

# Pilgrimage, Tourism, and Community: A Case Study of the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard in Indonesia

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## Abstract

Tourism and community have strong ties and impact one another in many ways. The community is an important factor which helps in preserving and maintaining the development of tourism. Focusing on religious tourism in Indonesia, this paper examines the role of community in the endurance of the traditions in religious tourism. Usually, religious tourism is characterized by visits to sacred locations such as graveyards, temples, or mountain peaks. This study focuses on the case of visiting a sacred graveyard among Muslim people in the Javanese society in Indonesia. The fieldwork was conducted in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard in Central Java. A discussion will be made about the roles played by the community for the survival of small-scale religious tourism, to which only scant academic attention has been paid.

## Introduction

Recently, tourism has become a popular alternative for enhancing a local community's living standard. In rural areas in developing countries, where the working age population dominates but is faced with insufficient job opportunities, tourism could be a solution. On the other hand, in rural areas in developed countries conversely faced with the problem of an aging population, tourism could also be a way to attract the young generation to return to their hometown. Of utmost importance in improving tourism is enhancing community participation.

As the oldest type of tourism which has relied on every religion and cultural part of the world, religious tourism has for a long period of time been helping boost local economies. According to Rinschede (1992), religious tourism is a type of tourism in which participants are motivated in part or exclusively for a religious reason specifically, pilgrimage activities. In terms of motivation, participants who come with a strong spiritual purpose are called "pilgrims" while those who are inclined to join out of curiosity are called "tourists". Religious tourism sites are usually related to sacred locations such as a sacred graveyard, temple, and a shrine or mountain peaks. According to Reader (1997) in his study about Japanese pilgrimage, sacred locations refer to any place or setting that has been accorded some religious significance by visitors and/or those who guard over such places.

The phenomenon of visiting sacred locations as the main activity of religious tourism is also practiced in Indonesia. In Java, there are thousands of graves that are visited by varying numbers of pilgrims. The saints, buried in these graves, belong to various categories of people such as those who were *Islamised* in one particular region or those who were known for their science and piety, and those who are founders of *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school). The most important saints in Java are the agents of the Islamization of the island. The reason for people visiting the sacred graveyard lies in the belief that saints buried there are closer to God than ordinary people, and prayers will be surely granted through the intercession of these spirits. Nevertheless, visiting sacred graveyards that involves syncretism of religious practices has been deemed problematic.

A discussion of religion in Indonesia, particularly in Java, should be related with the two influential Islamic groups of Indonesia: the conservative (*Nadhlatul Ulama* or NU) and the modern (*Muhammadiyah*). Geertz (1976) in his discussion about Javanese religion, briefly explained how these two groups have different standpoints regarding some religious activities, which include pilgrimages. It is widely known that pilgrimages are related to the NU. Therefore, in order for the discussion to be in line with the real situation and condition in Indonesian society, a brief introduction will be made in connection with the NU and Muhammadiyah especially about pilgrimage activities.

The rise of the *Muhammadiyah* and NU could not be discussed separately from each other in the Islamic world particularly

due to what had transpired in Saudi Arabia. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a scholar named Abdul Wahhab started the movement of Islam modernist in Saudi Arabia, which later became known as Wahhabi. Abdul Wahhab saw that the underdevelopment of Islam occurred because their belief and practices have strayed from the purely religious teachings found in authentic sources; i.e., the Qur'an and the *hadith* (the statement or actions of the Prophet). For Wahhab, the Muslim community itself is being weakened due to passive religious behaviors, mysticism and respect for the dead saints (*waliyullah*). The idea of Abdul Wahhab widely and rapidly spread around the world, including in Indonesia. Hasbullah (2014) stated that *Muhammadiyah* carries the mission of purification or changing traditional beliefs which are still heavily found in society. Hence, the establishment of NU was inspired by the idea to defend against the spread of this purification movement.

In terms of pilgrimage activities, *Himpunan Putusan Tarjih* or the result of the annual meeting of *Muhammadiyah*, imposed prohibitions according to Allah SWT, such as asking the dead to become an intermediary to God. The purpose of a pilgrimage activity is to pray for the dead and to make people remember the death. However, they believe that Allah SWT, who can grant the prayers, does not need any help from the dead. On the other hand, according to the book of the anthology of *Nadhlatul Ulama*, there are several ways to do *tawasul* (seeking help) including through the help of the dead, namely, The Prophet and the saints.

The different perspectives toward pilgrimage activities between the *Nadhlatul Ulama* and *Muhammadiyah* have lasted for more than a century. Even so, nowadays, many Javanese continue to practice sacred graveyard visitation and embrace its culture. Religious tourism has started to be a promising sector for development in the context of the tourism industry in Indonesia.

## Objectives of the Study

This study, with its focus on the pilgrimage in the Javanese society in Indonesia, can contribute to existing scholarship on tourism. It provides an introduction of the pilgrimage in Java, which could not be easily examined without an understanding of the impact of two Islamic groups that exist in Indonesia. Despite the differing standpoints between the two, a discussion on how the endurance of pilgrimages within the society could be achieved. The study focuses on the role played by the community for the survival of pilgrimage activities as the main attraction of small-scale religious tourism. Following the concept of Agrawal (2001) which sees the community as a heterogeneous entity which involves multiple actors, norms, and values, this study provides the recent situation of community participation in small-scale religious tourism sites under the context of Javanese society in Indonesia. It also intends to determine the specific members of the “community” in the tourism destination and examine the relationship between tourism and participation of the community. There have been many researches that deal with religious tourism, most of which have relied on the motivation for performing the pilgrimage and the impact of the religious tourism activity (Turner, 1978; Rinschede, 1992; Buzinde, 2014). However, there remains a dearth of data on research concerning community participation in small-scale religious tourism sites. In the case of Indonesia, where religious tourism has become a promising sector ripe for development, the study's data on the role of the community toward the endurance of small-scale religious tourism will prove beneficial.

In this study, the term “small-scale religious tourism site” is used. The data pertains to the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard which was chosen as the research area in view of its potentiality as a site for small-scale community-based tourism. It is evident that the number of visitors to this sacred graveyard is far less than that of large-scale religious tourism sites such as the Borobudur Temple in Indonesia (Table 1). For this reason, there is also a glaring difference in the administration of the tourism sites. The Borobudur Temple is managed by a corporation, created by the central government of Indonesia, and receives annual support in terms of funding, promotional activities and necessary human resources. On the other hand, a small-scale religious destination site is managed by the local community with the help of other actors, as will be explained in succeeding sections. Significantly, this community does not receive any annual support from the central government. There are a number of small-scale religious tourism sites spread all over Indonesia that share a similar tendency with the Gunungpring site. Hence, it can be said that pilgrimage tourism itself has huge potency in Indonesia, especially in Java Island. It is the popular belief towards the power of the dead as intermediary which appears to be one of the main reasons behind this development. As to other small-scale sites aside from the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, the graveyard of KH. Ahmad Abdul Haq, built in 2010, is noteworthy. It can be said that his graveyard is related by blood to that of Gunungpring because the graves of his father KH. Dalhar and grandfather KH. Abdurrochman, both revered religious figures, are located in the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. In this light, the KH. Ahmad Abdul Haq graveyard, albeit only recently established, has evidently been able to attract many pilgrims. Usually, these pilgrims include both graveyards in one pilgrimage. Clearly, smaller religious destinations have an opportunity to be developed in the future. Against this backdrop, the roles of the actors within the community in terms of supporting the development of small-scale religious tourism is examined, and the findings will hopefully be a stepping stone to better understand the relations between community and religious tourism in Indonesia.

**Table 1.** Comparative Number of Visitors

SITE	THE NUMBER OF VISITORS				
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<b>Borobudur Temple</b>	2,997,945	3,389,957	3,338,804	3,069,098	3,251,348
<b>Gunungpring Graveyard</b>	132,770	234,265	438,932	445,520	568,080

Source: PT Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan and Ratu Boko and Gunungpring Village Office

## Literature Review

### Pilgrimage Studies

According to Turner (1978), all pilgrimage sites have this in common: they are believed as places where miracles once happened, are still happening and may happen again. In terms of motivation among pilgrims, the site invokes a feeling that the saint's shrine has some sort of "hot line" to the Almighty. A person purifies himself by penance and travel, and then his prayer can be amplified by asking a saint at his own chief shrine to deliver the prayer directly to God. In the standard dictionary definition, a pilgrimage is mostly connected with "distance"; hence, a pilgrim is defined as one who journeys to some sacred places, usually by a long distance, as an act of religious devotion (Shorter Oxford Dictionary). However, some scholars argue that distance is not a contingent factor. Instead, the most important characteristic of the pilgrimage process is the question of separation of the pilgrimage activity from everyday routine. For example, it can be represented by one's attire while making a pilgrimage. Further cited in Turner's discussion is the liminal process while doing pilgrimage. Turner (1968) mentioned that pilgrimage serves as a release from the structure of their everyday life, their movement from a mundane center to a sacred periphery which suddenly becomes central for them.

Pilgrimage activities exist in every culture and religion. For Christians, they go to holy places related to the life and works of Jesus such as in Jerusalem and Lourdes. For Muslims, doing hajj to Mecca is one of the obligatory practices in their faith. Reader (1997) describes pilgrimage in Japanese society as a process and practice whereby people make special journeys to or through sacred locations and engage in acts of worship; and to an institution that includes and is composed of all the various component parts and elements that surround that process. Reader also tried to define "sacred locations" as any place or setting that is accorded with some religious significance by visitors and/or those who guard over such places, such as temples and shrines as well as features of the geographical landscape such as mountain peaks.

A pilgrimage has been recognized as a dominant religious activity in Japanese society since at least the early Heian period when the Buddhist monk Ennin (794-864) described his journey and travels in China in search of the Buddhist law as a "pilgrimage" (*junrei* 巡礼). However, some researchers believe that pilgrimage in Japan existed during the Nara era. Shinno Toshikazu (as cited in Reader, 1997) described pilgrimage as "one of the great pillars" of Japanese religion. Joseph Kitagawa (as cited in Reader, 1997) also explained that there are three types of pilgrimages in Japan: journey to sacred mountains, pilgrimage based on faith in a specific divinity who is the image worshipped in a linked number of sites; and pilgrimage based on visits to a number of sites associated with charismatic holy figures.

Similar to other religions and cultures, Islam also admits having pilgrimage activities following certain rules based on the Holy book of Qur'an. According to Suranto (1996), there are accepted norms for pilgrimages, especially with regard to graveyards in Islam. First, praying for the deceased person to be absolved of his sins is encouraged as The Prophet of Muhammad said, "When a person dies, all his good deeds cease except for three things: a continuous act of charity (which the deceased did in his lifetime), beneficial knowledge (which the deceased left behind), and a righteous son (children) who prays for him." Next, praying (*shalat*) on the graveyard is prohibited. Moreover, touching, kissing or sleeping on the graveyard are also prohibited. Beautifying the graveyard is prohibited as well. Finally, but most importantly, asking the dead for intercession is forbidden.

On the other hand, Suranto also explained that there still remain common pilgrimage practices for the purpose of seeking help. Believing that the deceased, such as Islamic figures, heroes, or kings buried in sacred graveyards are closer to God, pilgrims consequently trust that their prayers will have more chances of being granted through this intermediary of spirits. However, certain rules are prescribed under the Qur'an about asking permission from dead people, as in the Qur'an Surah Saba 22, "Invoke those you claim [as deities] besides Allah. They do not possess an atom's weight [of ability] in the heavens or on the earth, and they do not have therein any partnership [with Him], nor is there for Him from among them any assistant."

Clearly, from the verse above, Islam neither allows requests for intercessions nor the belief in the dead as an intermediary in seeking permission from God.

### Community Participation in Tourism Studies

It has been stated that the people who either enjoy or suffer the main impacts of tourism are those who actually live in communities situated in tourist destination areas. Thus, they must participate in planning and decision-making regarding tourism development (Lea, 1988; Murphy as cited in Tosun, 2000). Community involvement is pivotal in the tourism development process. In line with this assertion, Inskip (as cited in Tosun, 2000) pointed out that communities, as a matter of right, must have a voice in shaping their future, and has called for the full involvement of the local community to maximize socio-economic benefits of tourism for their sake.

While these theories about community participation bring a positive perspective, some basic questions remain to be considered. Tosun (2000), in his study on community participation in developing countries, noted questions on the validity of the approach and its practicality especially in the case of developing countries. Who is the local community? Who should participate and not participate in tourism development process? Who will initiate it? Why will they do so? How will the participation of local people in the tourism development process ensure a better distribution of benefits of tourism? Can local people protect or defend their interests? What should be the form and mode of community participation?

As argued, it is difficult to define which model of community participation is fixed in certain tourist destinations. Hence, using a typology of community participation may be useful in order to identify the stage of community participation in particular destinations. Tosun (1999) tried to develop such a typology by describing *community participation* as a categorical term that allows participation of people, citizens or a host community in their affairs at different levels (local, regional or national) and various forms under site specific conditions. Under Tosun's model, the typology of community participation is divided into three, as follows:

- a. *Spontaneous participation* is the most ideal model of community participation. This model provides full managerial responsibility and authority to the host community.
- b. *Induced participation* is when the host community has a voice in tourism development process but does not have the power to ensure their initiatives will be taken into consideration by powerful groups such as government bodies, multinational companies, and international tour operators and so on. Tosun maintained that this model commonly occurred in the tourism development process of developing countries.
- c. *Coercive participation* is described as the lowest rung in the ladder which involves manipulation. Its objective is to prevent the host community from participating in the tourism development process. Under this scenario, the holders of power are making efforts to meet the basic needs of the local people albeit turning down the potential of the host community in the tourism development process. Hence, under this third type, the goal is to meet the desires of the power holders in the tourism development process but minimize the participation of the host community.

Public participation in tourism can be viewed from at least two perspectives; that is, in terms of participation in the decision-making process and in terms of the benefit derived from tourism development (cf. McIntosh and Goeldner, 1986; Wall, 1995, Timothy, 1999). It has been further argued in prior studies that participation in the decision-making process would imply that residents have the opportunity to voice their hopes, desires and fears with regard to any development and to contribute to the planning process based on their own experiences (Prabhakaran, et. al, 2014). Timothy (1999) concluded that participation generally refers to empowering local residents to determine their own goals for development, and consulting with locals to determine their hopes and concerns for tourism. The concept of public participation also includes the involvement of other actors and interest groups in decision-making. Increasing incomes, employment and education of locals are the most apparent ways of involving community members in gaining benefits from tourism development.

Moreover, it has been argued that among the literature reviews in the practice and theory of community participation, there is no one fixed standard on how to determine success or the ideal situation. Bradley and Karunadasa (as cited in Tosun, 2005) maintained that, despite many examples of projects involving various degrees of community participation, there is no clear-cut definition of community participation procedures that will guarantee a successful project in every situation. Along this line, the success of community participation may vary depending on local conditions.

### Conceptual Framework

The definition of community that this study adopts relies heavily on the argument made by Agrawal. In his work, Agrawal (2001) argued the conventional definition of community as a homogenous entity. He maintained that most studies in the conservation field associate the definition of community to a bundle of concepts related to space, size, composition, interactions, interests and objectives. Previous works have characterized the concept of community in three ways:

- a. Community as a small spatial unit. This term refers to smallness (both area and number of individuals) and territorial

affiliation. The popularity of this view can be traced to the fact that the resources utilized by the people are near, thus easily accessible. Moreover, members of small groups interact more often due to proximity.

- b. Community as a homogeneous social structure. This assumes communities to be groups of similarly endowed (in term of aspect and income), relatively homogeneous households that possess common characteristics in relation to ethnicity, religion, caste or language. Such homogeneity is assumed to further cooperative solutions, reduce hierarchical and conflictual interactions and promote better resource management.
- c. Community with common interests and shared norms. This assumes a community that is supposed to grow out of a common location, small size, homogenous composition, and/or shared characteristics

However, Agrawal discussed community in a different way and characterized it as one that is rather heterogeneous and filled with conflicts and multiple norms and values. He suggested a discussion of three points in order to better understand the concept of community. First, there are multiple interests and actors that make up a community and a deep understanding of such will allow an understanding of patterns of communication and relation inside the community. Next, local-level processes affect the relations between the internal and external actors. The external actors (government, NGO, and so on) may have its own agenda that can somehow also have some effect on the internal actors. Moreover, institutional arrangements that structure the interactions need to be seen as sets of formal and informal rules and norms that shape human interactions with others and with nature. The everyday performances of individuals also possess the potential to reshape formal and informal institutions. Change can also be effected when explicitly renegotiated by actors. Hence, agreements on how to accomplish tasks should be understood as provisional in nature. An understanding of these three points is a necessity within the community.

## Research Methods

Qualitative research was employed as the main research method. The field research was conducted during the periods April 3<sup>rd</sup> - 26<sup>th</sup>, 2015 and June 20<sup>th</sup> - July 17<sup>th</sup>, 2016. Primary data were gathered using in-depth interviews, casual conversation and participant observation. The interviews were conducted through the dissemination of written questionnaires and recorded after receiving permission from the interviewees. Initial preparations include desk research on religious tourism and community participation studies for a general background. An identification of study area based on field observations include participant and non-participant observations in the study area and these observations were used in the selection of informants for data gathering.

To allow different perspectives, interviews with each actor within the community involved in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard were conducted.

- a. Local residents who are members of *Yayasan Kyai Raden Santri* (Kyai Raden Santri Foundation), business owners, and the rest of the local residents were chosen in order to understand their involvement in and perception toward tourism and religious activity in the research area.
- b. Members of the Gunungpring Village Office were chosen for interviews owing to their status as government representatives and their capacity to access and provide information on village development.
- c. The descendants of Kyai Raden Santri were also selected as informants because of their close relations with the Graveyard and their positions within the society.
- d. The pilgrims were chosen to gain an understanding of their motivation, belief, and perception toward the pilgrimage activity.

In addition, government planning documents by the Gunungpring Village Office were examined to understand the issues regarding the development of the research area. Statistical and historical data provided by Kyai Raden Santri Foundation were also collected to get a systematic background of the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard.

## Case Study of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

### Pilgrimage in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

The Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard is located in Gunungpring Village, Muntilan, Magelang, Central Java Province. The population of Gunungpring Village based on the Data of Village Development Progress in 2015 by Gunungpring Village Office is as follows:

No.	Category	Number of People
1.	<b>Men</b>	4,662
2.	<b>Women</b>	4,719
3.	<b>Household</b>	3,563
4.	<b>Religious Affiliation</b>	
	Muslim	4,100 (men) and 4,292 (women)
	Roman Catholics	110 (men) and 117 (women)
	Christians	64 (men) and 78 (women)
	Buddhists	10 (men) and 20 (women)
5.	<b>Ethnic Groups</b>	
	Javanese	4,495 (men) and 4,560 (women)
	Chinese	139 (men) and 145 (women)
	Sundanese (West Java)	24 (men) and 10 (women)
	Maduranese (East Java)	4 (men) and 4 (women)
6.	<b>Occupations (three biggest number)</b>	
	Peddlers	564
	Government workers	219
	Business owners	67

Gunungpring Village consists of 11 *dusun* (similar to hamlets; smaller than a village) which are Karaharjan, Nepen, Wonosari, Gunungpring, Dukuhan, Santren, Sabrang, Mutihan, Ngasem, Ngadisalam and Bintaro. A lowland of 217,480 square meters, the village is typically safe from natural disasters such as flooding, earthquakes or landslides. Peddlers comprise the biggest number of livelihood due to the fact that Gunungpring is located near the central market of Magelang Regency and is surrounded by some tourist attractions such as the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard and Borobudur Temple. A Gunungpring Village Officer said that most peddlers ply vegetables and fruits in the central market of Magelang Regency and the rest sell souvenirs in tourism destinations.

The Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard is the major tourist destination in Gunungpring Village. Based from the data gathered, the religious figure found on this site is the Islamic Kyai Raden Santri and his descendants. There are twelve graves inside the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard complex; namely, those of Kyai Raden Santri, Kyai Krapyak Kamaludin, KH. Harun, Ny. Harun (the wife of KH. Harun), Kyai Abdulloh Sajad, Kyai Gus Jogorekso, Nyai. Hj. Suratinah Jogorekso (the wife of Kyai Gus Jogorekso), KH. Qowaid Abdulloh S., Kyai Kertonjani, KH. Chusain, KH. Abdurrochman, and KH. Dalhar.

These revered figures are well-known for having initiated the spread of Islamization in Gunungpring and its surrounding areas. Most of the pilgrims believe that Kyai Raden Santri possessed supernatural powers during his lifetime. As told in one of the famous legends, one day, Kyai Raden Santri wanted to teach the soldiers to pray. He needed to perform *wudlu*, which is the Islamic way of washing parts of the body using water, typically in preparation for formal prayers. However, as there was no water available, he resorted to prayers, asking God for His providence. After praying, he used a stick to strike the ground, and suddenly water came out. To date, the ground has never stopped emitting water. Furthermore, the graves of KH. Abdurrochman and KH. Dalhar are also attracting a good number of visitors. Both of them are known as the founders of the Watucongol Islamic Boarding School.

Based on fieldwork data, the pilgrimage in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard involves common activities for the pilgrims. They would sit close to the graveyard and begin to pray based on their own interpretation. Some would recite a whole chapter from the Qur'an while others would choose some parts of the chapter. There are no specific requirements on how to pray to the saints in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. The length of stay would also depend on a pilgrim's inclination. A one-day visit is common combined with sightseeing around the graveyard complex. However, there are also pilgrims who prefer to stay longer in order to seek inner peace for themselves.

Regarding the motivation for doing pilgrimage activities, "religious purposes" remains the priority rather than tourism or sightseeing. The pilgrims believe in a supernatural power possessed in the graveyard and that Kyai Raden Santri can be their intermediary to God.

### Identifying Community in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

Agrawal (2001) argued that communities are complex entities containing individuals differentiated by status, political and economic power, religion and social prestige and intentions. Based on data gathered from fieldwork, the actors to be interviewed

and their specific roles within the community had been identified as shown below. The main actors are the local residents of Gunungpring Village, the Village Office of Gunungpring, the descendants of Kyai Raden Santri, and the pilgrims.

*Local residents.* The local residents were further sub-divided into three groups.

- a. *Kyai Raden Santri Foundation.* Kyai Raden Santri Foundation is a legally registered organization responsible for maintaining and managing the graveyard complex of Kyai Raden Santri and his descendants. All of the members who have been selected by the descendants of Kyai Raden Santri, reside in Gunungpring Village. Mr. Bambang, the member of the foundation, stated:

At that time (1986), the *Kyai* (Islamic figure) in the line of Kyai Raden Santri's descent had involved us in the development and managerial process of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. There was a total of 16 members. The election was based on the acclamation process similar to the common election in the Islamic way. We were selected among the youth in this village because they required people with a strong Islamic character, like our Prophet. So, a person must meet four criteria: *Siddiq* (truthfulness or people who always tell the truth), *Amanah* (trustworthiness), *Tabligh* (advocacy which includes the aspect of communication skill and leadership) and *Fathonah* (wisdom and intelligence in both emotional and spiritual aspects). I had been active in the organization since I was working at the school, so I felt it was an honor to have been selected.

- b. *Business owners.* There are two categories of business owners: formal and informal. Formal business owners refer to the owners who registered and paid a certain fee to the Village Office. On the other hand, informal business owners refer to the residents who do business in the graveyard complex seasonally and do not register or pay any fee to the Village Office. Both, according to the rule set by the Village Office, should be residents of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. There are a number of business activities in the graveyard site such as souvenir shops, cafeterias, street food vendors, parking servicemen and so on. The business premises used by souvenir shops or cafeterias are either owned by the vendors themselves or are leased from the village office or other property owners.
- c. *The rest of the local residents.* Residents who are not involved in the Kyai Raden Santri Foundation or who have not participated in any economic activity within the graveyard complex belong to this sub-group for purposes of determining their perception of the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard.

*Gunungpring Village Office.* The Village Office is where residents process their legal citizenship documents such as the resident card and the birth certificate. They are also actively involved in the tourism development of the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard.

*Descendants of Kyai Raden Santri.* Some of the descendants of Kyai Raden Santri were responsible for maintaining the highly reputed Islamic Boarding Schools. Their position as *kyai* or religious leader plays an important role in society. Many visit their residence asking for blessing and guidance. During fieldwork, the researcher visited the house of one of the descendants of Kyai Raden Santri and found guests were waiting to ask for his blessing and guidance.

*Pilgrims.* The pilgrims are mainly Muslim people who believe and practice visiting sacred graveyards. For this study, a good number of interviews were conducted with pilgrims of different ages and backgrounds such as with junior high school students, a family, merchants and people who travel in groups.

### **Tourism Development Process in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard**

Based on the interview conducted with Kyai Raden Santri Foundation, the development of tourism in the area can be traced back since 1986. Below is a timeline of the discovery of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard as a tourist destination.

*1986.* This is the initial year of the tourism development process in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. A group that consists of 16 local people, selected by the descendants of Kyai Raden Santri, started to manage the graveyard by renovating the complex and began to contact *pesantren* or Islamic boarding schools all over Java inviting them to visit Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard.

*1990-2000.* During these years, the development of a permanent building surrounding the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard started. To finance the construction, the foundation had installed a *kotak infaq* (free donation box) at every gate. At the time, there was no funding support from the government.

*1992.* In order to make Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard bigger, the management decided to be legally registered and created a foundation called Kyai Raden Santri Foundation.

1998. The Village Office commenced its involvement in tourism development in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard by building and renting out 8 permanent merchant shops. Funding from the central government was used. From the surplus, more merchant shops were built and currently a total of 38 shops exist on site.

2012-2013. Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard received a development funding from the central government via the Gunungpring Village Office. This was used to develop roads for easy access to the graveyard complex and to add road lamps along the way.

Until the present, the number of visitors at the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard increases year on year (Table 2). This has a positive impact on the area, which mostly can be seen as an economic impact on the local people and the development of tourism infrastructure.

**Table 2.** Number of Visitors to Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

Month	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
January	29,880	18,000	34,560	50,400	64,320
February	17,496	20,160	22,320	25,920	32,880
March	23,256	25,200	36,000	38,000	43,360
April	27,740	12,960	38,880	44,160	54,960
May	57,600	30,240	56,880	75,440	87,680
June	61,920	72,000	90,720	143,680	148,480
July	115,200	104,400	86,400	44,880	140,800
August	30,240	34,000	36,200	15,520	56,240
September	20,160	25,920	44,640	51,680	58,400
October	18,720	28,200	21,600	31,920	47,920
November	12,240	16,240	37,960	80,960	105,760
December	24,480	57,600	61,920	16,240	40,680
Per Year	438,932	445,520	568,080	678,800	881,480
Per Month	36,578	37,127	47,340	56,566	73,456
Per Day	1,220	1,237	1,578	1,885	2,448

Source: Statistical Data from Kyai Raden Santri Foundation (2015)

## Discussion: Roles and Relation of Every Actor within the Community

### Roles of Actors

*Local residents.* Explained below are the roles of the residents by sub-groups.

- a. *Kyai Raden Santri Foundation.* The roles of this group can be found in their three main activities. First, they are responsible for the daily management of the graveyard complex including funding distribution. Funding for the development of the graveyard complex comes from the central government and donations from visitors. There are approximately 16 free-donation boxes placed in the graveyard complex. Second, they maintain religious activities in the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. Religious activities held by the Foundation can be seen in the form of events such as the recital of the Qur'an during a public sermon of a well-known religious leader who is invited for a speech in commemoration of an important date, such as the birth of the Prophet Muhammad or the birth of Kyai Raden Santri. Third, the foundation engages in and sustains tourism activities. Since the development of tourism in the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, many visitors come for the purpose of either praying or just sightseeing. As learned from the interview with Mr. Bambang, the member of the foundation, one of the future development plans for Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard is the development of a tourist attraction inside the graveyard complex, such as breeding deers and then building a park where children can see them and parents can take a rest. The purpose, he stated, was to encourage visitors to stay longer in the graveyard and spend money for the benefit of the surrounding businesses, thereby boosting the income of local residents.
- b. *Business owners (formal and informal).* The Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard became a source of income for residents who hold businesses within the complex. Simultaneous with plying their trade, they also participate in maintaining tourism activities in the graveyard. Based on the interviews, both formal and informal businesses were found to have established

an informal association among themselves to facilitate information sharing as reflected in the interview below.

There are some informal associations established here. For example, *penjual mie ayam dan cilok* (the seller of noodles and local snack) and the shop owners located along the stairs also established these kinds of association. They usually gather every 35 days to discuss the recent situation like garbage problem. (Asih, 50's, shop owner and local resident of Gunungpring Village)

Aside from hosting tourism activities, Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard also serves as a religious space. However, an interesting answer arose during data gathering from one of the formal business owners.

Although I come here every day and do my business here, to be honest, I have never done the pilgrimage. I never go to the graveyard. I just stop here (referring to her shop in the parking area of the graveyard complex). My husband is a member of *Muhammadiyah*. So, he said I could not go there. *Nadhalatul Ulama* believes in this activity, not us. So, I just come here to work. (Sumiah, 40's, shop owner and local resident of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard)

- c. *The rest of the local residents*. As mentioned before, there are only a small number of local residents who are involved in the graveyard complex under the categories above. This research tried to gain a better understanding regarding the participation of the rest of the local residents. Based on the statement by Mr. Bambang, the Kyai Raden Santri Foundation always tries to involve local residents or at least makes sure that their activities can be useful to the residents. For example, the foundation always asks for the help of the Youth Organization of Gunungpring Village when they hold the cultural carnival. In addition, during the annual celebration of the birth of Kyai Raden Santri, the foundation holds various activities for local residents such as blood donation, bazaar, and free circumcision operation for the boys, and so on. They also hold an annual Al-Qur'an recitation for local residents. Below is the perception of a non-member resident regarding the existence of the graveyard in the locality.

Although we don't receive any direct benefit from the graveyard, we do get some indirect benefit. Most of us work as merchants in the local market so when the peak season of the pilgrimage comes, our revenue also increases. The vendor here will buy goods from us. Also, the most important thing is the religious aspect of the graveyard in our daily lives. There are many activities related to religious matters such as the *pengajian* (speech from *kyai* or religious leader) held in the graveyard complex. (Suratman, 30 years old)

There is no strong evidence indicating the direct participation of the rest of the local residents in the activities related to Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. Based on this fact, the study posits that that the reason might be related to the traditions of Javanese concepts toward authority. Anderson (1972, cited from Timothy, 1999) mentioned that in Javanese society, the ruler can be seen as the center, wherein the leader holds a strong power over the followers. Discussions between the leader and the followers were only formed to determine the position or status of the followers. Moreover, Soekanto (1995, cited from Timothy, 1999) also argued that Indonesians are not familiar with taking part in decision-making since they have been accustomed to being kept away from this process since the Dutch colonial period and after the New Regime Order that ruled for over 30 years under Soeharto. Hence, the Indonesians still believe in minimum participation within their society.

*Gunungpring Village Office*. The role of the Gunungpring Village Office is to pose as an intermediary between Kyai Raden Santri Foundation and the central government of Indonesia in terms of funding distribution. The Village Office also owns 38 shops, 8 of which are located inside the graveyard complex and 30 in the parking area. These shops are leased to vendors, who are local residents, for a lease rate of Rp 200,000 (approximately ¥ 2,000) per month for the shops located within the complex and Rp 50,000,000 (approximately ¥ 500,000) for a 20-year lease for the shops located in the parking area. The funds for building the shops came from the central government. Every year, the village office maintains a record about the business owners and monitors the origin of every owner. Gunungpring Village Office established a specific rule that only residents of Gunungpring Village would be eligible to rent shops or do business within the premises of the graveyard complex. This effort is used to maximize the economic impact on the local residents.

*Descendants of Kyai Raden Santri*. Based on the data gathered, the descendants of Kyai Raden Santri work together with Kyai Raden Santri Foundation in the development of tourism for the Gunungpring Graveyard. They are involved in the decision-making

process of the foundation as the board of advisors. Moreover, on maintaining religious activities, the descendants of KH. Abdurrochman had built their own entry gate apart from the main gate. Some informants narrated that the people who passed through this gate are usually not tourists but rather those coming to visit the grave because of religious purposes and not out of sheer curiosity or sightseeing. Most of the *santri* (student of Islamic boarding school) enter through this gate, such as from the Watucongol Islamic Boarding School.

*Pilgrims.* Among the pilgrims in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, different types of activities are performed such as praying and cleaning the graveyard complex. Some pilgrims stay for a couple of hours, while others stay longer. Regardless of the length of stay, however, most of the activities have a common purpose, which is to receive a blessing. They still hold their traditional belief toward the power of the dead; i.e., Kyai Raden Santri. This is reflected in data gathered from interviews, as shown below.

I'm still learning to deepen my Islamic faith. My purpose for visiting this site annually is for praying. Everyone has the right to pray based on his faith. And I believe in this: we call it *lantaran* (intermediary). For me, coming here to pray to Allah SWT takes some distance but with the help of Mbah Dalhar (one of the descendants of Kyai Raden Santri), our prayers will be more easily granted by Allah SWT. That's what I believe. For example, if we want to meet the President, we can't go just like that to his office. We are only ordinary people. We need to meet his trusted people first, then follow the procedure. (Budi, 47 years old, pilgrim)

Going on a pilgrimage is like exerting extra effort. The saints are the ones who are close to God. So, pray to God with the help of the saints. It's like there's someone helping and supporting you to reach your goals. (Hadi Jumingat, 70s years old, pilgrim)

I've been here five times, usually when I don't have anything to do. My purpose is to pray for the dead and ask for their help. The saints are not dead; they just live in another world but we can still ask for their help. It's like they become our intermediary to God. For me, a pilgrimage activity can be seen as a blessing from the dead people to us, the living ones. (Tulus, 30s years old, pilgrim)

Moreover, as discussed earlier, unlike the Japanese pilgrimage, pilgrims usually visit numerous small-scale religious tourist sites that have some connection but not in an ordered number. The connection can be a lineage among the religious figures based on the history of Islamisation in the country, as explained in the interviews.

I came here because Kyai Raden Santri has a connection with the founder of *Pondok Pesantren Tegalrejo* (Tegalrejo Islamic Boarding School) where I received my early education. (Ruly, 21 years old)

I've been here many times. In this trip, we did a 2-day tour of *wali delapan* (the renowned 8 saints who spread Islam in Java) then continued to come here. Gunungpring has a strong connection with the ancient palace when Islam first arrived in Indonesia. (Hadi Jumingat, 70s years old, pilgrim)

Usually, the pilgrimage involves not only going to one place. For instance, this trip is a combination of a visit to graveyards in Secang and Wonosobo. (Adip, 25 years old, tour driver)

### **Relation among Actors**

In the whole process of religious and tourism activities in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, all actors are interconnected. Business owners are required to get permission from the Village Office to establish their businesses. They also seek the opinion of the Kyai Raden Santri Foundation in maintaining tourism activities. However, there are a couple of vital relations among the actors that need further discussion and these pertain to the relations between (1) the foundation and the village office and (2) the foundation and the descendants of Kyai Raden Santri.

First, it should be noted that a strong relationship exists between the foundation and the Gunungpring Village Office. The head of the Village Office is invited to the five-year congress of the foundation where a progress report is presented about the work of the management and the development of religious tourism of the Gunungpring Graveyard. Usually, the Foundation Head is also chosen during this meeting. This synergy between the foundation and Village Office is also intended to synchronize the vision and mission of tourism development in Gunungpring Village.

The foundation and Village Office have also worked hand in hand in order to make Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard a religious tourism destination that creates a positive impact on society economically, socially and culturally. In 2009, they cooperated in promoting Gunungpring Village as a “Tourism and Educational Village based on Cultural and Religious Values”. Some activities were held continuously to support this initiative, such as the *kirab budaya* (cultural parade) and cultural exhibition. In 2012, the Village Office received the mandate from the central government to help in the development of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. They had determined that the most urgent need was for the installation of stairs, and in response, the Central Government provided a fund of Rp 1,147,875,000 (approximately ¥ 11,478,750) which was managed by the Village Office.

Finally, in the organizational structure of the Kyai Raden Santri Foundation, some of the descendants of Kyai Raden Santri are designated as members of the board of advisors. They attend the organizational meeting held every five years to select the members of the foundation and discuss a progress report. For every big event that the foundation holds, the members would, as a matter of course, seek permission and suggestions from the descendants of Kyai Raden Santri first.

## Conclusion

Despite the differing standpoints between two Islamic organizations in Indonesia, the pilgrimage activity as a form of religious tourism has endured until today. Based on the premises of Agrawal, this study determined the roles and relations of actors involved in order to understand the community in the case of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. The community consists of different actors which have their own roles toward the endurance of the pilgrimage as a religious and tourism activity.

Unlike the previous discussion toward community participation suggested by McIntosh and Goeldner (1986), community participation in the case of religious tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard does not only rely on the role played by the local people. Other actors such as the Village Office, the descendants of Kyai Raden Santri, as well as the pilgrims equally play some role in the endurance of the pilgrimage activity. The degree of participation varies among the actors. Among the local residents, it is the Kyai Raden Santri Foundation that provides access to decision-making. Formal and informal business owners benefit economically while establishing informal associations among themselves. Moreover, for the rest of the local residents, some indirect impact on their economic and religious activities are brought about by the presence of the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. Being the most powerful group within the local residents, the Kyai Raden Santri Foundation has the widest access to the tourism development process. This is similar to what Tosun (1999) discussed in an induced type of participation. However, in the case of religious tourism, it should be noted that the role of the descendants of the religious figure also provides a big contribution to the development process. Although they are not directly involved in daily management, they have the crucial responsibility to select the members of the Kyai Raden Santri Foundation. However, since the establishment of the foundation, it should be noted that its members have not changed significantly. The agreement of the local residents in regard to this matter should be observed in further research.

Based on fieldwork data, it cannot be gainsaid that pilgrims play a major role in the survival of small-scale religious sites in the case of Muslim people in Javanese society. This role does not merely refer to the economic benefit brought by pilgrims, but also to the linking of sites which they visit. In interviews, the pilgrims narrated how they usually did continuous visits to a number of sites in one single trip. Unlike pilgrimages in Japan, the connection among these Indonesian sites is usually based on the history of Islamisation in Java Island. Clearly, the linkage between the sites is important in helping the survival of small-scale religious tourism sites.

Heterogeneity within the community can be seen through the different ways the actors have maintained tourism and religious activity as well as the varied perceptions toward the graveyard by the Muslim people. The pilgrims who still believe in the power of the dead, nonetheless do pilgrimage as their religious activity. However, while formal business owners participate in the tourism activity, they refrain from getting involved in the religious activity. On another note, efforts made by the Gunungpring Village Office and Kyai Raden Santri Foundation in making Gunungpring Village a “Tourism and Educational Village based on Cultural and Religious Values” could be a cause of potential conflict within the society. While the local residents follow the ways of different religions, the religious values that Gunungpring Village portrays is only the Islam way. To examine this, future fieldwork should be conducted.

It can be argued that pilgrimage tourism has a significant potentiality for tourism development in view of its growing number of visitors as well as its significance as a religious practice of Javanese society. Hence, this research can contribute to a better understanding of the dynamism of community and the interaction of its stakeholders, which are quite essential aspects for the development of small-scale, community-based tourism in general.

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