



# ***Padaleman Karuhun and Songko as Indigenous Spatial Planning Logic: A Phenomenological Study***

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**Abstract.** *Across Southeast Asia, indigenous settlements are not merely places of habitation but living spatial systems in which moral order, ecological ethics, customary authority, and intergenerational knowledge are embedded in everyday practices. Yet these systems remain insufficiently recognized in contemporary settlement planning, heritage conservation, and customary land governance, where interventions frequently privilege technocratic approaches over locally embedded spatial knowledge. This study examines Kampung Adat Kuta (West Java) and Nagari Panti Selatan (West Sumatra): the former a vertically organized sacred-ecological system rooted in Sundanese cosmology, the latter a horizontally structured socio-institutional system grounded in Minangkabau matrilineal tradition. Using a comparative qualitative approach grounded in Alfred Schutz's phenomenology, the research integrates in-depth interviews, participant observation, ritual documentation, and cultural mapping to examine how indigenous spatial meanings are produced, institutionalized, and transmitted across generations. The analysis shows that Inget Karuhun, Padaleman Karuhun, and Songko function not merely as cultural symbols but as indigenous spatial planning logics: Padaleman Karuhun organizes a settlement through a vertically integrated sacred-ecological hierarchy governed by ritual obligation and ancestral norms, while Songko structures a settlement through a horizontally integrated socio-spatial system based on matrilineal governance, communal institutions, and symbolic authority. These findings extend planning scholarship by showing that indigenous settlements embody coherent systems relevant to settlement planning, heritage conservation, and customary land governance, and propose indigenous spatial planning logic as an ontological planning perspective that recognizes indigenous settlements as living planning systems rather than cultural landscapes or heritage objects.*

**Keywords.** *Padaleman Karuhun; Songko; indigenous spatial planning; heritage conservation; participatory planning.*

## **Introduction**

Across Southeast Asia, indigenous settlements are not merely sites of habitation but living spatial ontologies where moral order, ecological ethics, and intergenerational knowledge are embedded in everyday practice. Yet technocratic planning paradigms systematically misrecognize these lifeworld-based systems as informal, irrational, or pre-modern (Watson, 2009; Roy, 2011; Escobar, 2018), reflecting a structural bias in which spatial knowledge is reduced to measurable

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physical configurations that exclude the embodied, cultural, and moral dimensions of space (Healey, 2007; Sandercock, 1998; Yiftachel, 2006).

Recent planning theory has moved beyond this limitation through communicative, relational, and postcolonial perspectives (Innes & Booher, 2010; Miraftab, 2009; Porter, 2010), yet these remain conceptually abstract and insufficiently grounded in empirical spatial practice, particularly within indigenous contexts (Barry & Porter, 2012; Watson, 2014). As a result, the ontological dimension of space—how it is lived, experienced, and morally constituted—thus remains under-theorized in mainstream discourse (Lefebvre, 1991; Tuan, 1977; Norberg-Schulz, 1980).

Recent planning scholarship in Indonesia has increasingly emphasized that local spatial knowledge, participatory mapping, and community-based spatial practices are important foundations for community planning, environmental governance, and conservation-oriented spatial decision-making. Furthermore, these studies highlight that customary spatial systems operate through locally embedded norms, ecological restrictions, communal deliberation, and customary authority with direct implications for land-use control and indigenous community welfare (Akbar et al., 2020a; Hammar et al., 2021; Nirwansyah et al., 2025). Similarly, recent studies in the *Journal of Regional and City Planning* have shown that land development, settlement morphology, and community-based spatial transformation in Indonesia are shaped by interactions among formal planning instruments, informal practices, land status, and local institutions (Widya et al., 2025). These studies support treating indigenous settlements not only as anthropological objects but also as living spatial systems with direct relevance to settlement planning, heritage conservation, and customary land governance.

Within this context, indigenous settlements in Indonesia provide critical empirical grounds for rethinking spatial planning. In Kampung Adat Kuta (West Java), spatial organization is structured through *Inget Karuhun* and *Padaleman Karuhun*, which regulate ecological practice, ritual prohibition, and collective memory. Similarly, in Nagari Panti Selatan (West Sumatra), *Songko* operates as a socio-spatial institution grounded in matrilineal governance and symbolic authority. Both cases demonstrate that spatial order is enacted through intersubjective meanings, ethical obligations, and ancestral consciousness rather than physical arrangement alone (Rapoport, 1969; Oliver, 2006; Sillitoe, 2010).

These two cases were selected because they represent contrasting yet analytically comparable forms of indigenous spatial order. Kampung Adat Kuta exemplifies a vertically organized sacred–ecological spatial system rooted in Sundanese cosmology, where the relationship between settlement, sacred forest, ritual core, and everyday space is regulated through ancestral prohibitions, *pamali*, and moral obligations (Nisa, 2024; Nuraeni et al., 2025; Saraswati & Fardani, 2025; Hammar et al., 2021). In contrast, Nagari Panti Selatan offers a horizontally organized socio-institutional spatial system rooted in Minangkabau matrilineal traditions. Here, settlement order is structured through kinship authority, customary institutions, communal deliberation, and symbolic spatial anchors such as the *Rumah Gadang*, *surau*, *lapau*, and rice fields (Surya & Adhitama, 2021; Jingling, 2021; Faturahman et al., 2021; Putri, 2025).

Although these cases emerge from different ethnic traditions, they are comparable because both organize space through moral-spatial mechanisms rather than solely through formal planning instruments. In both settlements, spatial order is produced through customary authority, ritual practice, collective memory, intergenerational transmission, and locally embedded rules governing access, use, restriction, and meaning (Hammar et al., 2021; Adnan et al., 2026; Nirwansyah et al., 2025). The comparison thus does not aim to homogenize Sundanese and Minangkabau spatial traditions but to examine how two culturally distinct indigenous settlements

generate operational planning logics through different configurations of moral order, authority, ecology, and social relations.

This comparative framing is important for regional and city planning, because settlement planning, heritage conservation, and customary land governance often require more than technical zoning or administrative land classification. They require recognition of lived spatial knowledge, culturally embedded boundaries, ritualized access rules, ecological restrictions, and community-based decision-making mechanisms that are frequently absent from conventional spatial planning instruments (Akbar et al., 2020a; Sulistyawan et al., 2018; Nirwansyah et al., 2025). By positioning *Padaleman Karuhun* and *Songko* as indigenous spatial planning logics, this study contributes to a broader planning debate on how local spatial knowledge can inform more context-sensitive, participatory, and ethically grounded approaches to settlement governance and heritage-based spatial policy.

Despite their significance, such indigenous spatial systems are rarely theorized as planning systems in their own right; they are frequently reduced to ‘local wisdom’ or cultural artifacts rather than recognized as structured, operational spatial logics (Li, 2007; Scott, 1998). This reduction limits their theoretical contribution and perpetuates the marginalization of indigenous knowledge within formal planning (Smith, 2012; Escobar, 2018).

Addressing this gap, this study adopted Alfred Schutz’s phenomenology of the social world to examine how spatial meanings are typified, shared, and sustained across generations (Schutz, 1967; Schutz & Luckmann, 1973). Using a qualitative comparative approach, it was investigated how *Inget Karuhun*, *Padaleman Karuhun*, and *Songko* function as spatial typifications organizing moral conduct, social relations, and human–environment interactions. These dynamics are analyzed through Schutz’s temporal categories—*Vorwelt*, *Umwelt*, *Mitwelt*, and *Folgewelt*—to capture how spatial consciousness is reproduced across time.

This study addresses two key research questions: (1) how do indigenous spatial systems construct and sustain moral order through lived spatial practices and (2) how can these systems be conceptualized as alternative planning logics within contemporary planning theory?

This article argues that indigenous spatial systems are not alternative cultural expressions but fully operational planning logics, revealed empirically as moral infrastructures embedded in lived spatial practice; by reframing spatial systems as lifeworld-based and ethically constituted, the study positions indigenous knowledge as foundational rather than peripheral to planning theory. The subsequent discussion demonstrates how spatial forms in Kampung Adat Kuta and Nagari Panti Selatan regulate behavior, encode ethical relations, and sustain intergenerational continuity, providing an ontological basis for rethinking planning beyond technocratic paradigms.

## **Literature Review**

### ***Phenomenology of the Social World and Spatial Meaning***

Alfred Schutz’s phenomenology of the social world provides a critical epistemological foundation for understanding space as a lived, intersubjectively constituted reality rather than a neutral container (Schutz, 1967; Schutz & Luckmann, 1973). Within this framework, the lifeworld (*Lebenswelt*) is the domain of taken-for-granted meanings through which individuals reproduce social reality, and spatial meaning emerges through shared typifications reproduced across the *Vorwelt* (predecessors), *Umwelt* (immediate experience), *Mitwelt* (contemporaries), and *Folgewelt* (successors).

Recent developments in social phenomenology have extended Schutz's framework into spatial inquiry, emphasizing that social relations are embodied, emplaced, and materially mediated (Rotfuß & Dörfler, 2023; Seamon, 2018). Built environments are therefore not merely physical arrangements but are constituted through lived experience, habitual practice, and shared meanings that shape everyday conduct (Relph, 1976; Casey, 1997).

For indigenous and community-based planning contexts, this means that spatial meaning must be interpreted through the relationship between lived experience, local spatial knowledge, and collective decision-making processes (Akbar et al., 2020b; Nirwansyah et al., 2025; Hammar et al., 2021). Such an approach is essential for examining Kampung Adat Kuta and Nagari Panti Selatan, as both settlements organize space through inherited norms, customary authority, ritual practice, and shared memory rather than through formal zoning instruments alone.

### ***Place, Lifeworld, and the Social Production of Space***

The phenomenological understanding of space aligns with humanistic geography and place-based theory, which emphasize the experiential and existential dimensions of spatiality (Tuan, 1977; Relph, 1976). A place here is not merely a location but a center of meaning constructed through lived experience, memory, and attachment, acquiring significance through its capacity to support human dwelling and orientation (Casey, 1997; Norberg-Schulz, 1980). This insight is crucial for the present study because *Padaleman Karuhun* and *Songko* are not simply symbolic spatial expressions; they are place-based systems through which communities organize settlement, regulate social relations, protect ecological spaces, and maintain intergenerational continuity (Hammar et al., 2021; Akbar et al., 2020b).

### ***Indigenous Planning and Decolonial Perspectives***

A growing body of literature has critically examined the reliance of modern planning on technocratic rationality and state-centered governance (Watson, 2009; Roy, 2011). Such approaches marginalize indigenous knowledge as informal, non-rational, or peripheral, excluding indigenous spatial practice from institutional planning despite its long-standing role in organizing land, resources, and social relations (Scott, 1998; Porter, 2010).

Indigenous planning scholarship challenges this exclusion by arguing that indigenous communities possess their own planning systems, grounded in relational ontologies, customary governance, and ethical relations with the environment (Porter et al., 2017; Matunga, 2013). These are not merely cultural expressions but structured, operational frameworks for managing space and sustaining social order (Jojola, 2008; Walker et al., 2013). Decolonial perspectives extend this argument by emphasizing epistemic plurality and ontological diversity in planning theory (Escobar, 2018; Mignolo, 2011), reframing planning not as a universal system but as a pluriversal practice accommodating multiple ways of knowing, being, and dwelling in space (Miraftab, 2016; Smith, 2012).

In the Indonesian context, this debate is closely related to the recognition of indigenous peoples, customary land rights, and spatial planning arrangements that accommodate local wisdom and customary law (Hammar et al., 2021; Adnan et al., 2026). Studies on indigenous law communities in Indonesia show that spatial planning based on local wisdom can contribute to conflict resolution, community welfare, and the recognition of customary territories, particularly where formal planning systems do not fully capture locally embedded spatial rights and obligations (Hammar et al., 2021; Adnan et al., 2026).

Therefore, indigenous planning in Indonesia should be understood not only as a question of cultural representation but also as a question of land governance, settlement planning, environmental stewardship, and institutional recognition (Akbar et al., 2020a; Hammar et al., 2021; Nirwansyah et al., 2025). This perspective provides a stronger planning foundation for examining *Padaleman Karuhun* and *Songko* as indigenous spatial planning logics rather than merely as cultural concepts.

### ***Indonesian Customary Spatial Systems and Customary Land Governance***

Indonesian scholarship on customary spatial systems demonstrates that indigenous settlements are often governed through locally embedded spatial norms, ritual restrictions, kinship structures, ecological taboos, and customary institutions (Hammar et al., 2021; Adnan et al., 2026). These systems influence how communities define sacred spaces, settlement cores, access rules, ecological boundaries, and collective responsibilities in ways that are directly relevant to settlement planning and customary land governance.

Recent studies in Kampung Adat Kuta have shown that spatial management is strongly shaped by *pamali*, sacred ecological boundaries, ritual practices, and environmental ethics, which collectively function as informal but effective mechanisms of spatial regulation (Nisa, 2024). These findings are significant because they position Sundanese sacred landscapes not merely as cultural heritage but as moral-ecological spatial systems that regulate land use, forest protection, ritual access, and settlement behavior.

In the Minangkabau context, studies on *Rumah Gadang*, *surau*, *lapau*, and matrilineal spatial organization have demonstrated that built forms and settlement institutions are inseparable from kinship, deliberation, inheritance, gendered authority, and customary governance (Surya & Adhitama, 2021; Jingling, 2021; Faturahman et al., 2021). The *Rumah Gadang* operates not only as a dwelling but also as a symbolic and institutional space for matrilineal continuity, while *surau* and *lapau* function as socio-cultural spaces for learning, deliberation, and everyday social negotiation (Surya & Adhitama, 2021; Jingling, 2021).

### ***Cultural Landscape and Moral Order in Spatial Systems***

The concept of cultural landscape bridges phenomenology and indigenous planning by integrating the physical, social, and symbolic dimensions of space (Taylor & Lennon, 2011). Cultural landscapes are dynamic assemblages of ecological processes, social practice, and cultural meaning that, in many indigenous contexts, are structured by sacred sites, ritual, and customary rules regulating human–environment interaction (Antrop, 2005; UNESCO, 2012).

In the context of Indonesian **customary** settlements, cultural landscapes must therefore be understood as living systems of moral-spatial regulation rather than as static heritage objects (Nisa, 2024; Hammar et al., 2021). In Kampung Adat Kuta, sacred forest, ritual space, agricultural land, springs, and settlement zones form an integrated landscape governed by *pamali* and ancestral obligations; in Nagari Panti Selatan, ***Rumah Gadang***, *surau*, *lapau*, rice fields, and customary deliberation spaces form an institutional landscape grounded in matrilineal authority and communal negotiation.

By linking cultural landscape theory, Indonesian customary spatial systems, and recent planning literature on spatial knowledge, this study positions *Padaleman Karuhun* and *Songko* as moral infrastructures that have direct relevance for settlement planning, heritage conservation, and customary land governance (Akbar et al., 2020b; Nirwansyah et al., 2025; Hammar et al., 2021).

### ***Research Gap and Theoretical Positioning***

Despite advancements in phenomenology, humanistic geography, indigenous planning, and cultural landscape studies, planning theory still lacks sufficient integration of these strands. Most empirical studies do not explicitly connect social phenomenology with indigenous spatial systems to explain how moral order is constructed and sustained through spatial practice.

Likewise, Indonesian studies on customary spatial systems, customary land governance, Kampung Adat Kuta, and Minangkabau spatial organization provide important empirical insights into local spatial regulation, but they rarely articulate these systems as contributions to planning theory (Hammar et al., 2021; Surya & Adhitama, 2021; Jingling, 2021). This leaves an important theoretical gap between empirical studies of customary settlements and broader debates on indigenous spatial planning.

This study addressed this gap by bringing Schutz's phenomenology into dialogue with indigenous and decolonial planning perspectives, proposing that *Inget Karuhun*, *Padaleman Karuhun*, and *Songko* can be understood as spatial typifications that organize moral conduct, social relations, and human–environment interactions, and as moral infrastructures that regulate behavior, encode ethical relations, and sustain intergenerational continuity.

The contribution of this study is therefore twofold. First, it responds to recent planning scholarship by showing that local spatial knowledge and community-based spatial practices can form the basis of planning logic rather than merely serving as supporting data for formal planning (Akbar et al., 2020b; Nirwansyah et al., 2025). Second, it advances Indonesian planning scholarship by demonstrating that adat spatial systems such as Padaleman Karuhun and Songko provide operational frameworks for settlement organization, heritage conservation, ecological regulation, and customary land governance (Hammar et al., 2021; Jingling, 2021).

### **Methodology**

This study employed a comparative phenomenological case study design grounded in Alfred Schutz's social phenomenology to examine how *Inget Karuhun*, *Padaleman Karuhun*, and *Songko* structure spatial consciousness and the moral order in indigenous settlements. Schutz's framework—emphasizing lifeworld (*Lebenswelt*), intersubjectivity, typification, and temporal consciousness (*Vorwelt*, *Umwelt*, *Mitwelt*, *Folgewelt*)—provides the lens for interpreting spatial meaning as a lived, socially constituted reality (Schutz, 1967).

A comparative phenomenological design was employed since this study does not treat space merely as a physical object but as a lived spatial order produced through ritual practice, customary authority, ecological restriction, and everyday settlement experience. Kampung Adat Kuta and Nagari Panti Selatan were selected because they offer contrasting yet comparable indigenous spatial systems: Kampung Adat Kuta represents a vertically organized sacred–ecological order rooted in Sundanese cosmology, while Nagari Panti Selatan reflects a horizontally organized socio-institutional order grounded in Minangkabau matrilineal traditions.

Fieldwork was conducted in Nagari Panti Selatan, West Sumatra, from April to September 2023, and in Kampung Adat Kuta, West Java, from January to June 2025. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, ritual documentation, cultural mapping, customary narratives, and spatial sketches. This combination of interviews, observation, and cultural mapping is consistent with recent planning studies showing that spatial knowledge and

participatory mapping can strengthen community planning, environmental interpretation, and conservation-oriented spatial decision-making in Indonesia (Akbar et al., 2020a; Nirwansyah et al., 2025).

Informants were selected through purposive and snowball sampling based on their customary roles, ritual knowledge, involvement in settlement practices, and experience with sacred, ecological, domestic, and institutional spaces. The respondent categories, number of respondents, fieldwork period, and empirical contributions are summarized in Table 1 below.

**Table 1.** Respondent Categories, Fieldwork Period, and Empirical Contributions

| Respondent Category                         | Kampung Adat Kuta, West Java Jan–Jun 2025 | Empirical Contribution from Kampung Adat Kuta                                                                                                                                      | Nagari Panti Selatan, West Sumatra Apr–Sep 2023 | Empirical Contribution from Nagari Panti Selatan                                                                                                               |
|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Customary authority and ritual leadership   | 3                                         | It provided narratives on <i>Inget Karuhun</i> , <i>Padaleman Karuhun</i> , <i>pamali</i> , sacred-space authority, ritual obligations, and rules governing <i>Leuweung Gede</i> . | 6                                               | It explained <i>Songko</i> , <i>niniak mamak</i> , matrilineal authority, customary deliberation, <i>Alek Nagari</i> , and <i>Batagak Pangulu</i> .            |
| Sacred/ecological space users               | 3                                         | It explained everyday relations with <i>Leuweung Gede</i> , springs, agricultural spaces, taboo zones, and ecological restrictions.                                                | 5                                               | It explained rice fields, lineage land, productive landscapes, customary ecological responsibilities, and everyday land-use practices.                         |
| Women and household/lineage actors          | 3                                         | It explained ritual preparation, domestic spatial practices, transmission of <i>pamali</i> , household memory, and intergenerational adat learning.                                | 5                                               | It explained the role of the <i>Rumah Gadang</i> , matrilineal inheritance, household authority, kinship continuity, and women's role in spatial reproduction. |
| Youth and intergenerational actors          | 4                                         | It explained how sacred-space rules, ritual meanings, and adat knowledge are learned, remembered, negotiated, or transformed by younger generations.                               | 3                                               | It explained everyday learning through <i>surau</i> , <i>lapau</i> , family narratives, customary events, and youth participation in spatial practices.        |
| Community mapping participants/local guides | 2                                         | It identified sacred boundaries, ritual routes, settlement cores, ecological zones, and meaningful places through sketch mapping                                                   | 2                                               | It identified <i>Rumah Gadang</i> , <i>surau</i> , <i>lapau</i> , rice fields, lineage spaces, ritual routes, and socio-spatial anchors of <i>Songko</i> .     |

| Respondent Category | Kampung Adat Kuta, West Java Jan–Jun 2025 | Empirical Contribution from Kampung Adat Kuta | Nagari Panti Selatan, West Sumatra Apr–Sep 2023 | Empirical Contribution from Nagari Panti Selatan |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
|                     |                                           | and walking observation.                      |                                                 |                                                  |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>15</b>                                 |                                               | <b>21</b>                                       |                                                  |

As shown in Table 1, the respondent distribution was designed to include both customary authority and everyday settlement actors in each field site. The 15 interviews in Kampung Adat Kuta and 21 interviews in Nagari Panti Selatan were considered sufficient because thematic saturation was reached when repeated patterns emerged across key themes, including sacred spatial core, customary authority, ecological **restrictions**, ritual **practices**, spatial typification, intergenerational transmission, and community motivation. Saturation was assessed not as a fixed numerical target but rather as the repetition and confirmation of analytical themes across interviews, observations, cultural mapping, and community validation (Hennink & Kaiser, 2022).

The interviews focused on six themes: spatial memory and ancestral narrative; sacred and ordinary spatial boundaries; customary rules governing access and land use; ritual practice and spatial sequence; customary institutions in settlement governance; and the intergenerational transmission of spatial knowledge. Participant observation examined how these meanings were enacted in practice at each site.

Cultural mapping was conducted through three steps. First, participants identified meaningful places, sacred boundaries, ritual routes, ecological zones, and customary institutions through sketch mapping and narrative explanation. Second, walking observation with local guides was conducted to compare mapped meanings with actual spatial practices. Third, preliminary spatial interpretations were discussed again with selected participants and customary authorities for validation. This procedure ensured that cultural mapping was treated not merely as technical mapping but as an interpretive method for understanding lived spatial knowledge.

Data analysis followed a hermeneutic phenomenological procedure. Interview transcripts, field notes, ritual documentation, and cultural maps were coded. The coding process consisted of three levels. Initial coding identified empirical expressions such as ancestral prohibition, ritual route, sacred forest, kinship authority, ecological boundary, deliberation space, and intergenerational transmission. Axial coding grouped these codes into broader analytical categories, including spatial core, sacred/ecological system, customary governance, ritual practice, object typification, form typification, experiential typification, and community motivation. Schutzian interpretation then connected these categories with *Vorwelt*, *Umwelt*, *Mitwelt*, and *Folgewelt* to explain how spatial meanings are inherited, enacted, shared, and projected across generations.

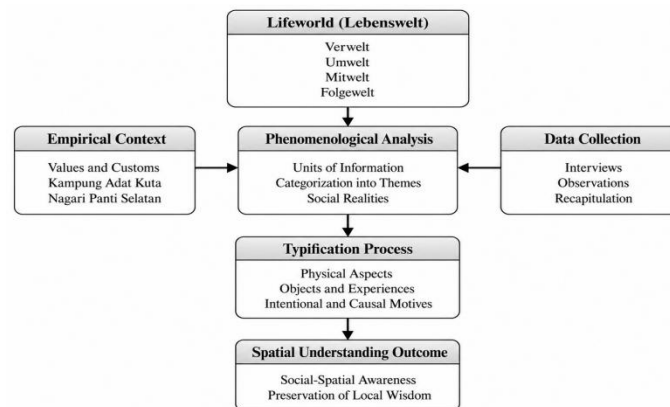
Table 2 presents the methodological alignment between research focus, data sources, Schutzian categories, main codes, and empirical indicators. The table was added to clarify how empirical materials were transformed into analytical findings.



**Table 2.** Methodological Alignment

| Research Focus                         | Data Sources                                                                                      | Schutzian Category              | Main Codes                                                                      | Empirical Indicators                                                                                              | Analytical Output                                                                                                        |
|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ancestral foundations of spatial order | Interviews, customary narratives, genealogical memory                                             | <i>Vorwelt</i>                  | Ancestral memory, inherited prohibition, origin narrative, customary obligation | <i>Karuhun</i> , <i>pamali</i> , lineage memory, origin stories, inherited rules                                  | Interpretation of how inherited meanings structure <i>Inget Karuhun</i> , <i>Padaleman Karuhun</i> , and <i>Songko</i> . |
| Everyday enactment of spatial rules    | Participant observation, walking observation, ritual documentation, fieldnotes                    | <i>Umwelt</i>                   | Everyday access rule, ritual movement, farming restriction, spatial boundary    | Sacred forest access, ritual routes, settlement boundaries, rice-field practices                                  | Explanation of how moral-spatial rules are practiced in settlement life.                                                 |
| Intersubjective settlement governance  | Interviews with customary actors, women, youth, and residents; observation of deliberation spaces | <i>Mitwelt</i>                  | Customary authority, kinship relation, deliberation space, institutional anchor | <i>Pangraksas</i> , <i>niniak mamak</i> , <i>Rumah Gadang</i> , <i>surau</i> , <i>lapau</i> , and ritual meetings | Analysis of how social relations and customary institutions organize spatial meaning.                                    |
| Projected ethical continuity           | Community validation, youth narratives, and ecological stewardship narratives                     | <i>Folgewelt</i>                | Preservation duty, ecological inheritance, transmission to youth                | Forest protection, teaching adat, youth participation, future-oriented customary obligations                      | Interpretation of how spatial knowledge is transmitted to future generations.                                            |
| Comparative indigenous planning logic  | Cross-case matrix, cultural maps, coded themes                                                    | Comparative Schutzian synthesis | Vertical sacred–ecological order; horizontal socio-institutional order          | <i>Kuta</i> as a sacred–ecological hierarchy; <i>Panti</i> as a socio-institutional spatial order                 | Conceptualization of <i>Kuta</i> and <i>Panti</i> as indigenous spatial planning logics.                                 |

Ethical considerations were integrated throughout. Approval was obtained from institutional and local customary authorities, including the *karuhun* council and *kerapatan adat nagari*; participants provided informed consent; and cultural protocols governing sacred spaces, ritual knowledge, and gendered access were respected. Community validation ensured interpretive accuracy and epistemic accountability.



**Figure 1.** Conceptual framework of phenomenological spatial analysis.

Figure 1 presents the conceptual framework connecting empirical context, data collection, phenomenological analysis, typification processes, and spatial understanding outcomes. This methodological design allows the study to examine indigenous spatial systems as lived, intersubjective, and morally structured forms of settlement governance.

## Findings

The findings are presented in three parts. The first part discusses Kampung Adat Kuta as a sacred–ecological settlement system shaped by *Inget Karuhun* and *Padaleman Karuhun*. The second part discusses Nagari Panti Selatan as a socio-institutional settlement system shaped by *Songko*, matrilineal authority, and everyday practices of *bosamo*. The final part compares the two cases to identify the main finding of the study: that both settlements operate as indigenous spatial planning logics, although through different moral-spatial configurations.

### *Kampung Adat Kuta: Padaleman Karuhun as a Sacred–Ecological Settlement Logic*

Kampung Adat Kuta is organized through a spatial consciousness inseparable from ancestral memory. In daily speech, ritual practice, and customary regulation, *Inget Karuhun* expresses this consciousness as a moral orientation to remember, respect, and obey ancestral values. Within this worldview, *Padaleman Karuhun* is not merely a sacred site but the moral-spatial core through which settlement order, ecological ethics, ritual obligation, and community identity are reproduced.

The moral meaning of adat was expressed by a customary leader who stated:

*“Customs or traditions are inheritances that must be maintained, in which there are values of education, teaching, and rules/manners.”* (Interview, KAK-01, customary leader, 2025)

This statement shows that adat is understood not only as an inherited tradition but also as a mandate, education, moral cultivation, and rule of conduct. It guides how people build houses, enter sacred places, treat the forest, participate in rituals, and maintain relations with other community members. In this sense, adat operates as a lived moral framework that structures the spatial lifeworld of Kampung Adat Kuta.

A sacred forest guardian explained the meaning of *Leuweung Gede* in a direct and powerful expression:

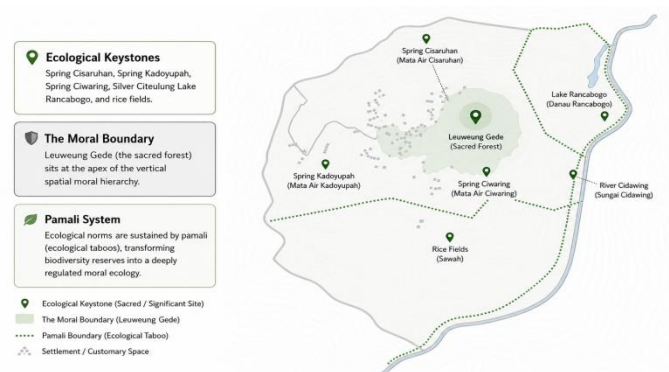
“*This forest is the source of life. If it is damaged, it means that our village will also be damaged.*” (Interview, KAK-04, sacred forest guardian, 2025)

The quotation demonstrates that forest protection in Kuta is grounded in moral responsibility. The forest is protected not simply because it has ecological value but because it is understood as part of the ancestral order that sustains the life of the kampung.

The same moral-ecological relation is found in water sources. *Mata Air Ciasihan* and *Kadayeuhluhan* are not only sources of water but also spaces of affection, purification, and ritual meaning. Water is used for daily needs but also carries symbolic value in rituals such as *panyipuhan*. One ecological-space user explained:

“*Ciasihan asalna tina cai jeung asih; cai ieu jadi tanda kanyaah jeung kasucian.* (Ciasihan comes from the words “water” and “love”; this water is a sign of love and purity).” (Interview, KAK-05, ecological space user, 2025)

Through this explanation, water becomes more than infrastructure. It becomes a medium through which people experience affection, purification, and ancestral protection are experienced. Forest, spring, river, settlement path, and ritual space therefore form an integrated sacred–ecological landscape.



**Figure 2.** Spatial distribution of the ecological and cultural landscape.

Figure 2 shows the spatial distribution of sacred ecological elements in Kampung Adat Kuta, including *Leuweung Gede*, water sources, ritual spaces, and settlement zones governed by *pamali*.

Ritual practice gives spatial order its legitimacy. The ritual of *Téya* is particularly significant because it relates directly to settlement decision-making. Before a house is built, the land is assessed not only through physical suitability but also through ritually interpreted signs involving water, rice, bamboo containers, and the presence or absence of ants. Land suitability in Kuta is thus evaluated through moral-ecological knowledge.

A ritual actor described the logic of *Téya* in the following way:

“*Lamun cai henteu ngurangan jeung sireum henteu ngumpul, taneuh éta dianggap merenah pikeun diadegkeun imah.* (If the water does not decrease and the ants do not gather, the land is considered suitable for building a house)” (Interview, KAK-03, ritual actor, 2025)

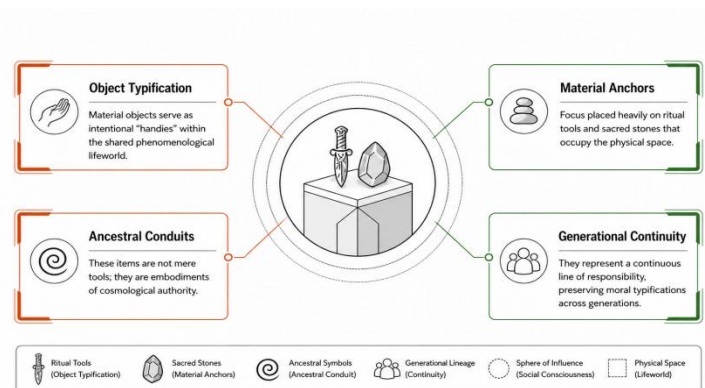
This quotation shows that settlement planning in Kuta is not merely a technical act of selecting land. It is a moral reading of place, where land must be accepted by adat, nature, and ancestral signs before construction begins.

The ritual object *sawen* shows how moral protection enters domestic space. In *babarit*, *sawen* is made from selected natural materials and placed above the door of each house as a protective sign.

A household actor described the experience after *Sawen* was installed:

“*Lamun sawen geus dipasang, hate jadi leuwih tenang, siga aya anu ngajaga imah.* (When a *sawen* is installed, the heart feels calmer, knowing a guardian protects the home)” (Interview, KAK-07, household actor, 2025)

Here, the ritual object is not decorative. It transforms the threshold of the house into a protected moral space. Object, form, and experience are therefore inseparable: *Sawen*, ritual water, forest boundaries, *Bale Sawala*, *Bumi Pasanggrahan*, and sacred paths mediate protection, purification, gratitude, and respect for *karuhun*.



**Figure 3.** Social consciousness influencing object typifications.

Figure 3 shows how ritual objects mediate social consciousness by linking household protection, ecological ethics, and ancestral memory. The interim finding from Kampung Adat Kuta is that *Padaleman Karuhun* produces a vertical sacred–ecological planning logic. The spatial order is structured through ancestral obligation, *pamali*, sacred forest protection, ritual land assessment, water purification, and customary authority. The settlement is therefore governed not merely by physical layout but by a lived moral order that connects people, ancestors, forest, water, house, and ritual.

#### *Nagari Panti Selatan: Songko as a Socio-Institutional Settlement Logic*

If Kampung Adat Kuta is organized through a sacred–ecological core, Nagari Panti Selatan is organized through a distributed socio-institutional order. *Songko* does not refer to one single sacred place: it appears in the way people sit together, deliberate, build houses, cultivate rice

fields, and carry out life-cycle rituals. *Songko* expresses affection, respect, and love toward ancestors, and its lived manifestation appears in *bosamo*, or being together.

A customary leader explained the everyday meaning of *Songko* as follows:

“*Songko itu tampak dalam kebiasaan bosamo: duduak di lapau, baralek, akikah, sunat rasu, managak rumah, sampai turun ka sawah* (mutual cooperation and togetherness)” (Interview, NPS-01, customary leader, 2023)

This statement shows that *Songko* is not an abstract cultural idea. It is enacted through repeated social practices that bind people, space, lineage, and memory. Everyday life in Nagari Panti Selatan is spatially organized through being together.



**Figure 4.** *Kampung Tuo Tambangan Space: The balanced ecosystem.*

Figure 4 presents *Kampung Tuo Tambangan Space* as one of the socio-spatial cores through which origin memory, lineage, and settlement formation are narrated in Nagari Panti Selatan. Agricultural space in Panti Selatan is not merely productive land. Rice fields are connected to lineage memory and collective obligation, and rituals such as *maasok boniah* (the fumigation of rice seeds with incense) and *lopeh kawua padi* (a post-harvest thanksgiving ritual) show that farming is embedded in prayer, ancestral respect, and communal coordination.

A farmer explained that activities in the rice fields are never fully individual because they are connected to customary timing, family labor, and prayers for the ancestors who opened the kampung. This shows that agricultural land in Panti Selatan is both productive and moral: it sustains livelihood while also reproducing memory and obligation. Customary governance is most visible in house-building. Before constructing a dwelling, the household must convey its intention to *niniak mamak* and other customary actors through *bisiak kociak*: “*Kok kinin nak mombuek rumah baru minto isin dulu kopado Niniak Mamak...*” The house must then have a clear plot, a yard, and road access.

The same process was described by a customary actor: “*Kami rencana nak mombangun rumah... tapi kok tanah ko dilombang, kok rumpuik ko dilayua itu nan punyo niniak mamak*” (Interview, NPS-02, customary actor, 2023). This quotation shows that building a house is not treated as an individual technical decision. It is a collective and lineage-based process involving customary permission, land allocation, deliberation, and spatial requirements.

This is among the strongest findings, because it links *Songko* directly to settlement planning and customary land governance: the house is not simply placed on available land but passes through *bisiak kociak*, deliberation among customary actors, land allocation, planning, collective labor, and ritual (Hammar et al., 2021; Adnan et al., 2026). Ritual practice then provides social legitimacy to settlement action. The process of *duduak sobuah rumah*, *duduak somondo*, and *duduak pangulu* precedes major events such as marriage, *akikah*, *sunat rasu*, and house-building. The sequence moves from the household to affinal relations and then to wider customary authorities.

A ritual actor explained this sequence as follows:

*“Jonjang dimulai dari duduak sobuah rumah dulu, duduak somondo, kemudian duduak pangulu, baru alek dilaksanakan (The Jonjang stages begin with a meeting of the nuclear family (sitting a house), followed by a meeting of relatives (sitting somondo), then a meeting of traditional elders (sitting pangulu), and then a party is held)”* (Interview, NPS-03, ritual actor, 2023)

This sequence illustrates how Nagari Panti Selatan spatially and institutionally stages social events. Before an event becomes public, it must pass through increasingly wider circles of recognition: household, affinal relations, customary leaders, religious actors, and community. It is how *Songko* becomes visible as a shared social order.

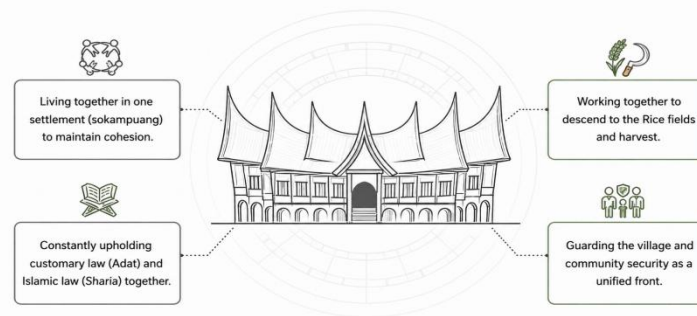
Objects and spatial forms in Nagari Panti Selatan carry institutional meaning: the *Rumah Gadang* is a place for deliberating *sako jo pusako* and maintaining matrilineal continuity; the *surau* supports religious learning and moral formation; and the *lapau* is an everyday forum where men and youth exchange news of the kampung, rice fields, work, and social events.

A youth/community actor explained:

*“Di lapau urang banyak bercerita tentang kampuang, sawah, kerja, dan kabar masyarakat (At lapau, people chat about the village, the rice fields, work, and news about the community)”* (Interview, NPS-09, youth/community actor, 2023)

This statement shows that *lapau* functions as an informal deliberative space. Through repeated conversation, everyday information transforms into shared knowledge that ultimately shapes settlement governance.

The interim finding from Nagari Panti Selatan is that *Songko* produces a horizontal socio-institutional planning logic. Spatial order is created through *niniak mamak*, *Rumah Gadang*, *surau*, *lapau*, rice fields, *bisiak kociak*, *duduak pangulu*, *naiak kudo-kudo*, and everyday practices of *bosamo*. Unlike Kuta’s sacred–ecological hierarchy, Nagari Panti Selatan organizes space through kinship, lineage authority, deliberation, land allocation, and collective labor.



**Figure 5.** *Songko* moving into collective meaning.

Figure 5 summarizes how *Songko* moves from ancestral respect into *palangkahan*, *bosamo*, and collective settlement meaning.

### ***Comparative Schutzian Typification of Indigenous Spatial Systems***

The empirical findings from Kampung Adat Kuta and Nagari Panti Selatan operate across four Schutzian typifications: physical typification, object typification, form typification, and experiential typification. These typifications are not treated as abstract categories but as recurring patterns through which community members recognize, interpret, and act upon settlement space in everyday life.

Object typification refers to the way material objects become carriers of social and moral meaning. In Kampung Adat Kuta, *sawen*, ritual water, incense, rice, bamboo containers, offerings, and ritual leaves function as mediators between household space, ancestral protection, ecological ethics, and ritual safety. A household actor explained that after *sawen* is installed, “*hate jadi leuwih tenang, siga aya anu ngajaga imah*” (Interview, KAK-07, household actor, 2025). This shows that ritual objects are experienced as protective spatial devices.

Experiential typification refers to the repeated lived experiences through which spatial meaning becomes embodied. In Kampung Adat Kuta, space is experienced through protection, purification, gratitude, fear of violating *pamali*, and obedience to *karuhun*. In Nagari Panti Selatan, space is experienced through *bosamo*, deliberation, collective labor, ritual sitting, house-building, and agricultural cooperation. A customary leader described *Songko* as visible in “*duduak di lapau, baralek, akikah, sunat rasu, managak rumah, sampai turun ka sawah*” (Interview, NPS-01, customary leader, 2023). This shows that spatial consciousness is reproduced through repeated embodied participation in everyday and ritual practices.

**Table 3.** Comparative Schutzian Typification

| Schutzian Typification | Kampung Adat Kuta                                                                                                                    | Nagari Panti Selatan                                                                                                | Main Analytical Meaning                                                  |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Physical typification  | <i>Leuweung Gede</i> , water sources, <i>Bale Sawala</i> , <i>Bumi Pasanggrahan</i> , settlement paths, and <i>pamali</i> boundaries | <i>Kampung tuo</i> , <i>Rumah Gadang</i> , <i>surau</i> , <i>lapau</i> , rice fields, lineage land, and house plots | Physical space is recognized through inherited moral and social meaning. |
| Object typification    | <i>Sawen</i> , ritual water, incense, rice, bamboo containers, offerings, and ritual leaves                                          | <i>Rumah Gadang</i> , <i>surau</i> , <i>lapau</i> , rice seeds, <i>jamba</i> , and <i>kudo-kudo</i>                 | Objects mediate protection, deliberation, kinship,                       |

| <b>Schutzian Typification</b> | <b>Kampung Adat Kuta</b>                                                                                    | <b>Nagari Panti Selatan</b>                                                                                  | <b>Main Analytical Meaning</b>                              |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
|                               |                                                                                                             |                                                                                                              | ritual, and collective memory.                              |
| Form typification             | Vertical sacred–ecological hierarchy linking forest, water, ritual space, settlement, and agricultural land | Horizontal socio-institutional network linking lineage, house, worship, exchange, and production             | Spatial form guides behavior and stabilizes moral order.    |
| Experiential typification     | Protection, purification, gratitude, fear of violating <i>pamali</i> , and obedience to <i>karuhun</i>      | <i>Bosamo</i> , deliberation, collective labor, ritual sitting, house-building, and agricultural cooperation | Space becomes meaningful through repeated lived experience. |

These four typifications bring the comparison into sharper focus. While Kampung Adat Kuta typifies space through sacred ecological protection, Nagari Panti Selatan frames it around socio-institutional togetherness. In both cases, typification translates inherited meanings into practical spatial rules. Consequently, *Padaleman Karuhun* and *Songko* operate not merely as cultural concepts but as lived spatial logics that organize settlement life.

### *Comparative Empirical Synthesis*

The empirical synthesis shows that Kampung Adat Kuta and Nagari Panti Selatan generate different but comparable moral-spatial orders. Kampung Adat Kuta organizes a settlement through a vertical sacred–ecological order, while Nagari Panti Selatan organizes a settlement through a horizontal socio-institutional order. This section does not develop the theoretical concept of ‘two indigenous spatial planning logics’; rather, it provides the empirical basis for that discussion in the next section.

The main empirical finding is that both settlements operate as living spatial systems. Their planning relevance lies not in their similarity to formal planning instruments but in their ability to regulate land, settlement, ecology, authority, and memory through culturally embedded practices. This empirical synthesis becomes the basis for the discussion section, where these systems are conceptualized as indigenous spatial planning logics and connected to spatial plans, zoning, village planning, heritage conservation, customary land recognition, and participatory planning.

## **Discussion**

### *From Cultural Landscape to Moral Infrastructure*

The findings of this study demonstrate that Kampung Adat Kuta and Nagari Panti Selatan should not be understood merely as cultural landscapes, heritage objects, or repositories of local wisdom. They operate as moral infrastructure: spatial systems through which values become rules, memory becomes authority, ritual becomes legitimacy, and space becomes a medium for regulating social, ecological, and intergenerational relations. This interpretation extends cultural landscape scholarship, which emphasizes that landscapes are produced through the interaction of physical form, memory, identity, ecological value, and social practice (Antrop, 2005; Taylor & Lennon, 2011; Low, 2017).

Thus, moral infrastructure is not simply a metaphor for cultural values. It refers to the spatialized mechanism through which values become durable, visible, and enforceable in everyday settlement



life: in Kuta through sacred forest restriction, ritual land assessment, sacred water, and household protection; in Panti Selatan through lineage permission, deliberation, agricultural ritual, and institutional spaces.

### ***Two Indigenous Spatial Planning Logics in Global Comparative Perspective***

The comparison reveals two distinct indigenous spatial planning logics. Kampung Adat Kuta represents a vertical sacred–ecological logic, while Nagari Panti Selatan represents a horizontal socio-institutional logic. Their difference is not a weakness of comparison; it is the basis of the article’s theoretical contribution. This distinction supports contemporary indigenous planning scholarship, which emphasizes that indigenous planning is not a universal model but a situated practice grounded in land relations, cultural identity, self-determination, and place-based governance (Jojola, 2008; Walker et al., 2013; Porter et al., 2017).

In Kampung Adat Kuta, spatial order is vertical, organized by degrees of sacredness and ecological restriction. At its moral-spatial core sits *Padaleman Karuhun*. Within this framework, *Leuweung Gede* functions as the sacred ecological infrastructure, *pamali* serves as the ethical restriction, *Téya* provides a ritual land-suitability assessment, and *Bale Sawala* anchors community deliberation. The regulatory force of this system stems not from written zoning but from ancestral obligation, ritual signs, and collective obedience to the *karuhun*.

Compared with Māori papakāinga planning in Aotearoa New Zealand, which emphasizes collective habitation, ancestral land, and sustainable dwelling, the Indonesian cases reveal a different operational basis of indigenous planning (Matunga, 2013), where Kuta’s uniqueness lies in ritual ecology and sacred restriction, while Panti Selatan’s lies in matrilineal land authority and everyday deliberative spaces.

The uniqueness of Kampung Adat Kuta lies in its sacred–ecological hierarchy: *pamali* functions as ethical zoning, *Leuweung Gede* as sacred ecological infrastructure, and *Téya* as ritual land suitability assessment. The uniqueness of Nagari Panti Selatan lies in its socio-institutional network: *niniak mamak* functions as customary land authority, *bisiak kociak* as preliminary settlement consent, *duduak pangulu* as social authorization, and *lapau* as everyday deliberative space. Together, these two cases expand indigenous planning theory by showing that planning logic may emerge through ritual ecology in one case and lineage-based deliberation in another.

**Table 4. Comparative Synthesis**

| <b>Dimension</b>           | <b>Kampung Adat Kuta</b>                                                            | <b>Nagari Panti Selatan</b>                                                             | <b>Main Synthesis</b>                                                                           |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Core spatial consciousness | <i>Inget Karuhun</i> and <i>Padaleman Karuhun</i>                                   | <i>Songko</i> and <i>bosamo</i>                                                         | Both are ancestral consciousness systems that organize settlement meaning.                      |
| Dominant spatial logic     | Vertical sacred–ecological hierarchy                                                | Horizontal socio-institutional network                                                  | Kuta is organized by sacred ecology, whereas Panti relies on kinship and institutional systems. |
| Main spatial anchor        | <i>Leuweung Gede</i> , <i>Padaleman Karuhun</i> , water sources, <i>Bale Sawala</i> | <i>Kampungang tuo</i> , <i>Rumah Gadang</i> , <i>surau</i> , <i>lapau</i> , rice fields | Both anchor moral order in recognizable spatial elements.                                       |
| Ecological regulation      | <i>Pamali</i> , sacred forest restriction, ritual                                   | Rice fields, lineage land, <i>maasok boniah</i> , <i>lopeh</i>                          | Ecology is governed through moral and customary obligation.                                     |

|                              |                                                                                           |                                                                                           |                                                                         |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                              | access, and water purification                                                            | <i>kawua padi</i> , and <i>lauak larangan</i>                                             |                                                                         |
| Settlement decision-making   | <i>Téya</i> , <i>ngadegkeun</i> , ritual land assessment                                  | <i>Bisiak kociak</i> , <i>duduak pangulu</i> , and permission from <i>niniak mamak</i>    | House-building is socially and ritually authorized in both settlements. |
| Customary governance         | Customary leader, customary elder, <i>Punduh</i> , <i>Kuncen</i> , and <i>Bale Sawala</i> | <i>Niniak mamak</i> , <i>Bundo Kanduang</i> , <i>Tuo Sumando</i> , and <i>Imam Khatib</i> | Spatial decisions are mediated by customary authority.                  |
| Object and form typification | <i>Sawen</i> , ritual water, forest, <i>Bale Sawala</i> , and sacred boundaries           | <i>Rumah Gadang</i> , <i>surau</i> , <i>lapau</i> , <i>kudo-kudo</i> , and rice fields    | Objects and forms mediate moral-spatial order.                          |
| Experiential typification    | Protection, purification, gratitude, and fear of violating <i>pamali</i>                  | <i>Bosamo</i> , deliberation, collective labor, and lineage continuity                    | Space is lived as repeated moral experience.                            |
| Planning relevance           | Customary zoning, ritual land suitability, and sacred ecological protection               | Customary land governance, lineage-based settlement planning, and informal deliberation   | Both constitute indigenous spatial planning logics.                     |

As shown in Table 4, the two cases share a planning function but differ in their sources of legitimacy: Kuta translates ancestral prohibition and sacred ecology into ethical zoning and ritual land suitability, whereas Panti Selatan translates lineage authority and deliberation into customary land governance and settlement authorization. Indigenous spatial planning is therefore not one universal model but plural logics embedded in different moral-spatial configurations.

### ***Implications for Formal Planning Systems***

The strongest planning implication of this study is that indigenous spatial systems can inform formal planning without being reduced to folklore, local wisdom, or heritage display. If *Padaleman Karuhun* and *Songko* operate as spatial planning logics, their relevance extends to spatial plans, zoning, village planning, heritage conservation, customary land recognition, and participatory planning. This argument is consistent with decolonial and indigenous planning scholarship, which calls for planning systems to recognize indigenous authority, land relations, and epistemic plurality rather than merely incorporating indigenous knowledge as supplementary information (Porter, 2010; Porter & Barry, 2016; Jojola, 2008).

For spatial plans, customary spatial knowledge should be recognized as a legitimate planning layer: in Kuta, *Leuweung Gede*, sacred water sources, ritual routes, *Bale Sawala*, settlement areas, and *pamali* boundaries form a culturally recognized structure; in Panti Selatan, *kampung tuo*, *Rumah Gadang*, *surau*, *lapau*, rice fields, and lineage land form a socio-institutional structure that can inform village spatial plans and conservation-oriented planning (Akbar et al., 2020b; Nirwansyah et al., 2025).

For heritage conservation, heritage should not be limited to physical objects or visual landscapes. In Kuta it lies in the living relation between *Padaleman Karuhun*, *Leuweung Gede*, *Téya*, *babarit*, *sawen*, sacred water, and *Bale Sawala*; in Panti, between *Songko*, *Rumah Gadang*, *surau*, *lapau*, rice fields, *duduak pangulu*, and *naiak kudo-kudo*. Conservation should protect living systems of practice, authority, and meaning, not only tangible forms (Antrop, 2005; Taylor & Lennon, 2011).

For customary land recognition, Panti Selatan is especially important. Land is not merely a cadastral parcel or economic asset; it is embedded in lineage authority, inheritance, consent, and

collective responsibility. Meanwhile in Kuta land suitability is mediated through *Téya* and ancestral signs. Customary land recognition should therefore include not only territorial boundaries but also procedures, authorities, obligations, ritual meanings, and restrictions on disclosure (Booth & Muir, 2011; Hammar et al., 2021).

The implication is not to replace formal planning with adat systems but to create ethical interfaces between formal planning and indigenous spatial logics. Such interfaces can help spatial planning become more context-sensitive, culturally legitimate, ecologically grounded, and socially accountable (Daiyan et al., 2025).

### Indigenous Spatial Planning as an Ontological Planning System

The theoretical contribution lies in proposing indigenous spatial planning as an ontological planning system. Planning need not begin with formal zoning, technical land-use classification, or administrative regulation; in indigenous settlements it emerges from lifeworld processes, Schutzian typifications, ritual practices, customary governance, and moral infrastructure. Space is thus not only an object to be regulated but a lived moral reality sustaining social order, ecological responsibility, and collective memory.

This argument extends Schutz's phenomenology into planning theory. Through physical, object, form, and experiential typifications, space becomes recognizable, repeatable, and actionable. *Leuweung Gede* is not a simply forest; it is typified as a sacred life-source. *Téya* is not a simply ritual; it is typified as a land suitability judgment. The *Rumah Gadang* is not simply a house; it is typified as a matrilineal institution. The *lapau* is not simply a gathering place; it is typified as an everyday deliberative space. These typifications illustrate how the lifeworld is transformed into spatial governance.

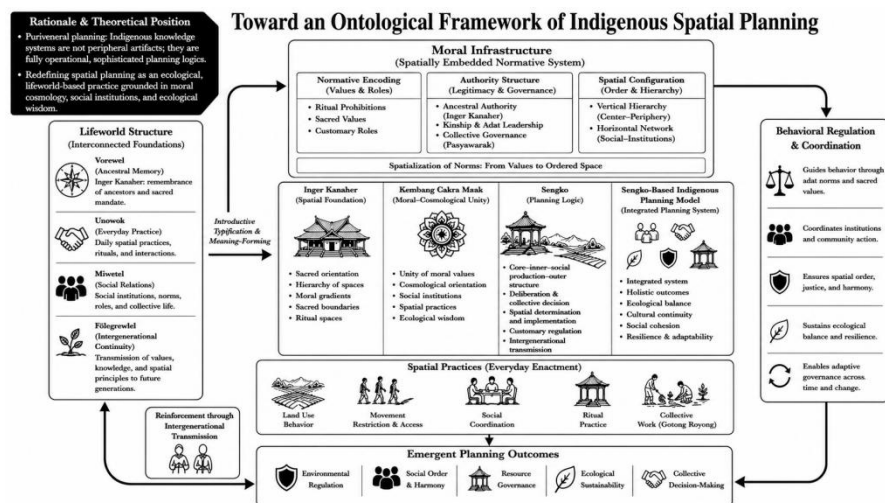


Figure 6. Framework of indigenous spatial planning

Figure 6 presents the ontological framework of indigenous spatial planning, showing how lifeworld processes, Schutzian typifications, moral infrastructure, and planning implications are connected.

This section highlights the article's most significant theoretical assertion: indigenous spatial planning transcends mere cultural content: it originates from an entirely different spatial ontology.

It begins not from land as an administrative surface but from space as lived obligation, inherited memory, ecological responsibility, and social legitimacy. In this sense, *Padaleman Karuhun* and *Songko* expand planning theory by showing how spatial order can be generated through lifeworld, typification, moral infrastructure, and customary governance.

### ***Ethical Planning Interfaces***

Recognizing indigenous spatial systems as planning logics requires caution. Formal planning systems should not simply extract customary knowledge and convert it into administrative categories. Such extraction risks weakening the authority, secrecy, and sacredness that make these systems meaningful. Instead, integration should occur through ethical planning interfaces. This caution is consistent with indigenous planning and decolonial scholarship, which warns that recognition can become extractive when indigenous knowledge is absorbed into dominant planning systems without protecting indigenous authority and self-determination (Porter, 2010; Barry & Porter, 2012; Porter & Barry, 2016).

Ethical planning interfaces may include participatory cultural mapping, customary-based zoning overlays, customary land protocols, heritage plans that protect living practice, village planning forums involving customary authorities, and community validation of planning documents. These should not force indigenous systems to become identical to formal planning but let formal planning recognize them as legitimate sources of spatial knowledge and governance.

Consequently, indigenous spatial planning functions not as an alternative operating outside the discipline but as an internal corrective. It challenges conventional planning theory and practice by demonstrating that spatial order is born not just of regulation, infrastructure, and technical expertise but by memory, obligation, ritual, authority, ecology, and lived experience.

### **Conclusion**

This study examined how *Padaleman Karuhun* in Kampung Adat Kuta and *Songko* in Nagari Panti Selatan function as indigenous spatial systems that organize moral order, ecological relations, social authority, and intergenerational memory. By employing Schutz's phenomenology of the social world, the study indicates that spatial order in both settlements is not merely produced through physical form, symbolic heritage, or cultural tradition but through lived practices, shared typifications, customary authority, and repeated experiences that make space meaningful and socially binding.

In response to the first research question, these cases reveal that indigenous spatial systems construct and sustain moral order through differing yet structurally comparable mechanisms. In Kampung Adat Kuta, a vertical sacred-ecological logic is maintained by spatial landmarks and rituals—such as *Padaleman Karuhun*, *Leuweung Gede*, *pamali*, sacred water, *Bale Sawala*, *Téya*, *ngadegkeun*, *nyuguh*, and *babarit*. Meanwhile, Nagari Panti Selatan relies on a horizontal socio-institutional logic, utilizing elements like *Songko*, *bosamo*, *niniak mamak*, Rumah Gadang, *surau*, *lapau*, *rice fields*, *bisiak kociak*, *duduak pangulu*, and house-building rituals that coordinate kinship, land allocation, deliberation, and collective responsibility.

In response to the second research question, *Padaleman Karuhun* and *Songko* can be conceptualized as indigenous spatial planning logics: though not conventional planning instruments, they regulate land use, authorize settlement decisions, protect ecological spaces, define boundaries, organize authority, and transmit spatial knowledge. *Pamali* acts as ethical zoning, *Téya* as customary-based land-suitability assessment, *the bisiak kociak* and *duduak*

*pangulu* as customary authorization procedures, and the *lapau*, *surau*, *Bale Sawala*, and *Rumah Gadang* as spatial institutions of deliberation.

The theoretical contribution of this study lies in proposing indigenous spatial planning as an ontological planning system. This contribution extends planning theory by showing that planning does not always begin with from formal zoning, technical land-use classification, or administrative regulation. In indigenous settlements, planning can emerge from lifeworld processes, Schutzian typifications, ritual practices, customary governance, moral infrastructure, and embodied spatial experience. Space is therefore not only an object to be regulated but also a lived moral reality through which communities sustain social order, ecological responsibility, and collective memory.

The practical implication is that formal planning systems should engage indigenous spatial systems not as folklore or supplementary local wisdom but as legitimate sources of spatial knowledge and governance. In spatial plans, zoning, village planning, heritage conservation, customary land recognition, and participatory planning, customary-based systems can provide culturally grounded insights into sacred ecological zones, ritual access rules, customary land procedures, living heritage practices, and community-based decision-making.

Finally, future research should examine how indigenous spatial planning logics interact with formal planning institutions, statutory land-use regulation, village development planning, and heritage governance across other indigenous settlements in Indonesia and beyond. Rather than replacing formal planning, indigenous spatial planning offers a corrective: spatial order is produced not only by regulation, infrastructure, and technical expertise but also by memory, obligation, ritual, ecology, authority, and lived experience.

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