The Views of Survivors on dark heritage preservation

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Abstract. This paper discusses how survivors’ views in preserving dark heritage post-tsunami in Banda Aceh are. Little is known about survivors’ views in preserving the dark heritage and it is not clear what significance values are owned by the survivor in looking at sites that are suspected of being dark heritage in context post-tsunami. The research to date has tended to focus on perspective and preservation decisions from government, experts, and visitors rather than survivor views in the context of post-disaster heritage. This paper promotes survivors’ views in preserving dark heritage as a performance that transcends an emphasis on victim, toward framing a dark heritage construct that is productive and dynamic, a steward for post-tsunami disaster identities who have the significance values. The main question put in this research is: How “survivors’ views” in Banda Aceh together with its stigmatized image and identity can be interpreted in dark heritage post-tsunami disaster? This research is done from an interdisciplinary interpretative approach, using a combination of methods such as narrative and discourse analysis. The research shows survivors have an important role in preserving the dark heritage that productive and dynamic, together with culture and social practices where the mosque is considered as a component of heritage the most important to preserve. The current study is based on 50 peoples as key informant carried out on the July and August 2019, the findings suggest components such as the mosque, Ship PLTD Apung, ship above houses, mass grave, and social practices religious rituals be an important heritage for the community survivor as remembering. Survivor also said that dark heritage has a role practical in the region related to the rebuilding of sustainable urban heritage planning.

Keywords: survivor, views, dark heritage, tsunami, preservation

1. Introduction

Heritage is an important issue in urban development that should notice people, places, and policies in urban planning [1]. A heritage planning approach is needed to create an inclusive, safe, peaceful, and resilient community by integrating local history and culture elements [1]. During the past two decades (1998-2018) there have been many dark tragedies in both natural disasters and conflicts in various places in the worlds which have caused a lot of loss of life, material, place, site, and tradition (meaning and values) [2,3]. The 2004 Aceh earthquake and tsunami tragedy was the worst global disaster in the modern age [4]. The disaster caused most of the city area that is 60% of Banda Aceh City area from the entire Banda Aceh city area of 61 km² experienced damage and destruction. Banda Aceh as one of
the oldest cities in Indonesia, aged 815 years, has experienced a long history and has various heritage areas affected by the tsunami. From the layers of history from time to time, Banda Aceh has a lot of dark heritage from the colonial war, conflict, and tsunami disaster [5,6].

Natural disasters have caused landscape changes and left many relics that are debated to be preserved. Dark heritage as part of heritage associated with dark events is an important concept that must be explored but there is less literature on natural hazard-related negative heritage [7,8,9]. During this time, the preservation of dark heritage in the context of natural disasters paid less attention to the survivors' views [10,11]. Also, dark heritage which is part of the heritage planning, regularly its preservation is done by paying attention to the experts and government opinions and roles [12,13]. The role of survivors in the preservation of dark heritage after the disaster, especially the tsunami is not yet known. This paper aims to discover and reveal what dark heritage means from the survivors' perspective in preserving the dark heritage post-disaster. This question will disclose survivors' views on the preservation of dark heritage post-tsunami in Banda Aceh.

2. Dark Heritage Preservation Post-Tsunami in Aceh, Indonesia

2.1. Theory of Dark Heritage Preservation
Dark heritage is a form of cultural heritage that comprises visiting sites associated with death, disaster, human tragedy, and atrocity of numerous kinds [14,15]. Dark Heritage is divided into two as of its formation causes which are due to natural disasters [14] and war/conflict heritage [15]. Sites that arise because of tragedies that are recollected both due to natural disasters and human disasters such as death sites from earthquakes, tsunamis, wars, political conflicts, and further dark tragedies must be preserved to be a reminder in the future [15]. Heritage staged around attractions and sites associated with death, acts of violence, scenes of disaster, and crimes against humanity [16,17]. Natural disasters potentially destroy an area and also produce relics and physical debris [7]. The relic needs to be preserved as a commemoration and learning in the future [5,6]. The theory known for preserving an area/site that contains relics or historic buildings resulting from dark events is known as dark heritage [7,18].

Dark heritage is worth preserving since it has lessons to learn [19]. Rebuilding on remnants from an event and even eliminating is also considered as trying to obliterate the tragic memory [20]. Destruction of heritage places, therefore, is ‘more than material damage’, to pick one of the hundreds of institutional calls to arms [21]. In contrast, the argument has been made that the memory and oral history of tsunami events were preserved in other parts of the region in such a way that cultural responses to the early signs of a tsunami resulted in low casualties, as it was the documented case in the neighboring island of Simeulue [22]. That it is important and productive to support improvisation in the way that monuments and heritage sites are re-used, re-interpreted, and re-appropriated in future narratives to meet the needs of a changing society and countenance the built environment to be articulated in narratives of resistance or re-description of cultural and social principles [23]. Deservedly that consensus is desired from various stakeholders including experts, government, community, tourists, and also survivors in the determination and preservation of dark heritage as part of heritage planning [24].
2.2. Memorial Dark Heritage Post Tsunami

A disaster is an event or series of events that threaten and disrupt people's lives and livelihoods caused both by natural and/or non-natural factors such as human factors, resulting in human casualties, environmental damage, property losses, and psychological impacts. Disasters caused by nature or humans can change the environment and cause the loss of heritage resources. Disasters have a certain degree depending on the scale and the impact which could be large or small. Natural disasters have caused landscape changes and left many remnants of the debate to be preserved [7]. A tsunami differs from other natural disasters, such as earthquakes and fires, in the way in which it wreaks its havoc. Because the tsunami washed away literally everything and everyone, some survivors did not retrieve any personal object of their loved ones. Places had become so unrecognizable that it sometimes took days to figure out where one’s house had been.

Heritage of post-disaster can support the anticipation of future loss in recurrent geological and climatic phenomena, gaining an active role in the construction of social and cultural resilience and as a tool of social wellbeing [19]. However, most of the emphasis on heritage conservation approaches in post-disaster contexts throughout conservation initiatives, educational programs, local and international standards are included in the documentation, evaluation, and remediation of heritage sources as historical sources, which are in line with the preservation of existing resources independently and may even overtake each actual or potential damage documented [19]. While the emphasis on heritage discourse remains focused on overcoming the destruction of the landscape that was built to maintain or improve its material and social conditions. [20] states elsewhere that this past-oriented emphasis prevents the articulation of narratives that appear (created or the remaining) may be attached to new forms of post-destruction heritage [21].
3. Survivors and Their Story

3.1. Survivor as Main Contributor of Dark Heritage Preservation
So far, the decision-makers in dark heritage determination and preservation are the government, experts, communities, and tourists [22]-[23]. However, there is an important contributor that is often overlooked, which is survivors who should be considered in the preservation of the dark heritage [24]-[25]. Tsunami survivors held the Indonesian state accountable for the mishaps of reconstruction, the gaze of the world boosted the local imagination of Aceh as what [24] calls “a place in the world”. In the local process of what [25] calls “scale-making”, tsunami survivors made the global emerge concerning Aceh, spatially, as Aceh would (even without independence) be a nation among other nations, and temporally, through historical narratives of conflict and colonialism [26]. The tsunami monuments, especially PLTD Apung the ship that ended up in the middle of the city, are also talked about as bukti; not so much to convince others that the tsunami has taken place, but rather in a similar temporal notion of proof as something that will remain visibly present in the future as place familiarity. Place familiarity is important in promoting survivor’s resilience, as suggested by current debates in the post-destruction literature [6]-[10].

3.2. The story of Survivor in Preserving Memories
In conducting research, qualitative research with a case study approach that is carried out through the stages of semi-structured interviews was conducted on 50 participants. The study took place in Banda Aceh which was chosen based on an analysis of the most terrible tragedy, the 2004 tsunami disaster. In measuring this perception, it is necessary to elaborate on the factors that form perceptions which include socio-demographic and psychological personal factors [28]. The main purpose of the question raised in the interview is to identify material components that are culturally meaningful in the formation and maintenance of cultural identity and social practices of the community as well as having a practical role in the area relating to the rebuilding of cities, for example determining the context needed to build meaningful dialogue among communities. Interviews were conducted in Indonesian and Acehnese languages, depending on which informants preferred. All notes from the field are written in Indonesian and all interview records are translated into Indonesian for analysis. Tracing the history and collective memory relating to the tsunami tragedy and sites that emerged after the tsunami was carried out with a review to the field, interviews with survivors who were directly affected by disasters, literature studies, and internal research and maps [28]. The initial survey was conducted before conducting interviews, field surveys recorded potential elements to obtain value and noted the meaning of survivors for the object. The thing that requires to be considered in this survey is the importance of obtaining an overall perception of survivors, not only concentrating on the perceptions of only certain groups and objects of single elements.

Table 1: Summary of Data

| Item         | Mosque Baiturrahim | Big Ship | Ship Above Lampulo House | Outside Sites | Total Interview |
|--------------|--------------------|----------|--------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| **Sex**      |                    |          |                          |               |                 |
| Male         | 5                  | 7        | 5                        | 6             | 23              |
| Female       | 8                  | 8        | 5                        | 6             | 27              |
| **Total**    | 13                 | 15       | 10                       | 12            | 50              |
| **Age 25-34**| 1                  | 5        | 2                        | 2             | 10              |
Here are examples from our interviews expressed survivors views in dark heritage preservation:

The event that occurred on Sunday, December 26, 2004, could not be forgotten in my life. It also leaves memories that are so poignant, sad, and terrible which causes me to do not want to visit places forming tsunami because it causes trauma...... (Female_Blangpadang Monument 35_seller_Acehnese)

I remember that it was about noon, after surviving from the tsunami, we ran into the mosque which was still standing intact. Inside the mosque, I saw quite many corpses that had been buried. There were various miserable expressions on the faces of those who survived the tsunami hit in the vicinity. But I returned everything to God with sincerity and resignation that I always pray every time I visited the Baiturrahim mosque... (Male_35_Baiturrahim mosque, Javanese village fisherman_Kutaraja, Banda Aceh)

It can be said that a bad experience will always be stored in the memory of everyone who experiences it directly. Disasters cause many victims and also many people lost their families and siblings. But behind the bad memories, the existence of a tsunami heritage site is also a reminder for them. And to remember the victims, the community built a monument next to the entrance to commemorate the people in the village who died from the tsunami. This monument is an idea from the community, especially the families of tsunami victims. And this is evidence of community care. (Female_PLTD Ship 40_local residents_Unemployed_Acehnese)

Tsunami warning on December 24 and cleaning on the site are done twice every month. Prayers, dhikr, read Al-Qur'an, and recite the TPA are the activities carried out daily and recitation carried out weekly (Female_Baiturrahim Mosque 19_Highschool_Acehnese).

Bad memories are just a reminder of the past tsunami disaster. The hope is that we always remember the occurrence of the Aceh tsunami which capable to bring this floating ship stranded to the mainland, also we must be able to explore the historical sites in Aceh. (Male_Ship above house 29_PNS_Acehnese).

From the conveyance of some of the informants' statements above, it can be ignored in this study, the information affected by the disaster emphasizes that the value of good memory and bad memory, religion, tradition, and learning are significant values that form heritage. 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. In addition to the physical aspect that serves as a reminder, knowledge of values emerges which is a more important aspect in building awareness of disasters and disasters in the future, as learning social, future, and spiritual values that bring people closer to God. These values are very useful for the practice of urban heritage planning to understand the constellation of places that emerge after a disaster because they are full of meaning so that they can also build community cultural heritage such as changing traditions, lifestyles towards a better direction without forgetting history. The statements of several informants also indicate representation for a group.

3.3. Survivors views on dark heritage preservation post tsunami Banda Aceh
Banda Aceh has a strong religious character [29]. Historical of Banda Aceh is not just in a grand Islam course but also influences the heritage value from the perspective of social and spiritual Islamic communities that establish local policy based on shari’a in heritage planning especially for the preservation of dark heritage post-tsunami disaster [29]. The religious interpretations of disaster as fate and a form of misfortune that needs to be accepted that provided a widely shared cultural and religious grounding for giving the tsunami a place. For survivors, rather than being undiscriminating in its deathly course, the disaster had targeted Aceh collectively and sending them a trial opportunity, and even a second chance and giving the dead the status of martyrs in the afterlife. Religious values came to be so important in the process of grieving and giving meaning to the tsunami is perhaps not surprising given its deep-seated historical place in Acehnese society. Instead, Islam was already such an important part of many people’s lifeworlds that their religious responses to disaster built on already embodied dispositions as well as widely shared cultural repertoires [27]. Most of the tsunami survivors' religious practices were a part of everyday life. Finding both an ascertaining continuity and new meanings and ways of being through these practices was for many a highly significant way of starting from zero and achieving a new sense of normality. In disaster narratives in Aceh, the tsunami presents a rupture, a divide between a former life and a new life, presenting a need to imagine new futures, however painful and tenuous such imaginations might be. Ultimately, the imaginations and the narratives that people construct, silently or openly, not only represent the work of recovery but also from essential ways of finding paths into the future and remaking the post-disaster tsunami world. How communities make decisions about what to preserve, and not preserve, to create a cultural heritage that defines them to the world. What you saw was people making decisions to erase the landscape of negative and dark and create their new landscape. Survivor also said that dark heritage has a role practical in the region related to the rebuilding of sustainable urban heritage planning.

4. Conclusion
The stories of tsunami survivors in Aceh are singular, yet also shaped by a shared genre and by collective narratives of among others success, overcoming, gratitude corruption, exceptional piety, and improvement. This intertwining of the personal and the collective in narrative paradoxically makes narratives of personal experience [29]. In some cases, survivors' narratives reveal the adverse effects of governance or the upsetting of social norms; at other times, they show how authoritative discourses blend with subjective experiences as in the building of improvement momentum or the significance accorded to certain memorial places.

The absence of people and places is felt in everyday settings as well as at commemorations and memorial places. They implicitly and explicitly structure the stories people tell, their movements through their neighborhoods, the social gatherings among neighbors. The entirely new look, feeling, and smell of a neighborhood may paradoxically both remind of the past and provide ways of forgetting.
that is indispensable to going about the practices of daily life [29]. Whereas some survivors elaborately reflected on loss, for others and in other contexts grieving was more subdued, a quiet part of a prayer, sometimes finding expression in a dream or in the silent gesture of showing the photograph.

Narratives may show us how people situate themselves in the process of recovery as they blend social, political, and individual spheres. They show us how people engage with and reflect on the everyday practices that re (make) social life, because they are in the middle of this process, in the middle of their own narratives, with their imaginings of the future shaping their narrative rendering of the present and the past [29,30].

The importance of understanding how local values create heritage, that heritage is not only about material and physical aspects but it is also a cultural process [31]. This paper uses the examples of how the sites in Aceh that were affected by the tsunami disaster in 2004 such as the PLTD Apung ship and the Mosque of Ulee Lheue are sites that a mutual and role of the historical city relating to the potential as signs of civilization, historical values, commemorative values, religious values, and values of consensus within the community as outstanding local values, as a basis of consideration in rethinking the designations of heritage sites of less than 50 years old [31]. This paper provides a conceptual understanding of urban heritage planning and its values of designated sites based on critical thinking that rejects rigid and static values that do not consider aspects other than time and context. There are many values we can learn from post-disaster cases closely related to incorporate heritage in urban planning. These values are very useful for the practice of urban heritage preservation to understand the constellation of places that emerged post-disaster because it is full of meaning and values so that it can also build community cultural heritage such as changing traditions and a lifestyle toward a better direction without forgetting history [32].

The conclusions of this study based on the results of interviews and field observations as well as literature reviews show that survivors perceive influencing decisions in the conservation process to be accommodated in the urban heritage planning process in Banda Aceh. Many emerging sites are part of the everyday social life arrangement which is not only to be seen but functions with positive activities, giving people access to a better life. Many sites and objects in this context actively play an important role in the production of essential daily social functions, such as the provision of space for community consultation, conflict resolution, decision-making, and disaster mitigation learning; all of which are fundamental to the process of sustainable development. This involves not only community leadership, social networks, and hierarchies but also material conditions in which people know how to interact. Without all of the above, public relations with meaningful and comprehensive heritage sites are impossible.

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