

Personal Values and Cultural Resilience in *Ziarah*: Toward a Model of Sustainable Pilgrimage Culture in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This study examines pilgrimage (ziarah) to the tomb of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) as an adaptive and resilient cultural system within contemporary Indonesian Islam. Rather than treating pilgrimage solely as a religious rite or a form of religious tourism, it conceptualizes ziarah as a socio-cultural ecosystem shaped by ongoing negotiations among individual values, collective meanings, and material structures. The analytical framework integrates Schwartz's Basic Human Values Theory and Ungar's Cultural Resilience Theory to bridge micro- and macro-level analysis. Methodologically, the study adopts a qualitative multi-method approach based on secondary data analysis, including statistical data, surveys of pilgrims' motivations, ethnographic findings, and analyses of media and community narratives. The findings indicate that pilgrims' motivations are diverse and overlapping, driven by distinct configurations of psychological values, which are articulated into four dominant pilgrim archetypes—Ritualists, Moralists, Seekers, and Tourists—coexisting within a single pilgrimage ecosystem. The cultural resilience of the Gus Dur pilgrimage site lies in its capacity to accommodate these archetypes without compromising its spiritual core, mediated by Gus Dur's role as a central figure with religious, political, and moral legitimacy and reinforced by the transformation of pilgrimage into a community-based socio-economic ecosystem. As a synthesis, the study proposes a Sustainable Pilgrimage Culture Model that offers theoretical and practical contributions to inclusive, value-centered, and sustainable pilgrimage governance.

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini mengkaji praktik ziarah ke makam KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) sebagai sistem budaya yang adaptif dan resilien dalam konteks Islam Indonesia kontemporer, dengan menempatkan ziarah bukan semata sebagai ritus keagamaan atau wisata religi, melainkan sebagai ekosistem sosio-kultural yang dibentuk oleh negosiasi berkelanjutan antara nilai-nilai individual, makna kolektif, dan struktur material. Kerangka analisis penelitian ini mengintegrasikan Teori Nilai Dasar Manusia Schwartz dan Teori Ketahanan Budaya Ungar untuk menjembatani analisis mikro dan makro secara komprehensif. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif multi-metode berbasis analisis data sekunder yang mencakup data statistik, survei motivasi peziarah, temuan etnografis, serta analisis narasi media dan komunitas. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa motivasi peziarah bersifat beragam dan saling tumpang tindih, digerakkan oleh konfigurasi nilai psikologis yang berbeda, yang kemudian terartikulasikan ke dalam empat arketipe peziarah dominan—Ritualists, Moralists, Seekers, dan Tourists—yang berkoeksistensi dalam satu ekosistem ziarah. Ketahanan budaya situs ziarah Gus Dur terletak pada kemampuannya mengakomodasi keempat arketipe tersebut tanpa kehilangan inti spiritual, yang dimediasi oleh peran Gus Dur sebagai figur sentral dengan legitimasi religius, politik, dan moral, serta diperkuat oleh transformasi ziarah menjadi ekosistem sosial-ekonomi berbasis komunitas. Sebagai sintesis, penelitian ini mengusulkan Model Budaya Ziarah Berkelanjutan yang menawarkan kontribusi teoretis dan praktis bagi pengelolaan ziarah yang inklusif, berkelanjutan, dan berorientasi pada nilai.

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A. INTRODUCTION

Pilgrimage practices within Indonesian Islam have evolved from purely devotional rituals into a resilient socio-cultural-economic phenomenon, with the tomb of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) in Jombang serving as a paradigmatic example. Data from Statistics Indonesia indicate that religious tourism, centered on the burial complexes of prominent ulama such as Gus Dur, constitutes the primary attraction for more than six million domestic tourist visits to Jombang Regency, with a marked surge during the annual haul commemoration. However, beneath this mass scale lies a complex configuration of pilgrims' motivations.¹ Previous studies reveal that although 67.7% of visitors explicitly identify their purpose as "pilgrimage," 73.8% of them concurrently articulate prayers for personal needs such as success and well-being. This finding suggests an intricate entanglement between personal spirituality and expectations of transcendental benefit.² This phenomenon is further reinforced by the emergence of a surrounding "religious economic ecosystem" and the practice of "interfaith pilgrimage," both of which generate an inherent tension between economic sustainability and the potential secularization of spiritual meaning.

Existing scholarship on pilgrimage³ in Indonesia remains largely fragmented,⁴ thereby constraining a holistic understanding of its resilience.⁵ Studies in the anthropology of religion⁶ have primarily focused on social structures and contests of meaning at pilgrimage sites. In contrast,⁷ more recent local studies⁸ in Indonesia⁹ tend to emphasize ritual practices, social networks, or economic dimensions in isolation. Conceptual dialogue between these macro-structural approaches and micro-psychological analyses of individual pilgrims' motivations remains notably limited. Consequently, a critical research gap persists: the absence of an analytical framework that systematically connects psychological dimensions (personal values) with sociological concepts (cultural resilience) to explain the mechanisms through which pilgrimage adapts and endures within the context of modernity.

To address this gap, the present study proposes an integrative approach that synthesizes Schwartz's Theory of Basic Human Values with Ungar's Theory of Cultural Resilience.

¹ Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten BPS Jombang, "Statistik Pariwisata Kabupaten Jombang 2024," 2024, <https://jombangkab.bps.go.id/id/publication/2025/10/28/1f39e2041f11e3c662de5c4a/statistik-pariwisata-kabupaten-jombang-2024.html>.

² Sri Mulyani, "Kajian Terhadap Daerah Asal, Motivasi Pengunjung Dan Fasilitas Penunjang Objek Wisata Religi Makam Kh. Abdurrahman Wahid di Kecamatan Diwek Kabupaten Jombang," *Swara Bhumi* 4, no. 02 (2016), <https://ejournal.unesa.ac.id/index.php/swara-bhumi/article/view/18277>.

³ Victor Witter Turner and Richard Schechner, *The Anthropology of Performance*, Performance Studies Series 4 (New York: PAJ Publications, 1992).

⁴ Matei Candea, "French Law, Danish Cartoons, and the Anthropology of Free Speech," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 67, no. 1 (January 2025): 5–32, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417524000252>.

⁵ John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, eds., *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

⁶ Aan Arizandy, "The Resilience of Local Religious Leaders in Maintaining Harmony: Anthropology of Communication Perspective," *KnE Social Sciences* 10, no. 14 (July 2025): 668–83, <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v10i14.19130>.

⁷ I. F. Alatas, "Pilgrimage and Network Formation in Two Contemporary B Alaw Hawl in Central Java," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25, no. 3 (September 2014): 298–324, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/etu037>.

⁸ Priyo Subekti, Aat Ruchiat Nugraha, and Diah Fatma Sjoraida, "The Pilgrimage Tradition As An Economic Source For The Community Around The Sacred Tomb," *Jurnal Penelitian Manajemen Terapan (PENATARAN)* 9, no. 2 (December 2024): 233–41.

⁹ Daniela Paredes Grijalva, Sita Hidayah, and Gabriele Weichart, "Bridging Currents: Emerging Trends in Indonesian Anthropology," *Advances in Southeast Asian Studies* 18, no. 2 (October 2025): C1–4, <https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-0128>.

Schwartz's framework maps the personal psychological motivations that underlie human action, while Ungar emphasizes processes of negotiating cultural resources within broader social-ecological¹⁰ contexts.¹¹The integration of these perspectives yields a novel analytical lens that enables an examination of how a "goodness of fit" between pilgrims' personal values—such as tradition, universalism, or achievement—and the value system offered by the pilgrimage site ultimately becomes a source of spiritual sustainability. This concept refers to the capacity to preserve the authenticity of spiritual meaning while simultaneously adapting in a dynamic manner.¹²

Based on the analytical framework outlined above, this article pursues two primary objectives.¹³ *First*, it seeks to analyze the dynamic interaction between the spectrum of pilgrims' personal values and the mechanisms of cultural resilience operating within the context of pilgrimage to Gus Dur's tomb *Second*, it aims to formulate an operational and context-sensitive Model of Sustainable Pilgrimage Culture. The contribution of this research is twofold. Theoretically, it offers an integrative micro–macro framework that explains cultural resilience through the lens of value negotiation. Practically, the proposed model provides concrete governance principles for achieving a balanced pilgrimage management system—one that preserves core spiritual meanings, accommodates the diversity of pilgrims' motivations, and ensures socio-economic sustainability in ways that benefit local communities. Accordingly, the findings are expected to inform the development of national religious tourism policies that are more value-sensitive, moving beyond a narrow focus on infrastructure development and economic targets. Pilgrimage practices in the Indonesian archipelago, as reflected in visits to Gus Dur's tomb in Jombang, should not be understood as static cultural monuments. Rather, they constitute a living and resilient process—an embodiment of cultural resilience that derives precisely from its capacity to continuously negotiate with the spectrum of personal values embedded within society. Its endurance lies in its ability to function as a multivalent vessel, capable of accommodating, mediating, and mutually reinforcing diverse human values, as conceptualized within Schwartz's theory of basic human values.

B. METHODS

This study adopts a qualitative approach that integrates multi-source secondary data analysis to achieve triangulation and thematic convergence. Unlike mixed methods designs that combine quantitative and qualitative approaches, this research employs a multi-method qualitative design, which utilizes diverse types of existing data and analyzes them thematically within a single, coherent qualitative framework. The data sources comprise four

¹⁰ Shalom H. Schwartz, "An Overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values," *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture* 2, no. 1 (December 2012), <https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1116>.

¹¹ Michael Ungar, "The Social Ecology of Resilience: Addressing Contextual and Cultural Ambiguity of a Nascent Construct," *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 81, no. 1 (January 2011): 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.2010.01067.x>.

¹² Muhammad Hifdil Islam and Abd Aziz, "Reimagining Islamic Education: Gus Dur's Vision For Multiculturalism And Social Harmony In Indonesian Pesantren," *BAHTSUNA: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 1 (April 2025): 20–27, <https://doi.org/10.55210/bahtsuna.v7i1.540>.

¹³ Mark Woodward and Rohani Mohamed, "Theorising Violent Extremisms: Anthropological and Psychoanalytic Perspectives," *Intellectual Discourse* 33, no. 1 (January 2025), <https://doi.org/10.31436/id.v33i1.2297>.

primary corpora.¹⁴ *First*, statistical data from the Central Bureau of Statistics of Jombang Regency for the year 2024 provide a macro-level context regarding visitation trends. *Second*, survey data on pilgrims' motivations collected by various researchers—including both open-ended and closed-ended responses from multiple respondents—are used as raw material for the analysis of psychological values. *Third*, ethnographic data from Mulyani's prior study offer in-depth descriptions of on-site practices and social interactions. *Finally*, document analysis of media narratives¹⁵ and community-generated content is employed to trace broader public discourses surrounding¹⁶ the pilgrimage site.¹⁷

Data analysis was conducted through a guided thematic procedure consisting of three interrelated stages. *First* stage is Value Mapping, in which quotations and responses concerning pilgrims' motivations were coded inductively and subsequently mapped onto Schwartz's basic human values framework, particularly Tradition, Universalism, and Achievement. This mapping strictly followed Schwartz's operational definitions; for instance, statements emphasizing respect for ancestral heritage were categorized under the value of Tradition, whereas expressions of concern for social justice were associated with Universalism.¹⁸ *Second* stage involves Cultural Resilience Process Analysis. At this stage, the entire data corpus was analyzed by applying Ungar's framework of seven resilience resources, such as cultural connectedness and access to material resources. For example, the diversification of services by local communities was examined as a manifestation of the principles of "access to material resources" and "meaningful participation." The key concept of goodness of fit was employed to assess how the pilgrimage site accommodates the previously mapped spectrum of personal values, thereby generating alignment that strengthens the resilience of the cultural system as a whole. *Third* stage consists of Integrative Synthesis and Modeling. Findings from the value mapping and cultural resilience analyses were synthesized to reconstruct the dynamic relationships between individual motivations and systemic adaptation mechanisms. This synthesis constitutes the foundation for formulating the Sustainable Pilgrimage Culture model as the conceptual-operational output of the study. Ethical considerations in this research adhere to standard protocols for secondary data analysis, including appropriate source attribution for all data used, as well as anonymization and data aggregation to safeguard the confidentiality of individual informants who may be represented within the secondary datasets. The principal limitation of this method lies in its reconstructive nature, as it relies on previously available data. Nevertheless, this rigorous multi-source approach enables an in-depth exploration of the complexity of the phenomenon and provides a strong empirical basis for the development of the proposed model.

¹⁴ John W. Creswell et al., *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, Fifth edition (Los Angeles London New Delhi Singapore Washington DC Melbourne: SAGE, 2018).

¹⁵ Mulyani, "Kajian Terhadap Daerah Asal, Motivasi Pengunjung Dan Fasilitas Penunjang Objek Wisata Religi Makam Kh. Abdurrahman Wahid Di Kecamatan Diwek Kabupaten Jombang."

¹⁶ R. Widodo Djati Sasongko, "Dampak Ekonomi Wisata Ziarah Makam Gus Dur Dalam Upaya Pengembangan Pariwisata Jombang," *Jurnal Nasional Pariwisata* 9, no. 1 (September 2020): 1-16, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jnp.59452>.

¹⁷ Lexi Pranata and Dewa Gde Satrya, "Makam Gus Dur, Ikon Pariwisata Jombang*," *Business and Finance Journal* 4, no. 1 (March 2019): 25-32, <https://doi.org/10.33086/bfj.v4i1.1092>.

¹⁸ Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology," *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no. 2 (January 2006): 77-101, <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp0630a>.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

An in-depth analysis of the collected secondary data reveals a complex and layered structure of pilgrims' motivations. Serving as a foundation for more advanced value-based analysis, this empirical classification functions as a contextual bridge between pilgrims' surface-level expressions (manifest motivations) and the underlying psychological value systems (latent values) that inform them. The findings not only confirm the diversity of motivations but also demonstrate significant overlap and co-existence of multiple drivers within a single visit, thereby transcending simplistic dichotomies between ritual practice and tourism. The thematic analysis of survey responses and ethnographic data yields four principal motivational categories, as summarized in Table 1:

Table 1. Distribution of Pilgrims' Motivations Based on Survey Data

Primary Category	Motivation	Percentage	& Quantitative Indicators	Respondent Expressions & Empirical Characteristics
Value Emulation (Moral Reflection and Respect)		41% of survey responses.	Expressed primarily as destination-related expectations, in which Jombang's identity as a "City of Faith" and the presence of a national figure and ulama constitute intrinsic attractions.	"Seeking to emulate Gus Dur's tolerance," "Inspired by his struggle for democracy," "Paying respect to a national and religious figure." Profile: Closely associated with the religious and socio-cultural identity of pilgrims from Nahdliyin communities, representing a search for intellectual and moral meaning beyond ritual performance (Unhasy,2023).
Pilgrimage and Prayer (Ritual-Spiritual)		29% of open-ended survey responses explicitly stated this category. Empirically, 100% of pilgrims engaged in religious activities (prayer, tomb visitation) on-site, making it a universal practice.		"Praying for the deceased," "Performing grave pilgrimage rituals." Profile: Predominantly pilgrims aged over 40 (48%), largely originating from East Java (80%), demonstrating high loyalty, with 100% expressing willingness to revisit the site. ^{19;20} ;(Unhasy,2023)
Tourism, Culture, and Recreation		18% of survey responses. Supported by behavioral data: 93% of pilgrims reported spending money on shopping or souvenirs, and 69% visited for short durations (≤ 2 hours), indicating a strong day-trip pattern.		"Leisure travel combined with pilgrimage," "Visiting historical sites," "Purchasing souvenirs." Profile: This group constitutes the primary contributor to direct economic circulation at the site, blending spiritual intentions with cultural exploration and light recreational activities. ^{21;22} ;(Unhasy,2023)
Seeking Blessings and Personal Prayers		12% of survey responses. Although explicitly reported less frequently,		"Praying for sustenance," "Seeking healing," "Asking for smooth affairs." Profile: Implicit and contextual in

¹⁹ Sasongko, "Dampak Ekonomi Wisata Ziarah Makam Gus Dur Dalam Upaya Pengembangan Pariwisata Jombang."

²⁰ Pranata and Satrya, "Makam Gus Dur, Ikon Pariwisata Jombang*."

²¹ Sasongko, "Dampak Ekonomi Wisata Ziarah Makam Gus Dur Dalam Upaya Pengembangan Pariwisata Jombang."

²² Pranata and Satrya, "Makam Gus Dur, Ikon Pariwisata Jombang*."

this motivation is nature, this motivation is rarely empirically embedded articulated as a standalone category in within observed grave open-ended responses, yet remains pilgrimage practices and highly salient in lived practice. often accompanies primary 23;24;(Unhasy,2023);25 ritual motivations.

This distribution represents more than a mere statistical profile; it reflects an ongoing negotiation of values within a dynamic cultural system. The dominance of the “Value Emulation” category (41%) suggests that, for a substantial proportion of contemporary pilgrims, the site functions as a locus for the reaffirmation and internalization of social-universal values—such as tolerance and justice—embodied by Gus Dur. At the same time, the universality of ritual engagement (100%) underscores the centrality of the sacred foundation as a *conditio sine qua non* that legitimizes all other forms of visitation. In other words, the flexibility and cultural resilience of pilgrimage to Gus Dur’s tomb derive precisely from its capacity to simultaneously fulfill the need for ritual stability and the demand for adaptive meaning-making. These findings constitute a critical point of departure for further analysis through the lens of Schwartz’s Theory of Basic Human Values, aimed at elucidating which core psychological values underpin each empirical motivational category and how their interactions collectively shape a resilient pilgrimage ecosystem.

1. Mapping Pilgrims’ Motivations into Schwartz’s Value Circumplex

This analysis adopts Schwartz’s Circumplex Model of Basic Human Values to identify the core psychological values underlying each category of pilgrims’ motivations. This mapping provides a significant analytical contribution by uncovering deeper and more universal motivational frameworks beneath culturally specific expressions—an approach that has rarely been applied in studies of pilgrimage in Indonesia.²⁶ It is important to note that this categorization process necessarily involves interpretive judgment based on qualitative data, as a single motivational statement may reflect nuances of multiple values simultaneously. For example, the statement “seeking to emulate Gus Dur’s tolerance” is predominantly mapped onto the value of Universalism, yet it also implicitly contains elements of Conformity in relation to idealized social norms. The analysis below therefore focuses on the most dominant and conceptually salient value in each case.

Table 2. Mapping Pilgrims’ Motivations to Schwartz’s Value Dimensions and Theoretical Quadrants

Empirical Pilgrims’ Motivation	Dominant Schwartz Value(s)	Theoretical Quadrant	Description of Relationship and Illustrative Examples
Emulation of Humanitarian Values	of Universalism (and Benevolence)	Self-Transcendence	Pilgrimage as an expression of concern for collective welfare, social justice, and acceptance of diversity. <i>Illustrative quote:</i>

²³ Sasongko, “Dampak Ekonomi Wisata Ziarah Makam Gus Dur Dalam Upaya Pengembangan Pariwisata Jombang.”

²⁴ Pranata and Satrya, “Makam Gus Dur, Ikon Pariwisata Jombang*.”

²⁵ Azizah Ramadhani Mega Nahda W and Lukman Arif, “Collaborative Governance Dalam Pengembangan Wisata Religi Makam Gus Dur Di Kabupaten Jombang,” *Journal Publicuho* 8, no. 3 (August 2025): 1565–80, <https://doi.org/10.35817/publicuho.v8i3.868>.

²⁶ Schwartz, “An Overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values.”

				<p>“I come here not only to pray, but primarily to absorb Gus Dur’s spirit of pluralism and practice it in my community.” This statement clearly emphasizes concern for the common good (Universalism) and, implicitly, compassion toward others (Benevolence).</p>
Ritual Pilgrimage and Prayer	Conformity and Tradition	Conservation		<p>Pilgrimage as the fulfillment of religious obligations, respect for traditional religious authority (ulama), and adherence to communal norms. <i>Illustrative quote:</i> “This is part of our tradition, honoring saints and ulama. I feel it is something I must do.” This response highlights motivation to comply with social expectations (Conformity) and to respect inherited traditions (Tradition).</p>
Seeking Blessings and Prayers	Security and Achievement	Self-Enhancement		<p>Pilgrimage as a means to attain life stability, personal success, or control over uncertainty. <i>Illustrative quote:</i> “I pray at Gus Dur’s tomb so that our family business runs smoothly and my children remain healthy.” This reflects a desire for safety and stability (Security) alongside aspirations for personal and familial advancement (Achievement).</p>
Tourism, Culture, and Recreation	Stimulation and Self-Direction	Openness to Change	to	<p>Pilgrimage as a space for acquiring new experiences, intellectual or spiritual exploration, and autonomous meaning-making. <i>Illustrative quote:</i> “I was curious about Gus Dur’s history and wanted to experience the atmosphere firsthand. It feels like a trip that also brings enlightenment.” This response demonstrates a drive for novel and stimulating experiences (Stimulation) and freedom to explore meaning independently (Self-Direction).</p>

This mapping reveals that the pilgrimage site of Gus Dur’s tomb functions as a value-magnetic field capable of attracting and accommodating all four motivational quadrants within Schwartz’s model. Its capacity to bridge values that are theoretically diametrical—such as Self-Transcendence (altruism) and Self-Enhancement (personal achievement), or Conservation (tradition) and Openness to Change (exploration)—constitutes a central source of its cultural resilience. Rather than enforcing value homogeneity, the site provides a multi-value platform that enables negotiation and co-existence among diverse psychological motivations within a single cultural space. It is precisely this flexibility that forms the foundation for the subsequent analysis of cultural resilience in the following section.

2. Identification of Four Pilgrim Archetypes

Based on the clustering of values and motivations identified in the preceding analysis, this study delineates four dominant pilgrim archetypes that collectively constitute the pilgrimage community at Gus Dur's tomb. The first archetype is *the Ritualists*. This group is predominantly oriented toward Conservation values, particularly Conformity and Tradition. They represent traditional pilgrims who visit the site primarily to fulfill religious obligations, such as reciting *tahlil*, *Yā Sīn*, and offering prayers for the deceased. Their presence is often collective, organized through religious study groups (*pengajian*) or *majlis ta'lim*, and is most concentrated during specific ritual moments, including the annual *haul*, the month of *Ruwah*, or on Friday *Kliwon*. For this group, the legitimacy of pilgrimage to Gus Dur's tomb derives from his status as a prominent ulama and a senior cleric within Nahdlatul Ulama. Empirical findings reported by Mulyani support this characterization, indicating that 67.7% of respondents identified "pilgrimage" as their primary motivation, with a substantial proportion originating from santri communities and rural areas of East Java.²⁷

The second archetype is *the Moralists*. This group is primarily motivated by Self-Transcendence values, especially Universalism and Benevolence. They consist largely of educated individuals, activists, and younger generations who visit the site to reflect upon and internalize the universal values championed by Gus Dur, such as pluralism, social justice, and humanism. For them, the tomb functions as a site of memory and moral inspiration rather than merely a locus for petitionary prayer. They may engage less intensively in collective ritual practices and instead favor silent reflection, informal discussions, or contemplative presence in the courtyard of the tomb complex. Survey data from UNHAS, which indicate that 64% of pilgrims reported value emulation as their primary purpose, underscore the significance of this archetype within the contemporary pilgrimage landscape.

The third archetype is the Seekers. This group represents a hybrid configuration, often positioned at the intersection of Self-Enhancement values (Achievement and Security) and Conservation values (Tradition). Seekers undertake pilgrimage as an act of worship and tradition, while simultaneously harboring explicit or implicit expectations of obtaining personal benefits, such as blessings, healing, economic prosperity, or success in education or career advancement. Mulyani's finding that 73.8% of pilgrims embedded personal prayers within their pilgrimage practices is highly illustrative of this archetype. Members of this group commonly believe in the *karamah* or spiritual efficacy of the site due to its association with a revered religious figure, thereby perceiving prayers offered there as more efficacious. This archetype spans diverse demographic backgrounds, including homemakers, traders, and students.

The fourth archetype is the Tourists. This group is driven primarily by Openness to Change values, particularly Stimulation and Self-Direction. They perceive their visit as part of a religious tourism package or an educational journey. Their motivations center on acquiring new experiences, learning historical narratives, or engaging in casual documentation, such as photography, at a well-known site. While they may perform brief prayers as a gesture of respect, their participation in ritual practices is generally minimal. The sharp increase in domestic tourist visits recorded by the Central Bureau of Statistics—reaching approximately

²⁷ Mulyani, "Kajian Terhadap Daerah Asal, Motivasi Pengunjung Dan Fasilitas Penunjang Objek Wisata Religi Makam Kh. Abdurrahman Wahid Di Kecamatan Diwek Kabupaten Jombang."

six million visitors—alongside the expansion of accommodation facilities and souvenir markets, reflects the growing prominence of this archetype within the pilgrimage ecosystem.

Based on the synthesis of Schwartz’s value mapping, empirical motivation analysis, and ethnographic observations, this study identifies four pilgrim archetypes that represent dominant configurations of values and practices within the Gus Dur pilgrimage community. It is important to emphasize that these archetypes are ideal-typical in nature—analytical constructs designed to illuminate dominant patterns rather than rigid, mutually exclusive categories. In empirical reality, individual pilgrims may display characteristics of more than one archetype, and transitions between archetypes may occur over time. For instance, a Ritualist may gradually develop into a Moralist after exposure to intellectual discourse, or a Tourist may transform into a Seeker following a personally meaningful spiritual experience.

Table 3. Profiles of Pilgrim Archetypes: Configurations of Values, Motivations, and Practices

Archetype (Ideal Type)	Dominant Psychological Values (Schwartz)	Primary Motivations and Expressions	Dominant Activities and Forms of Engagement	Socio-Demographic Characteristics and Patterns
The Ritualists	Conservation (Tradition, Conformity, Security)	Religious worship and fulfillment of religious obligations. “Praying for the late Gus Dur as part of the tradition of honoring ulama.”	Collective <i>tahlil</i> , regular recitation of <i>Yasin</i> , communal prayers, adherence to standardized pilgrimage protocols.	Profile: Santri, pesantren communities, traditional Nahdlatul Ulama congregations, <i>majelis taklim</i> . Pattern: Group-based visits aligned with the religious calendar (haul, major Islamic observances).
The Moralists	Self-Transcendence (Universalism, Benevolence)	Reflection upon and emulation of humanitarian values. “Pilgrimage as a means to re-engage with the values of pluralism and social justice championed by Gus Dur.”	Silent contemplation at the tomb, small-group discussions, historical tracing (<i>napak tilas</i>), engagement with narrative and interpretive content.	Profile: NGO activists, academics, journalists, educated urban youth. Pattern: Individual or small-group visits, high engagement with narratives rather than ritual intensity.
The Seekers	Self-Enhancement (Achievement, Power) and Conservation (Security)	Seeking solutions and blessings for personal needs. “Praying for ease in work and family matters.”	Intense personal prayer with specific petitions, individualized rituals (e.g., touching the gravestone), seeking signs or spiritual guidance.	Profile: Homemakers, traders, students facing examinations or life uncertainty. Pattern: Motivational visits often linked to particular life moments or crises.

The Tourists	Openness to Change (Stimulation, Self-Direction)	New experiences and educational exploration. "Wanting to see firsthand the resting place of a great figure and experience its atmosphere."	cultural and	Ethnographic observation (watching rituals), photo and video documentation, souvenir shopping, participation in guided tours.	Profile: General tourists, families, institutional tour participants (schools, companies). Pattern: One-time visits, short duration, predominantly day-trip behavior.
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The presence of these four archetypes is not static. Rather, they interact within a shared pilgrimage ecosystem and, at times, exert reciprocal influence upon one another. The presence of Tourists, for example, may prompt Ritualists to rearticulate and reaffirm the significance of tradition, while engagement with Moralists can open interpretive spaces for Seekers to situate their personal prayers within broader social and ethical contexts. The capacity of the pilgrimage site to accommodate and facilitate productive interaction among these archetypes constitutes a crucial source of vitality and cultural resilience for the pilgrimage practice as a whole. The following analysis therefore turns to an examination of how mechanisms of cultural resilience operate to sustain this dynamic equilibrium.

3. Mechanisms of Cultural Resilience

The findings concerning the diversity of values and pilgrim archetypes do not represent a static configuration but rather the outcome of an ongoing and dynamic process of cultural resilience. Through the theoretical lens proposed by Michael Ungar, the resilience of pilgrimage to Gus Dur's tomb can be understood as a living system sustained by three mutually reinforcing core mechanisms: continuous processes of meaning negotiation, the provision of meaningful cultural resources, and the achievement of differential goodness of fit for distinct pilgrim groups.²⁸ Meaning negotiation constitutes the key mechanism that enables this tradition to remain socially and culturally relevant. The pilgrimage to Gus Dur's tomb operates as a field in which multiple stakeholders—ranging from traditional religious authorities and local communities to pilgrims with diverse motivations—continuously interact and negotiate the meaning of the practice. This negotiation²⁹ unfolds simultaneously across³⁰ three interrelated domains.³¹

At the level of physical space, negotiation is manifested in the strategic spatial arrangement of the site. The tomb enclosure (*cungkup*) is preserved as a sacred space for intimate ritual practice, while the broader courtyard functions as an open arena for reflection, discussion, and observation. This spatial differentiation produces a pragmatic compromise between the sacred and the profane. At the narrative level, the dominant discourse has

²⁸ Ungar, "The Social Ecology of Resilience."

²⁹ Eade and Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred*.

³⁰ Song Zhou et al., "Meaning in Life from a Cultural Perspective: The Role of Cultural Identity, Perceived Social Support, and Resilience among Chinese College Students," *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 12, no. 1 (January 2025): 91, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-025-04424-8>.

³¹ Eni Maryani and Puji Lestari, "Developing Cultural-Based Community Resilience to Disaster in Indonesia," *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 1479, no. 1 (April 2025): 012030, <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/1479/1/012030>.

expanded from a focus on the piety of a respected kiai to include a broader heroic narrative of Gus Dur as a champion of democracy and pluralism. This narrative expansion allows the site to engage a wider spectrum of pilgrims without eroding its core religious legitimacy. At the level of practice, cultural elasticity is evident in the incorporation of contemporary activities—such as civic discussions or art exhibitions—into traditional commemorative events like the haul, provided that the core ritual elements remain intact.

Without such successful negotiation, the site would risk becoming rigid and exclusionary, potentially generating intergroup conflict or alienation from an evolving society. Over time, this rigidity would erode the site's social resonance and cultural vitality.³² The second mechanism underpinning cultural resilience lies in the provision of multidimensional cultural resources that strengthen both individual and communal capacities. Drawing on Ungar's framework, the pilgrimage ecosystem functions as a provider of seven crucial psycho-socio-cultural resilience resources, each of which finds tangible expression within the context of Gus Dur's pilgrimage site.

Table 4. Operationalization of Ungar's Resilience Resources in the Gus Dur Pilgrimage Context

Resilience Resource (Ungar)	Manifestation within the Gus Dur Pilgrimage Ecosystem
Identity	Reinforces dual affiliations: as devout NU Muslims and/or as citizens committed to ideals of pluralism and national unity.
Cultural Connectedness	Validates and re-signifies pilgrimage traditions within the pressures of modernity.
Control/Agency	Provides individuals with a sense of agency and symbolic power to confront life uncertainties through prayer and ritual.
Social Justice	Serves as a living medium for experiencing and disseminating values of inclusivity, tolerance, and solidarity with marginalized groups.
Social Relationships	Strengthens networks of solidarity both among fellow pilgrims and between pilgrims and supporting local communities.
Sense of Belonging	Cultivates emotional attachment to the site and to the broader imagined "Gusdurian" community.
Hope for the Future	Fosters optimism, spiritually through answered prayers and socially through inspiration for transformative action.

These resources do not operate in isolation but collectively reinforce the capacity of the pilgrimage system to sustain engagement across diverse social groups. The culmination of the resilience mechanism lies in the achievement of differential cultural goodness of fit, wherein the resources provided by the system effectively meet the distinct psychological and cultural needs of each pilgrim archetype. Importantly, this fit is not uniform but highly contextual.

For Ritualists, the system offers authentic ritual practices and the recognition of religious authority, aligning closely with their need for stability, tradition, and normative conformity, as reflected in Conservation values. For Moralists, the availability of intellectual narratives,

³² Victor Turner and Roger D. Abrahams, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures (London New York: Routledge, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315134666>.

reflective spaces, and dialogical forums creates congruence with their pursuit of meaning, value emulation, and ethical self-realization, corresponding to Self-Transcendence values. For Seekers, access to narratives of sacred efficacy and opportunities for intensive personal prayer satisfies needs related to security, personal achievement, and control over life challenges, associated with Self-Enhancement values. Meanwhile, for Tourists, the site's symbolic prominence, infrastructural amenities, and distinctive cultural experiences generate a strong fit with desires for stimulation, knowledge acquisition, and autonomous exploration, characteristic of Openness to Change values.

Taken together, the cultural resilience of pilgrimage to Gus Dur's tomb derives from its exceptional capacity to function as a flexible multi-value platform. Rather than imposing a singular, homogenized meaning, this platform facilitates ongoing negotiation, provides diverse cultural resources, and—most critically—achieves specific forms of fit with the varied value logics embedded in contemporary Indonesian society. Failure to sustain this goodness of fit would narrow the site's appeal, diminish its social resonance, and ultimately threaten the long-term sustainability of this complex and dynamic cultural practice.

4. Gus Dur as a Nodal Figure

The resilience of this pilgrimage system is fundamentally enabled by the capacity of its central figure, Gus Dur, who functions as a nodal figure—a symbolic nexus that connects and mediates multiple value networks and identities, even those that are potentially contradictory. This nodal position allows him to serve as a point of convergence for diverse pilgrim archetypes, thereby preventing fragmentation within the pilgrimage community and sustaining the overall cohesion of the system.

Gus Dur's appeal is distinctly multi-value in nature, a relatively rare phenomenon that simultaneously encompasses three domains of legitimacy, each attracting different constituencies.³³ *First*, as a bearer of religious authority—a descendant of the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama, a pesantren-based cleric, and a Muslim intellectual—he provides strong sacred legitimacy. This symbolic capital directly attracts Ritualists seeking traditional validation and Seekers who believe in the spiritual efficacy (*karāmah*) of a revered *walī Allāh*. *Second*, his political legacy as a former President of the Republic of Indonesia and a leader of the country's largest Islamic organization confers national stature and public authority. This dimension resonates strongly with Moralists, who regard him as an icon of democracy, as well as with Tourists, who perceive the site as part of the nation's historical heritage. *Third*, his status as an icon of pluralism, often referred to as the “Father of Pluralism,” derived from his persistent defense of minorities, generates powerful universal moral appeal. This dimension functions as a primary magnet for Moralists and serves as an entry point for interfaith participants, thereby expanding the base of participation³⁴ while enriching the social meaning of the pilgrimage practice.³⁵

³³ Emma Rooksby, *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, 2nd edition, ed. Jean Hillier (London: Routledge, 2017).

³⁴ Arif Sugitanata and Lusiana Kurnianti, “Fikih Moderasi Beragama Perspektif Yudian Wahyudi,” *At-Ta'awun: Jurnal Mu'amalah dan Hukum Islam* 2, no. 2 (September 2023): 2, <https://doi.org/10.59579/atw.v2i2.5958>.

³⁵ Nurhidayah Nurhidayah et al., “Moderasi Beragama Perspektif Pluralisme Abdurahman Wahid (Gus Dur),” *Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Ushuluddin* 2, no. 2 (April 2022): 2, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpiu.15577>.

The flexibility of Gus Dur's figure within the pilgrimage ecosystem does not arise from an absence of meaning, but rather from the depth of his posthumous charismatic authority, which emanates from the complex³⁶ and multi-layered narratives of his life.³⁷ Unlike traditional forms of charismatic authority that often demand singular interpretations, Gus Dur's charisma functions as an exceptionally effective mediating symbol, enabling multiple interpretations that are simultaneously legitimate. A Ritualist perceives him as a waliyullah grounded in lineage and personal piety; a Moralist idealizes him as a courageous public intellectual; a Seeker views him as a powerful wasilah for effective prayer while a Tourist appreciates him as a distinctive historical figure. This interpretive pluralism constitutes a unique source of legitimacy, as each claim is anchored in the same biographical facts. As a result, horizontal conflict among pilgrims is minimized, and an "imagined community" emerges—unified by a shared figure, even as that figure is understood in divergent ways.

At a deeper analytical level, Gus Dur's nodal position renders him an ideal mediator of the diametrical tension within Schwartz's value structure, particularly between the poles of Conservation and Openness to Change. On the one hand, his background as a descendant of prominent kiai and a former *Ra'is 'Amm* of Nahdlatul Ulama provides strong legitimacy for Conservation values, including Tradition, Conformity, and Security. On the other hand, his intellectual outlook, political decisions, and radically inclusive actions constitute a clear embodiment of Openness to Change values, such as Self-Direction, intellectual stimulation, and acceptance of diversity. Consequently, pilgrimage to his tomb is not a practice trapped within a traditional-modern dichotomy, but rather a ritual that symbolically satisfies psychological needs for both stability and transformation simultaneously.

Analytically, Gus Dur's role as a nodal figure elucidates the mechanism of cohesion within a complex pilgrimage system. His multi-faceted charisma operates as a common symbolic ground that binds diverse actors operating under different value logics. Its strength lies in its capacity to generate three forms of legitimacy at once: religious legitimacy (for Ritualists and Seekers), political-moral legitimacy (for Moralists), and cultural-historical legitimacy (for Tourists). The apparent contradictions embodied in his persona—as both a traditionalist and a reformer—constitute not a weakness but a primary source of strength. This synthesis enables the pilgrimage practice to function as a progressive ritual, a form of cultural negotiation that is central to its enduring cultural resilience amid the pressures of modernity.

5. Economic and Social Diversification

The cultural resilience of pilgrimage to Gus Dur's tomb is not solely symbolic or ritualistic in nature; it is also reinforced by an evolutionary material transformation from a purely religious practice into a sustainable socio-economic ecosystem. This transformation ensures that the spiritual values promoted by the pilgrimage are supported by a tangible material

³⁶ Asripa Asripa, Devy Habibi Muhammad, and Ari Susandi, "Pluralisme Dalam Perspektif Pemikiran Gus Dur Dan Nurcolish Majid," *FALASIFA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 12, no. 02 (September 2021): 75–90, <https://doi.org/10.36835/falasifa.v12i02.555>.

³⁷ W and Arif, "Collaborative Governance Dalam Pengembangan Wisata Religi Makam Gus Dur Di Kabupaten Jombang."

base that enables their endurance and further development,³⁸ as empirically reflected in statistical data and field dynamics.³⁹

Statistical data from the Central Bureau of Statistics of Jombang Regency for 2024 provide robust quantitative evidence that the cultural resilience of the Gus Dur pilgrimage rests upon a solid economic foundation. In terms of scale, a total of 6,007,365 domestic tourist visits were recorded in Jombang Regency, a significant proportion of which were motivated by religious tourism. Seasonal patterns are particularly revealing, demonstrating a direct symbiosis between spiritual rhythms and economic cycles. Sharp increases in hotel occupancy rates—reaching 63.87 percent in February 2024—and a peak in visitor numbers in April (743,802 trips) correlate closely with the annual haul of Gus Dur and major religious holidays. These patterns indicate that spirituality remains the primary driver of economic demand, rather than the reverse. The impact on the accommodation sector is also substantial, with a 19.2 percent increase in room nights sold and an average length of stay of 1.59 days, suggesting a gradual shift from brief visits toward a more mature travel economy.⁴⁰ The causal relationship is evident: the preservation of authentic ritual practices and cultural narratives functions as the principal magnet that subsequently activates the broader economic system.

6. Expanding Economic Value Chains and Multiplier Effects

The complexity of this ecosystem extends well beyond the immediate tomb area, generating diverse and interlinked economic value chains. The accommodation industry has expanded rapidly, with hotels and homestays catering to a wide spectrum of pilgrims. The souvenir economy has flourished through the sale of Gus Dur-themed merchandise, which functions not merely as commercialization but as a medium for symbolic dissemination—a process of commodification of symbolism in which material objects serve as carriers and reminders of the figure's moral values.⁴¹ In addition, professional guided tour services offering “*Napak Tilas Gus Dur*” packages have emerged, expanding the pilgrimage narrative and signaling the increasing institutionalization of commemorative storytelling. Supported by culinary and transportation sectors, this ecosystem produces a comprehensive pilgrimage experience while simultaneously establishing a resilient economic network.

Most crucially, this transformation has organically integrated local communities into the pilgrimage economy. Residents of Cukir Village have shifted from passive observers to primary economic actors and cultural custodians. They manage parking facilities, trade souvenirs, rent rooms, and operate food stalls. This community involvement generates several fundamental impacts. *First*, the direct distribution of economic benefits enhances household-level welfare across the community. *Second*, local economic resilience is strengthened, as religious tourism functions as a stable economic buffer characterized by

³⁸ Ahmad Arfah, “Strategi Distribusi Produk Oleh Pedagang Musiman UMKM Di Kawasan Wisata Religi Makam Gus Dur: Efisiensi, Peluang, Dan Tantangan,” *PENG: Jurnal Ekonomi Dan Manajemen* 3, no. 1 (2026): 184–92, <https://doi.org/10.62710/a6069x67>.

³⁹ Dallen J. Timothy and Stephen W. Boyd, “Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century: Valued Traditions and New Perspectives,” *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 1, no. 1 (July 2006): 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17438730608668462>.

⁴⁰ BPS Jombang, “Statistik Pariwisata Kabupaten Jombang 2024.”

⁴¹ Nelson H. H. Graburn, ed., *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (London Berkeley Los Angeles: Univ. of California Pr, 1976).

periodic, predictable demand anchored in enduring cultural assets. *Third*, a symbiotic cycle of preservation emerges, fostering a strong sense of communal ownership. Communities that derive direct economic benefits develop a vested interest and shared responsibility in maintaining order, cleanliness, and—most importantly—the preservation of the site’s cultural meaning and symbolic authority.⁴² In this cycle, cultural preservation secures economic continuity, while economic prosperity reinforces collective commitment to cultural preservation.⁴³

Despite its strengths, this model is not without risks that require careful management. The potential for overtourism during peak periods, such as the haul, may threaten the quality of the spiritual experience and raise safety concerns. Economic inequality may also emerge if benefits are unevenly distributed or if large-scale capital begins to dominate local enterprises. Furthermore, excessive commodification poses the risk of eroding the depth of spiritual meaning. Consequently, long-term sustainability depends on prudent governance that ensures economic growth continues to function as a support mechanism—rather than a substitute—for the spiritual and cultural core of the pilgrimage practice. It is this delicate balance that will ultimately determine whether the symbiotic cycle can endure and continue to strengthen the cultural resilience of pilgrimage to Gus Dur’s tomb in the future.

7. Proposed Model: Sustainable Pilgrimage Culture

Based on the synthesis of the research findings and discussion, this study proposes a Sustainable Pilgrimage Culture Model. This model is designed not only to describe the empirical phenomenon observed at the tomb of Gus Dur, but also to serve a dual function: first, as an analytical framework for understanding similar dynamics at other pilgrimage sites, and second, as a normative framework offering management principles for achieving holistic sustainability.⁴⁴

The model is built upon five interdependent pillars that must remain in dynamic balance. Imbalance in any one pillar—for instance, economic intensification at the expense of spiritual integrity, or ritual rigidity that excludes younger generations—poses a serious threat to the sustainability of the system as a whole.

⁴² Stroma Cole, “Beyond Authenticity and Commodification,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 34, no. 4 (October 2007): 943–60, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2007.05.004>.

⁴³ Salma Utuya Hikmah, Muhamad Ali Hisyam, and Zainuddin Zainuddin, “Analysis of Halal Assurance System Implementation and Maslahah on Processed Products in Gus Dur Cemetery,” *Al-Mustashfa: Jurnal Penelitian Hukum Ekonomi Syariah* 9, no. 2 (December 2024): 251–67, <https://doi.org/10.24235/jm.v9i2.17611>.

⁴⁴ Timothy and Boyd, “Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century.”

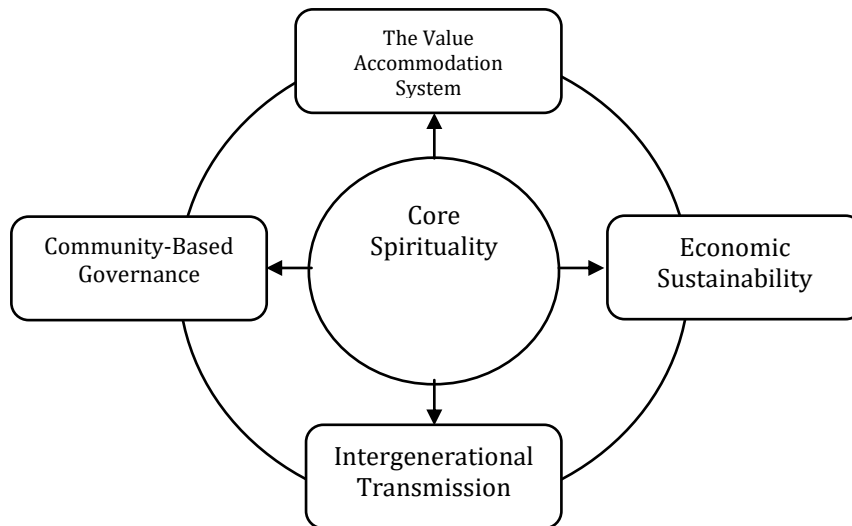


Figure 1. Interrelationship of the Five Interdependent Pillars

Core Spirituality constitutes the non-negotiable central axis of the model. This pillar emphasizes the necessity of maintaining authentic and authoritative ritual practices as the heart of meaning and sacred legitimacy within pilgrimage. Without this foundation, a site risks losing its transcendental appeal, which is the fundamental rationale for its existence. Indicators of success for this pillar include the continuity and authenticity of core rituals such as *tahlil* recitations and *haul* commemorations, recognition of religious authority in managing ritual aspects, and the preservation of pilgrims' perceptions of the site's sacredness. In the context of Gus Dur's pilgrimage, this pillar is concretely manifested in the annual haul led directly by family members and senior clerics, daily *Yā Sīn* and *tahlil* recitations at the tomb area, and the strict management of the tomb enclosure (*cungkup*) to maintain an atmosphere of solemnity.

The Value Accommodation System functions as a flexible framework that enables the interpretation, accommodation, and legitimation of diverse pilgrim motivations without undermining the spiritual core. This pillar represents the practical realization of the concept of cultural goodness of fit, allowing tradition to adapt to contemporary contexts. Its effectiveness can be measured through the presence of multidimensional narratives surrounding the figure or site, the availability of physical and social spaces for varied forms of engagement (ranging from ritual performance and reflection to cultural tourism), and the minimal occurrence of open conflict among pilgrim groups with differing motivations. At Gus Dur's pilgrimage site, this system is evident in the three-dimensional narrative of Gus Dur as a *Kiai*, a former president, and a pluralist icon; the spatial zoning that distinguishes the tomb enclosure for ritual solemnity, the courtyard for reflection, and outer areas for commercial activity; and the open acceptance of pilgrims from different religious backgrounds.

Economic Sustainability emphasizes responsible economic development that empowers local communities as the primary beneficiaries, while avoiding excessive commercialization that could erode the site's spiritual atmosphere. This pillar acknowledges that cultural resilience requires a stable material base. Key indicators include the growth of pilgrimage-related local enterprises (accommodation, culinary services, and souvenirs), equitable distribution of economic benefits within the community, and the absence of aggressive commodification in areas deemed sacred. Around Gus Dur's tomb, this pillar is reflected in the proliferation of locally owned homestays and souvenir stalls, community-based management

of parking areas and food vendors, and the enforcement of strict regulations prohibiting commercial activity within the inner sacred zone of the tomb.

Community-Based Governance establishes a participatory and collaborative management structure involving all key stakeholders: religious authorities, local government, local communities, and representatives of pilgrims. Effective governance is a prerequisite for managing complexity and mitigating potential conflict within the pilgrimage ecosystem. Success indicators include the existence of multi-stakeholder management forums or institutions, compliance with collectively agreed regulations (such as codes of conduct and retribution systems), and effective dialogue mechanisms for conflict resolution. In the management of Gus Dur's tomb, this pillar is realized through collaborative arrangements between Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng as the religious authority, youth organizations such as Karang Taruna, and the village government; the implementation of mutually agreed norms regarding dress codes and behavior; and the use of deliberative consensus (*musyawarah*) to resolve disputes, including those related to parking management.⁴⁵

Intergenerational Transmission focuses on the active engagement of younger generations to ensure their interest, contextual understanding, and eventual stewardship of pilgrimage values. This pillar anticipates long-term sustainability challenges by ensuring the regeneration of meaning and practice. Indicators of success include youth involvement in site management and narrative production, the availability of educational content aligned with youth values, and innovation in modes of meaning transmission without compromising essential principles. At the Gus Dur pilgrimage site, this strategy is implemented through the involvement of young santri as "green squads" responsible for crowd and traffic management during the haul, the production of creative Gus Dur-related content on social media by Gusdurian communities, and the organization of educational pilgrimage programs targeting students and university audiences.

Taken together, these five pillars form an integrated and adaptive model of sustainable pilgrimage culture. The model underscores that long-term sustainability is not achieved through the dominance of a single dimension, but through the continuous balancing of spiritual integrity, value inclusivity, economic viability, participatory governance, and generational renewal. Based on the synthesis of the research findings and discussion, this study proposes a Sustainable Pilgrimage Culture Model. This model is designed not only to describe the empirical phenomenon observed at the tomb of Gus Dur, but also to serve a dual function: *first*, as an analytical framework for understanding similar dynamics at other pilgrimage sites, and *second*, as a normative framework offering management principles for achieving holistic sustainability. The model is built upon five interdependent pillars that must remain in dynamic balance. Imbalance in any one pillar—for instance, economic intensification at the expense of spiritual integrity, or ritual rigidity that excludes younger generations—poses a serious threat to the sustainability of the system as a whole. To prevent the five pillars of the Sustainable Pilgrimage Culture Model from becoming static, three cyclical and continuously operating driving mechanisms are required.

First mechanism is Dynamic Balance between Conservation and Innovation, which functions as the model's primary regulatory principle. The system must continuously

⁴⁵ Adrianus Fani and Subaidi, "Filosofi Islam Nusantara Dalam Sorotan Cahaya Pemikiran K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid," *Ledalogos: Jurnal Filsafat* 1, no. 2 (November 2025): 132–44, <https://doi.org/10.31385/ledalogos.v1i2.367>.

rediscover a contextually appropriate equilibrium in response to changing social conditions. Innovation in facilities, narratives, and activities—such as the introduction of virtual tours or cultural festivals—is essential for maintaining relevance. However, such innovation must always be framed by, and remain subordinate to, the conservation of core rituals and sacred norms that constitute the foundation of the pilgrimage’s identity.

Second, this balance is inherently fluid and is achieved through an ongoing Process of Value Negotiation. Sustainability depends on the capacity of all stakeholders to engage in healthy, inclusive negotiation. Religious authorities negotiate with traders regarding ethical commercial practices; local communities negotiate with governmental bodies over revenue-sharing arrangements; and older and younger generations negotiate modes of interpreting and practicing tradition. Community-based governance forums serve as formal arenas in which these negotiations can be articulated, mediated, and institutionalized.

Third mechanism is an Adaptive Cultural Resource Provision System, which ensures that the pilgrimage ecosystem responds proactively to shifts in pilgrims’ psychological and social needs. Guided by Ungar’s seven cultural resilience resources—such as identity, social justice, and hope—the site’s managers must continuously recalibrate the “supply” of cultural resources. For example, if societal orientations shift from a primary emphasis on tradition toward a heightened concern for social justice, site narratives and programs should increasingly foreground the justice-oriented dimensions of the venerated figure’s legacy. This adaptive capacity continuously shapes and renews the goodness of fit between pilgrimage practices and their evolving social context.

The Sustainable Pilgrimage Culture Model represents a significant paradigm shift. It calls for a transition away from reactive and sectoral approaches to pilgrimage management—approaches that focus narrowly and separately on ritual, economic, or infrastructural dimensions—toward a holistic, proactive, and value-centered governance framework. The model explicitly rejects the false dichotomy between spiritual preservation and socio-economic progress. Instead, it demonstrates that these domains can operate in synergy and mutually reinforce one another when managed within an appropriate framework: inclusive economic development supports ritual preservation, while vibrant spirituality serves as the primary attraction sustaining a resilient pilgrimage economy.

Accordingly, this model is proposed not only as an academic contribution to the fields of religious studies, anthropology, and tourism studies, but also as a contextual and practical guide. It is intended for pilgrimage site managers, cultural tourism policymakers, and local communities throughout the Indonesian archipelago who seek to nurture, govern, and revitalize their spiritual cultural heritage so that it remains resilient, meaningful, and a source of national cultural strength amid global change.

As a crystallization of the analysis, this study formally articulates the Sustainable Pilgrimage Culture Model. It is important, however, to clearly delineate the limits of its generalizability. The model was developed inductively from a highly specific single case study: pilgrimage to the tomb of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur)—a figure endowed with multi-faceted charismatic authority (ulama, president, pluralist intellectual) and embedded within the community ecosystem of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in Java. Consequently, the application of this model to other contexts is subject to several limitations. *First*, Figure-Centered Legitimacy: The model relies heavily on the presence of a central figure endowed with dual or multiple forms of legitimacy—religious, cultural, and national—which enables broad value

accommodation. Pilgrimage sites centered on figures with singular narratives or narrowly defined authority may lack the capacity to function as similarly “multi-valent vessels of meaning.” *Second*, Community Structure: The effectiveness of the Community-Based Governance and Intergenerational Transmission pillars is strongly supported by traditions of collectivism, pesantren networks, and deliberative (*musyawarah*) culture within NU communities. Adaptation of the model in societies characterized by more individualistic or rigidly hierarchical social structures would require significant modification. *Third*, Javanese Cultural Context: Patterns of value negotiation, respect for traditional authority, and conceptions of sacred space within this model are deeply shaped by Javanese cultural norms. Implementation in regions with different cultural ethos—for example, contexts characterized by more egalitarian relations between pilgrims and site managers—must account carefully for local cultural variables. In light of these limitations, the model is not intended as a universal prescription. Rather, it should be understood as an analytical framework that requires critical testing, contextual adaptation, and refinement when applied to pilgrimage sites characterized by different figures, community structures, and cultural settings.

D. CONCLUSION

This study concludes that pilgrimage to the tomb of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) represents a resilient cultural system shaped by continuous interaction between personal values, collective meanings, and material structures. Pilgrimage is shown not as a static religious ritual nor merely as a tourism activity, but as a living socio-cultural ecosystem capable of adapting to modern pressures while preserving its spiritual core. By integrating Schwartz’s Theory of Basic Human Values with Ungar’s Cultural Resilience framework, the study provides a novel micro-macro perspective that explains how diverse individual motivations are translated into sustainable cultural practices. The findings demonstrate that pilgrims’ motivations are plural, overlapping, and value-driven, crystallizing into four dominant archetypes: Ritualists, Moralists, Seekers, and Tourists. The ability of the Gus Dur pilgrimage to accommodate these archetypes without internal fragmentation constitutes a key source of its cultural resilience. Central to this resilience is Gus Dur’s role as a nodal figure whose multi-layered legitimacy—religious, political, and moral—mediates potentially opposing value orientations, particularly between Conservation and Openness to Change. This symbolic centrality allows the pilgrimage to function as a multi-value platform, sustaining cohesion while enabling interpretive plurality. Moreover, resilience is reinforced materially through the transformation of pilgrimage into a community-embedded socio-economic ecosystem, where local economic diversification supports, rather than replaces, spiritual meaning.

As a synthesis, this study proposes the Sustainable Pilgrimage Culture Model, consisting of five interdependent pillars—Core Spirituality, Value Accommodation, Economic Sustainability, Community-Based Governance, and Intergenerational Transmission—activated by three cyclical mechanisms: dynamic balance between conservation and innovation, continuous value negotiation, and adaptive cultural resource provision. Sustainability is thus understood as an ongoing process of balancing values rather than a fixed outcome. Based on these findings, several recommendations are offered. *First*, pilgrimage management should prioritize the protection of core rituals and sacred space while providing flexible zones and narratives to accommodate diverse motivations. *Second*, policymakers

should adopt value-sensitive religious tourism strategies that empower local communities and limit excessive commercialization. *Third*, religious institutions and communities should institutionalize participatory governance forums to manage negotiation and conflict. Fourth, targeted intergenerational strategies are needed to engage youth through education, digital media, and active roles in site management. Finally, future research should test and adapt this model across different pilgrimage contexts to assess its broader applicability. In sum, pilgrimage, when managed through a holistic and value-centered framework, can remain a vital source of cultural continuity, social cohesion, and ethical inspiration amid rapid social change.

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