, hoax of bombing stated by several airline passengers which made the cancelation and delaying of some flights and the statement of the civil servant in social media stated that the Surabaya bombing was just a manipulated story by the political party to warm up the condition before the Presidential election in 2019.

Nevertheless, table 4 displays the frames of the Surabaya bombing (2018) in the local and international media.

Indonesia Tourism Policy Related to Media Role

The highest regulation in Indonesia related to tourism is UU No 10/2009 (Tourism Law No 10/2009). The regulation mentions that: Letter b Provisions regarding strategic coordination in the field of security and order are carried out by the Government agencies in the field of domestic government, the Police of the Republic of Indonesia, and the Indonesian National Army in the case of: a. security policies and services in the environment of national and regional tourism vital objects; b. Establishing standards of security and order and supervision of tourist travel since arrival, during the trip, and until the return; and c. providing information regarding the conditions of tourism destinations that are conducive and safe to visit by providing early warning of a disaster.

In PP No 50/2011, the National Tourism Development Master Plan, commonly referred to as RIPPARNAS, is a national tourism development planning document for 15 years, starting from 2010 to 2025. The implementation of development in the tourism sector must be adjusted to Ripparnas. This is done so that tourism development can run under the vision of Ripparnas, namely the realization of Indonesia as a world-class tourism destination, competitive, sustainable, and able to encourage regional development and community welfare.

In the explanation of PP Number 50 of 2011, it is stated that RIPPARNAS is very important for Indonesia's

Table 4. Frames of Surabaya bombing (2018) in the local and international media

Frames	Local newspaper content	International newspaper content
Source of problems	ISIS Extremist The use of woman and children	Surabaya bombing is international issue The use of woman and children
Impacts	Human tolls Trauma	Human tolls Trauma
Solutions	 Trauma healing Rehabilitation Meeting with religious teachers and leader Laws enforcement Raid Strengthening the security 	 Rehabilitation Catching the perpetrator Laws enforcement Strengthening the security
Responsibilities	• Police	Police International responsibility
Adaptive vs maladaptive	 Certain acts of respond to injured victims Hoax Statement of "terrorism just a manipulation" 	Certain acts of respond to injured victims

Sources: Author's analysis, 2022

tourism development for two reasons. It is, first, providing the right direction for developing tourism potential in terms of tourism destinations, industry, marketing, and human resource institutions so that Indonesian tourism can grow and develop positively and sustainably for regional development and community welfare. Second, it regulates the role of each relevant stakeholder across sectors, actors, and regions to encourage tourism development in a synergistic and integrated manner. The RIPPARNAS also contains the vision of national tourism development. To realize the vision, 4 (four) tourism development strategies are adopted, which include (a) tourism destinations that are safe, comfortable, attractive, and easily accessible; (b) synergistic, superior, and responsible tourism marketing; (c) a competitive tourism industry; and (4) effective government, local government, private and community organizations in encouraging the realization of sustainable tourism development.

Reviewing the product of government policy, it is found that there is attention to the disaster possibility and the safety aspect. However, the role of media in promoting safety and educating the community is relatively overlooked. They should be mentioned and regulated to support the media's role in improving tourism.

DISCUSSION

Disasters usually draw much media coverage for a certain period after their occurrence. In this paper, we analysed the content of the media coverage of the Mt. Agung eruption and Surabaya bombing Indonesia in terms of how they were framed. This study found that the coverage of disaster-related news in both national and international newspaper was high in the first period (day 1 - 10). A natural disaster had more coverage in 60 days after events in both national and international newspaper compared to human-induced disaster. The coverage dropped after 10 days in both national and international newspaper. A sharp decline followed, which later no article published after the 30 days. This result is consistent with that of Kuttschreuter et al., (2011) who counted the number of articles in the aftermath of the Enschede fireworks disaster, but it also slightly different with that of Wallis and Nerlich (2005) who studied the SARS epidemic in the UK which the highest coverage took place in the middle of the timeframe.

The themes of the news were mildly similar, but the frames were different. The themes of frames that were used by both national and international media included the source of problems, impacts, solutions, responsibility and adaptive versus maladaptive. However, there were different ways in framing the natural and human-induced disaster events. Mt. Agung eruption was framed as a natural phenomenon without any intervention of human agency, while the Surabaya bombing coverage pointed to a specific group of jihadists as the source of problems. Such framing lead to the spontaneous explanation by the journalist to judge on who should be responsible to the impacts of the disasters. There was a tendency that police and military should be the main actor in dealing with terrorism. In another study conducted by Tierne, et al (2006) the militarism appeared as part of the strong ideology in the US post by examining the media content analysis post-Hurricane Katrina. Unlike the case of Mt. Agung eruption, which was also a natural like Hurricane Katrina, the need of the military was not reflected in the news coverage to deal with the problems.

Similarly, the impacts of these two types of disaster were framed slightly in the same way, related to the human tolls, economic consequences and safety. Nevertheless, the economic consequence frame was more prominent in the case of Mt. Agung eruption, as seen in the news coverage around the closing airport, cancelation of flights, low hotel booking and dropping number of tourists. An explanation of this result can be understood from the nature of Mt. Agung eruption that became a series of events, which was increase and decrease in the ashes spreading activities. In general, the national and international newspaper had different frames in each theme, and different frames covered each type of disasters.

The results of the media content analysis concerning disaster can be linked to the implication of the tourism industry. For the local community, a newspaper report can help individuals within the afflicted community to make sense of the tragedy and at the same time represent their community emotions. However, for potential tourists, the media coverage may provide the illustration, image and perspective of the destination, which is formed by the article's frames. In the digital era, online newspaper may keep the news online for a quite long time, in which potential tourist could surf and search the condition of the destination that they want to visits. According to Gortner and Pennebaker (2003) newspapers potentially reflect the psychological dynamic in society, making newspapers as a valuable archival source of collective script of trauma.

The international media framing is something that cannot be handled by the local destination management, it is, therefore, the damaging image, decision making and tourist behaviour is uncontrolled, as mentioned by Kozak et al., (2007) damage of tourism and travel industry due to its unavoidable nature through the negative word-of-mouth communication and it may be dependent on external factors which is difficult for local tourism business to influence. Moreover, to support the role of media in making better tourism, this research suggests that media should be mentioned and regulated.

CONCLUSIONS

This research aims to analyse the media coverage of Surabaya terrorist attack 2018 and Mt. Agung eruption 2017 in three elements how the content of media was framed. To meet the aims, the researcher conducted a content analysis of the mass media from the national newspaper of Indonesia and international newspaper of the major Indonesia market countries i.e., Australia, Malaysia and Singapore. The research identified: first, the media covered five different frames including a source of problems, impact, solution, responsibility, and adaptive versus maladaptive.

The study has both academic and practical implications. For academic implication, this study can be a new approach to predict the tourism behaviour post-disaster. Media framing can be used to understand the shape of issues and what potential tourists have in their mind. Moreover, this research implies that the mass media should be acknowledged as having important role in destination pre-selection by helping to stimulate awareness and interest in travel and destination (Hall, C. M., Timothy, D. J., & Duval, D. T., 2012). In the practical implication, it suggests the role of media as the warning agency to provide the knowledge and necessary information both for tourist in the destination and for potential tourists. This implication is not too ambitious since the disaster management have been recognized the role of media in disseminating the information for the public. The media can encourage the flow and intensity of a disaster or even help turn an incident or issue into a crisis due to negative media coverage (Ritchie, 2009). The better framing could help the destination to recover faster from disasters. Thus, tourism management is suggested to work with media to ensure that a consistent and accurate message is transmitted to the various public and stakeholders, including to potential tourists.

The findings help to understand the media coverage of two different types of disasters, which is vital in the tourism industry in relation with its implication of tourist's willingness to visit. The present results are significant in at least respect i.e., giving the contribution to the debate of whether media coverage is responsible

for dropping a number of tourists.

Moreover, in relation to the current situation of Covid-19 pandemic, the global discussion should also be directed not only on the direct impact of restricted mobility but also the recovery process after pandemic using the media as an important agent. Moreover, since it is limited to the media analysis, future studies on the reaction of tourists toward the news are recommended. Furthermore, it calls for broader source of media such as, social media, blog and travel websites; and it calls for following up discussion in relation to Covid-19 in the media.

ENDNOTES

- 1) Strombolian explosion: In volcanology, a Strombolian eruption is a type of volcanic eruption with relatively mild blasts, typically having a Volcanic Explosivity Index of about 1 to 2. Strombolian eruptions consist of ejection of incandescent cinders, lapilli, and lava bombs, to altitudes of tens to a few hundreds of metres. The eruptions are small to medium in volume, with sporadic violence. This type of eruption is named for the Italian volcano Stromboli. (Newhall, Christopher G.; Self, Stephen, 1982)
- LexisNexis is a data dan analytics company (lexisnexis. com)

REFERENCES

- Avraham, E. (2017). Changing the conversation: How developing countries handle the international media during disasters, conflicts, and tourism crises. *Journal of Information Policy*, 7(1), 275-296.
- Blaikie, P., Cannon, T., Davis, I., & Wisner, B. (2004). *At risk: Natural hazards, people's vulnerability and disasters*. Routledge.
- Cacciatore, M. A., Scheufele, D. A., & Iyengar, S. (2016). The end of framing as we know it ... and the future of media effects. *Mass Communication and Society*, 19, 7–23. doi:10.1080/15205436.2015.1068811
- George, R. (2017). Responsible tourism as a strategic marketing tool for improving the negative image of South Africa. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*.
- Gortner, E., & Pennebaker, J. W. (2003). The archival anatomy of a disaster: Media coverage and community-wide health effects of the texas A&M bonfire tragedy. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 22(5), 580-603.
- Hall, C. M., Timothy, D. J., & Duval, D. T. (2012). Safety and security in tourism: relationships, management,

- and marketing. Routledge.
- Kozak, M., Crotts, J. C., & Law, R. (2007). The impact of the perception of risk on international travellers. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 9(4), 233-242.
- Kuttschreuter, M., Gutteling, J. M., & de Hond, M. (2011). Framing and tone-of-voice of disaster media coverage: The aftermath of the enschede fireworks disaster in the netherlands. *Health, Risk & Society*, 13(3), 201-220.
- Matthes, J. (2009). What's in a frame? A content analysis of media framing studies in the world's leading communication journals, 1990-2005. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 86, 349–367. doi:10.1177/107769900908600206
- Miles, B., & Morse, S. (2007). The role of news media in natural disaster risk and recovery. *Ecological Economics*, 63(2-3), 365-373.
- Newhall, Christopher G.; Self, Stephen (20 February 1982). "The Volcanic Explosivity Index (VEI): An Estimate of Explosive Magnitude for Historical Volcanism". *Journal of Geophysical Research*. 87 (C2): 1232. doi:10.1029/JC087iC02p01231.
- Norris, F. H., Stevens, S. P., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K. F., & Pfefferbaum, R. L. (2008). Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 41(1-2), 127-150.
- Rindrasih, E. (2019). Life after tsunami: the transformation of a post-tsunami and post-conflict tourist destination; the case of halal tourism, Aceh, Indonesia. *International Development Planning Review*, 41(4), 517-541.
- Rindrasih, E., Hartmann, T., Witte, P., Spit, T., & Zoomers, A. (2018). Travelling without a helmet: tourists' vulnerabilities and responses to disasters in Indonesia. *Disasters*, 42(4), 782-803.
- Rindrasih, E., Witte, P. A., Spit, T. J. M., & Zoomers, E. B. (2019). Tourism and disasters: Impact of disaster

- events on tourism development in Indonesia 1998–2016 and structural approach policy responses. *Journal of Service Science and Management*, 12, 93-115.
- Rindrasih, E., & Witte, P. (2021). Reinventing the postdisaster cultural landscape of heritage tourism in Kotagede, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 16(2), 136-150.
- Rindrasih, E. (2018). Tourist's perceived risk and image of the destinations prone to natural disasters: The case of Bali and Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *Humaniora*, 30(2), 192-203.
- Ritchie, B. W. (2004). Chaos, crises and disasters: A strategic approach to crisis management in the tourism industry. *Tourism Management*, 25(6), 669-683.
- Ritchie, B. W. (2009). *Crisis and disaster management for tourism*. Channel View Publications. Bristol.
- Statista. (2022). *Natural Disaster in Indonesia*. Retrieved from Indonesia: risk index for natural disasters 2022 | Statista. At 30 October 2022.
- Smith, K. (2013). *Environmental hazards: Assessing risk and reducing disaster*. Routledge.
- Subarsono.AG. (2022). *Analisis Kebijakan Publik. Konsep, Teori dan Aplikasi*. Pustaka Pelajar. Yogyakarta
- Tierney, K., Bevc, C., & Kuligowski, E. (2006). Metaphors matter: Disaster myths, media frames, and their consequences in Hurricane Katrina. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, 604(1), 57-81.
- Tzanelli, R. (2013). *Heritage in the digital era: Cinematic tourism and the activist cause.* London: Routledge.
- van Gorp, B. (2007). The constructionist approach to framing: Bringing culture back in. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 60–78. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00329.
- Wallis, P., & Nerlich, B. (2005). Disease metaphors in new epidemics: The UK media framing of the 2003 SARS epidemic. *Social Science & Medicine*, 60(11), 2629-2639.