THE TECHNOLOGY OF EXPERIENCE: NARRATIVE VS MEDIA ANALYSIS OF BASTILLE DAY, NICE, FRANCE 2016

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Abstract
Humans possess the ability to experience life events and their accompanying emotions, to store these experiences in memory, and to create new behaviour in the future. It is often said that we learn best from our mistakes. However, life-threatening events are different. Extreme experiences can produce recurring memories that can lead to a range of stress disorders. In the present day many of our experiences and memories are being expanded and transformed by technology, especially the Internet. The author was a survivor of the lone terrorist attack on Bastille Day, 2016 in Nice, France. Two years later, this paper poses autobiographical narration to recount the experiences surrounding this incident and its aftermath. The author concurrently analyses the central narrative to juxtapose official accounts, media reports and reflection. The paper thus accomplishes two goals: it presents a first-hand experience of a major terrorist attack, and it compares a conscripted secondary version mediated by technology.

Keywords
Technology, Experience, Autoethnography, Terrorism
1. Introduction

There is a very effective cultural communication exercise that heavily relies on a series of Japanese woodblock prints from the Tokugawa period (see, Thompson, n.d.; MIT Visualizing Culture, n.d.). The exercise asks native English speaking students to examine a series of 19th C Japanese prints which show various human activities, and to record descriptions of what they see in their first-time, first-hand experience with these prints. The exercise then proceeds to again show each woodblock print, this time with text explanations of the human behaviour in their related contexts. Students are asked to compare their own descriptions with the decoded explanations. The second showing with text are revelations for most students, who never understood the full meaning of the prints. The text explains the underlying cultural significances of each scene depicted, something students do not perceive. The whole point of the exercise is to actively demonstrate that student perceptions are extraordinarily constrained by their limited experiences with Japanese culture and the woodblock print subject matter.

This exercise mimics not only cultural experiences, but also ordinary, first-hand experiences by all humans, when they initially encounter new people, unfamiliar events and unknown situations. One does not have to belong to a foreign culture or speak another language in order to be constrained by limited knowledge or lack of understanding. Driving down an unfamiliar road, talking to a stranger, or even using new computer software can be just as formidable and daunting as the intercultural exercise (Beck & Plowman, 2009). Nevertheless, without a manual or road map, we often fail to admit to feeling out of our depth or ignorant. Humans tend to rely on memories of past experiences and relationships in order to bluff their way through new situations (Beckett & Taylor, 2016) with tacit confidence, sometimes with bravado, and occasionally with distress. Most of the time we succeed in meeting the demands of the new situations, but such new experiences can also lead to emotional reactions that can encourage us to repeat the event, view it with caution, or avoid it altogether. It seems to be a human survival instinct to avoid situations that have caused us emotional turmoil or anxiety in the past (Mobbs, Hagan, Dalgleish, Silston, & Prevost, 2015).

The use of technology, including the traditional media, mobile phones, Web search engines, YouTube, and social media has provided the majority of human race with a solution to quickly and efficiently resolve the needs all of us face every day. Technology, in all its guises has become a panacea for lack of experience and knowledge, and is now the popular method of
providing the vast majority of our recreational, informational and educational needs (Britland, 2013). More specifically, the networks, the hardware and the content of the Internet allow us to upgrade our skills, become astute consumers and more informed citizens. As McCarthy & Wright (2004) argue, technology is intricately related to our identities and experience with the world. We can elevate ourselves to a superior class of parent, friend, teacher, or student – in essence, we use technology to become better people.

However, while we have accepted the loss of privacy, and understand the risks of big data profiling, the hidden peril is regarding technology as a substitute for lived experience and thus truthful and valid. Likewise, our habitual exposure to experiences mediated by technology can become the more sought-after reality with individual lived experience less attractive. An example of this trend is the way many people use star ratings from travel blogs such as TripAdvisor in order to choose overseas hotels and restaurants, instead of just choosing a hotel or restaurant based upon individual preferences (Zhang, Craciun & Shin, 2010). Similarly, the purchase of consumer goods is often now a laborious process of examining dozens of customer evaluations and pieces of digital advice. Brown & Duguid (2017) call these consumers, “infoenthusiasts” and forewarn us there is too much information available online. Nonetheless, the behaviour of searching for validation in terms of masses of shared comments from social media sites tends to overwhelm the experiences themselves. And with so many people believing media reports, and blindly accepting “official” advice, individual perceptions of actual events and personal experiences may become ghostly memories of the eventual, purely technologically mediated events.

The aim of this paper is to explore a single five minute event, and its aftermath, namely the lone terrorist attack by Mohamed Lahouaiej-Bouhlel in the city of Nice, France on Bastille Day, 2016. The author was holidaying in Nice at exactly this time and narrowly escaped being a victim. Using both an autobiographical narrative and a media reportage analysis, the end result is an autoethnographic explanation of the Nice incident that enables a comparison between raw experience and a technologically mediated one.

2. Method

Autoethnography is a qualitative research method that employs a researcher’s core experiences as the primary data to be analysed in order to fully understand a culture or sub-
culture. These experiences are usually described, interpreted, and evaluated in terms of their ability to create cultural meanings that transcend the ordinary and the obvious (Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011). Autoethnographies are very different to interviews or journalistic reporting in that there is no attempt to be objective. In fact, intense subjectivity of personal experience is what the method excels at producing.

Karl Heider (1975), an anthropologist first used the term, “auto-ethnography” to describe the method by which he asked school children to answer the question, “What do people do?” in the Dani Valley, Indonesia. A few years later, autoethnography was refined as not one specific method, but a collection of various techniques used in familiar, everyday settings (Hayano, 1979). In the 1980’s, postmodernist philosophy created doubts about the objective validity of social science and encouraged alternate research methods to be tried and tested. Researchers across all disciplines began questioning their own methods due to the realisation that their results were inextricably linked to their own assumptions and paradigms (Kuhn, 1996).

More recently, Denshire & Lee (2013) have classified autoethnography as falling into one of two types: evocative and analytic. Evocative approaches tend to focus on the central narrative of self as opposed to the surrounding social world. Analytic approaches do the exact opposite by focusing on a larger set of social phenomena, outside the narrative data. The aim of the latter category is to not only to describe personal feelings but to also link media behaviour, government policies and societal norms. It is within the second category that this study resides.

This study also attempts to extend the usual autoethnographic method by comparing the experience of a terrifying narrative with a conscripted media analysis of selected events and viewpoints surrounding the Nice attack. It compares raw experience with mediated experience in terms of emotional impact, and the truthfulness of information reports. It juxtaposes sensation and perception with mediated expressions and interpretations of reality and sense-making.

3. Narration and Commentary

3.1 Under attack

After the fireworks had finished the crowd started to thin out. It was not late, about 10.20pm but many families began to leave the Promenade des Anglais and walk to their cars, or catch the train home. The fireworks had been spectacular, the smell of sulfur all around, with patchy smoke gradually descending on the entire beachfront.
My wife and I were not sleepy, and music had begun playing again in various areas. Drumming could be heard a bit further down the beach. We decided to walk in the direction of rhythmic drums along with others who were still celebrating. There were dozens of people meandering in all directions on the entire Promenade road and boardwalk, but we were no longer crammed together like sardines. We had our own personal space and could easily walk and talk about the festivities.

The choice of Bastille Day and the fireworks celebrations was the perfect time to attack French civilians according to some reports (Ellis & Almasy, 2016). If Lahouaiej-Bouhlel had decided to start his attack 20 mins earlier then the death toll would certainly have been much higher because there were an estimated 30,000 people densely packed all along the Promenade which had been turned into a pedestrian mall for the night. There would have been no escape for onlookers because there would have been nowhere to run or move. It is horrific to imagine, but the key drawback to this earlier start time was that striking so many victims simultaneously may have immobilised the truck due to corpses binding the wheels. In fact, Lahouaiej-Bouhlel told his aunt that he would watch the fireworks on Bastille Day, indicating that he had no intention of using his lorry during the spectacular fireworks display (Sayare, 2017).

My wife and a few other people heard the deep rumbling sound first, she asked, What’s that noise? I could hear the sound of an engine a long way off and also the sound of plastic bollards being knocked again and again. I could also hear the faint sound of people screaming in the distance, but the sounds were getting louder, second by second. Quite a few people heard these sounds around the same time and we looked in the direction of where we had come from. In the darkness, I glimpsed a white lorry driving fast on the road but deviating to hit pedestrians about 20 metres away. The white lorry then swerved and mounted the boardwalk coming straight towards us. I realised that we were in the middle of an attack. I grabbed my wife’s arm and forcibly dragged her sideways in the direction of the Blue Beach restaurant roof, more than a metre away. My wife resisted, yelling What are you doing? I paid no attention and kept pulling her strongly over the low metal guard rail and onto the metal roofing of the restaurant, where we both fell awkwardly. The white lorry sped past a split second later smashing everyone, who had previously been walking near us. A few seconds later, we stood up on the metal roof, my wife had sustained a small
cut on her leg when she fell, and I had hurt my back. Stepping back onto the footpath
the scene was like a Die Hard movie with about ten bodies lying motionless on the
ground.

The first reports coming out of the Western media (including metro.co.uk, think.catalonia.cat, dailymail.co.uk) described the body count, the driver’s name and the undeniable fact that this was a terrorist attack. Coincidentally, one accompanying photograph shows the exact moment that my wife and I decided to leave the Promenade. Other photos and videos, obviously taken from social media display the full extent of the pandemonium that eventuated with many images showing people running in fear for their lives. While such graphic images and videos were broadcast throughout the world in 2016, French sensibilities were ruffled a year later, when Paris Match used many of these same images in an anniversary issue. A French judge called for a ban on the online photos saying that they were “obscene for showing victims running away to try and escape death”. The ban did not extend to removing the magazine from newsstands (Carraud, 2017). Counter-terrorism authorities had previously ordered all copies of CCTV footage to be destroyed on July 20, 2016 to prevent dissemination of “profoundly shocking” images. However some critics have questioned whether this request was in reality a cover-up of security failings (McPartland, 2016). There were very few police or military personnel at the celebrations from my recollections.

It is difficult to find genuine, first-hand accounts in many reports of tragedies. The evidence of videos, photographs and stories that appear on social media are usually captured by people who have had the time and clear-headedness to take out their phones and snap recordings, or journalists who interview survivors at some later date. In the Nice reportage, there exists very few first-hand, narratives of the experience of being a target of the white lorry and escaping the attack. The only eye-witness, Australian accounts were from a few safe onlookers - the closest being from about 50 metres from the truck (see http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-07-15/witness-accounts-from-nice/7632006).

In my personal narrative, my reflex was immediate and unequivocal. From previous perceptual tests, I had been reliably informed that the speed of my reflexes was extraordinarily high. This was probably the only reason why I could have reacted so quickly to save my life, and that of my wife’s. The best way to escape any speeding vehicle is to move sideways out of its path. I could have gone left or right, but immediately jumped off the boardwalk (with my wife),
and on to the metal roof of the Blue Beach restaurant, betting that the lorry could not follow us. We were fortunately very close to one of only three beach restaurants along a two Km stretch of road. There was simply not enough time to plan the best course of action. Dozens of other people who also jumped on to the beach itself were injured by falling several metres on to the (large) pebbled ground (Smith & De Lima, 2016). Fellow spectators who were near to us on the boardwalk were all hit by the lorry.

I was carrying my Nikon DSLR and a mobile phone, but I never once had any inclination to take photographs of the carnage of that night. This ability of onlookers to take photographs of tragedies and disasters is a relatively recent phenomenon due mainly to the proliferation of camera-phones, and presumably possession of cold, hard emotions. Photojournalists are trained to go “into the zone” when they are confronted by injury and death (Witty, 2013). Even though they are disturbed by these scenes, professionals turn their emotions off according to the situation, in order to document the tragedies (Kim, 2017). It remains a mystery how so many non-professional bystanders could so easily record such scenes. One explanation is the bystander effect or bystander apathy, a well-documented condition whereby individuals simply watch horrifying events (or take photos) because there are so many other such bystanders in the location and responsibility is unclear (Darley & Latane, 1970).

There were pools of blood around some bodies, and victims’ legs and arms looked strangely uncomfortable in their prone positions. My wife went to the aid of a nearby older woman on the ground whose eyes were open, Are you ok she asked? But received no reply. My wife repeated her question, holding the woman’s hand. I then heard gunshots in the distance and immediately thought of the Paris attacks and back-up gunmen. All around us survivors were moving, with sounds of intermittent screams, emergency sirens and now gunshots. We have to go, I said, It’s dangerous to stay here. What about this lady? my wife asked. I do not think she is alive, I said, We are not doctors, how can we help her? We have to leave, insisting, There could be follow-up shooters on the street. My adrenalin response was now established and the urge escape from this scene of carnage was overwhelming.

While I was in state of shock at so narrowly escaping death, I was surprised to see my wife go to the aid of an elderly woman lying in the gutter. My senses and emotions were focused on the current situation, which included screams, car horns, gunshots, and bodies lying
everywhere. My mind was overloaded with sensations, my body was aching from the fall. But my wife chose to assist a victim who appeared to be alive since her eyes were open. I was starting to worry, but my wife was perfectly calm, and seemingly removed from the present chaos and unaware of any potential further danger. If one inspects some of the images from the night, there is ample evidence that my wife’s actions were not unusual. Scenes of onlookers rendering assistance to injured and dying victims are also available, if one chooses to locate them. But the very first images and videos coming from blogs (not news outlets) that night were ones showing chaos and panic. These are also the most sensational and more likely to be chosen by media outlets. Given that most of these images were snapped by amateur onlookers with their own choice of subject matter, how valid is the assumption that the attack led everyone to experience mass panic in the streets?

In hindsight, I still feel uneasy that I had left the Promenade in a state of anxiety, and that I did not attempt to assist the victims who were lying motionless on the ground. I had believed that I could not help anyone because their injuries were too severe. French statistical research supports my beliefs – fatalities are 14 times greater when pedestrians are hit by trucks as opposed to cars, and when the vehicle speed is greater than 60 Kph, humans do not usually survive (Martin & Wu, 2017).

3.2 Escaping the scene

My wife and I did not know where to go once we left the beachside. All around us, people were running away from the beach so we simply followed a small group of survivors across the road and into the luxury Hotel Negresco on the northern side of the Promenade. The hotel had opened its doors to frightened citizens who wanted safety and shelter indoors. There was panic on the streets with many fearing that other terrorists may be following the truck with guns and other weapons. When my wife and I arrived, the hotel allowed anyone to enter their main hall and simply catch their breath. When dozens of people are running for their lives the feeling of fear is contagious. We stayed about 5 minutes and then quickly walked out the side door of the hotel. We wanted to get back to our hotel (about a kilometre away) without going anywhere near the beach.

The evaluation by the media that many tourists were in a state of panic because they were running away from a terrorist attack, may be an overstatement according to some reports of other
incidents. Two psychologists, Reicher & Drury (2017) last year wrote a commissioned article for BBC News stating that “people fleeing an alert are entirely reasonable” and they were not in a state of panic, which implies humans acting irrationally, or excessively or in a selfish manner. My response to such naysayers is that they have probably never experienced panic, which is certainly task-oriented, self-directed and excessive.

I am convinced that I (and many other spectators) were traumatised and that I experienced panic – intense and unremitting. I did not think about my life ending, as some might think, my primeval survival instinct took over. Physiologically, it was caused by a flood of hormones that makes you want to flee, to escape the situation you are currently located in. In the past, certainly during wartime, fleeing from the enemy would have been called cowardice (Walshe, 2014). Today, panic may be an entirely rational (albeit unconscious), contagious response to being attacked, or the threat of being attacked by an unknown enemy (Dezecache, 2015).

The fact that the Hotel Negresco had operated a triage space on their premises is an under reported fact of the media reportage, and possibly not entirely accurate. I did not observe any injuries or casualties in their main hall, all I saw were frightened people, happy to be off the street, some standing, some moving in semi-darkness. People with injuries may have arrived later that night, but with dozens of citizens expressing fear – heavy breathing, moaning, crying, loud talking – and a continual stream of people entering the hall, the atmosphere was stressful but in a different way to outside the hotel. The streets at least felt open, in the hotel we were surrounded by stress and anxiety in a confined, claustrophobic, darkly-lit room. We did not stay.

My wife and I quickly found a side door that led to some metal stairs heading to the outside of the building. From there we managed to find our way back to our hotel that was situated about a ten minute walk away. We arrived at the hotel and explained to the concierge what we experienced on the Promenade. We were offered free coffee and tea, and a Muslim man, his pregnant wife and two children entered the hotel asking for sanctuary. They were allowed to sit in the hotel lobby. About 20 minutes later a loud heated argument erupted when the concierge refused to sell the man a drink, then asked the family to leave the hotel premises. The man, probably still suffering from anxiety was distraught that he and his family should have to go back on the streets given the situation. The family reluctantly left the shelter of the hotel.
In the safety of our room we attempted to sleep after our ordeal. My wife, who had previously been so calm and mindful, could not rest and opened up her computer to look for any breaking news of the terror attack. We had no overall knowledge of this event because we were caught up in the middle of it. We urgently searched for information about exactly what we had experienced and read some of the very early blog reports coming from the Web. Over time we read UK information which gradually became more detailed and informative. I read that the attack was terror related and that the police had closed the train stations and airport as security measures.

We had an early morning flight to connect to our Heathrow flight back to Australia. If the airport was closed then we would certainly be stranded in Nice. At 3am, I reluctantly cancelled the booked airport transfer since the airport was closed. At 4am, I rang my travel agent in Sydney, who assured me that the 7am flight from Nice to London was still showing on her computer system, and that we should get to the airport as soon as possible. The problem was that the city of Nice was on lockdown and we had no way of getting to the airport. At 5am, luckily, the driver of the transfer vehicle returned to the hotel saying that he had heard that the airport was now open, so we packed and left the hotel. When we arrived at Nice airport, there was no sign of a lockdown, no police presence anywhere to be seen. The scheduled connecting flight was indeed cancelled. We eventually left Nice at 1pm, arrived in London but missed our connecting flight home to Sydney. It took three more days, and two new tickets to get back home.

The disagreeable, and insensitive argument that occurred in the lobby of the hotel is vastly at odds with media report statements the next day. The argument may have been unavoidable but to expel an Islamic family who were clearly distressed, was racism. Not all Nice hotels assisted all victims of the attack that night, unlike the sympathetic announcement of the Nice open door movement found on the Twitter hashtag, #PorteOuverteNice (BBC News, 15 July, 2016). Moreover, a report that taxis and Uber drivers were ferrying home victims after the
attack (Hassan, 2016) also contradicts my experience, and may be an exaggeration of reality. In order to get to the airport, I rang several taxi companies and none picked up the phone. I could not find an Uber ride or flag down a taxi on that night - the streets were completely deserted by 2am, probably due to the police advice to avoid the area. Some taxis or Ubers may have picked up a few survivors, but ground transport was impossible to find.

Computer systems are only as accurate as the humans who input data into them. The observation that a computer is saying a flight is scheduled is no guarantee that this will be case in extreme situations such as the Nice attack. We had to arrive at the small Nice airport in order to discover that the British Airways flight was cancelled because the entire flight crew, who were staying in a Promenade-located hotel were being questioned by police. We eventually caught a 1pm flight to Heathrow. We were fully insured but few travel policies insure against loss of income due to terrorist-related events. It cost another $4,000 for my wife and I to fly back home three days later.

The allegation that the Nice attack was an act of terrorism was first stated by French President Hollande in the light of the following day. He said that there could be no doubt that the attack was an act of terror and “France as whole is under threat of Islamic terrorism,” (Iyengar, 2016). But the follow-up investigation into Lahouaiej-Bouhlel’s life failed to find any convincing links to extremist groups. While ISIS claimed responsibility for the attack there has been little evidence to show this was the case. Sayare (2017) claims that if Lahouaiej-Bouhlel was a terrorist then his plan to enact jihad included leaving incriminating evidence on his mobile phone and computer that would lead to the arrest of six of his colleagues. He was 31, a divorced, restless, bored, non-religious, sex-crazed man who became interested in Islam for only the final two weeks before he went on a killing rampage. This description does not fit the profile of a zealous jihadist. It was reported that Lahouaiej-Bouhlel had suffered a nervous breakdown during 2002-2004 (Beaumont & Fischer, 2016). Thus, a better explanation might be that he again became psychotic for unknown reasons, not that he was instructed to how become a terrorist by ISIS mentors. The Nice attack is still classified as a terrorist act by Europol, by France and most of the world, but many media commentators regard the attack as terrorist-inspired (Maher, 2016; Cockburn, 2018).

3.3 Two years later
In 2018, when I was attending a restaurant talking to acquaintances, the Nice attack came up and I retold my experiences. When I got to the part when I saved my wife’s and my own life on the Promenade, the person opposite me extolled, You were a hero! My reply was that I did not think this was the case, I was simply acting out of reflex and impulse.

The history of the word, “hero” is akin to the history of literature, film, war, sport, medicine, organisations... the list goes on. All human endeavour has heroes - we relate stories of the past and many times, the focus of those stories are heroes, who can transcend problems, save people’s lives or make the world a better place. In ancient Greece, heroes were role models to which the student would aspire to emulate. Their qualities of bravery, strength, and ingenuity were admired and used to educate students in how to become a complete person.

There is a difference between acts of heroism and acts of bravery. According to Marlantes (2015) all heroic acts comprise bravery, but many acts of bravery are not heroic because they are self-serving. Saving one’s own life on the Promenade is not heroic - we save ourselves every day when we drive our cars, or walk on busy roads. It is the job of doctors, nurses, firefighters, and ambulance paramedics to save other human lives, and unless they do so under exceptionally difficult circumstances then these acts would not be deemed heroic. Thus, a working definition of a hero is someone who saves another person’s life, not as part of their job, but under exceptionally difficult conditions.

A common reaction of individuals who have been praised as being heroes is often one of modesty or even rebuttal. Wansik, Payne & van Ittersum (2008) studied 586 WWII heroes and characterise two kinds: eager and reluctant. Eager heroes are those who were keen to enlist, placed themselves in risky situations and aggressively saved others’ lives. Reluctant heroes are those who reluctantly enlisted, found themselves by chance in dangerous situations and downplayed their role in saving others’ lives. I think my actions fit this second category. I did save my wife on the Promenade, but the difficulty (exceptional or otherwise) of this act is for someone else to determine.

4. Discussion

4.1 Real events and fake news
The narration in italics of the central incident is very close to how the Nice incident has been retold to friends and family members, but with extra written details added to clarify the story. The accompanying comment sections comprise both personal reflections and selected technologically mediated, second-hand reports of the same story, which could be easily researched by someone who was not present on the Promenade on that night.

Realistically, the Nice terrorist attack would not have been examined thoroughly by most people around the world, unless they had a very specific reason for doing so. When we hear of yet another terrorist attack (or another US shooting tragedy) we tend to pay attention to the announcement via our media for a few minutes, shake our heads with disbelief, and go back to our usual activities. We have become anaesthetized to tragedies and disasters (Slovic, 2007), particularly when they occur on non-English, foreign soil. For the majority of us, dwelling on the trauma and distress of victims of tragic violence does not make any sense, or add any value to our lives. We are not in any danger so we do not pay too much attention.

But the subtly different mediated renditions of the Nice attack highlight dubious information broadcast from a variety of media outlets. The who, what, and why facts of the attack are disputable by someone with first-hand knowledge, but not an audience thousands of kilometres away that has no reason to suspect possible “fake news”.

Whereas there was no exaggeration of the severity of the attack in the early media reports, early bystander video and images suggested a panic-fueled outcome – exactly what ISIS would desire. But panic depended upon the perspective of the survivor and their experiences at the time. Some published images show good Samaritans assisting victims, and some show people with only mild injuries. Reports of triage spaces, open-door policies and taxis and Ubers acting altruistically may be pure hyperbole. An updated Daily Mail article from 17 July, 2016 reveals several errors of fact: the attacker spent 30 mins on his rampage; people were targeted watching the fireworks; there was mass panic on the streets that disrupted emergency services and so on (see https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3691019).

Probably the major issue is the contentious origin of the attack as being a terrorist act or merely terrorist-inspired. The French President and the Prime Minister both made statements proclaiming that the attack was terrorism, an act of jihad, and a continuation of the previous years’ devastating violence in Paris. This official declaration occurred within hours of the attack and before any investigation had taken place, and has yet to be proven. The question arises what
benefit did the French government obtain by making such a premature statement? One answer could be political gain – the 2016 French opposition quickly questioned how a lone driver could enter the festive precinct when the whole country was under a state of emergency (Evans & Ivaldi, 2016). There was also criticism of the lack of an adequate police presence on the night – my own experience confirms this claim. Hence, declaring the Nice attack to be a terrorist act is arguably better than saying it was the work of a single madman. The world has become accustomed to terrorism as being almost inexorable. Not so lone wolf mass murderers.

A more pessimistic viewpoint is espoused by those commentators who accuse many Western governments of using fear of terrorism as a way of ensuring their continued existence. Instead of dealing with urgent social issues, such governments increase spending on the military, the police and security forces claiming these are necessary to keep people safe. Such governments can also surveil, arrest and imprison possible suspects without trial, violating human rights under the banner of protecting the nation. While most governments do not celebrate terrorist acts or are in any way complicit, they are certainly adroit in turning criticism of their failings to their advantage by blaming a highly skilled network of suicide assassins (Gabon, 2017).

4.2 Why traumatic experiences are different

Surviving the Nice attack is an example of what is called a “near-miss” experience. Such experiences are commonplace and can happen to anybody during their daily lives. The experience is usually very fast, sometimes chaotic, and most often accompanied by reflex, or instinctive behaviours that are totally unplanned. Near-miss experiences can be disturbing to survivors, but many such events do not become traumatic because they are familiar and expected (Dillon, Tinsley & Burns, 2014). Vehicle drivers who narrowly miss being hit by another vehicle can be extremely unnerved, but this event does not usually cause long-lasting trauma, probably because they are practised at driving and in terms of accidents or near-accidents. In many ways, these vehicular near-misses are part of our repertoire as drivers in a modern city.

Real traumatic events are most commonly defined as those unexpected experiences, which provoke high degrees of stress in humans – sudden life-threatening experiences, or threats to the lives of others, or perhaps unknown threats are typical examples. In Western societies the most accepted result of trauma is post-traumatic stress disorder or PTSD, which is characterized by flashback memories, nightmares, depression and emotional disturbance. Soldiers, who were
stationed in war-torn countries are the archetypal victims of PTSD, which is now recognized as medicalised illness by governments and the media, not just the medical profession. Some have reported that trauma (and hence, PTSD) is often seen as a normal result of war (Litz, 2014), but this ironically implies that exposed soldiers who do not develop trauma are reacting abnormally.

The definition of trauma and its effects is a debated issue in non-Western cultures appearing to be multi-dimensional and multi-faceted. For example, some argue that the effects of war, terrorism and violence extend further than just death, injuries or loss of possessions. Protracted conflict may create a number of social and psychological problems for all participants, with trauma being just the most immediate result. Afana, Pedersen, Rønsbo & Kirmayer (2010) interviewed affected Palestinian adults living on the Gaza strip, with three main causes of trauma being identified: 1. Sudden shocks, such as an accident, 2. Tragedies, such as death of a loved one, and 3. Persistent catastrophic events, such as bombs or shootings. All of these categories caused potentially disabling trauma that can have profound effects on identity, self-esteem, mental health and memory.

Surviving the Nice attack was personally traumatic not only because of the near-miss, but also because of the context of the festive celebrations, the intention of the truck driver, the confronting number of bodies and the behavior of the crowd in the aftermath. There certainly was a sudden shock that led to reflex actions, but there was also a gravity and urgency to the event that is rarely encountered in daily life. In some ways the Nice attack has elements of shock, tragedy and catastrophe. Its life and death duress was involuntarily forced upon families, tourists and holiday makers; its ingenuous victims included senior citizens, parents and children. Two years on, my trauma has changed to grief over the senseless deaths and injuries inflicted on human beings, and guilt for departing the city so quickly after the attack.

5. Conclusion

This paper began with the exercise of the Japanese woodblock prints and the necessity of specialised knowledge in order to decode the various depictions of Tokugawa daily life. The lesson was a metaphor for the way that we all increasingly need mediated information to expand our own incomplete experiences, and supplement our inaccurate memories. But in the case of the Nice attack, it could be argued that it is first-hand experience that prevails over media technology because of the accompanying emotional correlates that turn a trauma-inducing event into a life-
affirming achievement. Fear, anxiety and trauma were being experienced by everyone on the Promenade that night - unavoidable emotions in this situation. But the conscious reality that my wife and I had escaped a death sentence, provided ample recompense for our suffering and discomfort. Although we were still in a state of shock, we profoundly experienced the elation of being alive. The “technology” of human experience and emotions in this situation, is a more powerful, certainly more compelling account of the terrorist attack than any of the news reports of the incident, which also exhibit a somewhat confusing set of assertions about the attacker, security measures, the days after, and the incident’s terrorist origins.

This declaration of experience being superior to second-hand knowledge may sound trite or self-evident, but we live in an era where online ratings and evaluations have become sine non qua of truth and quality. One person’s experience may be acceptable, but a thousand people’s experiences have become more acceptable in terms of hit rates, Twitter followers, Facebook likes and scientific rigour. Scientifically, one person’s experiences can be regarded as too subjective, or too extreme, thus the survey sample average is perceived as a more persuasive statistic. We seem to require consistent opinions from many people in order to believe them. Perhaps we have become a society of tech-savvy, non-believers whose faith is assuaged repeatedly in survey results, online forums, websites and social media pages?

Imagine a situation in fifteen or twenty years’ time, when most terrorist organisations have been defeated, and the survivors of the Nice attack have dispersed, or expired through natural causes. Terrorism is no longer a newsworthy event. A student from 2035 has to write a report of the Nice attack, and all they have at their disposal are some old media stories of what occurred on that night, some official government announcements and quite a few videos and photographs. Which current media reports will be prominent then, because they have stood the test of time? If the student uses Google, the most popular articles from existing media outlets will probably be found first, but will old newspapers still exist? Even now, the very first blog reports from that night are impossible to find. They have been overshadowed by the Google’s popularity rankings of Wikipedia, Telegraph, Mirror and NYTimes. How many media reports still exist from 20 years ago, from 1998, about any incident? A good deal of the world’s popular information may be “retired” after 20 years, as new databases replace older ones, impoverished media outlets close their doors, and websites disappear (see SalahEldeen & Nelson, 2012). This paper may not be able to be found. If I am still around in 2035, the student should interview me.
References


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