COMMUNITY PERCEPTION OF LIVING PARK MEMORIAL AS DARK HERITAGE AT THE RUMOH GEUDONG AREA, PIDIE REGENCY, ACEH, INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

A Memorial Living Park is a commemorative landscape that integrates remembrance, education, and social functions within everyday public life. In Pidie Regency, Aceh, Indonesia, the former Rumoh Geudong site—historically associated with detention, violence, and human rights violations during the Aceh conflict—has recently been transformed into a Memorial Living Park. As a site connected to traumatic memories and contested histories, the development of this memorial landscape has generated both support and resistance among local communities. Despite growing scholarly attention to dark heritage, limited research has examined how local communities perceive state-led memorialization initiatives in post-conflict Aceh. Therefore, this study aims to analyze community perceptions of the Rumoh Geudong Memorial Living Park as a form of dark heritage and to identify the factors shaping acceptance and resistance toward the project. This research employed a qualitative case study approach. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, field observations, and document analysis between August and December 2024. The data were analyzed using thematic analysis following Braun and Clarke's framework. The findings reveal that community perceptions are divided. While some respondents perceive the memorial as a space for remembrance, education, reconciliation, and economic opportunity, others reject or question its development due to unresolved trauma, distrust toward government initiatives, and differing interpretations of history. These perceptions are influenced by personal experiences, historical knowledge, cultural and religious values, economic expectations, and levels of participation in decision-making processes. The study concludes that the Memorial Living Park represents a contested form of dark heritage whose legitimacy depends on inclusive community participation and sensitivity toward local memories and post-conflict identities.

Keywords: community perception, dark heritage, memorial living park, post-conflict heritage, rumoh geudong

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1. INTRODUCTION

The transformation of sites associated with conflict, violence, and human rights violations into commemorative spaces has become an increasingly important topic in contemporary heritage studies. Rather than preserving traumatic places solely as static monuments, recent approaches emphasize the integration of remembrance, education, and community functions within everyday public life. One such approach is the concept of the Memorial Living Park, which combines memorialization with social, cultural, and ecological activities, enabling communities to engage

with difficult histories while simultaneously creating meaningful spaces for present and future generations [1].

Rumoh Geudong in Pidie Regency, Aceh, represents one of the most significant sites associated with the Aceh armed conflict. During the military operations period, the site was widely known as a detention center where various forms of violence and human rights abuses allegedly occurred. Consequently, *Rumoh Geudong* embodies what heritage scholars describe as *dark heritage*, namely heritage associated with trauma, suffering, conflict, and contested memories that continue to influence contemporary social and cultural identities [2][3]. In 2023, the Indonesian government through the Ministry of Public Works and Housing (PUPR) initiated the redevelopment of the site into a Memorial Living Park as part of broader post-conflict reconciliation efforts. While the initiative has been presented as a form of recognition for victims and historical remembrance, it has also generated diverse responses among local communities.

Dark heritage refers to places, landscapes, and cultural remains associated with tragic, painful, or controversial events that continue to shape collective memory and social identity [2][4]. Unlike conventional heritage, dark heritage is inherently multivocal because different groups often attach different meanings to the same site depending on their experiences, social positions, political affiliations, and proximity to historical events [3][5]. Previous studies have demonstrated that engagement with dark heritage is influenced by multiple factors, including personal trauma, collective memory, power relations, and cultural interpretations of the past [5][6]. Consequently, scholars argue that the planning, preservation, and interpretation of dark heritage should actively involve local communities to ensure that multiple perspectives are represented and respected [7].

Within post-conflict contexts, heritage reconstruction is often shaped by political negotiations rather than functioning as a neutral process of remembrance [4][8]. Memorialization initiatives may serve important roles in healing, reconciliation, and education; however, they can also create tensions when local experiences and narratives are insufficiently represented in state-led projects. Furthermore, memorial development is frequently linked with broader social and economic objectives, including tourism development and regional revitalization, which may generate competing expectations among stakeholders [9]. Therefore, understanding community perceptions is essential for evaluating the legitimacy, effectiveness, and long-term sustainability of memorialization projects in post-conflict societies.

Figure 1. Overview of the Memorial Living Park at Rumoh Geudong

The Memorial Living Park model adopted at *Rumoh Geudong* reflects contemporary heritage perspectives that conceptualize heritage as an ongoing social process rather than merely a physical object [1]. Figure 1 illustrates the overall spatial configuration of the Memorial Living Park, showing the integration of commemorative elements with public open-space functions designed to support community activities and collective remembrance. Previous studies on dark heritage have predominantly focused on heritage interpretation, memorialization practices, collective

memory, and tourism development. However, limited research has examined how local communities perceive state-led memorialization projects in post-conflict Aceh, particularly regarding the transformation of former conflict sites into Memorial Living Parks. This research gap is important because community acceptance and participation play a crucial role in determining the legitimacy and sustainability of post-conflict memorial initiatives. Therefore, this study aims to analyze community perceptions of the *Rumoh Geudong* Memorial Living Park as a form of dark heritage and to identify the social, cultural, political, and economic factors influencing both acceptance and resistance toward its development.

2. METHODS

The research object represents the central phenomenon investigated to obtain focused and relevant data. In social research, a research object may consist of individuals, communities, organizations, places, or events that become the subject of systematic inquiry [10]. The case selected for this study is *Rumoh Geudong*, located in Bili Aron Village, Glumpang Tiga District, Pidie Regency, Aceh Province, Indonesia. *Rumoh Geudong* is historically recognized as one of the sites associated with detention, violence, and human rights violations during the Aceh conflict period. Its recent transformation into a Memorial Living Park provides an important context for examining community responses toward state-led memorialization initiatives. Figure 2 illustrates the condition of the former *Rumoh Geudong* site before its redevelopment as a memorial space.

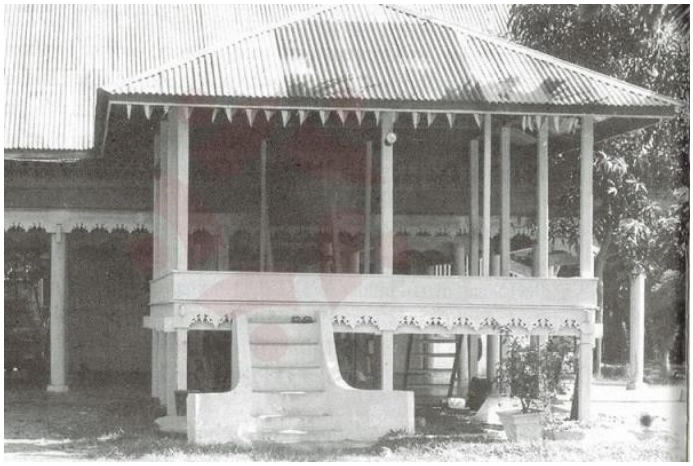

Figure 2. Former Rumoh Geudong Site Before Redevelopment

This study employs a qualitative case study approach to examine community perceptions of the *Rumoh Geudong* Memorial Living Park as a form of dark heritage. A qualitative research design was selected because the study seeks to understand subjective meanings, lived experiences, and diverse interpretations associated with a place marked by conflict, trauma, and human rights violations. Community perceptions regarding memorialization are socially constructed and influenced by collective memory, personal experiences, cultural values, and political contexts. Consequently, these complex dimensions cannot be adequately captured through quantitative measurement alone.

The case study approach enables an in-depth and context-sensitive investigation of *Rumoh Geudong* as a single yet information-rich case that reflects broader discussions concerning dark heritage, post-conflict memorialization, and community participation in heritage production [12]. Rather than pursuing statistical generalization, the study seeks analytical generalization by contributing empirical evidence to theoretical debates on memory negotiation, recognition, reconciliation, and the multivocal nature of heritage. *Rumoh Geudong* was selected because of its dual identity as both a site of historical trauma and a newly developed Memorial Living Park, circumstances that have generated diverse responses ranging from acceptance and support to resistance and skepticism among local communities.

Data collection was conducted between August and December 2024 using multiple qualitative techniques to strengthen methodological rigor and analytical depth. Primary data were

obtained through eight semi-structured in-depth interviews involving purposively selected participants who possessed direct experience, knowledge, or involvement related to *Rumoh Geudong* and the memorial development project [11]. The interview participants consisted of three local residents living near the site, two family members of conflict victims, one community leader, one educator, and one government representative. This composition was intended to capture diverse viewpoints and ensure representation of actors directly and indirectly connected to the memorialization process

The interviews were guided by open-ended questions exploring participants' interpretations of *Rumoh Geudong*, perceptions of the Memorial Living Park's symbolism and functions, experiences of trauma and remembrance, views regarding community participation in planning processes, and expectations concerning education, reconciliation, and socio-economic impacts. Each interview lasted approximately 45–90 minutes and was conducted in either Indonesian or Acehnese according to participant preference. All interviews were audio-recorded with informed consent and subsequently transcribed verbatim to maintain narrative accuracy and preserve contextual meanings expressed by participants.

To complement the interview findings, field observations were undertaken to document the physical characteristics of the site, patterns of public use, and social interactions occurring within the Memorial Living Park. Particular attention was given to how commemorative elements were integrated into everyday activities and how visitors and local residents engaged with the memorial environment. These observations provided contextual understanding and assisted in identifying potential discrepancies between participants expressed perceptions and actual practices observed in the field.

In addition, document analysis was conducted to situate community perceptions within broader institutional, political, and discursive contexts. The documents examined included government planning reports, policy documents related to the Memorial Living Park, official project descriptions, and media publications discussing the redevelopment process. Analysis of these documents enabled comparison between official narratives promoted by institutions and interpretations articulated by community members.

Data were analyzed using thematic analysis following the six-phase framework, analysis began with a process of familiarization through repeated reading of interview transcripts, observation notes, and documentary materials [13]. The second phase involved generating initial codes by systematically identifying meaningful segments of data relevant to the research objectives. Subsequently, related codes were organized into broader thematic categories through identification of recurring patterns, similarities, and conceptual relationships across different data sources.

The emerging themes were then reviewed, refined, and validated to ensure coherence within individual themes and consistency across the overall dataset. During this stage, themes that overlapped conceptually were merged, while insufficiently supported themes were modified or removed. The finalized themes were clearly defined and analytically interpreted to represent the principal dimensions shaping community perceptions of the Memorial Living Park. These thematic categories included recognition and reconciliation, trauma and resistance, education and memory transmission, economic expectations, political trust and distrust, and participation and governance. Together, these themes illustrate how individual experiences intersect with broader social, cultural, economic, and political processes in influencing acceptance or rejection of the memorial initiative.

The final stage involved interpretative synthesis, whereby the identified themes were examined in relation to the theoretical perspectives of dark heritage and post-conflict memorialization. Community perceptions were not treated merely as individual opinions; instead, they were understood as expressions of ongoing negotiations over memory, identity, recognition, and power relations between governmental institutions and local communities. This interpretative approach enabled a deeper understanding of how memorialization processes are experienced, contested, and negotiated within a post-conflict setting.

To enhance the trustworthiness of the findings, methodological triangulation was employed through systematic comparison of evidence obtained from interviews, observations, and documentary sources. The integration of multiple data sources strengthened the credibility and

confirmability of the analysis while reducing the risk of relying on a single perspective. Ethical considerations were maintained throughout the research process. All participants were informed about the objectives of the study, their voluntary participation, and their right to withdraw at any stage without consequence. Participant anonymity and confidentiality were protected, and particular care was taken when engaging with victims' family members given the sensitive and potentially traumatic nature of the subject matter.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Community Perceptions of The Development of Memorial Living Park as Dark Heritage

The concept of dark heritage in [4] refers to cultural legacies associated with tragic events, suffering, conflict, or disasters, which are often difficult, controversial, or painful to remember. However, such heritage is important because it shapes identity, collective memory, and communities' understanding of the past. The Memorial Living Park in Pidie, Aceh, was established to commemorate the victims of the Aceh armed conflict. An analysis is conducted to identify the determining factors that influence community perception of the Memorial Living Park development. The findings reveal that community perceptions of the Memorial Living Park in Pidie are shaped by multiple factors, reflecting the complex dynamics of post-conflict Aceh.

Personal experiences emerge as the strongest determinant. Survivors and families of victims interpret the park as recognition of past suffering and a reminder of resilience. One respondent stated: "The main benefit for us is that the painful history will not be forgotten. For the people of Aceh, it can serve as a reminder of our resilience and struggle." Others, however, expressed ambivalence, as in the remark: "Now that it has become the Memorial Living Park, I think it is good so that the younger generation can learn about history, but there is still sadness whenever I pass by." Meanwhile, those without direct experiences often perceived it more neutrally, as simply a new public space. This confirms that proximity to traumatic events strongly shapes interpretation.

Knowledge and education further differentiate perceptions. Individuals with higher historical awareness valued the park's role in transmitting memory: "I think it is very important to create a memorial park, because it can serve as a reminder so that such tragedies will never happen again." Some even suggested interactive initiatives: "It would be great if the park had storytelling sessions or exhibitions, so young people can learn in a more engaging way." By contrast, others admitted limited understanding: "I've heard from my parents about *Rumoh Geudong,* but honestly I don't know much in detail." These narratives highlight both the potential and challenges of positioning the park as an educational site and religious traditions also mediate community interpretation. For some, the park is not only a memorial but a place to reinforce Acehnese values: "My expectation is that the park will not only be a memorial, but also a cultural hub where Acehnese identity and values are strengthened." Others were cautious: "If it is turned into a memorial park, I hope its original values will not be lost." This illustrates how dark heritage is continuously negotiated within the framework of local religious and cultural norms.

Economic and political considerations influence perceptions as well. Optimistic respondents emphasized potential opportunities: "Economically, I believe it could open opportunities for small businesses like food stalls or souvenir shops". Yet others expressed skepticism about the park's immediate impact: "It may not bring a huge impact immediately, but in the long run, it can support sustainable tourism". Political perspectives also influenced how respondents interpreted the memorial project. Several participants viewed the Memorial Living Park as a government-led initiative that reflected official narratives of reconciliation, while others questioned whether these narratives adequately represented local experiences and memories of the conflict.

Finally, community involvement was a recurring theme. Several respondents felt excluded: "I never received any direct information or invitation to join the discussions. Most decisions seemed to be made by the government and a few local leaders". Younger informants echoed this sentiment: "It would have been better if more young people were involved in the decision-making process." Such remarks reflect broader critiques of dark heritage management, where local voices risk being overshadowed by official authorities.

Taken together, the interviews reveal that the Memorial Living Park is interpreted simultaneously as a site of painful remembrance, an educational arena, a cultural and religious symbol, an economic resource, and a new public space. This multiplicity of meanings demonstrates both the opportunities and tensions inherent in developing dark heritage in Aceh: while the park has potential to preserve memory and foster education, its legitimacy and sustainability depend on inclusivity and active community participation. The preserved remnants serve as tangible evidence of the site's traumatic history and contribute to the construction of collective memory.

Figure 3. Remaining Physical Relics within the Memorial Living Park

The findings of this study reveal that community perceptions of the Memorial Living Park at *Rumoh Geudong* are highly diverse, reflecting the multivocal, contested, and socially embedded nature of dark heritage. These perceptions are shaped by personal experiences, historical knowledge, cultural and religious values, economic expectations, and the extent of community involvement in the project. For some respondents, particularly survivors and victims' families, the memorial is regarded as a form of recognition and reconciliation. As one family member emphasized, "For us, this park is important because it shows that our suffering is acknowledged. At least there is a place to remember and pray for those who never returned" (Informant 3, victim's family).

Another important dimension is the educational value of the memorial. Local educators stressed its role in transmitting historical memory to younger generations. One teacher explained, "Children must know what happened here. Without a memorial like this, they might not believe such a tragedy ever occurred" (Informant 5, educator). However, skepticism also emerged among community members who questioned the extent of local involvement in the project. As one resident remarked, "We were rarely involved in the planning. I worry this is just another government project, not really for the community" (Informant 7, local resident).

In addition to memory and reconciliation, the Memorial Living Park is associated with economic expectations and hopes for local development. For instance, a trader noted, "If more visitors come, it will help our economy. But the benefits should not only go to outsiders—people here should also feel them" (Informant 2, trader). Finally cultural and religious values also play a crucial role in shaping perceptions. As a community leader asserted, "*Rumoh Geudong* is not only a building for us; it is a sacred place. It must be preserved in accordance with our customs and religion" (Informant 6, community leader).

3.2 Result

The findings of this study demonstrate that community perceptions of the Memorial Living Park at *Rumoh Geudong* reflect the inherent complexity of dark heritage. As argue, dark heritage is not a neutral or passive site of memory but is always multivocal, contested, and politically and socially embedded [2][4]. This is evident in how Pidie community members interpret the memorial differently depending on their personal experiences, cultural values, economic expectations, and degree of involvement in decision-making. The voices of victims' families highlight the role of the memorial as a space of recognition and reconciliation, underscoring the

importance of remembrance in post-conflict healing. At the same time, educators' emphasis on the park's role in transmitting history demonstrates the educational function of heritage in shaping collective memory. However, skepticism expressed by some residents illustrates the dissonance that often accompanies dark heritage, where heritage-making is perceived as top-down and detached from local participation [7]. These divergent views underscore the contested nature of memory politics in Aceh.

Furthermore, the intersection of memory with economic aspirations reflects how heritage sites are not only symbolic but also linked to material hopes for tourism and livelihood opportunities. This echoes who stress that heritage is often negotiated at the crossroads of cultural values and development goals [1][2]. Similarly, the recognition of *Rumoh Geudong* as a sacred and culturally significant site reinforces that heritage is embedded within religious and customary practices, making it more than a physical monument. Taken together, these findings affirm that the Memorial Living Park cannot be understood solely as a static commemorative project. Rather, it is an active arena of negotiation where issues of recognition, education, economic development, and cultural values converge. This aligns with broader debates in heritage studies that view heritage as a process of identity construction, memory politics, and reconciliation in post-conflict societies.

This study set out to examine community perceptions of the Memorial Living Park at the *Rumoh Geudong* site as a form of dark heritage within a post-conflict context. The findings confirm that *Rumoh Geudong* constitutes a profoundly multivocal dark heritage site**,** where meanings are neither fixed nor universally shared. Instead, the memorial functions as a contested arena in which narratives of recognition, trauma, education, economic aspiration, and political authority intersect and at times conflict. This complexity reinforces theoretical arguments that dark heritage is inherently unstable, emotionally charged, and embedded in power relations rather than being a neutral or consensual form of heritage.

The findings also resonate strongly with arguments that post-conflict heritage reconstruction is inseparable from political authority. The redevelopment of *Rumoh Geudong* illustrates how memorialization operates not only as a cultural practice but also as a political act. The state's role in initiating and framing the Memorial Living Park positions the site within official narratives of reconciliation and development. However, the limited involvement of local communities and victims' families in planning processes reinforces critiques of top-down heritage governance. Rather than emerging as a collectively negotiated space, the memorial is perceived by many respondents as a government-driven initiative that reflects institutional priorities more than lived experience.

This dynamic echoes argument that post-conflict heritage reconstruction often functions as a form of political negotiation, where power, legitimacy, and authority are embedded in heritage-making processes [2][4]. In *Rumoh Geudong*, the absence of meaningful participation undermines the memorial's perceived authenticity and weakens its capacity to foster trust. Participation, therefore, is not merely a procedural concern but a substantive dimension shaping how heritage is interpreted, accepted, or resisted. Without inclusive governance, memorials risk reproducing the very exclusions and silences they are intended to address.

The educational dimension of the Memorial Living Park further illustrates the gap between theoretical potential and practical realization. In line with heritage-as-process perspectives, the memorial is envisioned as a space for intergenerational memory transmission, preventing historical amnesia and fostering critical reflection among younger generations. Educators' narratives confirm that the site holds strong pedagogical promise, particularly in a post-conflict society where formal histories may remain fragmented or contested.

Theoretically, this study reinforces the understanding of dark heritage as a dynamic and negotiated process rather than a fixed outcome. Memorialization in post-conflict settings should therefore be understood as an ongoing dialogue between memory, power, and community agency. The case of *Rumoh Geudong* demonstrates that without sustained participatory engagement, memorial projects risk remaining symbolically powerful yet socially fragile. Conversely, when communities are meaningfully involved, dark heritage has the potential to support recognition, learning, and cautiously framed development without instrumentalizing suffering. The findings contribute to dark heritage scholarship by demonstrating that community acceptance of memorial

landscapes depends not only on historical significance but also on participatory governance and local legitimacy. Future memorial development projects in post-conflict regions should prioritize participatory planning, educational interpretation programs, and culturally sensitive heritage management strategies.

4. CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that community perceptions of the *Rumoh Geudong* Memorial Living Park are deeply divided yet interconnected through a shared historical consciousness shaped by conflict, memory, and collective experience. The findings reveal that the memorial operates simultaneously on multiple levels: as a site of remembrance that legitimizes grief and acknowledges past suffering; as a space of trauma where emotional wounds remain present despite physical transformation; as an educational opportunity for transmitting historical memory to younger generations; as an aspiration for socio-economic development through tourism and local livelihoods; and as a political negotiation arena in which power relations between the state and local communities are continuously contested. These overlapping functions illustrate that the memorial cannot be understood through a single narrative. Instead, it embodies the inherent multivocality of dark heritage, where meanings coexist, overlap, and at times contradict one another, reflecting the complexity of post-conflict identity formation and memory politics.

The findings further underscore that dark heritage in post-conflict societies cannot be managed solely through architectural or spatial transformation. While physical redevelopment may provide symbolic recognition, it is insufficient to address deeper social, emotional, and political dimensions of remembrance. Sustainable memorialization requires participatory planning processes that meaningfully involve local communities and victims' families, sensitivity to cultural and religious values embedded in the site, transparent and accountable governance, and the integration of interpretive educational programming that contextualizes history for diverse audiences. Without such inclusive engagement, memorial projects risk reproducing exclusion, reinforcing social fragmentation, and perpetuating distrust rather than fostering reconciliation, learning, and collective healing. These insights highlight the necessity of viewing memorials not as finished objects, but as ongoing social processes that must be continually negotiated within their local contexts. This study has several limitations. First, the number of interview participants was relatively limited and focused primarily on stakeholders located near the *Rumoh Geudong* area. Second, the findings reflect perceptions at a particular stage of the Memorial Living Park development process and may evolve over time. Future research may employ comparative studies across multiple post-conflict memorial sites in Aceh or integrate quantitative approaches to capture broader community perspectives.

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