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The Values of Dark Heritage Post-disaster: A Study of Tsunami Cases in Banda Aceh

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Abstract

The 2004 tsunami disaster that hit Banda Aceh in the northern part of Indonesia, had a devastating impact and left various relics which necessary to be preserved. Nevertheless, this is still a matter of debate, since heritage preservation refers to the ordinary heritage with positive values from post disaster. It is important to know the significance of values in preserving post-disaster relics as commemoration and learning experience. In the literature, research on dark heritage values caused by natural disasters is still minimum. Therefore, this research aimed to explore the community's dark heritage values in encouraging post-disaster area conservation planning. The study also revealed and explained post-disaster area planning through the approach of dark heritage values. This research was conducted from December 2019 to April 2020 in the post-tsunami area of Banda Aceh, as the most affected area by utilizing in-depth interviews. There were 36 informants from the local community, survivors, tourists, experts, and government involved in this study shared their values on dark heritage. This study used an interpretative approach since it seeks to construct the existence of dark heritage values in people's perception of observing a post-disaster area as a heritage. The study results provided new insights that understanding a historic area is not always seen from values with a positive side. Still, dark side values also become a reference that needs to be considered to be preserved for the area's sustainability. The results showed that communities have memory, symbolic, narrative, religious, and scientific values in the post-disaster landscape.

Keywords: dark heritage; values; community; post-disaster.

Introduction

The traditional notion of determining heritage always refers to positive ordinary heritage values, while the term dark heritage generally refers to negative values and tends to be ignored. (Smith, 2006; Byrne, 2009). Although precedents related to dark heritage have been widely discussed, especially due to dark events and man-made disasters (Biran and Poria, 2011; Thomas et al. 2016), limited evidence discussed specific criteria for designing the values of dark heritage in the community. In line with the increasing number of natural hazard-caused disasters, there have been many dark tragedies of natural disasters in various worlds that have caused the loss of lives, materials, places, sites, and traditions in the form of meaning and values (Unesco, 2003; World Bank, 2018). Natural disasters have caused landscape changes and left many relics that are debatable for preservation (Good, 2016).

Experts criticized that the idea of inheritance is only about the originality, monumental and aesthetic form, which was understood only as a real form and has monumental and aesthetic values inherited from European (Western) understanding. This has influenced law and understanding of cultural heritage in the world, including Indonesia (Smith, 2006). At least this has two main consequences for the post-disaster society; firstly, the heritage was considered a luxury since its reconstruction required expensive resources. Secondly, heritages whose physical elements are damaged are deemed to have lost their importance, a place has disappeared; thus, it is no longer important to human life as well as the heritage. According to Smith (2006), the negligence of heritage values from



destruction due to disasters is caused by a modernist view assumed that western knowledge is the only way to view heritage.

Other reports also concluded that natural and social disasters have the potential to destroy an area and also produce the relics (e.g., disaster relics) (Unesco, 2003; World Bank, 2018). These relics need to be preserved as a commemoration and learning as well as urban development planning after the disaster by building a memorial and a museum (Rico, 2014; Dewi, 2017). According to Stone (2012), a change is needed in viewing artifacts caused by disasters. The theory known to preserve an area or site containing relics or historical buildings resulting from negative (dark) events or known as dark heritage (Logan and Reeves, 2009; Stone, 2012). Planning of relics, buildings, monuments, and sensitive areas needs to consider dark heritage values.

In planning the preservation of dark heritage, it is necessary to distinguish it from traditional heritage, since the consequences of negative events need to consider what is in the minds of the local community, especially the survivors, in viewing dark heritage. The values for dark heritage due to the man-made disaster have already been researched (Biran and Poria, 2011; Stone, 2011; Thomas et al., 2016). However, they are not appropriate in observing dark heritage due to natural disasters, since there is a difference where dark heritage man-made disaster always displays actors and survivors while in dark heritage natural disasters only displays survivors and tends to have different meanings and interpretations from public perception (Chen and Xu, 2017).

Planning for disaster results is a sensitive issue and needs to consider the values that exist in society. However, the community's voice in planning dark heritage due limited discussion on negative events, especially the participation of survivors and local communities in determining dark heritage directly and what values are considered important in heritage planning with a dark heritage approach. Whereas dark heritage is evidence that has been present from the past and is attached to the present as learning method in the future. In post-disaster cases such as the 2004 tsunami, the agreement process with loss, memory, experience, and emotion is a process of grieving, part of social suffering that becomes a narrative and experience to be passed on for the next generation (Daly and Rahmayati, 2014; Samuels, 2019).

Many values have to be identified by the concept of dark heritage; such as where, when and the uniqueness of the value itself. (Van der Aa, 2005). Based on this, the study aimed to determine what values are considered important by the community in planning relics through the concept of dark heritage and how the public's perception of dark heritage in the post-tsunami disaster area. This can be achieved through a study of the theoretical and conceptual dark heritage, as well as the identification of the significant values that influence dark heritage planning.

Concept of dark heritage post disaster

Heritage is a process and a result of socio-cultural construction that is considered valuable and positive (Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016). Meanwhile, dark heritage is a concept similar to a painful heritage, difficult heritage, and places full of suffering (Magee and Gilmore, 2015). Heritage tends to be a product of the past which is considered to have wonderful characteristics and positive values. There have been many heritage studies, but few discussed dark heritage, a painful heritage in terms of planning sites related to negative events. Even though in practice and its phenomenon there have been many memorials, sites, buildings, and traditions related to dark events as dark heritage, but there is still only a few discussion of dark heritage in the literature, especially regarding natural disaster dark heritage planning (Dewi, 2017; Rico, 2014). Based on this, it is necessary to research dark heritage planning to become a lesson and a reminder for future generations.

This study seek to identify and reveal the values that contribute to the formation of the concept of dark heritage as a result of natural disasters. It aimed to enrich knowledge about the inherited value attached to it (Meskell, 2002). The values approach used in heritage planning in this study is considered as a basic dark heritage. This will

form the basis for the determination and preservation of heritage which has implications for public policy due to natural disasters that have occurred frequently in recent decades.

Emphasis on conservation decision making is often focused on government authorities and experts, where European global influence still dominates conservation practice (Smith, 2006). This has received opposition from the local community, who conveyed that their involvement is very important in preserving the heritage (Martokusumo, 2014). Regarding dark heritage in the context of disasters, various parties have begun to be involved in its preservation. However, there is still negligence, especially for survivors, since they are considered a minority and have experienced trauma, thus, they are not involved in preserving dark heritage after the disaster (Lemura, 2007). At the same time, survivors are essential contributors to maintaining the authenticity of stories and experiences, the memories they experience, and the need to reveal their values in preserving post-disaster heritage.

McClelland et al. (2013), argued the substantive aspect of the dark side as a term in heritage that has only emerged in this decade is none other than the negative side of values that are forgotten and neglected. This is due to the lack of clarity in terms of the components, criteria and indicators on which to base the heritage planning. This study will fill gaps in the literature and is a challenge to prove that the values of the dark heritage can be an important consideration in determining and preserving objects in the public interest (McClelland et al., 2013).

Heritage is often associated with positive characteristics, even though it is also very important to emphasize the dark aspect, which should be the same as the light aspect (McClelland et al., 2013). The unification/integration of a wider range of values is at least then given attention to the dark dimension (McClelland et al., 2013). Dark heritage sites around the world show signs of slavery, fascism, nazis, natural disaster, genocide, terrorism, communism, and extreme poverty (Biran and Poria, 2014). There is an increasing interest in heritages associated with dark events in the past at both the national and international levels (Magee and Gilmore, 2015). The purpose of certain sites is to strengthen the responsibility of everyone to be more caring for each other in the world through learning about this dark phenomenon, reflection, introspection, and reminiscing about these events (Magee and Gilmore, 2015).

Currently in the literature, the emphasis on conservation decision making has often only focused on government authorities and experts and European global influence still dominates conservation practices (Smith, 2006). This has received opposition from the local community, who conveyed that their involvement is very important in preserving the heritage (Martokusumo and Zulkaidi, 2015). Regarding dark heritage in the context of disasters, various parties have begun to be involved in its preservation; yet, there is still negligence for survivors since they are considered minorities and having the trauma. Therefore, their involvement in the preservation of dark heritage after a natural disaster are considered limited (Lemura et al., 2011). Whereas survivors are important contributors in maintaining the authenticity of stories and experiences, where it is necessary to reveal the memories they experienced and the values they have in preserving post-disaster heritage.

The devastating natural tsunami disaster has produced relics / ruins which considered essential but vulnerable to damage (at least 50 years waiting time according to (CB Law No.10 of 2011) just to be preserved as cultural heritage). The precedent for dark heritage has been widely discussed, but it has not formally been determined since the criteria have not fulfilled heritage preservation due to its consideration of containing the dimension of "dark side value". (McClelland et al., 2013). Practices and phenomena so far have shown that many memorials, sites, buildings, and traditions related to negative events are used as dark heritage, but there is little discussion in the literature, especially regarding the planning for preserving relics with a post-disaster dark heritage approach (Demas, 2002).

In its implementation, many objects and places that are preserved based on negative events have not been supported by the values that underlie the determination. It is not clear what value from the negative events can be considered in determining the inheritance of a place, for example the devastation of an extraordinary tsunami event. This is relevant to experts who state that the values approach is the basis for establishing heritage (Unesco, 2003; Mason, 2006). From a variety of literature related to dark heritage post-disaster, both natural and social disasters, a number of values are found in planning dark heritage areas to remain sustainable in the context of non-natural disasters (Dewi, 2017; Holtorf, 2015). There are still few studies on the value of natural disasters, especially tsunami. From the literature, it requires consideration of memory, narrative, religious, symbolic, and scientific values in terms of dark/negative characteristics that have not been mentioned in the planning of a public memorial place due to natural disasters, so it is essential to consider these values (Harrison, 2015; Taylor, 2009).

According to Bryne (2009), the standard approach not only fails to produce relic preservation, but also fails to consider the dark heritage value of a place. (Wight and Lennon, 2007; Allar, 2013; Biran and Poria, 2011). Currently, dark heritage values have been implemented as a viewpoint of experts and visitors of dark heritage site (Stone, 2012), infact, few have examined it from the perspective of survivors. (Samules, 2019; Rico, 2014). The post-disaster affected communities have not been involved in the planning of relics through the post-tsunami dark heritage approach. Since many have been determined by political values and identities by the government and stakeholders (Smith, 2006; Dewi and Rauzi, 2018).

In the literature, experts have classified and created a typology of values that are positive and ignore the dark value of a heritage. By reversing the typology of values, the absence, loss, or rejection of each value can be understood to have provided the necessary justification for eliminating or destroying potential ruins and monuments (Gamboni, 1997). Negative articulation, imagery, and positive values could potentially offer more complete picture if a value-based approach is implemented at a broader geographic scale where the impact of such inevitable selective choices is more likely to be identified given values and meanings of places involved.

In cases that tend towards disaster and post-disaster, the material will continue to experience a continuous threat of damage. In his work (Samuels, 2015; Wertsch, 2008) mentioned that memory is not attached to an area / building, but the most important thing is how to evaluate it in cultural and religious activities. Therefore this argument reinforces the importance of dark heritage planning by looking at its religious-cultural values. Experts suggest that all heritages can be conceptualized as dialogical landscapes (Harrison, 2010) where (Harrison, 2010) stated that whatever is embodied as a heritage, whether objects, collections, songs, building oral traditions, or landscapes, can be termed as heritage site (Harrison, 2010). The relationship between all these things can include meaning, interpretation, and significance generated by the relationship between humans and cities, this includes identity, memory, sense of place, and spirituality, while practices/habits include traditions, activities, and events, including human and natural systems (Stephenson, 2008). The form includes physical and scalable features of the landscape/urban area such as site structures, spatial arrangements, open spaces such as built and man-made features. Failure to recognize and preserve the functional aspects of the heritage can cause damage to the heritage (Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016). Therefore, it is important to maintain and preserve values for the sustainability of the heritage. From the results of searching the theoretical study literature, it can be concluded that dark heritage values are summarized and shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Description of dark heritage values.

Values	Sub Values	Value description
Memory	Experience	Regarding memory, the bad experience of people when they remember and are on disaster sites. There is public recognition when recalling the memory. Memories are also tied to politics that will delete a site or maintain it.
	Political	
	Loss / traumatic	
	Recognition	
Symbolic	Identity	Symbolic value as a value related to the identity of a place is related to dark heritage sites from architectural memorials that are not old age but bring tourism benefits (economic value).
	Architecture	
	Age	
	Economy	
Narrative	Culture (tradition)	The value of narrative in the context of dark heritage raises authentic stories of survivors and affected communities who produce culture from a historical disaster that results in agreement.
	Consensus	
	History	
Religious	Familiarity	Religious values are related to the individual's personal spirituality while on-site and performing religious rituals so as to create intimacy.
	Spiritual	
	Ritual	
Scientific	Mitigation	Scientific value in the form of mitigation and learning values from dark and bad events that must be preserved in order to become education and knowledge for the community and future generations.
	Learning	

The dark heritage values in the table above are the values in a collection of theoretical studies related to the discussion of dark heritage for natural and non-natural disasters. This is necessary to become the basis for operationalizing research. Further exploration is needed regarding research on heritage values which are fundamental in heritage planning and conservation policies. Therefore, the all-powerful tsunami natural disaster has produced relics/ruins/remains that are considered essential but vulnerable to damage (must wait 50 years according to Law 10 2011 only to be preserved as cultural heritage). The precedent for dark heritage has been widely discussed, but formally and the criteria have not been established and preserved as a heritage because it contains the dimension of "dark side values" (McCland et al., 2013). Practices and phenomena so far have shown that many memorials, sites, buildings, and traditions related to dark events are used as dark heritage. Still, there is little discussion in the literature, especially regarding the planning for preserving relics with a post-disaster dark heritage approach (Meutia et al., 2018).

Methods

To gain knowledge about what dark heritage values can be considered and theoretical basis in determining inheritance; also to increase the accuracy and richness of this knowledge, it is necessary to make in-depth observations, not only relying on visible phenomena. The empirical facts that we see may hide the invisible aspects. The behavior that appears does not always reveal what is in his mind, and sometimes social phenomena

are just symptoms that must be explored deeper what is hidden in them. For this reason, in order to conduct research to reveal the heritage values of dark heritage as social practice and to become part of the field of heritage planning, the methodology used is to use an interpretive social science approach (Neuman, 2013). Data collection was carried out by interview for primary data, as well as secondary data collection. Data analysis was performed by pattern matching analysis (Yin, 2009). After that, conclusions are drawn up to develop policy implications further. The contribution and research benefit in better public policy and heritage planning based on appropriate theoretical foundations in the final stage.

This study utilised an interpretive social science approach (Neuman, 2013) by conducting interviews for primary data, as well as secondary data collection. Data analysis was performed by pattern matching analysis (Yin, 2009). After that, conclusions are drawn up to develop policy implications further. The contribution and research benefit in better public policy and heritage planning based on appropriate theoretical foundations in the final stage.

Case study

Banda Aceh is one of the areas in Aceh Province that was hit by an earthquake with an 8.9 Richter Scale and a tsunami with an estimated height of 10-20 meters. This disaster has caused damage/destruction to a large part of the city, 60% of the entire city of Banda Aceh, covering an area of 61 km² (Kenny, 2010). Banda Aceh is also the most severely affected area by the earthquake and tsunami in 2004 (Fig. 1). It has various important histories in previous times so that it has experienced various layers of superior values that must be explored and reinterpreted for preservation (Kenny, 2010).

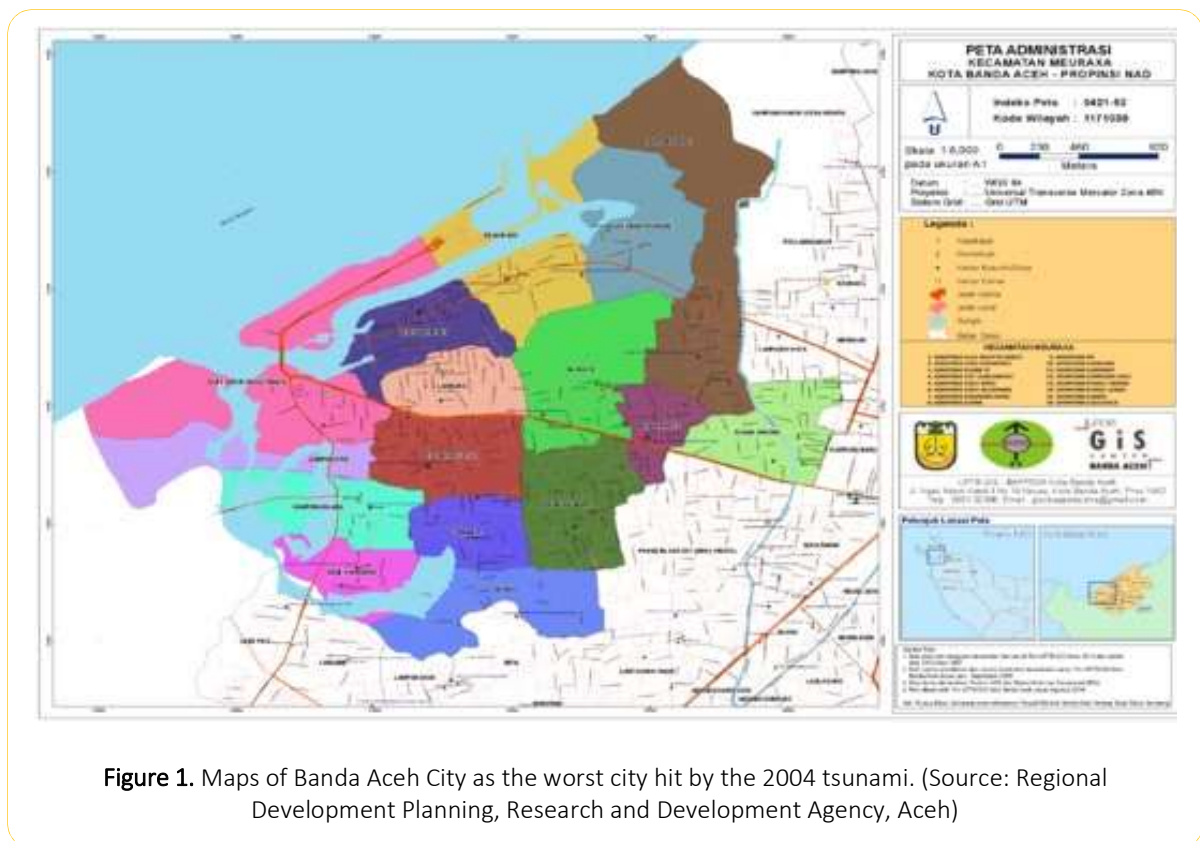


Figure 1. Maps of Banda Aceh City as the worst city hit by the 2004 tsunami. (Source: Regional Development Planning, Research and Development Agency, Aceh)

The cases selected are cases that provide several reasons for knowledge. In studying heritage as a cultural tool in the heritage process and reminiscing/commemoration in the post-disaster context, seeing heritage had changed significantly before and after this natural disaster and resulted in new places. This case study is also located in Southeast Asia, representing a cultural understanding of non-western culture (Jokilehto, 1999). Therefore, the

selection of Banda Aceh City as one of the case studies in this study is considered very representative in an effort to answer research problems and in accordance with the research objectives.

Table 2. Dark heritage memorial in tsunami area in Banda Aceh.

Objects and regions	Description
The PLTD floating ship	The ship that was dragged by the tsunami as far as 4 km away hit a densely populated settlement and was designated as a memorial/tourist attraction.
Mass graves	The number of funerals for tsunami victims.
mosques	The only building in the post-disaster area that has survived intact.
Home that survives	One of the houses used as a tsunami memorial.
The former ruins of the hospital	An abandoned memorial to the former second-largest hospital in Banda Aceh.
Blang Padang Field	Banda Aceh town square has claimed many lives and has been designed as a memorial park.
Tsunami Museum	The largest tsunami memorial museum in the world.
Waves Monument	Tsunami reminder monument.

In the field research, the researchers will talk extensively and deeply with residents who know the local geography very well to find the locations of these sites. To collect more systematic qualitative data on the role played by this dark heritage of 'dark heritage' in consideration of inheritance designation, researchers conducted a more detailed field survey from December 2019 to April 2020, in which 36 informants (local community, survivors, expert, tourist, and government) to know their perceptions about dark heritage values to designate tsunami sites as heritage. Areas that are affected by the disaster or outside the zone of damage, this last area is selected to determine the control variables. During the interviews, there will be in-depth discussions with informants about what they consider to be the important components of heritage to their community and how such sites are important for sustainable heritage planning.

The research supported by shooting and video recording in the scope of the study. To absorb the aspirations and perceptions of the public, serious efforts are needed through community-based planning patterns. To collect memory records, researchers involved the role of citizens as sources. Interviews with residents are aimed at generating images about their physical environment in terms of location, sketches, and imaginary experiences. The community groups interviewed were residents of the city who had lived and worked in Banda Aceh for a long time, so they were considered quite familiar with the ins and outs of the city as well as experiences of negative events from time to time.

The interviews were also intended to identify public perceptions of existing conservation and revitalization programs. Whether the efforts so far have been able to benefit the wider community and have succeeded in increasing the participation of city residents with the values attached to objects and places that are considered valuable. These interviews with each community group used standard questions. Interviews were also conducted with several architectural experts, urban planners, history, culture, as well as scholars and government officials who are experts in their respective fields and have concerns about Aceh's cultural heritage issues. To maintain the originality of the answers, these experts do not know each other's involvement as a resource.

Community perceptions also show that a significant values approach in shaping a sustainable post-disaster urban heritage, even though it has negative values, is important and forms the basis for creating a quality, contextual and inclusive environment. Thus, based upon the initial discussion, the post-disaster urban heritages are summarized in Table 2. The determination of the values and meanings of the artifacts, objects, sites, and areas to be preserved needs to reflect the perceptions and interpretations of the community as users/owners. Regarding the determination of the boundaries of a conserved area, it is also determined by physical boundaries alone. Beyond that, there are invisible values inscribed in the hearts and experiences of every member of society.

Table 3. Description of informants.

Item	PLTD ship	Tsunami museum	Mass grave	Baiturrahim mosque	Meuraxa hospital	Tsunami tree	Tsunami house	Other sites	Total
Sex									
Female	4	3	4	4	1	1	1	2	20
Male	4	3	3	2	0	1	1	2	16
Age									
25-34	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	6
35-44	2	2	2	2	0	1	0	1	10
45-54	3	2	2	2	1	0	1	1	12
55-64	2	1	2	1	0	1	0	1	8
Job									
Civil Servant	4	3	3	2	1	1	1	2	17
Private Employee	2	2	3	2	0	1	1	1	12
Others	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	7
Education									
Graduate	4	6	4	4	2	2	2	2	26
Postgraduate	3	2	1	2	0	1	1	0	10

Based on Table 3, the main objective of the questions posed in the survey is to identify material components that are culturally significant in the formation and maintenance of cultural identities and social practices of the community and have a practical role in the area related to urban redevelopments, such as determining the context in which necessary to build meaningful dialogue between communities. Interviews were conducted in Indonesian and Acehnese language, depending on which informant preferred. All field notes were written in Indonesian, and all recorded interviews were translated into Indonesian for analysis. These significant values are found in the literature as a consideration in assessing an area and are tested in the field in the post-tsunami disaster case. Here are some examples of answers from informants regarding public perceptions of values that are considered important as the basis for dark heritage planning:

Intangible dark heritage theme

The KT31 informant said that “religious values are very important in remembering calamities as a warning from God”.

The KT27 informant said “the value of a sad memory when seeing the mass grave of the lost family's memory”.

The KT22 informant said “the value of learning and awareness of disaster mitigation so that it is better prepared for disasters and can be used as a good tradition and culture”.

The KT6 informant said that “religious-cultural values cannot be separated from one another because it is an important aspect in treating dark heritage sites. Aceh is a province that is very thick with customs and religions so that it cannot be separated”.

Tangible dark heritage theme

The KT8 informant said “the value of age is not a major consideration in determining and preserving heritages”.

The KT16 informant said “aesthetic value is still important in preserving heritage because it visually affects the behavior of the people who preserve it”.

The KT11 informant said “the value of authenticity does not apply if an area and buildings are completely or partially destroyed but remain a memory for the community”.

The theme of public perception of the post-tsunami dark heritage site.

The KT7 informant stated, “The impact on society with the tsunami memorial is that our area has become popular and has many visitors. For visitors, the existence of this historical site can be a reminder of the tsunami disaster in 2004. Activities around the object are only in the form of visits or tours. It would be better if the design has a playground for children so that children are interested in coming to play as well as learning”.

The KT13 informant stated, “For me, there is no significant impact from the existence of this historical tourist attraction”.

The KT19 informant stated, “For me, the souvenir seller, the existence of this tourist attraction is very important, namely as an income for my family from selling souvenirs. I agree very much, considering that there have been very few community visits recently, I hope that these improvements can increase visits to this area. I think everyone here has bad memories about the object of this ship, namely the tsunami disaster. After being repaired several years ago, the government seemed to let go of its hands and let the community manage the object”.

The KT15 informant, a resident whose house is next to the object, stated: The object is considered important because it is a historical place for how the tsunami disaster was very powerful at that time. I think the government cares less about tourism objects. The shipbuilding is not maintained, and there are many holes and access to the location must be repaired so that it is easy to find.

The community stated that so far, this conservation has only been managed by the government and rarely involves the community from the start of planning the dark heritage. This causes the community to preserve it in local ways and practices that they believe in. Many of them perform religious rituals, traditional ceremonies to commemorate and take lessons. There are even people who are traumatized and want to forget the incident by not wanting to preserve these dark heritage sites.

In this mass grave, not only Acehnese who visit the dark heritage site, but local and national visitors also pray on this site. On December 26th, everyone gathered to commemorate even tourists coming from abroad, namely Japan, China, US, from the continent of Europe, and Malaysia, to pray at the tsunami disaster commemoration event on December 26th every year. From field observations, it can be observed that the religious-cultural value is very much considered in the planning of dark heritage sites because people see and treat dark heritage

memorial sites with their own traditional rituals and beliefs. Religion and culture here are important as a recovery for communities affected by the tsunami disaster (Meutia et al., 2019).

The Acehese are well aware that their places, traditions, lifestyle, habits, norms have changed, and some have disappeared through significant changes in the physical and symbolic aspects of the post-tsunami disaster. In addition to the physical aspect, which serves as a reminder, knowledge appears in invisible values, which are a more important aspect in building awareness of reducing disaster risks and dealing with disasters at any time, as social learning is passed down to the future and religious-cultural values that make people get closer to God through the traditions and habits of daily life in treating dark heritage sites as it is shown in Fig. 2.



Figure 2. (a) Ritual and commemoration tsunami disaster 2004 by Islamic community; (b) Ritual and commemoration Tsunami Disaster 2004 by Christian community.

The case in Banda Aceh shows that there is new knowledge that has emerged as a result of the tsunami disaster where the remnants of the disaster serve as a reminder, commemoration, and full awareness to rebuild the city, disaster reduction efforts with changes in the landscape such as mangrove forests that residents replant. Together with the government, knowledge of evacuation routes to save oneself if there are natural signs of a disaster, and the use of tsunami-affected buildings as a forum for discussion and meetings between residents.

Conservation efforts at the regional level and provincial cities have been carried out but often fail to invite the public to appreciate its meaning. The preservation efforts that have been carried out so far have not adequately presented the cultural image of a historic area. It is time, the local government focuses on the designation and preservation of tsunami sites with the participation of local communities. In addition, tsunami heritage trail planning is needed to become a complete unit as a commemoration for the public. These sites and places are part of the order of everyday social life which guides the community from its historical landscape elements as a form of trauma healing. The people in Aceh need to know for sure all the sites and places after the tsunami that they think are important to generate memory and can organize a better future.

Tsunami sites in the urban landscape in Banda Aceh have actively played an important role in creating everyday social functions, such as providing public spaces for community deliberations, resolving conflicts, and agreeing on decision-making. Interestingly, the Acehese people's understanding of dark heritage as a result of the tsunami disaster gave rise to an extraordinary combination of cultural, historical, and religious elements. This is commonly seen because religious values in Aceh are very attached to society, especially since it has been formalized by the legal application of Islamic sharia so that it is relevant if tsunami sites become Islamic memorials for future learning. Tsunami sites have taken a simultaneous and important role as a unifier, shaping an identity, a more religious community, and as spaces where discussions take place for urban reconstruction and development.

In this study, informants who were directly affected by the disaster emphasized that the values of memory, religion, tradition, resilience, sincerity, and learning are significant values that form heritage and continue to exist because of these values. Meanwhile, informants who were not directly affected by the disaster emphasized that the value of age, authenticity, integrity, and aesthetics was no longer the main thing in determining dark heritage sites. When a disaster hits the remaining sites, areas, buildings, monuments, artifacts, or even in reconstruction, that can create a sense of place that inspires informants' taste and interest in preserving it. However, it also creates a sense of deep trauma while on the site.

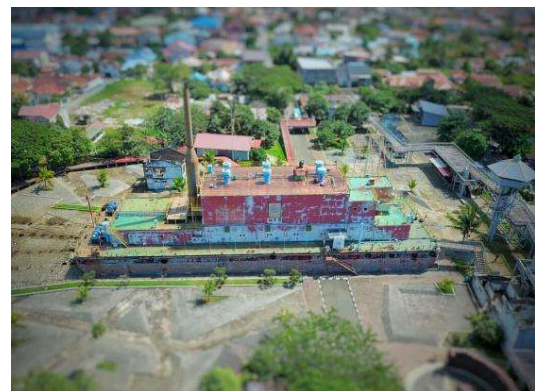
Discussion

This study provides a conceptual understanding of dark heritage planning and significant values as a consideration in determining and preserving heritage. There are many values that can be learnt from the post-disaster case, which are closely related to the formation of heritages, both guarded (objects, sites, and areas) and unattended (cultural heritage, renovation, social learning, local knowledge, and so on). These values are very useful for the practice of urban heritage planning to understand the constellation of places that arise after a disaster because they are full of meaning to also build community cultural heritage such as changing traditions and lifestyles to a better direction without forgetting history. The sites and places that appear are part of the structure of everyday social life, not only to be seen but to function with various positive activities, providing access to a better life for the community (Meutia et al., 2020).

The case in the post-disaster area in Banda Aceh city has shown that the community, both directly and indirectly affected, paid attention to planning for the preservation of post-disaster heritage in the form of taking part in maintaining, protecting, and developing tsunami sites to become sites that continue to be reminders. This can be seen from the involvement of tsunami victims working on the tsunami site. Even though there were sadness and a sense of trauma, the informants stated that they were the ones who told the site visitors how the conditions were when the dark incident occurred. For example, informants are very aware of the existence and management of the PLTD Apung ship monument and its current status, as well as the area of the mosque which was not destroyed during the tsunami and mass graves by preserving the significant values attached to it.



(a)



(b)

Figure 3. (a) Baiturrahim mosque as the only one building that survive from tsunami disaster in Ulee Lheue; (b) PLTD Apung ship 2,600 tons which was hit by tsunami.

Field observation data that has been partially analyzed shows that people are aware that their places, traditions, lifestyle, habits, norms have changed, and some have disappeared through significant changes in the physical and symbolic aspects of the post-tsunami disaster. The most important indicator of authenticity is not material, such as the understanding of the western world but rather experiences, memories that are remembered by society, activities, and a sense of place narrated in the form of text or monumental works. In addition to the physical

aspect, which serves as a reminder, knowledge appears in intangible values, which is actually a more important aspect in building awareness of reducing disaster risk and dealing with disasters in the future, as social learning is passed down to the future and spiritual values that bring people closer to God. From the public perception obtained through research related to the understanding that is dominated by the western world, it is not very appropriate in this context and is different from the considerations of experts. Even though the existing physical forms have changed their authenticity, there are still functions related to the values in society that continue to be carried out for the sustainability of the city (see Fig 3).

This study provides a conceptual understanding of dark heritage planning and significant values as a consideration in determining and preserving heritage. There are many values that we can learn from the post-disaster case, which are closely related to the formation of heritages, both guarded (objects, sites, and areas) and unattended (cultural heritage, renovation, social learning, local knowledge, and so on). These values are very useful for the practice of urban heritage planning to understand the constellation of places that arise after a disaster because they are full of meaning so that they can also build community cultural heritage such as changing traditions, lifestyles to a better direction without forgetting history. The sites and places that appear are part of the structure of everyday social life, not only to be seen but to function with various positive activities, providing access to a better life for the community (Fig. 3a).

The case in the post-disaster area in Banda Aceh has shown that the community, both directly and indirectly affected, paid attention to planning for the preservation of post-disaster heritage in the form of taking part in maintaining, protecting, and developing tsunami sites to become sites that continue to be reminders. This can be seen from the involvement of tsunami victims working on the tsunami site. Even though there were sadness and a sense of trauma, the informants stated that they were the ones who told the site visitors how the conditions were when the dark incident occurred. For example, informants are very aware of the existence and management of the PLTD Apung (Fig. 3b) ship monument and its current status and the area of the mosque that was not destroyed during the tsunami and mass graves by preserving the significant values attached to it.

The findings show that each informant has different experiences, ranging from direct experience of being affected by the disaster, and even those who did not have direct experience during the tsunami disaster but had feelings of sadness, motivated by the effects of the tsunami disaster, such as losing family members or seeing the effects of the disaster. This is as felt by an informant, a student. He stated that he did not feel or be affected by the tsunami, but several of his relatives died because of the tsunami and were also affected by the disaster. Meanwhile, informants who experienced the tsunami disaster firsthand had stories and various griefs, ranging from being carried away by the tsunami waves, the sadness of looking for family, being separated from their families during the disaster, to losing family members whose bodies were not even found until now. In fact, there were informants who were still traumatized until now and did not want to be interviewed.

Conclusions

The values found in the field in line with the conceptual framework of dark heritage values, yet still interpreted positively by the community. The evidence obtained in the field shows that even though the values attached to the negative site are contrary to traditional heritage values such as containing bad memory values, some want to forget, trauma, symbolics related to dark events, but society interprets these values in a way positive and considers that these heritage sites are useful for future generations. The results of the study provide new insights that understanding a historic area is not always seen from values with a positive side, but dark side values also become a reference that needs to be considered to be preserved for the sustainability of the area. Through the cognitive aspect, people's understanding of the tsunami heritage landscape is that there is an extraordinary combination of symbolic, memory, narrative, tradition, knowledge, and religious elements, as well as the sub-values that appear in the attachment of these values. The results showed that not all people view the relics of the

post-tsunami disaster as something positive or negative. The community interpreted the values of post-tsunami relics into positive, neutral, and negative values. Meanwhile, local narratives about religious values and collective memory are found to become physical anchors where both physical and social recovery are anchored from the affective aspect. How do people who rely on culturally meaningful parts of their environment acquire emotional and psychological buoyancy?

People's perceptions of the case studies show that a values approach in planning a sustainable dark heritage is important and consideration for creating a quality, contextual and inclusive environment. The determination of the values and meanings of the artifacts, objects, sites, and areas to be preserved needs to reflect the perceptions and interpretations of the community as users/owners. These sites and places are part of the fabric of everyday social life and elements of the landscape that guide the community. People in Aceh are very familiar with the sites and places they consider important to generate and contextualize responses at the individual and community level and giving them access to their pre-Tsunami life. Many tsunami sites in vernacular landscapes actively play an important role in the creation of important everyday social functions, such as providing space for community deliberation, conflict resolution, and decision-making.

People's understanding of tsunami relics is that there is an extraordinary combination of elements of symbolic values, memory, narrative, tradition, knowledge, and religion, as well as the sub-values that appear in the attachment of these values. The results showed that typology values in the post-disaster landscape are memory, symbolic, narrative, religious, and scientific values. Local narratives regarding religious values as well as collective memory serve as physical anchors on which physical and social recovery is anchored. This study found how people who rely on culturally meaningful parts of their environment acquire emotional and psychological buoyancy. Many sites in the landscape of tsunami-affected cities in Aceh are actively playing an important role in the creation of day-to-day social functions, such as providing public spaces for community deliberations, conflict resolution, and decision making in the context of disaster management for sustainability.

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