

Community Adaptations to Create “Inside and Outside” Cultural Spaces: The Case of Dukuh Traditional Village in Indonesia

Nani Sriwardani^{1*}, Reiza D. Dienaputra², Susi Machdalena² & N. Kartika²

^{1,2}Department of Cultural Studies, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Padjajaran, Jatinangor, Sumedang, West Java 45363, Indonesia

¹Email: nsriwardani1@gmail.com

Received	Reviewed	Revised	Published
24.09.2023	12.10.2023	27.10.2023	31.10.2023

<https://doi.org/10.61275/ISVSej-2023-10-10-24>

Abstract

Community adaptation is a way for a community or a community group to agree on its cultural space so that people's lives run harmoniously and prosperously. Adaptation is interrelated with how people respond to their environment, customs, and various external influences. This is also the case with the people of Dukuh Traditional Village, in Indonesia. This village is close to the forest. In addition, customs with religious rituals make the Dukuh Traditional Village an attraction. As a result, this influences the environment and the social life of the people of Dukuh Village. As an adaptation effort, the village divides its territory into Dukuh *Tonggoh* (Upper) and Dukuh *Landeuh* (Bottom). They separate it into sacred and profane areas. This study sought to scrutinize the adaptation strategy of the community to create its cultural space while preserving Nature and customs and improving the community's economy.

This study used a descriptive qualitative methodology with ethnographic approaches, with the researchers as the key instruments. The primary data were obtained via observations and interviews. Meanwhile, data analysis was carried out by identifying rules, customs, and factual conditions that have and have not changed.

The findings reveal that the adaptation of the Dukuh Village community is done by creating 'inside' and 'outside' cultural spaces. A cultural construction is done by maintaining customs in the sacred area (the inside) while still allowing the profane area (the outside) to adjust to the development of science and technology.

Keywords: Community Adaptation, 'Inside and Outside', Cultural Space, Village Community, Traditional Village.

Introduction

Adaptation is part of human behavior in responding, innovating, or coming to terms with challenges, impacts, or opportunities. As the main focus of a settlement, the community continuously adapts for harmonious survival. Community adaptation becomes a way of creating cultural spaces to achieve common life goals. Community adaptation relates to places that

become the cultural identity, co-management, flexibility of adaptive systems, and indigenous and local knowledge and learning, such as communal work systems or mutual assistance (Galappaththi, Ford and Bennett, 2020; Aksa and Afrian, 2022). Community-focused adaptation is a natural human need to live safely and prosperously, thus providing space for the community to transform and develop creatively to arrange financing and plan designed according to the needs, experience, and knowledge of local culture (Manuamorn, Biesbroek and Cebotari, 2020; Smutko, Asanov and Ergeshova, 2021).

People in a traditional village have rules for protecting their Nature, indirectly giving customary forests the survival or forest conservation (Htoo, Steenhuisen and Verschuuren, 2023). Dukuh Traditional Village is one of the traditional villages in West Java inhabited by a group of people with Sundanese culture and customs. Its ideas, habits, ways of acting, interacting, and artifacts adjust the geographical location or environment in which it is located. People maintain the wisdom of local culture that is always taught and conveyed orally and for generations. The advantage of the Dukuh Traditional Village is that its environment is close to the forest. In addition, the traditional rituals and culture of the community are believed to have glory.

This attracts visitors from outside the village every week, making the Dukuh Traditional Village a religious and cultural tourism village. By utilizing the potential of natural culture and sustainable tourism economic development through environment-based tourism, management aims to improve the community's economy and preserve Nature and customs (Hilman and Hendriawan, 2017; Guo et al., 2019; Fibrianto, 2020). Through local wisdom, village people behave in an environmentally friendly way so that it can become the focus of attraction of tourist villages (Lemy, Pramono and Juliana, 2022). Improving the lives of rural communities can be done through the potential of local entities, both natural and human resources (Saberifar and Mishra, 2020). Traditional villages have rules to maintain the state of Nature and the lives of their people. Nature and village communities live harmoniously through rules and management of village forests, such as utilizing Nature as a livelihood according to their needs or even prohibiting taking village forest products. Sustainable village forest management needs to be done with the cooperation and various government policies by supporting rural communities with their traditional village forests (Fibrianto, 2020; Cho, Youn and Kweon, 2022).

Openness as a religious, natural, and cultural-based tourism village can negatively influence the environment and lifestyle of the people of Dukuh Village. Although tourism provides economic benefits to the surrounding area, it also has the potential to cause spatial conflicts between tourists and residents (Zheng et al., 2022). Culture is dynamic through various influences both external and internal. Changes through adaptation will also affect people's lifestyles. Maintaining culture and customs while accepting openness can be done by mapping cultural spaces. In this regard, Dukuh Traditional Village divides two settlement forms with different rules and the same scope of territory. Both spheres of cultural space have potential for the community, but external influences more or less give changes and influence to the community.

The development of traditional villages with new developments different from the original can have an impact on eroding the landscape character of the traditional village itself. Mapping cultural space is a step toward maintaining customs. Still, it does not close the community to innovate to improve the welfare of their villages through the identification and visualization of local cultural assets (Currie and Correa, 2022). Cultural space development can be done with a multi-dimensional understanding of the material, social, and cultural that maintain the rural space system (Hu et al., 2019). Culture shapes views by building social and individual values that define lifestyles, including activities, rules, and other cultural values (Al Husban, Al Husban and Al Betawi, 2021).

Thus, this article sought to scrutinize the adaptation phenomenon that occurred in Dukuh Village, where the community created two areas in one residential area. The community tries to maintain the values of local wisdom while, at the same time, adjusting themselves to the advances in science and technology.

Therefore, this discussion aims to delve into how the concepts of "inside" and "outside" can become strategies for the cultural space of traditional villages so that culture can operate dynamically.

Its objectives are as follows.

1. To understand society's adaptation through space and culture.
2. To explore cultural space in a traditional village with two "inside" and "outside" zones.

Understanding community adaptation through creating "inside" and "outside" cultural spaces can be a reference in designing and implementing a community-based traditional village while preserving Nature and customs.

Review of Literature

According to Salura (2007), historical evidence shows that external forces always have an influence on the relationship between the concept of architectural form and meaning, including dynamic factors such as culture, society, economy, and technology and relatively constant factors such as climate, geographical location, and geological conditions. Architectural works are never separated from the cultural context of the architecture, so community adaptation will always occur when facing various influences. According to Rapoport (1969), attitude towards Nature and the site is an essential aspect in creating the form of a house and a settlement. Khamdevi (2023) also states that the human relationship with the landscape and the type and form of buildings are appropriate to the context of the natural and cultural environment, thus allowing for different characters from each location.

It is part of a cultural phenomenon because society has certain goals and values to unite and create an ideal environment. According to Bennet (1980), adaptation is a way of conceptualizing the use or misuse of resources and the capacity of groups to cope with the environment with the aim of change or survival. A group adaptation is a precautionary measure that allows change to occur while simultaneously trying to avoid or slow down the damage. Adaptation strategies of indigenous peoples can be carried out with modern knowledge and in collaboration with various parties. However, they still cannot be separated from maintaining local wisdom through cultural spaces such as local knowledge, history, rituals, and protection or conservation of sacred spaces (Tamrakar and Parajuli, 2019; Caamaño-franco and Suárez, 2020; Taiban, Lin and Ko, 2020; Chung and Lee, 2021; Guodaar, Bardsley and Suh, 2021; Afon and Adebara, 2022). In this process, the community serves as the main actors in expressing their culture (Sriruk, Jaiarree and Tanpichai, 2018; Guo et al., 2019; Jirata, 2019; Chung and Lee, 2021; Kokko and Hirsto, 2021).

The adaptation of a society closely intersects with culture. The process of adaptation of a community creates cultural space with experience and interpretation of space and culture. Cultural space is a cultural construction formed from social life, customs, traditions, behavior, and artifacts (Erdoğan, 2017; Ikudayisi and Odeyale, 2021). As a cultural product, architecture as an artifact can lead to behavior according to the built environment created, which originates and is developed according to the climate and cultural traditions of its people (Aiello and Thompson, 1980; Tuan, 2001). Adaptation is also considered a response to change in creating spatial experiences closely related to the human senses.

According to Hall (1990), there is a separation of distances in understanding human communication with their environment. It reflects cultural norms, namely intimate, personal, social, and public distance. And those distances can be done by installing attributes that limit or separate their scope. Boundaries can be a differentiator, a picture of characteristics, and clarify the territory behind it. Space and the attributes surrounding it as a medium of communication and physical and social arrangements aim to unite, separate, facilitate, or inhibit one another (Lawson, 2001). It can further divide the sacred-profane, private-public, and so on, whose use of space is related to rituals, cultural activities, and other customs.

Research Methods

Employing a descriptive qualitative method with an ethnographic approach, the researchers observed behavior and interacted directly with the community. In particular, data were obtained by conducting interviews with several informants. This was done to see the process and adaptation strategy of the Dukuh Village community in creating their cultural space.

a. Participants

The target of this study was the people of Dukuh Village. Informants acted as data sources, not data samples. Informants of this research had the following criteria: 1) belong to a Dukuh Village community; 2) have an understanding of the way of life of the people of Dukuh Village; 3) adult/parents with the age of at least 30 years old; 4) willing to take the time to interview. Mandatory informants were needed for several special criteria to obtain standard data or standard rules that apply in the area, namely traditional leaders or village elders.

b. Data Collection

The data in this study were emic, namely through the community's perspective. Data were also collected through direct observations in the field in the form of observations on the physical form of settlements. In-depth interviews were done to explore the condition and life of the people of Dukuh Village from time to time or culture/traditions firmly held, both in the form of rules and beliefs. The interview data were certainly obtained from traditional leaders and elders living in Dukuh Traditional Village. It was to reveal how the community adapts to create its cultural space and the community strategies to face challenges of influence and change from the outside. The researchers acted as the main instrument. Thus, field data collection was carried out directly in Dukuh Village located in Ciroyom Village, Cikelet District, Garut Regency. The location was on the slopes of Mount Dukuh. The area was approximately ± 10 Ha, consisting of settlements with an area of 1.5 Ha and 8.5 Ha of *Taneuh Karomah* [Customary Forest and sacred graves]. The researchers lived with the local community for several weeks by visiting several people's houses and conducting direct interviews while observing the environmental conditions by documentation. During the past three years, the researchers have carried out studies of the area. Thus, the researchers have also observed changes, actions/behavior, physical buildings, and changes in the use of objects/tools. Data on the condition of the environment of origin were also obtained through in-depth interviews with several traditional elders.

c. Data Analysis

Data analysis was carried out by identifying standard rules or traditions believed to always be obeyed by factual conditions that have changed and have not changed. The analysis also compared indigenous leaders' interview data with current factual conditions. References to literature data were used as a guide in analysis.

Findings and the Discussion

Identification of life and settlement of Dukuh Traditional Village

Dukuh Traditional Village is a settlement located in Garut, West Java, Indonesia. The settlement is on the mountain's slopes with an altitude of ± 390 meters above sea level (Arismunandar, 2011). Access to this village is far from the main road or city center. Leadership in this village is carried out nationally following government regulations and also traditionally led by traditional leaders. Traditional chiefs regulate the system of norms, rituals, rules, and customs. He is most respected and a role model by the people of Dukuh Village. The life of the people refers to religious rules based on their scriptures. Customary rules and life patterns are also in the background of belief in ancestral advice (the people call *kasuruan karuhun*). The history of the village, way of life, rules, and beliefs are passed down from generation to generation by traditional leaders to their communities.

The pattern of life of the people of Dukuh Village runs according to customary rules. Customary rules generally apply to all areas within one area of this village. This village area has areas with different activity spaces, namely Dukuh *Landeuh* Residence (bottom), Dukuh

Tonggoh Residence (upper), sacred forest, and field land – Fig.1. The area of Dukuh *Landeuh* is the outermost part and is under the land of the Dukuh Village residential area. Dukuh *Tonggoh* is in the inside part of the settlement and is above a slope. Above Dukuh *Tonggoh*, there is a sacred forest at the top of the settlement closed off from the community. Both areas are given guardrails that maintain the scope of the rules and conditions of activities, times, and people who can enter them.

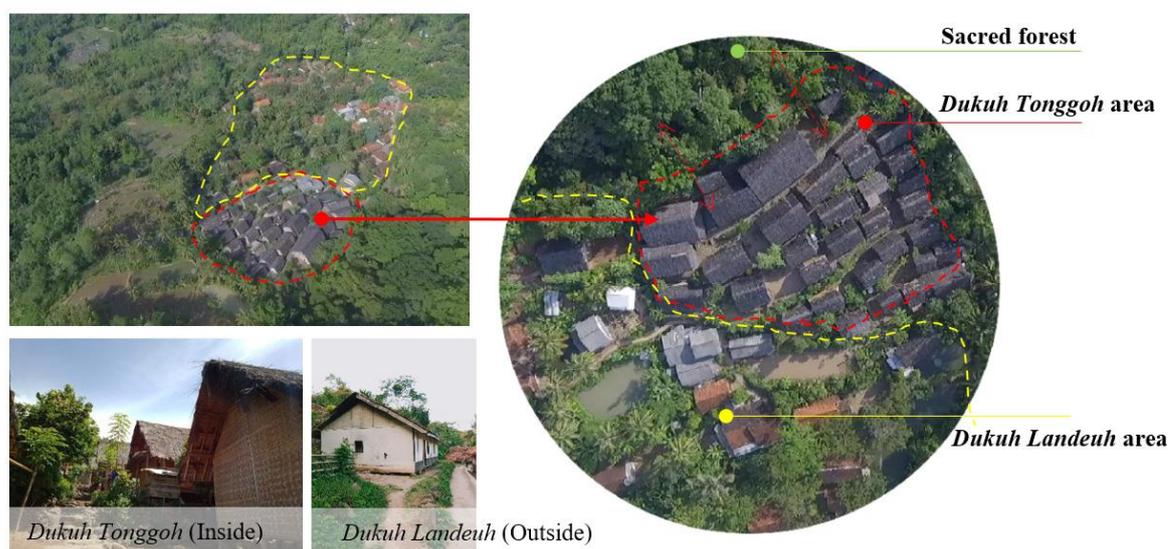


Fig. 1: Division of the area of Dukuh Traditional Village

Source: Sriwardani, 2020-2021

In the Dukuh Village area, there are also forests and land that can be used for agriculture. The settlement of Dukuh Village is a fertile area with water sourced from the forest. According to the traditional leader, the ancestral figure of Sheikh Abdul Djalil is believed to be the founder of the Dukuh Traditional Village. He is the one who brings teachings and goodness to the Dukuh Traditional Village. The tomb of Sheikh Abdul Djalil is also in this forest. It is located at the top of the entire level of the tomb. Therefore, there are forest rules and prohibitions. One of which is that the forest cannot be entered by anyone except on Saturdays when there are pilgrimage and funeral rituals.

A collection of residences with traditional architecture is located in the Dukuh *Tonggoh* area. This area is adjacent to the sacred forest and is bounded by hedges and bamboo that separate the sacred forest and the residential area of Dukuh *Landeuh*. Buildings on this land number no more than 40 houses. This is due to limited land and a declining contoured site. The architecture of buildings in this area all use the same materials, namely wooden structures, walls made of woven bamboo, floors, and ceilings of flattened bamboo (called *palupuh*), and roof coverings from thatch. The land in this area is not private property, so it cannot be traded. However, the house can change hands by agreement. In this area, there are also shared buildings used by the Dukuh community, namely mosques, madrasah (Islamic schools), traditional halls, public latrines, traditional leaders' houses as reception houses, and ritual events. The ritual activity starts from Dukuh, and then goes to the sacred forest. The Dukuh *Tonggoh* area is not allowed to get access to electricity. The main activity in Dukuh *Tonggoh* is worship so the socio-cultural life of the community is far from modernization. A person or a small group (family) who wants to live in this area must be with the permission of the traditional leader with the provision and ability to comply with all the rules that apply therein. In addition to the ban on using electricity and tools, this area prohibits people from trading within the fence boundary and prohibits working as government employees.

Towards the bottom area, there is Dukuh *Landeuh*. Although it has the same basic rules of belief as Dukuh *Tonggoh*, the rules are more flexible in this area than in Dukuh *Tonggoh*. The land in this area is also not as steep as Dukuh *Tonggoh*. The architecture in this area is also more modern and diverse. In this area, there is access to electricity and people can use modern tools. The people's livelihood is also diverse such as trading, farming, drivers, government employees, etc. They can peddle their wares in stalls or on the house's terrace. Some residents have pools that can be taken directly from the results.

The Role of Forests and Village Environment

The people of Dukuh Village depend greatly on the forest and its environment. The daily life of the community is carried out in the village environment. Green lands such as forests, fields, and protected trees are the source of life for the people of Dukuh Village. Although the people in Dukuh *Landeuh* have more diverse livelihoods, the entire community has great respect for green land, especially sacred forests. It becomes a source of water for its people. According to Lukmanul Hakim (interview 15 March 2021), the community adheres to the principle of life, namely protecting Nature by making the forest a trust and dividing the area into covered, entrusted, arable, restricted and reserve land. The division of the area regulates and divides the land into 5 different actions or treatments with different functions, arrangements, procedures, activities and rules. Local institutions carry out forest protection as a source of water belonging together and to maintain the existence of forests. In certain cultures, the values of Nature conservation as a source of clean water are carried out with confidence in the relational value of the existence of forests as sacred and sanctified with rules, behaviors, and sanctions that must be obeyed or feared (Hakim et al., 2023; Htoo et al., 2023; Melaku et al., 2023). Therefore, there is the emergence of community settlements close to forests such as the Dukuh Traditional Village.

For the Dukuh community, the forest is the source of life in a spiritual sense. They believe that this Dukuh forest is the origin of the source of land and water sown and planted by ancestors who came from the holy land of Mecca (interview: Lukmanul Hakim (traditional leader of Dukuh Village)). This belief is also associated with the holy book of their religion, which guides humans to maintain, cultivate, and make the best use of Nature. From this, it is applied to several soil functions: cover land, prohibition land, arable land, entrusted land, and reserve land. The function of the land has different backgrounds, rules, processing, and activities. This becomes the knowledge and local wisdom of the people of Dukuh Village in protecting their environment.

There are rules prohibiting anyone from entering forest areas to maintain the security of sacred forest spaces. The boundary of the ban is marked by bamboo fences and rows of plants with a height of less than 1 meter. Although the fence is easy to pass, it serves as a differentiator of interests between spaces. The area behind the fence is a marker of the level of privacy and sacredness of a space (Rapoport and Wohlwill, 1980; Hall, 1990; Lawson, 2001; Tambassi, 2018; Al Husban, Al Husban and Al Betawi, 2021). People and residents respect the area behind it because there are very strict rules to be able to enter the area. Boundaries in the forest provide specific criteria for who can enter the area and regulate behavior within it. Ancestral tomb artifacts and rituals within them are part of keeping humans behaving when within these limits. So indirectly the boundaries in the forest are protected and as a step in forest land conservation.

In addition to forests, land is used as a farming or livestock area. Like entrusted land, arable land, and reserve land, it is land for cultivation. Local knowledge of the community in cultivating the land is adjusted to the time and planting season. Crops in the fields such as bananas, palm trees, cassava, nuts, and forest honey become raw materials for producing processed foods. People of Dukuh Village can produce these raw materials traditionally at home. In providing side dishes, food at home is taken from the home environment, such as chicken, fish, and vegetables.

Development of the Lifestyle of the People

In its development, culture is dynamic and always follows the context. Although its geographical presence is far from the hustle and bustle of the government center, Dukuh Village also experiences external influences. It is well-known as a village that still holds traditions and is believed to have ancestral grace. This village is considered sacred and one of them is through pilgrimage rituals. It is believed that a background from the history and culture of the place of worship is present, thus attracting people who want to get good from the pilgrimage (Romanelli et al., 2021; Uhrin and Bužeková, 2022).

The pilgrimage ritual is carried out only in the sacred forest of Dukuh Village and takes place every Saturday. This pilgrimage ritual attracts visitors outside the area to carry out various processions that apply in the sacred space. Traditional rituals take place on Friday evenings. Meanwhile, the main ritual held on Saturdays is the pilgrimage to the grave of Sheikh Abdul Djalil, a figure respected as the founder of Dukuh Village. From the results of interviews with pilgrimage visitors who came from outside the village, they believed that the figures in the tomb had *wasilah* [intermediary] and nobility so that visitors could pray at the tomb and find a way out of their problems. The ritual takes place in a sacred forest area with rules. Only people who meet certain requirements are allowed to enter and take part in the ritual. Meanwhile, the preparation stages occur in the Dukuh Tonggoh area before the ritual procession. These pilgrims come to this village the day before the ritual, staying overnight in residents' houses.

As a cultural village, the facilities in this village are like a village in common. The community welcomes visitors as if they are welcoming guests. The community is open to welcoming pilgrims into people's homes. Pilgrimage rituals are often followed by a series of rituals the night before, so pilgrims often stay overnight in people's homes, either in the *Tonggoh* or *Landeuh* areas. Such an attitude is based on their principle which refers to the guidance in the scriptures that explain the exhortation to be kind, to glorify neighbors and guests. The Dukuh community provides shelter, food feasts, and so on that can help pilgrims. The interaction between visitors and the community is also open so that the influence of lifestyle, information, technology, and socio-economic also provides opportunities, changes, and even shifts in people's routine patterns.

The life pattern of Dukuh *Tonggoh* is included in the area of prohibited land. It means that some special rules and prohibitions apply to the area's boundaries. It becomes a sacred area, including the social life of its people. For visitors who enter this area, there is no special prohibition to leave electronic devices outside the area; it's just an appeal not to use them. Different areas of sacred forests straightforwardly prohibit this. As an open village, the community can directly interact with visitors. The influence of information technology and the increase in needs and lifestyles are the impacts of this openness. In addition, openness also provides opportunities to improve economic welfare and individual needs. The community runs home-based businesses such as producing snacks. People process and package traditional food simply in a home environment. The food is not only sold but also served to guests. The *Tonggoh* community also began to carry out trading activities to meet visitors' needs such as instant food and drinks and souvenir trading. The impact is that the environment gets dirty and filled with plastic waste. In addition, community and pilgrim activities in this area are focused on ritual activities and buying and selling transactions. Electronic devices such as electric lights and mobile phones have also begun to be used in this area. However, electric charging is carried out outside the Dukuh *Tonggoh* area.

Dukuh *Landeuh* is the opening area for the settlement of Dukuh Village. This area is the receiving area for visitors. This area is not included in the prohibited land, so there are no customary prohibitions for using electronic devices, buying and selling, or jobs such as government employees. Dukuh *Landeuh* has access to electricity, and people can use electronic devices. Residents and visitors who have motorized vehicles often bring vehicles to this area. The open field becomes a parking lot for visitors and residents' houses are also temporary residences/homestays for visitors from outside Dukuh. This series of pilgrimage rituals in the sacred forest is an opportunity for the community to interact with the outside world through pilgrimage visitors. *Landeuh* area is also an attraction for visitors because electricity, lighting,

and other supporting facilities can be obtained there. Just like in Dukuh *Tonggoh*, *Landeuh* residents also produce snacks traditionally. Food ingredients are also obtained from the surrounding environment. The residents' livelihoods are also diverse, such as trading in the village environment and so on. Technology in building construction structures is also widely applied to houses in Dukuh *Landeuh*, such as using various materials such as glass, concrete, wood, bricks, tiles, and so on.

The development of the lifestyle of the people of Dukuh Village moves like the social life of the community in general. Visually and physically, Dukuh *Landeuh* has various forms than Dukuh *Tonggoh*. People of Dukuh *Landeuh* also have a variety of livelihoods, as well as ownership of personal belongings. While the rules that apply to the prohibited land in Dukuh *Tonggoh*, form the same form and lifestyle of the people while in the area. The openness of the community, both in *Tonggoh* and in *Landeuh*, makes the community very good at interacting with visitors. So some activities of the *Tonggoh* community began to be carried out in their environment such as trading which was often only done when the village was crowded. Likewise, other needs have started to increase such as the use of electronic devices.

Community Adaptation Through 'Inside' and 'Outside' Cultural Spaces

Two forms of settlement in Dukuh Village place their people in two different zones with distinctive cultural expressions in each zone. Dukuh *Tonggoh* places the belief system as the most important shaper of cultural space. The placement of worship and ritual spaces and community activities position the *Tonggoh* space as a sacred space. History and ritual space was built in the *Tonggoh* area. The traditional leader as the leader of all activities, resides in the *Tonggoh* area. *Tonggoh* settlement is also a residential area that guards sacred forests. Forest protection is a way of forest conservation through prohibitions and special rules, as well as care that can only be touched by special people from *Tonggoh*. According to Syafe'i (interview, 16 March 2021), this illustrates community harmony and the attitude of protecting the forest without disturbing ritual processions. Apart from that, based on customary rules for the *Tonggoh* area, the forest boundary can only be crossed by those who meet special requirements, namely the people of Dukuh *Tonggoh*.

The boundaries that have been formed separate the territory and cultural space of the two. The *Tonggoh* boundary is guarded with rules and guidelines and screens people who have the right to live and worship in it. Based on the narrative of the traditional leader, *Tonggoh* as the inside boundary and also the boundary of the customary forest can only be passed by people who are not civil servants, and are sacred and renounce worldly attributes, such as watches, jewelry and so on. This means that *Tonggoh* becomes a more private and guarded choice. Land with an upper position and limited makes *Tonggoh* physically an area with a special order. This is similar to what Hall (1990) and Tuan (2001) said, which states that people adapt to build their residential environment following their natural geographical conditions and adapt to the space where they are located so that the physical form reflects their perception and culture. The community's perception prioritizes Nature as a source of life in this area. All buildings use natural materials and do not plant building structures into the ground. Walkways and soil retainers are also composed of natural stone without the help of cement. The guardrail is an arrangement of living plants and is not permanent. According to Rapoport (1969), the choice of such a location is more cultural because the position of the settlement and the ways of adaptation to its environment depend on community values, goals, ideals, history, or beliefs, so how to maintain it is based on the attachment of customs.

Based on this, those who want to live in the *Tonggoh* area must, with the permission of the traditional leader, comply with all the rules that apply to it. The purpose of choosing to live in this area is to improve the spirituality of individual life and also life in a neighboring community, which prioritizes religious life by maintaining sincerity, perseverance, and surrender. To achieve it all, customary rules in this area were created to maintain the sacredness of the 'inside' space. Individuals who want to improve their spirituality and are in this space must accept and adapt to these rules. Such circumstances make it a limited scope and remain with specific customs and rules. So, the sacredness of this *Tonggoh* area as a worship space for

the community. This deepest boundary settlement is a medium for carrying out community life based on religion. Houses are not permanent houses or private property but a place for humans to carry out worship rituals. Customary rules and prohibitions support the process of carrying out rituals or worship and are not coercive so there are no sanctions for violators.

The Dukuh *Landeuh* area is the outermost area of the Dukuh Traditional Village. The settlement can still expand from its current state and increase the number of buildings. In Dukuh *Landeuh*, the activities and livelihoods of the people are more diverse. The lifestyle of the people is close to technological development and has different regulatory provisions from the *Tonggoh* area. *Tonggoh* people are not limited to interacting with areas outside of them, so socialization, expression, lifestyle, and economic improvement can be carried out outside their territory while still based on customs. The Dukuh *Landeuh* community can interact with the outside community through various activities. The existence of electricity access only available in Dukuh *Landeuh* provides convenience for both the Dukuh community and tourists. The area of Dukuh *Landeuh* land is still large, allowing the creation of gathering points or the development of Dukuh Village facilities, such as land for drying planting products, parking lots, art fields, sports land, etc.

If *Landeuh* is the first recipient to receive an arrival from outside, then the *Tonggoh* part is the inside of *Landeuh* which is inside and above the Dukuh area. The physical boundary created by the community separates the forest area, and between *Tonggoh* and *Landeuh*. In contrast, the boundary of the *Landeuh* area with the outside does not exist. So the separation of *Tonggoh* and *Landeuh* can be said to be the separation of 'inside' and 'outside.' The attachment of customs through the rules and ordinances of the two also makes clear the different expressions. The 'inside' space area intersects with rituals carried out in the forest area, making this area a sacred area. The provisions of the 'inside' rule, namely *Tonggoh*, become the cultural construction and procedures of the community with a special level of limiting and choosing and sorting out the specificities that exist in it, while 'outside' is openness. 'Outside' is a medium for adaptation of the Dukuh community in carrying out community life that intersects with technology and economic improvement. The 'inside' and 'outside' spaces were created as a solution for the construction of cultural space for the people of Dukuh Village to continue to develop as a dynamic culture. This 'inside' and 'outside' separation is created by fences and ditches, but neighborly. Referring to this indigenous knowledge, it can be a strategic step for the community and the government in advancing and providing opportunities for the community to improve the economy. Community-based development is reminded again to maintain the values of rituals, rules, and life customs of the community.

The construction of this space needs to be mapped so that there is no shift, mixing, or potential change in customary values. Based on the previous explanation by referring to the current factual conditions, the influence of Dukuh ritual migrants has an impact on environmental damage by increasing non-organic waste and mixing ritual activities with buying and selling transactions in customary prohibition areas. So mapping is needed to create 'inside' and 'outside' spaces to maintain the existence and sustainability of the Dukuh Traditional Village. This is also an educational step for migrants or tourists to behave in sacred or public areas. So individuals or groups of people who come to this region who mainly aim to follow rituals must be aware of differences in cultural practices.

Through this step, the community is invited to adapt to the times but still maintain the positive values of their beliefs and customs. Through the 'inside' and 'outside' space, the government, cultural actors, and the community can raise the potential of the Dukuh area which is full of traditional rituals as an area for cultural advancement. The Dukuh area is not only used as an exploitation of forest ritual tourism targets but more than that it can involve and develop community resources through potential other cultural aspects such as local food processing, art, cultural rituals, and so on. This is also an adaptation of the community in a continuous learning process with various cultural developments while still maintaining the competence of local culture. Local cultural competence is maintained in the 'inside' space while improving community competence can be carried out in the 'outside' space. The adaptation of society to

run both sides in the 'inside' and 'outside' space can be done with the sustainability of existing values as follows;

Table 1: Adaptation of the Dukuh Traditional Village Community through 'inside' and 'outside' spatial arrangements
Source: Author

Dukuh Traditional Village			
No.	Cultural Elements	Outside (Dukuh <i>Landeuh</i>)	Inside (Dukuh <i>Tonggoh</i>)
1.	Belief System	Muslim Customary and religious rituals are jointly performed in the 'inside' area	Muslim Religious worship is carried out in mosques mainly by men Religious Rituals for Women in Madrasah (Islamic School) Observe prohibitions and customary rules in the 'inside' area and trust ancestral advice
2.	Livelihood	All Types of Jobs that are not prohibited by religion (Trading, Driver, Farming, and others)	Farming, raising fish, not a state/government employee, not trading in the Tonggoh settlement area
3	Architecture	Building materials are diverse/free (ceramic tiles, glass, wooden boards, concrete, and so on) The door of the house does not face the direction of the customary forest (cemetery/elder's grave) The latrine can be indoors or outdoors. Residents' homes	The building uses natural materials (wooden building structures, bamboo floors (called <i>palupuh</i>), walls of woven bamboo (cubicles), roofs of junk leaves) The door of the house does not face the tomb / sacred forest (cemetery/tomb of elders). The latrine is outside the house / public latrine. Mosques, madrasahs (Islamic School), custom leader's house, bale adat
4	Prohibitions & Customary rules	Not smuggling feet toward the sacred forest My own gold It is allowed to trade in residential environments. It is forbidden to enter the sacred forest except on Saturdays. Entering the customary forest is only for grave pilgrimages and traditional rituals.	Not smuggling feet toward the sacred forest It is forbidden to use gold It is not allowed to trade in residential environments. It is forbidden to enter the sacred forest except on Saturdays for traditional rituals Entering the customary forest is only for grave pilgrimages and traditional rituals, and some people specialize in repairing water source pipes.
5	Equipment	Has electricity Using modern tools (stoves, mobile phones, televisions, and others)	It has no electricity Do not use modern tools

The 'outside' and 'inside' areas of Dukuh Village are formed based on the pattern of life of the community. Historically, the journey and activities that overshadow it form the separation of profane and sacred spaces. Dukuh *Landeuh* as 'outside' became the profane space

of the Dukuh Traditional Village. Dukuh Tonggoh as 'inside' becomes its sacred space, which is the center of customary rituals, rules, and prohibitions based on the guidance of traditional elders and leaders. "Outside" and "inside" are a unified traditional village centered on the 'inside' as a point of return to the sacredness of Dukuh Traditional Village. The values of these customs become an attraction for seekers of sacred space. 'Inside' is a space and a place for the attainment of spirituality for anyone who can go through the activity and solemnly carry out the process. The places inside are not private property but as a medium in the process of spirituality.

The construction of cultural space through the provision of 'inside' and 'outside' spaces is the basis for structuring the potential of community-based Dukuh Village. The values of customs that rely on Nature are the main mainstay as a source of life. The Nature of natural development applied to the 'deep' area becomes the basis of the community's social life that works together and aims to unite the village. For example, the existence of bamboo fences / living plants or architecture made from Nature is one of the ideas of the cultural concept of Dukuh Village. It aims to unite its people through the ritual of changing fences in cooperation at a certain time or the embodiment of the same and fixed building products. It's like a picture of Tuan's explanation (2001) which mentions it as a religious act and indirectly as a way of architectural conservatism. This is also in most Sunda Villages a sustainable architectural concept, which comes from community housing and environmental management (Sudarwani, S and Renatta, 2023). The role of culture through rules becomes part of the adaptation step in a communal form, in this case, the position of 'in' as a sacred boundary with specific activities and people.

The two 'inside' and 'outside' spaces are separated by a natural fence that separates the two cultural spaces with the rules that apply behind them. However, the fence also plays a role in unifying the social life of the village community. According to Syafe'i (interview, 16 March 2021), the community always carries out a routine ritual or habit, namely replacing the bamboo boundary fence periodically at certain times. The material of the boundary fence is not permanent or massive so the length of time or durability of the material does not last long. This is a medium for people living both inside and outside to work together as one community of Dukuh Village. This also indirectly serves as an architectural conservation activity and an action in social life.



Fig. 2: The boundary fence in Dukuh Tonggoh: the 'inside' area of Dukuh Village
Sumber: Sriwardani, 2020-2021

Separation of the two areas is an adjustment to the situation and state of the cultural space created by forming different spatial and rules. It is stated that these rules are an adaptation of society to the environment that makes it a cultural process (Gerasimenko, 2020). It is reflected in the people of Dukuh Village, namely creating spatial space with traditional leaders as village leaders responsible for their territory. Based on the interviews with Lukmanul Hakim, a traditional leader (interview, 15 March 2021), the rules are implemented to maintain harmony in society and the sacredness of worship. Still, traditional leaders do not bind or limit their

communities from developing themselves. Thus, the rules regulate the behavior of citizens within specific boundaries but still give the option to choose where one wants to live. As mentioned, boundaries are an architectural element that separates, as well as gives expression and classification to, the space behind them and the psychological impact that regulates behavior behind the boundaries (Lawson, 2001; Ozakin and Lewis, 2006).

Construction is the basis for sustainable design of village development so that all people can feel the activity by being in the right space, and there is no mixing of activities that can shift the clarity of spatial planning. The movement of an activity is a reflection of an idea that provides a spatial experience. The sacred space in the 'inside' area leads people to behave more respectfully, adapting to the awareness of differences in cultural practices. As mentioned earlier, the provisions in the 'inside' do not bind the community with ownership in the 'inside', so it does not indirectly prohibit the introduction of technology and the improvement of their standard of living. So the 'inside' mapping, namely Tonggoh as a fixed space, is a limited and sacred land, and community activities and actors in its act and process to reach the spiritual level.

Indigenous leaders play a role in protecting their communities through rules passed down from generation to generation. Rules are not coercive or binding but are believed and built on people's consciousness. The character of society attached to the value of these customs also needs to be in line with science and technology as the rights of citizens. Both can go hand in hand through proper activity and space placement. The 'outside' space is the response of the people of Dukuh Village (whether they live 'inside' or 'outside') to carry out all livelihood activities and access to technology. The 'inside' space is a potential attraction of sacred and 'outside' space bridges needs through facilities and infrastructure for the Hamlet community and tourists. In addition to Nature and traditional rituals, the daily activities of community life can be a potential for migrants who want to experience life in the environment of the Dukuh Traditional Village. Opportunities or ideas for the development of 'outside' spaces, namely activities and areas for buying and selling/trading transactions, open field areas, parking areas, waste processing areas, public bathroom and toilet areas, halfway houses, processed food production houses, micro, small and medium enterprises, traditional information houses of Dukuh Village, art houses, and so on. This idea certainly involves the role of the community as the main actor in advancing its territory with local values.

Conclusions

In this village, the adaptation of society through 'inside' and 'outside' spaces within the boundaries of *Tinggoh* and *Landeuh* is the basis of the concept of cultural construction. Community adaptation in creating 'inside' and 'outside' cultural spaces is a separation of spatial functions, properties, and activities. The 'inside' space is sacred because, at the boundaries of the 'inside' space, the priority activity is worship. The 'inside' space is a spiritual space where various traditional and religious rituals are held and is in direct contact with the sacred forest area where pilgrimage rituals take place. There are special rules and prohibitions that encourage the public and visitors to behave respectfully towards the 'inside' space. The physical form of buildings and lifestyles are limited in order to maintain harmony in the community. Possession of electronic items and certain types of work are prohibited in this area. Meanwhile, 'outside' space is a space for community adaptation to innovate and accept external influences such as science and technology. This external influence cannot be avoided because visitors from outside the village bring new cultures so that the people of Dukuh will also feel science and technology. In the 'outside' space, people have electronic devices, various types of work, and various forms of buildings. Although there are rules that apply across the board in both villages, the separation of 'inside' and 'outside' space is also a way to unite the social life of the community. Through the dividing boundaries, mutual cooperation activities are always carried out routinely. Rituals become a means of unification; village ritual activities are carried out in the 'inside' space.

Maintaining physical and special habits in the 'inside' space is not forcing the 'inside' occupants but maintaining local values and competencies. Boundaries are not a closure or limit

the space for movement of one area, but aim to maintain the essence of customary values. Adaptation through 'inside' and 'outside' is also a solution for all the people of Dukuh Traditional Village to access information and technology and improve the economy while remaining based on people and customs. Community adaptation through 'inside' and 'outside' is also a mapping of cultural space that aims to maintain the natural potential and sacred space of Dukuh Traditional Village while providing space for the community to continue to innovate. Sacred activities are carried out only in the 'inside' space. Activities unrelated to worship rituals and customary prohibition rules can be carried out in the 'outside' space. Continuous mapping of the 'inside' and 'outside' zones can be a reference in finding solutions to environmental problems and sustainable developments so that they can be placed functionally in the right space.

References

- Afon, A. O. & Adebara, T. M. (2022) Socio-cultural Utilization of Open Spaces in the Traditional Residential Neighborhood of Ile-Ife, Nigeria, *Space and Culture* 25(1) pp. 33–51. doi: 10.1177/1206331219874698.
- Aiello, J. R. & Thompson, D. E. (1980) Personal Space, Crowding, and Spatial Behavior in a Cultural Context, in *Human Behavior and Environment (Advances in Theory and Research) Volume 4 Environment and Culture*. New York: Plenum Press pp. 107–178.
- Aksa, F. I. and Afrian, R. (2022) Community adaptation strategies toward tidal flood: A Case study in Langsa, Indonesia, *Jamba: Journal of Disaster Risk Studies* 14(1) pp. 1–8. doi: 10.4102/JAMBA.V14I1.1258.
- Arismunandar, A. (ed.) (2011) *Profil Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala di Jawa Barat. Dalam Khasanah Sejarah dan Budaya*. 2nd edn, Bandung: Barat, Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Provinsi Jawa.
- Bennett, J. W. (1980) Human Ecology as Human Behaviour, in *Human Behavior and Environment (Advances in Theory and Research) Volume 4 Environment and Culture (4th ed.)*, SpringerScience+Business MediaNew York, pp. 243–277. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4899-0451-5>.
- Caamaño-franco, I. and Suárez, M. A. (2020) The value assessment and planning of industrial mining heritage as a tourism attraction: The case of Las Médulas cultural space, *Land* 9(11) pp. 1–22. doi: 10.3390/land9110404.
- Cho, S., Youn, Y. C. and Kweon, D. (2022) Horizontal Cooperation among Communities and Governments for Sustainable Village Woodlands in Wando County, South Korea, *International Forestry Review* 24(3) pp. 315–329. doi: 10.1505/146554822835941850.
- Chung, H. and Lee, J. (2021) A study on cultural urban regeneration using modern industrial resources: Focusing on the site-specific cultural places of gunsan, south korea, *Land* 10(11). doi: 10.3390/land10111184.
- Currie, M. & Correa, M. M. (2022) Tangibles, intangibles and other tensions in the Culture and Communities Mapping Project, *Cultural Trends Taylor & Francis*, 31(1) pp. 88–106. doi: 10.1080/09548963.2021.1910491.
- Erdoğan, N. (2017) Cultural Traditions and Domestic Space: Ağaçbekler Home, *SAGE Open* 7(3) pp. 1–16. doi: 10.1177/2158244017732815.
- Fibrianto, A. S. (2020) Management model of ecotourism-based forest village community land to increase local economic in Karanganyar, Indonesia, *Geojournal of Tourism and Geosites*, 37(3), pp. 934–942. doi: 10.30892/gtg.37327-729.
- Galappaththi, E. K., Ford, J. D. & Bennett, E. M. (2020) Climate change and adaptation to social-ecological change: the case of indigenous people and culture-based fisheries in Sri Lanka, *Climatic Change* 162(2) pp. 279–300. doi: 10.1007/s10584-020-02716-3.
- Gerasimenko, T. I. (2020) Main factors in the transformation of regional and ethnic identity, South of Russia: *Ecology, Development* 15(3) pp. 144–154. doi: 10.18470/1992-1098-2020-3-144-154.
- Guo, W. *et al.* (2019) The evolution of cultural space in a World Heritage Site: Tourism sustainable development of Mount Wuyi, China, *Sustainability (Switzerland)* 11(15).

- doi: 10.3390/su11154025.
- Guodaar, L., Bardsley, D. K. & Suh, J. (2021) Indigenous adaptation to climate change risks in northern Ghana, *Climatic Change*, 166(1–2). doi: 10.1007/s10584-021-03128-7.
- Hakim, A. L. *et al.* (2023) Protected spring and sacred forest institutions at the instrumental — relational value interface, *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*. Elsevier, 62, p. 101292. doi: 10.1016/j.cosust.2023.101292.
- Hall, E. T. (1990) *The Hidden Dimension*, USA: Anchor Books. Available at: <https://www.ptonline.com/articles/how-to-get-better-mfi-results>.
- Hilman, I. and Hendriawan, N. (2017) Local Wisdom of Indigenous Community of Kampung Dukuh as Culture Preservation in Ciroyom Village, Cikelet district, Garut Regency, West Java Province, in *IOP Conf. Series: Earth and Environmental Science*. doi: 10.1177/1206331215595751 sac.sagepub.com.
- Htoo, M. H. C., Steenhuisen, B. and Verschuuren, B. (2023) Different Natures of Reality Inform Different Realities of Nature: What Karen Perceptions of Forest Reveal about Nature Conservation in Indigenous Contexts, *Conservation and Society* 21(1) pp. 28–37. doi: 10.4103/cs.cs_83_21.
- Hu, X. *et al.* (2019) Multi-dimensionality and the totality of rural spatial restructuring from the perspective of the rural space system: A case study of traditional villages in the ancient Huizhou region, China, *Habitat International*. Elsevier Ltd, 94(1), p. 102062. doi: 10.1016/j.habitatint.2019.102062.
- Al Husban, S. A. M., Al Husban, A. A. S. and Al Betawi, Y. (2021) The Impact of the Cultural Beliefs on Forming and Designing Spatial Organizations, Spaces Hierarchy, and Privacy of Detached Houses and Apartments in Jordan, *Space and Culture* 24(1) pp. 66–82. doi: 10.1177/1206331218791934.
- Ikudayisi, A. E. and Odeyale, T. O. (2021) Designing for Cultural Revival: African Housing in Perspective, *Space and Culture* 24(4), pp. 617–634. doi: 10.1177/1206331218825432.
- Jirata, T. J. (2019) The cultural spaces of young children: Care, play and learning patterns in early childhood among the Guji people of Ethiopia, *Global Studies of Childhood* 9(1) pp. 42–55. doi: 10.1177/2043610618817317.
- Khamdevi, M. (2023) The Characteristics and Linkages between Traditional Houses : Mandailing ’ s Bagas Godang and Minangkabau ’ s Luhak Agam in Indonesia, *Journal of the International Society for the Study of Vernacular Settlements (ISVS)* 10(7), pp. 491–511.
- Kokko, A. K. and Hirsto, L. (2021) From physical spaces to learning environments: processes in which physical spaces are transformed into learning environments, *Learning Environments Research*. Springer Netherlands, 24(1) pp. 71–85. doi: 10.1007/s10984-020-09315-0.
- Lawson, B. (2001) *The Language of Space*. Oxford: Architectural Press. doi: 10.4324/9780080509969.
- Lemy, D. M., Pramono, R. and Juliana (2022) ‘Acceleration of Environmental Sustainability in Tourism Village’, *International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning*, 17(4), pp. 1273–1283. doi: 10.18280/ijstdp.170425.
- Manuamorn, O. P., Biesbroek, R. and Cebotari, V. (2020) ‘What makes internationally-financed climate change adaptation projects focus on local communities? A configurational analysis of 30 Adaptation Fund projects’, *Global Environmental Change*. Elsevier Ltd, 61(July 2019), p. 102035. doi: 10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2020.102035.
- Melaku, A., Ivars, J. P. and Sahle, M. (2023) ‘The state-of-the-art and future research directions on sacred forests and ecosystem services’, *Environmental Management*, 71(6), pp. 1255–1268. doi: 10.1007/s00267-023-01790-4.
- Ozakin, R. and Lewis, J. R. (2006) ‘Boundaries and the meaning of social space: a study of Japanese house plans’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, pp. 91–104. doi: DOI:10.1068/d62j.
- Rapoport, A. (1969) *House Form and Culture*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Rapoport, A. and Wohlwill, J. F. (1980) *Human Behavior and Environment (Advances in*

- Theory and Research) Volume 4 Environment and Culture*. 4th edn. New York: SpringerScience+Business MediaNew York. doi: 10.1007/978-1-4899-0451-5.
- Romanelli, M. *et al.* (2021) 'Towards a sustainability-oriented religious tourism', *Systems Research and Behavioral Science*, 38(3). doi: 10.1002/sres.2791.
- Saberifar, R. and Mishra, P. K. (2020) Analysis of national development using labour market model: A case study of khaf, *Folia Geographica*, 62(1), pp. 5–20.
- Salura, P. (2007) *Menelusuri Masyarakat Tradisional Sunda*, Bandung: Cipta Sastra Salura
- Smutko, A., Asanov, Z. and Ergeshova, T. (2021) 'MODERNIZATION AND KYRGYZ TRADITIONAL SOCIETY', *EurasianUnionScientists*, 5(3(84)). doi: 10.31618/esu.2413-9335.2021.5.84.1302.
- Sriruk, C., Jaiarree, A. and Tanpichai, P. (2018) 'Cultural adaptation of community toward social impact from the policy on the Border Special Economic Zone: A case study of Tha Sai Luat community, Mae Sot district, Tak province', *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences*, 39, pp. 789–800.
- Sudawani, M. M., S, T. P. and Renatta, P. (2023) 'Blending Architecture with Nature : The Concept of Sundanese Architecture and its Applications in Contemporary Architecture in Kampung Naga , Indonesia', *Journal of the International Society for the Study of Vernacular Settlements (ISVS)*, 10(7), pp. 1–13.
- Taiban, S., Lin, H. N. and Ko, C. C. (2020) 'Disaster, relocation, and resilience: recovery and adaptation of Karamemedesane in Lily Tribal Community after Typhoon Morakot, Taiwan', *Environmental Hazards*. Taylor & Francis, 19(2), pp. 209–222. doi: 10.1080/17477891.2019.1708234.
- Tambassi, T. (2018) 'From Geographical Lines to Cultural Boundaries', *Rivista di estetica - Openedition Journals*, 67(Cultural exclusion and frontier zones ed.), pp. 150–164. doi: <https://doi.org/10.4000/estetica.2752>.
- Tamrakar, A. and Parajuli, R. R. (2019) 'Conservation of cultural heritage: Issues along the thapathali-teku stretch of the bagmati river in Kathmandu, Nepal', *Heritage*, 2(3), pp. 2228–2242. doi: 10.3390/heritage2030135.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (2001) *Space and Place The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Uhrin, M. and Bužeková, T. (2022) 'The Role of Subtle Signals Linked to Religious Rituals in the Evaluation of Newcomers by a Village Community', *Slovensky Narodopis*, 70(2), pp. 210–227. doi: 10.31577/SN.2022.2.19.
- Zheng, J. *et al.* (2022) 'Research on the spatial behavior conflict in suburban village communities based on GPS tracking and cognitive mapping', *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*. Taylor & Francis, 21(6), pp. 2605–2620. doi: 10.1080/13467581.2021.1971680.

List of Sources/Informants:

- Mama Lukmanul Hakim, a leader of Dukuh Village, was interviewed on March 15 2021 at the Indigenous Land of Dukuh *Tonggoh* Village.
- Syafe'I, a resident of Dukuh *Dalam* Village, was interviewed on March 16, 2021, at Mr. Husen's house, Dukuh *Landeuh* Village.