

People's Movement in the Making of Pilgrimage Place

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ABSTRACT

Tuban City is well-known as the place of great Islamic scholars (Bumi Wali) and is visited by pilgrims from all over the country. Visitors to the tomb of Sunan Bonang come relentlessly in large numbers throughout the day. The city center where the tomb is located becomes the focal point of the city life and its economy. This paper shows how numerous people going back and forth and in and out to the tomb area have generated an attractive place characterized by strong socio-cultural traits. The study scrutinized the pattern of people's movement with the space syntax method. The global movement and local movement of various points in the tomb area and other functions in its surroundings were identified and measured. The analyses were carried out for visitors and pilgrims' traditions and characteristics in recognizing spatial value, form, and socio-cultural values involved in their movements and behavior in space. Finally, the paper will indicate the interplay of socio-cultural factors, belief systems, and touristic activities in the creative process of placemaking.

Keywords: *Pilgrimage, Space Syntax, People's Movement, Tuban, Placemaking.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Wali's tomb pilgrimage has been practiced since the death of *Walisongo* in the 16th century. The saints who influenced Islam in Java left traces of a grave. From Cirebon, West Java, to Surabaya, East Java, there are more than nine *Sunan* whose tombs are scattered on Java's north coast. *Walisongo's* teachings, which integrate Islamic values into Javanese people's everyday culture (which are still influenced by Hinduism), seem to leave a profound impression on the community. The impact of it can be seen in the guardian pilgrimage ritual that became one of the religious tourism destinations for the Javanese-Islamic community. Characterization and appreciation of *Walisongo* figures make a shift in meaning in pilgrimage, namely between respect and seeking *karomah* (blessing).

As one of the tomb pilgrimage destinations, Tuban City has a historical heritage of several *Wali's* tombs. The tomb of Sunan Bonang, Ibrahim Asmoroqondi, Sunan Bejagung *Lor* (north), and Bejagung *Kidul* (south) are some of the ancient tombs that are crowded by the pilgrims every day. One of the tombs that

becomes the landmark of Tuban City is Sunan Bonang's tomb, located in Kutorejo, downtown Tuban. This tomb is in a very strategic location, behind the Great Mosque of Jami, the Tuban Square area. Until today, this cemetery area had become Tuban's icon with its slogan as the *Bumi Wali*.

Sunan Bonang tomb area in Tuban is a tourist destination and one of Tuban's economic drivers. Every day, pilgrimage activities in this area last for 24 hours. As a result, in the center of Tuban City and surrounding areas, various trading activities emerge in response to the tomb pilgrimage tour. Another impact can be seen from the life of several roads around the center of Tuban City. The movement of pilgrims causes this to the tomb area that lasts all day. Sunan Bonang's tomb area gives a new meaning as a religious tourism area and provides an identity for the city. It is necessary to observe the pilgrimage activities in the tomb area's management and development as a tourist destination. The influence of pilgrim movements on the tomb's formation becomes important to be investigated, given its massive role in reviving the area. From that observation, it can be

known how a tomb has a deep meaning for pilgrims can even carry the city icon. This research is expected to provide knowledge about the role of belief systems, socio-cultural factors, and pilgrimage tours for regional development and urban planning in the future.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The Making of Place

A place becomes meaningful because it is created from several important components, such as space and people. Space and place are dialectically structured in human environmental experience since our understanding of space are related to the places we inhabit, which derive meaning from their spatial context [1]. It means the making of a place is driven by the close relationship between people and their place. Dovey explains that space becoming a place occurs because of the relationship between people with a deep meaning [2]. The place has a physical view, spatial experience, the character of the place based on space experience, and the depth of meaning for those who feel it. Since the 1960s era of urban thinkers like Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch, and William Whyte, placemaking theory has developed. The term placemaking is used as changing a part of the physical environment, which is occupied by people and objects, embodying a shared view. Placemaking is the process of transforming space into a place. This placemaking is then understood as an action-oriented process to shape the environment [3].

2.2 Movement as Placemaking Process

Placemaking is a social space process. Lefebvre explains that social spaces are shaped by social actions, both individually and collectively [4]. Social actions explain how a spatial space is conceptualized by those who fill and animate the space. It means that one space can be determined as placemaking by user actors that shape the place. One of the placemaking projects called People for Public Space (PPS) illustrates that placemaking is a space created to unite people together to collectively reimagine and reinvent public space as an essential place for their community. In Placemaking PPS booklets [5], based on placemaking projects, there are several attributes of the successful placemaking: (1) they are accessible and well connected to other important places in the area; (2) they are comfortable and project a good image; (3) they attract people to participate in activities there; and (4) they are

sociable environments in which people want to gather and visit again and again.

They are making a place through a process in which the city's part successfully forms the visitor destination's center. Creating a successful destination, the community needs a goal that gives identity and image, attracting new residents, businesses, and investments. However, they also need strong community goals that attract people [5]. As a dynamic process, [3] movements of actors in space can be an important factor in defining placemaking. In some previous studies on human movement [6,7], it is explained that observations of people's movements and behavior in public spaces also influence the shaping of places and landmarks. In both studies, the measurements were built using Space Syntax method. The result was generated the walking patterns of space users and the relationship between pedestrian movement patterns and spatial accessibility. Thus, it can be seen from those researches that Space Syntax can help measure people's movements and define placemaking.

2.3 Space Syntax

Space Syntax is a method that can be used as a way to read human movements. Its creator, Bill Hillier, tries to define people's relationships through the relationship between urban roads. This graph-based theory is produced based on a spatial configuration, the relationship between two spaces by considering at least a third space, and many other spaces in the space system [8]. More simply, Space Syntax can find consistency between patterns of social relations and patterns of relationships created by spatial formations [9]. Then Hillier and Hanson [8] studied the implications of the physical dimensions of space. They criticize the description of cities that depend on simplified linguistic concepts such as hierarchy and geometry [10]. The description is considered to occur because of the lack of ways to describe the urban environment's complexity. According to Hillier and Hanson [8], movement is generated naturally by the urban environment's spatial configuration. In other words, movements are generated automatically depending on the level of accessibility that is the underlying [8]. Previous studies on Space Syntax found that about nearly 80% difference in movement patterns can be predicted by the road network's spatial configuration [7, 11,12].

During the last four decades, some of the essential measures have been developed by Space Syntax researchers to explain social behavior [13].

First is connectivity, which measures the number of immediate neighbors directly connected to space [14,15]. Second, is the integration that describes relativized asymmetry in the graph network. It is a measure of mean depth that is specifically adapted for architectural layouts. The global measure shows how deep or shallow space is concerning all other spaces. By using integration, spaces are ranked from the most integrated to the most segregated. Integration is usually indicative of how many people are likely to be in a space [16]. Third, control measures the degree to which space controls access to its immediate neighbors, considering the number of alternative connections that each of these neighbors has [17]. The last one, choice that measures movement flows through spaces. Spaces that record high-global choices are located on the shortest paths from all origins to all destinations. The choice is a powerful measure at forecasting pedestrian and vehicular movement potentials [18, 19, 20, 21].

3. RESEARCH METHODS

This research used a qualitative approach. This method explains the theoretical basis used and compares it with data processing results from the case study. The phenomena will be discussed descriptively using maps and using data analysis in answering research questions. The process of collecting data in this study consists of physical documentation of the tomb and its surroundings, interviews with the tomb's visitor (pilgrims), and pilgrim movement observations.

3.1 Case Study

The case study chosen is the tomb of Sunan Bonang and its position towards the center of Tuban City (Figure 1). Sunan Bonang tomb area is located in Kutorejo District, Tuban Regency. This location lies to the west of Tuban's town square (Alun-alun), just behind the Great Mosque of Jami. To support the pilgrimage tourism activities, the local government built a cemetery market facility. The market was

built along the Street of Kutorejo IV, the main street leading to the tomb. To access this place, visitors must go through the main gate on the east side facing the square. While the grave gate on the west side, which faces Jalan Pemuda, is mostly used by local people.

The tomb complex is a one-hectare area. It consists of a mosque, grave-gates, pendopo tomb, cupola of Sunan Bonang tomb, holy-water jars area, tomb cultural-preservation manager-office, Sunan Bonang Foundation management-office, and supporting buildings. When entering the tomb complex of Sunan Bonang, pilgrims will meet three gates. The first gate is regol, while the second and the third are paduraksa. The gate, which has a Hindu-Buddhist style, signifies that pilgrims have entered a sacred complex or an important building, a respected saint's tomb.

In the Sunan Bonang tomb pilgrimage, pilgrims' movement towards and leaving the tomb becomes the main movement that shows a physically strong placemaking aspect. Displacement from different transit points to the destination (tomb), causing human movement that encourages the emergence of interconnection patterns between spaces. Around the area of Sunan Bonang, there are three main points used by pilgrims:

1. Pilgrims coming from the Alun-alun parking area usually come from inside and outside the city. The vehicles used are motorcycles, cars, and minibusses
2. The second point is that pilgrims come from the north (Boom Beach parking area). In general, pilgrims come from outside the city by cars, minibusses, or buses. After the vehicle is parked in the Boom Beach parking area, the pilgrims walk to Alun-alun and then to the tomb
3. The third point is that pilgrims come from the south. Pilgrims usually come by bus. After the bus is parked in the bus parking area, pilgrims then rent a pedicab to the square near the tomb's east gate.

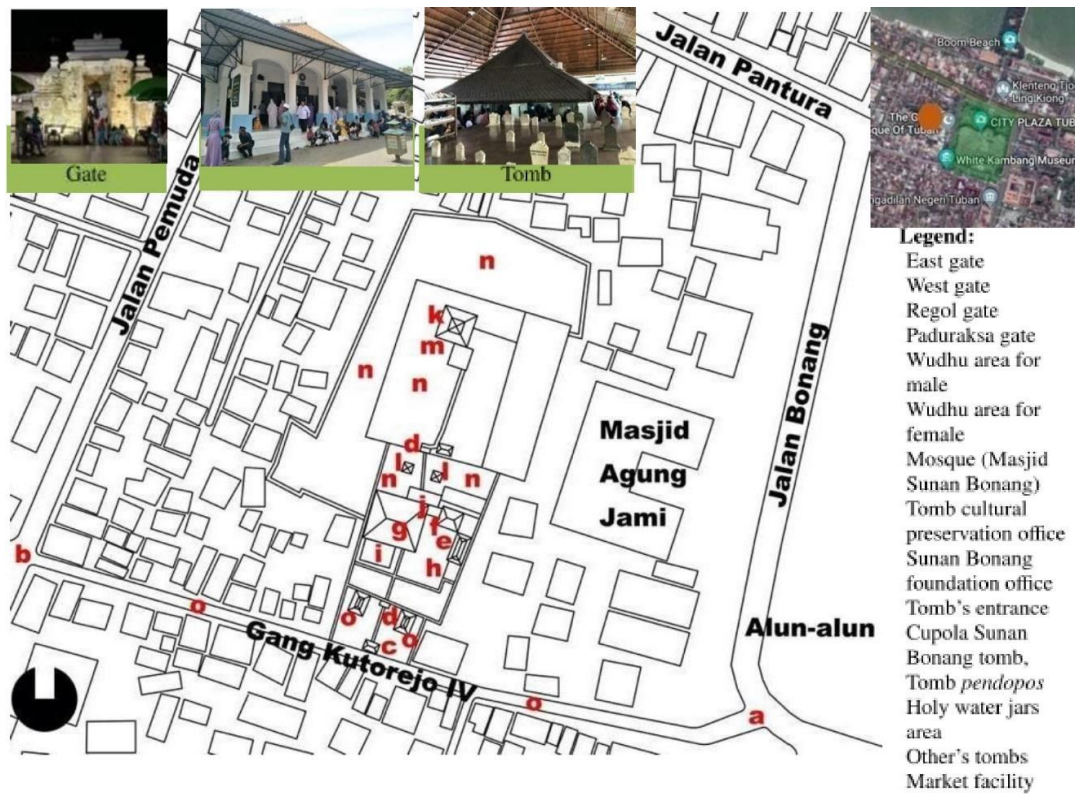


Figure 1. Sunan Bonang Tomb Area

3.2 Physical Data Collection

Physical data retrieval was done by documenting photographs of roads and buildings in downtown Tuban. Besides, a digital mapping of buildings and roads in the center of Tuban City was also made. This data was to support the analysis of Sunan Bonang's tomb's location to the city center and help the analysis process of Space Syntax.

3.3 Interview to The Pilgrims

Interview data collection was made through semi-structured interviews involving 12 participants. The participants were three local pilgrims and nine pilgrims from outside the Tuban city. The first analysis developed in this study was also built through interview data processing. This analysis was conducted to obtain route data and the pilgrims' movement. This data consists of grouping the results of interviews in a table where each column contains several variables such as name, age, origin, accompanied by the motivation of visit, activities, vehicles used, and route. The interview results are used to understand the socio-cultural characteristics and how they affected the pilgrimage route.

3.4 Field Observation Data

Data collection in this research was conducted to retrieve various transportation modes' data in downtown Tuban and observe pilgrim movements. This process was focused on activities, atmosphere, and recording of pilgrims' movement in a certain period (held in off-season weekend in January). This data indicated movement patterns from specific points to the tomb and vice versa during the off-season weekend. The next analysis used the Space Syntax method. The space Syntax method was used to describe the movement of pilgrims. The tool used in the Space Syntax method was DepthmapX software, which helped analyze and process data from digital maps, field observation data, and interview data. Those data had to be redrawn in DepthmapX software. The analysis process was carried out in two stages. The first stage analyzed Space syntax by calculating integration. Integration is a dimension that measures the global property in the form of the relative position of each space to other spaces in a spatial configuration. In contrast, the second stage was the process of choice analysis in the tomb's local area. At this stage, the choice route calculation was based on the pedestrian

frequency at a particular time and on a specific choice of path.

4. FINDINGS

4.1 Global Movement: Tuban City Center

A global movement is related to the migration of people from one place to another within the city. In this study, the movement observed was around the Tuban city center. The boundaries are *Alun-alun* to

the north coast, *Alun-alun* to Jalan WR. Supratman in the east, *Alun-alun* to Jalan H. Agus Salim in the west, and *Alun-alun* to Tuban-Babat road in the south. This movement was then observed based on the accessibility of transportation modes, such as pedestrians, pedicabs, motorbikes, and cars/minibusses/buses. This observation's results were analyzed using the Space Syntax method, including global integration data (shown in Figure 2 and quantified in Table 1).



Figure 2. Global Movement Map for Walking, Pedicabs, Motorbikes, Cars/Minibusses/Buses.

The map of cars/buses shows that the highest integration value (red line) that occur in the downtown area of Tuban is found on the part of Jalan Pantura (value of 1.24) and Jalan Pemuda (value of 1.33) in the north and west of the tomb. While the second highest integration value (orange) is found on Jalan Tuban-Babat (value of 1.18) around the inter-city bus parking area. These two highest points are the main access to the Sunan Bonang tomb, Boom Beach parking area, and tour parking area. In the motorbikes map, the highest global movement (red line) is found on Jalan Pemuda (western of the tomb)

value of 1.21, Jalan KH. Mustain (eastern of the tomb) value of 1.31, and Jalan Basuki Rahmat (main road access to Alun-alun) value of 1.25-1.31. These three lines are motorbike lines that have the highest level of integration. This is because a lot of density occurs in the pathway. The high movement causes one of them due to pilgrimage activities at the tomb. From the pedicabs map, it can be seen that the red line is on Jalan KH. Mustain (value of 1.29) is connected to the Alun-alun area to the bus parking area.

Table 1. Modes & Integration Value

Transportation	Highest Integration Value	Street
Cars/Buses	1.24	Jl. Pantura
	1.33	Jl. Pemuda
	1.18	Jl. Tuban-Babat
Motorbike	1.21	Jl. Pemuda
	1.31	Jl. KH. Mustain
	1.25-1.31	Jl. Basuki Rahmat
Pedicabs	1.29	Jl. KH. Mustain
Pedestrian	1.35	Jl. KH. Mustain
	1.27-1.33	a part of Jl. Basuki

The bus parking area is crowded by the pilgrims who come from various regions with bus transportation modes. The pilgrims usually get off the bus and head for the tomb of Sunan Bonang using pedicabs. *Alun-alun* and bus parking areas are the hub of the pedicabs, and the existence of tomb pilgrimage activities drives the movement of the pedicabs. The pedestrian movement map shows that the highest integration value is on Jalan KH. Mustain (value of 1.35) and a part of Jalan Basuki (northern of *Alun-alun*) value of 1.27-1.33. From all of the pedestrian movements in downtown Tuban, the highest value of integration is on the road leading to *Alun-alun* and the tomb of Sunan Bonang. It shows

that the path leading to a destination place, in this case, is the tomb of Sunan Bonang.

4.2 Choice and Intensity Local Movement: Pilgrimage Route

Observation of movements based on time and movement activities is needed to obtain data supporting this analysis. This observation’s results calculated each pilgrims route choice at a specific time and mapping using the Space Syntax method (Table 2). Space Syntax mapping included choice and intensity data. The observation was made on Saturday (offseason) in the morning, daytime, and evening.

Table 2. Calculation of Pilgrims’ Movement Based on Time and Route Choice

Time (per 1 hour)	Intensity of Route (1)	Intensity of Route (2)	Intensity of Route (3)
Morning 09.00-10.00 AM	88	83	135
Daytime 01.00-02.00 PM	201	548	235
Evening 08.00-09.00 PM	192	174	312

Based on the data above, pilgrims’ movement in the morning, daytime, and evening are depicted in the intensity map below (see Figure 3). These lines show the density of pilgrim intensities, and each

activity time shows a different density. The highest density point is at the east tomb gate from the three different times and three route choices. It shows a

pile of density concentrated on the east gate as the main entrance to Sunan Bonang's tomb.

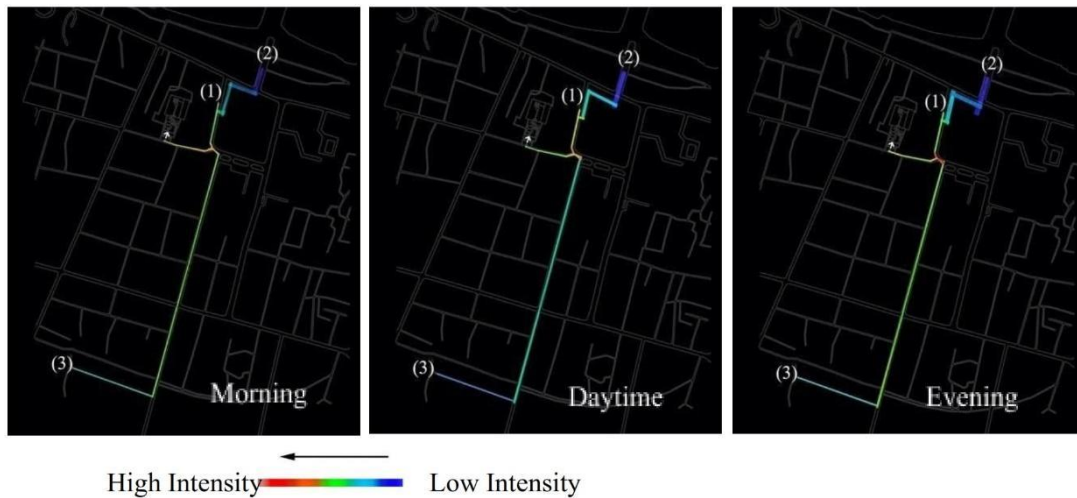


Figure 3. The intensity of Pilgrims' Movement Based on Time and Route Choice.

5. DISCUSSION

Despite having the same tradition of grave pilgrimage, pilgrims visiting Sunan Bonang's tomb had different characteristics. The interview data showed that there were various pilgrims with different origins and motivations. From the interview data collected on the weekend, most pilgrims came from cities around East Java. But a few of them came from the city of West Java. The background of pilgrims was also diverse, from children to the elderly. However, the age range was dominated by the productive ages of 15-64-years-old. Younger pilgrims under 14-years-old usually came with their parents. Gender is not a factor that strongly influences making this place iconic because the gender factor is almost balanced by the number of male and female visitors. There were common characteristics inherent in visitors. This characteristic is a belief system about the existence of a *karomah* or blessing that can be achieved from praying to Sunan Bonang's figure. On the other hand, there were different pilgrims' motivations from outside and inside Tuban's city. The first issue caught up from the interview data is that local pilgrims tend to go on pilgrimage because of long-established habits, either from family or friends' influence. Meanwhile, pilgrims from out of the city made pilgrimages with various motivations related to special occasions or specific intentions. For example, some pilgrims came there only to find batik around the tomb, or some pilgrims came because they wanted to go to Umrah and needed a blessing. All these motivations certainly affected the

movement of migrants from within and from outside the city.

The main activity that is generally carried out by pilgrims is to pray at the tomb. Very few of them came deliberately to shop at the market. Therefore, almost all of the pilgrims moved directly to the tomb, and they shopped just while passing the way home after completing the pilgrimage. This pilgrimage activity makes the tomb's east gate area a melting pot of various pilgrims with different origins and characters. This gate area is an intersection of all routes to the tomb and the most integrated area among all places. The surrounding places are supporting activities to fulfill the need of pilgrims such as shopping or eating. Interview data also showed that there were more bus or minibus users than other vehicle users. This result means there are more pilgrims from out of town than local pilgrims. This analysis also strengthens the choice of choice on pilgrim routes, pilgrims' movement with choice routes 2 and 3 at a higher rate than route 1, which originated more from local pilgrims. Outsiders mostly use buses, minibusses, or public transportation, whereas local, and outside pilgrims use motorcycles and cars. Outside pilgrims, especially with route 2, usually park their vehicles on the Boom Beach area; that is why they often visit the beach after finishing their pilgrimage activity. Meanwhile, pilgrims with route three usually get off the bus and head for Sunan Bonang's tomb using pedicabs. The arrangement of pedicabs in Tuban city has been made very well. It can be seen from the

standardized price and the regulated pedicab hub in Alun-alun and the bus parking area.

Observations were made during the offseason. If data were collected during the holiday season, there might have been differences in the number of visitors, which affected the intensity calculation results. It may be a limitation of this method, where trends in visitor numbers affect movement value.

6. CONCLUSION

The movement of pilgrims is affected by the type of transportation used. These movements then shape a pattern of space that follows the configuration of the parking space. Each movement route starts from the drop-off point, which is parking for vehicles used by pilgrims. The most integrated or the most accessible space for pilgrims is the intersection at the east grave gate. This intersection then encourages the informal market's emergence, which eventually forms new connectivity between the tomb and the shopping area. The travel agent determines the series of pilgrimage tourism activities that manage pilgrimage schedules from one guardian's tomb to another. It is what causes the pilgrimage process to run 24 hours. Pilgrimage activities cannot be distinguished from tourism and religious activities but are mixed with personal ambition and motivation. Sunan Bonang's tomb's uniqueness is related to placemaking, which is generally formed in public spaces such as parks. In this case, the grave becomes a gathering place for people from all directions and even an income source. The unity of the graves, mosques, open spaces and management buildings around the cemetery establishes a placemaking. It was also strengthened by historical objects that joined with the typical activities (coming in prayer together) and the concept of cultural traditions on pilgrimage to charismatic religious leaders to get blessings or get their grant wishes. Following this result, much further research studies can be made, for example, investigating the cultural path of pilgrimage tourism or examining socio-cultural influences to pilgrimage activities.

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