Shifting from place to non-place: A case study on the central market of Banda Aceh

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Abstract. The transformation of Banda Aceh, Indonesia, through the phases of political war and tsunami disaster leads to the alteration of the central urban areas. The impact of the temporary agglomeration is on the functions of public spaces. There has been a paradigmatic shift of culture transformation in this city from a place of local tradition to a multicultural environment opened to change. The complexity of this transformation was especially influential to its central market. By using the two-sided theories and framework of Jacobs and Alexander, and Auge and Koolhas, this study analyses the historical evolution and perspectives of the central market for urban space. Data collection was from field observations and interviews with the vendors and customers in the market. The results imply that without disregarding the importance of heritage and history, stakeholders that have the power to change the central market must be realistic and adjust the condition according to the current people’s needs as users of this place. Nevertheless, despite some of the vendors’ rejections towards the development of modern markets in the city, this realism of modern markets has been able to solve the problem of other cities by the concept of one-stop shopping for time efficiency and goods availability.

1. Introduction

Much of the recent interest in urban design has focused on the creation and management of the place. This concept of place has been the subject of debate, offered in two different positions of thought by a significant number of theories. It originates from the 1950-60s when the rise of modernist concepts takes place in planning and destroying earlier urban structures. The view of most theorists from this era holds on to the conservative notion of traditional place making for an urban living, accentuating to the reconstruction of the pre-modern textures, which is thought as idealistic and utopian. Although encouragingly attractive and promising, not all of these notions appear to be feasible and acceptable in the current trend of cities, as the needs of the society changes accordingly. In opposition, from the 1980s onwards, new concepts of openness in places have been embraced, adopted from the current needs and conditions of cities. These concepts corroborate the chaotic modern cities with creations of the fresh novel and liberated ideas. Urbanisation as the driving force of this second position is motivated by the increase of urban population in the world.

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It has been clear for some time that both the professions of planning and design are concerned with the response of urban development to the new set of this global demographic. This new change has influenced the social, economic, cultural and political forces of cities and is considered as the cause for ‘non-places’. Meanwhile, these conditions have precipitated some important transformation of places in cities: the creation of generic cities and loss of identities. This transformation is being reproduced in space through building designs and the urban structure and is mostly seen in the image of Asian countries. Current cities in the world are in a struggle in finding their identity through the inevitable influence of modernization. As such, the discussion on the place is integral to an understanding of the future transformation of cities.

The transformation of Banda Aceh, Indonesia, through the phases of political war (from 1973 to 2005) and tsunami disaster (December 26, 2004) leads to the alteration of the central urban areas. The impact of the temporary agglomeration is on the functions of public spaces. There has been a paradigmatic shift of culture transformation in this city from a place of local tradition to a multicultural environment opened to change. The complexity of this transformation was especially influential to its Central Market or well known by the city as Pasar Aceh. This market has gone through a transformation in which intrigues the researcher to conduct a study on how its restoration after the tsunami grasp the concept of place and non-place. The research question formulated is, “What are the perspectives of vendors and customers as users of the public space in relation to the concept of place and non-place on the Central Market in Banda Aceh?” The findings of this study demonstrate a variety of perspectives that can be adopted for future development and design of this market which is beneficial to its vendors and customers as the primary users of this public space.

2. Literature Review

This study discusses and focuses on different views to understanding the concept of place and non-place. The main analysis of place focuses on Jane Jacob’s Death, and Life of Great American Cities and Christopher Alexander’s A City is Not a Tree, while further analysis of non-place is discussed through Marc Auge’s Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity and Rem Koolhaas’s The Generic City. Each offers varied understandings of the issues as they approach the discourse of ‘place’ from different perspectives. The oldest of these four texts is Jacob’s work to the newest writings of Koolhaas. Therefore, it is important to consider that each author is writing in a different period with different backgrounds influencing the thoughts and ideas. What each and every author testifies is that there has been a historical evolution of the design for urban space and demonstrates a variety of perspectives that can be adopted.

2.1. Jane Jacobs

As a journalist with a close interest in city life and urban structure, Jacobs did not come from a professional world of architecture or planning but stands from a neighborhood activist’s view. Two important works of Jacobs include Death and life of Great American Cities in 1961 followed by The Economy of Cities in 1969. From close observations of cities, her basic notion draws around the thoughts and ideas. What Jacobs is considered the vital organs of the city. For Jacobs, the image of the city is seen by the full ingredients of the street and their sidewalk as the vital organs of a city. This image was drawn based on her personal experience of living in Boston. As she writes, “Think of a city and what comes to mind? It's streets. If the city’s streets look interesting, the city.
looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull” [1]. She agrees to the idea that city streets should be full of people, although it might consist of strangers. These strangers that are believed as menacing by many people are reversibly thought to be acting as polices, delivering voluntary controls for passive surveillance in public space. However, her argument is crucial in pointing out that a successful city lies in people’s feeling of safety and security among these strangers [1]. Jacobs’s rhetoric ‘eyes upon the street’ from the enjoyment of the natural proprietors of the street to watch other people may insure safety on the streets.

Jacobs’s chapter ‘The Need for Concentration’ appears to be most significant for encouraging density and diversity of cities. Her observations suggest that we need all kinds of diversity to construct a decent city, mixing in a mutualism manner for the development of society and civilization in the city [1]. She believes the essence of urban life originates from the energy of diversity of people and range choices of activities at different times. Her claim for mix uses, however, contradicts the ideas for zoning that most planning had been based. She encourages the mixed zoning combined with the need for concentration of people by her statement “Everyone is aware that tremendous numbers of people concentrate in city downtowns and that, if they did not, there would be no downtown to amount to anything – certainly not one with much downtown diversity” [1]. Jacobs argues that low semi-suburb densities are not a good long-term plan. She quotes “As the city continues to grow, the character that makes these semi-suburbs reasonably attractive and functional is lost…” [1].

Although agreeing to the need for concentration, Jacobs counter-argues for the need to house people in high-rise buildings, which can kill diversity by obstruction [1]. She believes that densities of twenty dwellings to the acre and above are unacceptable as they will always stay as strangers [1]. It was regarded as problems of the cities as echoed in her statement “…between the point where semi-suburban character and function are lost, and the point at which lively diversity and public life can arise, lies a range of big-city densities that I shall call ‘in-between’ densities. They are fit neither for suburban life nor for city life. They are fit, generally, for nothing but trouble” [1]. She continues that this was especially due to the standardization of the buildings created, such as in most functional designs of Le Corbusier [1]. Her statement “Variations from the past are a foundation to which new variations of the present (and eventually the future) are added” [1], shows her preference for traditional city solutions, that the combination of numerous lively streets, parks, residential and non-residential uses can create a vibrant city to the lifeless and unremarkable high densities and ground coverage of the modern era [1].

Herein, Jacobs is building her critique of modernization whereby the inert image of the modern city is not considered as a liveable place. However, with the increasing population of the world, it is impossible to control and guarantee such an idea of voluntary policing in attempting to spread buildings to low densities for more active liveable streets. The conditions of today’s cities are inevitably changing according to human needs. Jacob’s argument for the resident’s participation as a ‘street ballet’ is a fantasy in today’s everyday life and might only be applicable to her hometown, Hudson Street, Greenwich Village. Her promotion of Greenwich Village as the ideal environment for urban living has drawn the attention of many designers to further investigate the true meaning of a ‘liveable’ city.

In addition, how applicable are these theories of place from Jacobs that can be applied to such chaotic countries in the East? Culture also plays an important role in the development of cities, as it influences people’s behavior in public space. The notion that safety from the number of stores and people in public space is hard to measure nowadays, as individual living does not guarantee social interactions. Nowadays, streets can no more be the measure of a liveable city. What we see and imagine of cities, either through the presentation on post cards, magazines and most of our imagination, cities consist of skyscrapers captured from the view of a bird’s eye. The taller and denser the buildings are, the likelier they will be regarded as a busy and vibrant city living.
2.2. Christopher Alexander

Drawing from Jane Jacobs, Christopher Alexander has written an elegant essay entitled *A City is Not a Tree*. Alexander has a similar conservativism view with Jacobs’s fascination for traditional mixed and chaotic urban neighborhood as a ‘coherent whole’. He claims “All traditional towns have these features in their growth. But the modern practice of urban development does not have these features. It does not deal with growing wholes at all” [2]. However, he considered Jacobs’s solution as unreal in imagining the modern city as some kind of mixture between Greenwich Village and an Italian hill town [3]. Differently to other authors for the concept of ‘place,’ Alexander discovers the concept of the city in the technique of mathematical relations. Patterns of historical towns are structured in the form of rationale relations of the city’s element. Good urban structure of the city is counted based on abstract concepts, as abstract as his essay title in which the tree does not have green leaves but is a set of theories of the city structure [3]. As stated by Alexander: “A set is a collection of elements which for some reason we think of as belonging together”, which then the set of elements are called as a system [3].

Alexander terms unplanned cities, which grows spontaneously as natural cities organized in a semi-lattice structure; and planned cities by the professionals as artificial cities organized as a tree structure. He considers the attempt of modernity to create the artificial cities as greatly influential but unsuccessful in terms of creating a ‘place’ [3]. This is because most artificial cities have not been able to find the basic principle of how cities in the past have worked [3]. Fixed and workable parts of the city system are believed to be unable to be controlled by city planners and designers. The system consists of elements labeled through sets of numbers, creating sub-sets when overlapped or disjoint [3]. Alexander clearly explains in a mathematical voice: “A collection of sets forms a semi-lattice if and only if, when two overlapping sets belong to the collection, then the set of elements common to both also belongs to the collection” [3]. In this axiom, the sub-sets overlap and belong to each other like units. Differently, the tree structure is formed when “A collection of sets form a tree if and only if, for any two sets that belong to the collection, either one is wholly contained in the other, or else they are wholly disjoint” [3]. This condition is more restrictive as each sub-set has its own path separating further at the end.

It is clear that the semi-lattice is a more complex structure than a tree, which leads to separations. This can be seen in the modern planning of zoning in western cities, forming the tree structure. Alexander proposes the mix and overlapping of the semi-lattice as the acceptable form as it tends to grow instead of thought out as in tree structures [3]. Alexander views Le Corbusier and Louis Khan’s ideas for identity as tree-like concepts, for example, from their separation of pedestrians with vehicles [3]. Designers are thought to be limited in their capacity to imagine and create the complexity of a semi-lattice structure. However, in the modern society today, the push for development has been stronger than ever in the past. Justification to stop planning the city and accept its natural growth will only create more chaos affecting the economy and social patterns of the city. Planning and building the city might be considered a tree-like approach, but it is the little bits of everyday life in these planned cities that we can then wait to be formed and flourished naturally as the small overlapping sub-sets of the city.

These semi-lattice systems are most significantly proposed through Alexander’s book *A Pattern Language* (1977), which was the continuation of the first volume, *The Timeless Way of Building* [4]. His philosophical 253 patterns are presented in the book as guidelines to the solution of problems most cities face today in its design. These patterns are perceived to be the archetypal core of all possible pattern languages, which according to Alexander are the basic ingredients that are “deeply rooted in the nature of things, that it seems likely that they will be part of human nature, and human action, as much in five hundred years, as they are today” [4]. The notion that modern planning is strongly mistaken and ‘inhuman’ was expressed in his statement that “the languages which people have today are so brutal, and so fragmented, that most people no longer have any language to speak at all – and what they do have is not based on human, or natural considerations” [4]. However, these guidelines contradict to his idea for unplanned cities, as the patterns are used as the basic ideas for planning and
design. It also raises the question of whether future needs will be the same as the past needs from five hundred years before had been significantly different and some irrelevant and inapplicable for today’s design. It is impossible to recreate the overlaps of the historical towns, as it will no longer be suitable for today’s concept of ‘place.’

2.3. Marc Auge
Marc Auge, clearly described through the title, *Non-places: An Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (1992), forms an analysis of current trends leading to the feeling of ‘non-place.’ Auge’s theory of place through this piece investigates the characteristic and elements of non-place. Auge’s support to the realism of non-places today is not only relevant to western countries but is the phenomenon, which has already been mushrooming in Asian cities. In opposition to the phenomenology of place, Auge argues that this non-place was created by the driving force of modernization through the former process of pre-modern and modernity. Auge claims that the rise of modernity did not eradicate the essence of ancient places, but instead it is a milieu that represents the survival of an element of the past through the continuing change of the cities [5]. This gives the expression that the essence of modernity indicates movement and alteration. Nevertheless, Auge differentiates the movement concept of modernity and supermodernity following after. Modernity is considered as the continuous temporality of traditional ancient places that was finely expressed through words of the modern poetry, evoking the memory of ancient places [5]. Supermodernity instead is the newest emergence of trends that supersedes the above modernity by covering those historical elements of the ancient places, positioning it as only ‘places of memory’ [5]. This newness of non-historical places with no concern with identity is what Auge terms a ‘non-place’, which was created by this condition of supermodernity [5].

This ‘non-place’ can be characterized in our everyday life nowadays by the so-called ‘inhuman conditions’ of transit points and temporary living, a dense network of transportation, routines of shopping with silent transactions, all produced with no involvement of human interactions [5]. The main point is that supermodernity is recognized by fast in movement, always changing its structure, as Auge says “It never exists in pure form; places reconstitute themselves in it’ [5]. The place will always have a part, which is memorized while non-place will always be continuously changing. Auge sees these two concepts of place as always mixing with each other and layered in each period [5]. The only measure for today’s cities is the existence of transit, interchange, crossroads, passenger, traveler, the housing estate, monument and communication [5], all of which represents the world of strangers that can survive without the need for any deep interactions. The main characteristics of supermodernity are an overabundance of events, space and the world of individuality [5].

Thus, he writes, “What is seen by the spectator of modernity is the interweaving of old and new. Supermodernity, though, makes the old (history) into a specific spectacle, as it does with all exoticism and all local particularity” [5]. Auge’s view for supermodernity seems to be realistic, as “non-places are the real measure of our time” [5]. This can be seen from a strong advertisement for branding, which has created familiarity in every city in the world [5], especially in Southeast Asia. Asian countries call for these branding for the sake of their improvement towards being regarded as a developed country. As a result, almost all cities in Asia have the same similarity of tall skyscrapers, and modern glass box buildings with entertainment and branding all over the cities. One can only find the originality of these places in the very narrow street of the cities.

2.4. Rem Koolhas
Unlike Jane Jacobs and Christopher Alexander’s understanding of place, Koolhaas has a more profound understanding of the built form in contemporary cities. Amongst his many writings: *Delirious New York* (1978), *Singapore Songlines* and many others represent his realistic way of thinking and accepting the modernistic change of today’s most Asian cities. Perhaps, most significantly, his profound interest in Asian cities has made him discover the standardization and generalization of modernity, leading him to focus on the non-place of generic cities. The essay *The
Generic City’ in his book S, M, L, XL (1995), can be considered as the most significant in explaining the phenomena of non-places, which he sees as “a global liberation movement: ‘down with character!’” [6]. Similar to Auge, Koolhaas’s critique tracks the city dilemmas of abandonment of history, context, identity, and character [6], and it is this issue, which is the central theme of his writing. He writes, “The stronger the identity, the more it imprisons, the more it resists expansion, interpretation, renewal, contradiction” [6]. Koolhaas attempts to explain that this identity may constrain future development.

Much like Auge, Koolhaas argues that the city is part of spatial layers rendering the center inward towards the core of the earth [6]. This city without identity reflects present needs and ability to accommodate anyone, ‘it is superficial’ in a sense that it can produce any kind of identity and easily change it to something new [6]. This reaffirms his realistic view of today’s cities, most particular among the pattern of development in Asian countries [6], where development is fast changing, incorporating different layers of the past even if they are not ‘acknowledged’. Thus, Koolhaas heralds the birth of generic cities, which is characterized by ‘few and far between emotions’ [6] only accommodates necessary movement, of cars in particular, with the sense of speed and transitions of strangers in airports [6]. It is best defined as a ‘freestyle’ consisting out of three elements of roads, buildings, and nature flexibly changing occasionally at any city [6]. Planning is considered irrelevant, as it makes no difference to place anything, anywhere [6]. It is completely free with no need for context or reasoning, proving that the main point is that the system is successfully operating.

Two other essays from this same book, S, M, L, XL, are ‘Bigness or the Problem of Large’ (1994) and ‘What Ever Happened to Urbanism’ (1994), which also represents his forward thinking and realistic ideas for urban design. Koolhaas supports for modernity from the driving force of new technologies and higher demographic numbers, which has erased the old context of places delivering a new form of ‘bigness’ with no certain identity as the way leading towards modernization. He critiques the western theories as unsuccessful in dealing with the issue of urbanization and population growth and sees that we are now stuck in the crater of modernity [7]. This means that he is imposing that there is no reverse and therefore the only solution is to be involved. The force to accept modernization has to be uncritical and opened to change. This is particularly found in Asian countries, as they tend to accept change easily.

In comparison with the previous texts, Koolhaas’s perspective provided a greater understanding of the real urban structure and architectural form. The emphasis on the generic city, which is the key to spatial form, is the highlight of his discussion. However, what sets Koolhaas’s argument apart from others is his assessment of the features of the Generic City, which is more beautiful [6]. Thus, this is a key element to the creation of future cities without the need for history and identity. However, for Koolhaas, the city has not been completely removed from the past. The generic city once had memories of the city that still exist but has been generalized [6]. He writes of history as being paradoxical because it reinforces change and improvement, “ Cultures flourish, decay, revive, disappear, are sacked, invaded, humiliated, raped, triumph, are reborn, have golden ages, fall suddenly silent – all on the same site” [6]. This is an important point because it would be incorrect to view the cities as completely removed from the fabrics of past generations.

3. Methods
This study is a qualitative work that intends to investigate the use of the concept of place and non-place on the Central Market in Banda Aceh, Indonesia. The instruments used to collect data were field observations and interviews. Field observations included visual observation and visual recording; meanwhile questions for the interviews were conducted in the form of semi-structured by asking questions to vendors and customers in the market to obtain information on their perspectives towards the sudden change of the Central Market from a traditional culture of shopping experience to a modern building with air conditioner and escalators.

A number of 5 vendors and 5 customers were interviewed, and they were selected randomly based on their availability and consent to participate in this research. In this paper, they are coded as V1 and
so forth for the vendors, and C1 and so forth for the customers. The main questions asked inquired about their thoughts towards the change, what has been or has not been yet facilitated, and how they would like the future market to be. After data were collected, the analysis was done by examining the vendors’ and customers’ opinions and linking them to the two-sided theories and framework of Jacobs and Alexander, and Auge and Koolhas. The results are reported narratively in the next section.

4. Results and Discussion
4.1. Result
A case study is brought upon in this paper, as a justification of the modern trends penetrating to Asian cities, including in developing countries. Banda Aceh, one of an eastern cities in Indonesia, has been transformed through the phases of political war and tsunami disaster, which had led to the alteration of the central urban areas. The occurrence of the phases begun with the endless political conflict since 1873 when Dutch Colonial declared war followed by unfair redistribution of wealth after Indonesia proclaimed independence in 1945 [8], triggering the Aceh Free Movement rebellions since 1976 [9]. This event has turned the city into a place of fear with a local character. This local character rejected western influence due to past traumas and has influenced slow development in the city. Nevertheless, it has succeeded in preserving its own sense of ‘place’ and created some sort of its own identity which can only be felt through the memories of customers and past generations of vendors.

In 2004, a 9.2 Richter scale earthquake was followed by a devastating tsunami, further welcoming the overwhelming of media, NGO (Non-Governmental Organisation) and agency attentions that urged a peace agreement in 2005 with foreigners entering Aceh delivering aid [10]. The impact of the temporary agglomeration was on the functions of public space as it tends to create a period of multicultural effect of the globalization. Therefore, there has been a paradigmatic shift of culture transformation in this city from a place of local tradition to a multicultural environment opened to change.

The complexity of this transformation was especially influential for the Central Market of the city, Pasar Aceh. Pasar Aceh was formerly an unorganized traditional market consisting of wooden shops with zinc roofs and narrow alleys in between directly exposed to the sun with no permanent building. It plays a major role in fulfilling the basic and daily needs of the Acehnese (see Figure 1). One of the customers explained the previous market situation as follows:

C4: “This place (i.e., Pasar Aceh or the Central Market) used to be very hot because the ceilings were low and the rooftops were made of zinc. The walls were from wooden boards. If it rained, the floors got muddy and wet. The pathway (between shops) only fitted 2 people to walk (side by side)”.

![Figure 1. Existing traditional market behind the new Pasar Aceh building (source: photographic survey 2010).](image-url)
Nevertheless, the 2004 natural disaster washed away the former characteristics of the place, in which opportunities then arose for peace and reconstruction. During this phase, the market developed into a new form of an enclosed air-conditioned building with ATM facilities and security guards for protection at the front (see Figure 2). The new built form is in a modern style, funded by foreign aids. The international donors had imposed modern influences upon the Acehnese and the reconstruction period had provided a boost to the local economy. This has increased the significance of Pasar Aceh as it is considered as the business center for the local economy. It is operated till late at night (see Figure 3), which was risky and not allowed during the conflict time. One of the vendors and customers informed that:

V1: “Pasar Aceh is more comfortable and convenient now. There are air conditioners to cool us from the hot air. Then there are escalators; it is easier to go from one floor to another. The bathrooms are also better; they are now separated for men and women. Before, it was like one bathroom for everyone”.

C5: “Now we don’t have to be afraid to go to the market at night anymore. Because the building has many floors and a lot of people are still active in the market until night time”.

Figure 2. The new Pasar Aceh with air conditioner and escalators with security guards at the front (source: photographic survey 2018).

Hence, the new Pasar Aceh is ultimately functioned and crowded both during day and night. The perception for convenient shopping in closed buildings such as malls had established a new culture to the former traditional shopping behavior. The new closed building has also become something of a refuge from the former traditional image of the city.

Nevertheless, despite its conveniences, the customers also find some shortcomings, such as the lack of food court for quite a large central market in the city. Customers seek for places to eat to overcome thirst and hunger after shopping, but they find exhaustion instead since the shops and places to eat are disorganized inside and outside of the main building of Pasar Aceh. C1 and C2 explained:

C1: “But the problem is there is no food court that is convenient enough for us to buy and enjoy our food during or after shopping. There are a few stalls on the top floor, but who would want to go there if the food available is not much and not enough place to sit?”
C2: “So I finish shopping with my children on the second floor, and we are tired…if we want to eat some cendol (i.e., iced sweet dessert of rice flour jelly, coconut milk, and palm sugar syrup), then we would have to go down to the ground floor, go out of the building, and go to the traditional cendol stall next to it. If we want to eat something heavier like noodles, we would have to go to another eating place that is across the street or farther down the road. It is very tiring”.

**Figure 3.** Activities continue until night (source: photographic survey 2018).

Furthermore, despite the encouragement from the customers for a convenient modern shopping experience, rejections also came from vendors inside and outside the new modern building (see Figures 2 and 3). Traditional vendors, who sell in shops outside of the main building but near to it (see Figure 1), rejected the supermarket in the new building of Pasar Aceh as it decreases the economy beneficial of many small retailers in the advantage of one owner of the supermarket. Similar in rejection, but different in opinions came from new vendors selling their goods on the third floor of the building. They considered themselves not having the same chance of marketing with other vendors on the first floor where customers would be streamed to purchase before having the chance to wander to the next floor. This is as stated by V2 (traditional vendor) and V3 (new vendor in the building) below:

V2: “The big business is devastating us down here. I have been selling clothes all my life to feed my family from this shop. Now the supermarket on the top floor of Pasar Aceh also sells clothes… and many customers prefer to go there because they can shop for food and house supplies at the same time in one place”.

V3: “I managed to get this small shop on the third floor. But I envy those on the ground floor. Customers would see their shops and go there first. If they find what they need, they would not want to go up here anymore”.

4.2. Discussion

As places are a fundamental base of people’s memory, there is always a possibility for the challenge to the changes of existing meanings of a certain place towards a new ‘becoming.’ The debatable concepts of place will continue to be debatable as people’s perception and acceptance vary according to the knowledge and culture they experience. Two different concepts of place and non-place have been presented through the analysis of four texts in the literature review of this paper. There are numerous outcomes from Jane Jacobs’s and Christopher Alexander’s analysis for the concept of place, which originated from the historical era of the 1960s. They both have a good understanding of how the city works which is integral to truly understand the system of a good urban structure. Both analyses have been a critique of modernist planning and orientate their conception to the traditional city system,
which has worked well in the past. However, although undeniably well written and intriguing, these conceptions do not provide in-depth thinking from modern architectural and urban design thinking. In some circumstances, the concepts are inappropriate to be fully implemented as some conditions of current cities have changed inevitably. These local solutions might not even be applicable to cities globally around the world as a culture also plays a significant role in the vitality of cities. Dewi and Rauzi even added culture, heritage and social aspects are among the essentials in the reconstruction process of cities after disasters [11].

Although stressing the need for concentration and density, Jacobs and Alexander admire the drama and ballet played by narrow and historical cities. Unlike Auge and Koolhaas, they oppose the developments of skyscrapers and the characteristic of speed and movement from the modern cities, as this may not encourage social living and interactions. Therefore, while Jacobs and Alexander dislikes standardization and generalization of modernity, Auge and Koolhaas is supporting and proposing for supermodernity of individual living and the generic cities, as these are the ‘real measure of our time’, and being involved seems to be the only solution, instead of reversing and being left behind to moving and developing countries. In relation to the Central Market in Banda Aceh, customers felt comfortable shopping in an air-conditioned building as the temperature in this city is hot and humid for outdoor shopping experiences. Window shopping during the evening is now also convenient as the increase of activities around the market has provided safety for women and children through passive surveillance. Hence rejections from some of the vendors that still prefer local traditions thus with the urge for modern movements are undeniable. Many traditions have changed significantly, and most of them are in the interest and current needs of customers nowadays. As such, although resisting for modern cities which are considered as ‘inhuman,’ we must be logical and realistic in facing current issues of the inevitable globalization and modernization bringing in the speed of change. New logical and more realistic theories have emerged, which is considered less human but has been widely accepted by most countries in the world, especially in Southeast Asia. This can be seen through the fast development of the Central Market in Banda Aceh, turning it into chaos, but surprisingly, operating successfully.

Urbanization and globalization in Asian countries have brought influence to the development of the city. Over the entire characteristic of today’s cities, it is undeniable that it has successfully worked in Asian countries and continues to be developed. There must be a certain reason that this concept is widely accepted and is highly competing for high-rise and other modern development. This can be seen from the case example of the Central Market, as modern movements are closely related to the transition to advanced capitalism. This, I argue, is an attempt to catch up with the speeding movement of modernization. Although it is still uncertain as to what level of modernity it enters because it might range differently from cities to cities. For it has to be clear, that the past pre-modern condition has once been considered as modern to the ancient times. Thus, there is no distinct definition to modernity, but it is the improvement and development that can be measured. There should be no more rhetoric for ‘living inside the box’ or ‘glass house’ as the technology of buildings might make it impossible for us to live inside a ball or an egg shaped building. Perhaps in the future people would be able to live and move freely in the floating air. Then where does that leave the term modern, too? Would that lead supermodernity be a historical term too? Perhaps we would need to find another term that suite best with that certain condition in the future. Thus, it would then be too far to reverse cities to the ancient traditional concept of place, as it is now too far for use to reverse to the city living of the ancient cities, there also needs to be a reborn for new creative concepts. Therefore, the main argument put forward is that without disregarding the importance of heritage and history, we must be realistic and adjust our condition according to the current human needs as they are the users of these spaces.

Nevertheless, despite some of the vendors’ rejections towards the development of the modern market in the Central Market, Banda Aceh, this realism of modern markets have been able to solve the problem of other cities by the concept of one-stop shopping for time efficiency and goods availability, such as urban sprawl through urbanism. It is to be stressed that the features of modernism are prevailing and pragmatic, highly accepted in Asian countries. It is not a world of dream or fantasy. It is the reality that we must be based upon.
5. Conclusion
The results showed that the process of modern movement in the Central Market in Banda Aceh was encouraged by the increasing welfare condition of the Acehnese during the reconstruction phase, pushing people for further improvement. It can be concluded that the main drive of this change is the economic capacity brought from the entrance of globalization and introduction of modernization to the city. Despite a few flaws, the Central Market in Banda Aceh indicated a discrete desire, as the modern built form is considered successful and acceptable from the crowd of its use. This influence of seduction for the perception of convenience shopping in malls was certainly a form of manipulation of interest and desires from foreigners during the reconstruction phase, bringing changes for the Acehnese. The local sense of ‘place’ has been shifted to ‘non-place,’ as the modern change represents the characteristics of a generic city that we see growing in all developing countries across Southeast Asia.

Thus, this study was conducted with a number of limitations. First of all, the samples consisted of only 5 customers and 5 vendors who were interviewed. Second, it focused only on one part of Banda Aceh, which was the Central Market. Therefore, it is suggested that future research can include a larger number of participants and investigate other occupied sections of the city on their shifts from place to non-place. Stakeholders should be taken into consideration as samples as well. Furthermore, questionnaires that can be distributed to a larger number of samples (i.e., customers, vendors, stakeholders) can also be employed to retrieve larger sets of data. The results may substantiate and further contribute to the findings of this study.

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