THE ROLE OF 'NGALAP BAROKAH' IN RAPID URBAN DEVELOPMENT: CASE STUDY OF TEBUIRENG, JOMBANG

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to identify the background of rapid urban development in Tebuireng, an area hosting one of the oldest and most well-known pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in Indonesia. Within less than a decade, Tebuireng has run into significant development to accommodate massive number of people visiting the area. We conduct numerous field observations, mappings and in-depth interview with related actors in the area. Content analysis method is carried out to figure out the objective of this research. The study found that faith, known as 'Ngalap Barokah' is the main basis for the process of city formation and determines how the urban actors utilize the urban space. Considering the huge numbers of Islam believers in Indonesia, it is important to understand the aspects of faith that affect the urban growth, especially in the cities dominated by Moslem population. Finally, the finding of this faith based morphological research is potentially contributed to the practice of Indonesian urban planning, especially for anticipating the city growth dominated by Moslem stakeholders.

KEYWORDS:

Kyai; Ngalap barokah; Pesantren; Pilgrimage; Rapid urban development; Santri

INTRODUCTION

Religion, as a form of faith, is considered as a guide of daily life and it is closely related to the prevailing habits in a social condition [1], thus influencing the way they use their space. Islam is one of the religions that has a high level of significance in human life. It is estimated that there are 1.57 billion Moslem populations spread across five continents in the world in 2012 [2]. It means Moslems occupy about a quarter of the world's population. It is believed the number will continue to grow in the future [2].

Indonesia is the country with the largest Moslem population in Southeast Asia. Indonesia had 209,100,000 Moslems in 2010 and was expected to grow to reach 87% of the Moslem population in 2020 [2]. The massive Moslem population has a significant impact on daily life in Indonesia. Some cities in Indonesia even use Islam as their identity or motto. Aceh is considered the foyer of Mecca. Jombang and Pasuruan are known as *Santri* (Islamic school student) City while Cirebon is known as *Wali* (religious leader) City.

To discuss the correlation between faith and urban development, we investigated the city with the large Moslem population in Indonesia by using Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng (Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School) as our case study. It is a religious-based educational institution that exists since the late 19th century in Tebuireng, Jombang, East Java, Indonesia. This pesantren led by a Kyai (religious leader) and has been existed in almost three centuries [3]. It has an authentic way of applying religious beliefs and knowledge in everyday life that aims to draw a harmonious order of life. On the other hand, urban development as a response to people's movement in search of various amenities [4] is a spatial process [5] that happened and keeps happening in Tebuireng area.

Significant urban development occurred along with the growth of pesantrens' fame, especially after one of its most popular *kyai* as well as the fourth president of Indonesia, Gus Dur, was buried in the pesantren area. Then, in terms of spatial function, this area has become more than just a place for *santri* to study Islam, but also a pilgrimage destination for more than 1 million people every year. Changes in the function of surrounding buildings as a commercial area to accommodate the needs of *santri* and pilgrims have had a negative impact on various activities. Chaos in the mixing of access for *santri*, local residents and pilgrims raise security issues. Redevelopment of the area was then proposed and approved to the local government and is in the final stage.

Recent studies mostly discuss the rapid development of Tebuireng area according to its impact on socio-economic life for local residents and the local

government. However, rapid changes in the form and function of urban space imply more than just results of developing specific social and economic interactions. Therefore, it is also necessary to discuss the impact of the rapid development of this area from the spatial perspective as part of a larger urban space.

This paper aims to find out the background behind rapid urban development in Tebuireng by examining the implication of pesantrens' presence to the region that covers the social, economic and cultural impact, as well as its influence on a broader urban area. The research questions include: How does the presence of pesantren as a manifestation of faith trigger urban development? What is/are the background(s) behind urban development in Tebuireng? We carried out empirical evidence and literature studies through sets of method to answer these questions. However, the discussion of this paper does not convey the situation during the Covid-19 pandemic but provides an overview of the situation before that.

METHODS

The method used in this research is qualitative research with case study approach. This method uses empirical material as the focus of observation. We conducted field observations, mappings, and in-depth interviews with relevant actors to discover faith-based practices on site. Various actors (*santri*, Kyai, pilgrims, traders, and other inhabitants) were selected to gain a comprehensive understanding of how faith takes place in the actors' everyday life and influences the character of city spaces in general. Initially, to lessen the possibility of misunderstandings regarding the applied value of faith, we interviewed local experts to give us a basic overview. Literature reviews were also carried out to understand the state of knowledge, key findings, concepts and developments about the faith-based phenomenon, especially in Indonesian context. We visited Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng 4 times during 1-year observation to observe various conditions in site during certain events such as Islamic holiday dan regular holiday seasons. Finally, content analysis method is carried out to figure out a more comprehensive image of the study. In carrying out content analysis, researchers are directly involved in the process of analyzing raw data from the field observations, literature studies and in-depth interviews. Then, the raw data is processed into results by the reasoning and interpretation of researchers with and/or without software assistance.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
PESANTREN, KYAI & SANTRI

Pesantren, as a phenomenon that corresponds to religious doctrines and faith, is Islamic based educational institution (also known as Islamic boarding school). This type of boarding school requires the *santri* (students) to live and learn under the guidance of Kyai. Pesantren accommodates and attracts

numbers of *santri* from afar [3]. According to Dhofier [3], there are five primary elements that form the basics of pesantren, namely Dorm (*pondok*), Mosque, Santri, Teaching of classic religious books, and Kyai.

Kyai is the most important elements in pesantren. It is because Kyai posed as the men who established the pesantren and also the one who determine the value of education within the pesantren. 'Kyai' has its own origin in Javanese culture. The word 'Kyai' is used as an honorary title for sacred items, honored elders, and also religious experts in Islam [3]. In other literature, the word 'Kyai' originated from Javanese word 'iki wae' which means 'this one', correspond to the meaning of Kyai as a chosen one [6]. Another version of literature defines Kyai as some exceptional being and substance that is able to increase the mythical power of its owner [6]. In everyday practice, the title 'Kyai' is equivalent to the term 'Ajengan' used in West Java, the term 'Sheikh' used in North Sumatra, the term 'Buya' used in the Minang, and the term 'Tuan Guru' used in the Nusa Tenggara and Kalimantan regions [3].

The significant role of the Kyai is also intensified by the last point of the "11 Points of Pesantren Characteristics" known as "Kyai's Blessing" [3]. Kyai's blessing is being seek to get someone closer to righteousness of life. Considering that occurrence, all the rules and patterns of the *santri* life in the pesantren are set by the Kyai and it is a must to obey. Therefore, the life of a pesantren is inseparable from the charism of a Kyai [3] [6] [7].

In Indonesia, numerous types of Pesantren exist. Based on the Ministerial of Religion of Republik Indonesia's Regulation no. 3 1979, Pesantren is categorized into 4 types. Type A obligates all kinds of religious education to take place in the boarding school area. This type also adheres to the way of education system in traditional pesantren, called *wetonan/bandongan* (refers to the way of teaching while santri gather in a circle, hold their own kitab (book) and listen to the Kyai's preaching) and *sorogan* (refers to the way of teaching while *santri* hand (sorog, in Javanese) their kitab to Kyai for him to explain). Type B obligates religious education to be done in a classroom, while living and learning activities are all done in the boarding school area. Type C accommodates the dorm only, while *santri* learn outside the pesantren and Kyai takes part in supervising the santri's religious activity. The other is Type D which offers santri to not only living and learning kitab, but also attending public school.

These 4 types of Pesantren draw the sum amount of 27.230 pesantren in Indonesia by 2011-2012, with 37% of it consist of Traditional Pesantren (type A), and 63% consist of Modern Pesantren (type B-D). Based on the same data, the amount of santri is around 7% from the overall number of Indonesian students [8].

Kyai by his high capacity of religious knowledge, provides guidance, place to stay and guardianship to his santri. Santri, as a student, has an obligation to respect and obey figures with higher religious

knowledge. On the other hand, there is a culture of seeking blessings through people who have higher religious knowledge in the daily life of Islamic societies. All those premises lead the discussion to the faith of Kyai as a figure who is believed as a 'blessings mediary' to a large number of Moslems in Indonesia, namely the faith of *Ngalap Barokah* (taking blessings or goodness from certain figures with higher religious knowledge).

FAITH & THE IMAGE OF THE CITY

'Faith' comes from the word fidere [LL] which means to trust, to believe, and to have trust or confidence in something [9]. It is clear that from its definition, faith is not only talking about religion but broader than that. However, in Indonesian context these days, we can say that religion is the best-known form of faith.

When faith is highly associated with religion, the discourse will be led to religiosity. The discussion of religion will also inevitably address sacredness. When it comes to the topic of religion in everyday life, we have to look for whenever, wherever, and however sacredness appears in one's action [10]. That statement intensifies the condition that religiosity requires manifestation to accommodate sacred qualities. Three things that affect the embodiment of sacredness are body, space and time [11]. By those conditions, sacredness can be manifested in any physical form, such as the physical space where people conduct religious activities, or non-physical form by carrying out religious activities themselves.

Urban faith as a concept is used to justify beliefs held by a group of people living in one place [12]. This phenomenon begins with people who have diverse origins, gather and settle together in a certain area for the same belief. Afterwards, faith and its representation in numbers of believers are very likely to draw influences on the image of the area.

In this case, the image of the area has a close relationship with place branding. Branding can be seen as a concept that forms a specific or distinctive image or identity, while place branding is associated with the visual, verbal, and behavioral expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place's stakeholders and the overall place design [13]. Therefore, urban faith in an area has promising potential to be developed as an expression of place that simultaneously corresponds to image or identity as the essence of branding.

According to Konecnik and Gartner in Kasapi & Cela, branding is usually done as an effort to be identified [13]. A brand can be treated as a legal instrument, logo, company, identity system, image, personality, relationship, and/or as adding value [13]. Anholt in Moilanen & Rainisto proposed a concept called city branding, which he said was the management of the image of a destination through strategic innovation and coordination of economic, commercial, social, cultural, and government regulations [14]. In city branding, 'value' is created, developed, and demonstrated through various types of actions such as investment, physical and economic plans, attraction programs, events and communication [15]. Anholt in Ellisa said that a city's distinctiveness begins with an understanding of what it wants to be and what it has to offer, indicating that it has a planned program to begin with [16]. On the other hand, existing spatial configuration and socio-cultural values also play role in developing city branding [17]. In real estate cases, some cities have benefit from its rich cultural heritage, meanwhile some of them have to develop their own style to compete against other real estate developers [16]. It is because branding will bring consumers in accordance with the identity of the product [18]. In the context of religious belief, the product can also be included as the embodiment of one's religious identity [18]. When it comes to the case of pesantren, image or identity of pesantren area is highly attached to the faith towards Kyai's religious guidance and the blessings that come through him. As the result, pesantren is perceived as an area with a religious image. Therefore, it can be said that faith is relevantly correspond to the image of the area, or even more than that, to the image of the city.

FAITH & URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN CITY SPACES

The transformation also occurs none other than for the special meaning of the surrounding environment [19]. Since branding is an effort to be identified, therefore it has a strong relation to how the process of identification occurs. There are many motives that can be seen as the cause of urban development in city spaces, and it can be highly different from one case to the other [20]. In this case, faith branding [18] as the motive can be addressed to the huge number of visitors in Tebuireng area. The bigger the number, the more space is needed. The physical context where branding occurs then becomes a significant point in the discussion.

The level of density in this physical context brings many possibilities of development. The constraint of growing from the increasing number of visitors in the dense area is quite different from the sparse one. In dense areas, the problem of growth might be stagnant or even tricked by vertical development. Meanwhile, in sparse areas, the growth might take place to any direction possible. Growth in sparse areas is the case that occurs in this study, where the sparseness allows urban development to move horizontally rather than vertically.

THE CONTEXT: PONDOK PESANTREN TEBUIRENG, JOMBANG

Jombang is a district located in the middle of East Java province. It is about 79 km from the city of Surabaya (the capital city of East Java) and 40 km from the city of Kediri. According to data from the Central Statistics Agency in 2016, Jombang has a total of 1,240,985 people and 97.35% of them are Moslems.

About 91,559 people occupy the District of Diwek. Jombang Regency, especially in the Diwek region, has experienced significant morphological changes from time to time. It is shown from the growth of the regional density map in the Figure 1.
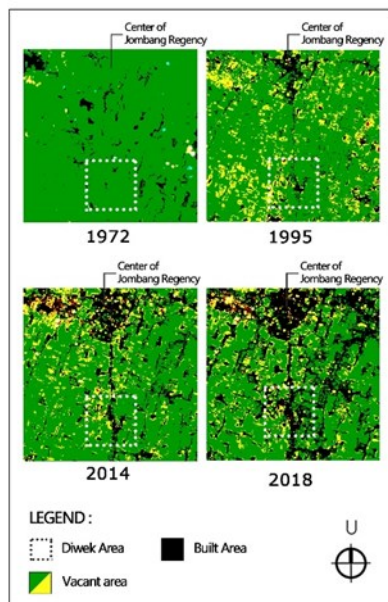

Figure 1. Growth of regional density map (source: edited by authors from Landsat NASA image)

From the illustration in Figure 1, it is clear that Jombang Regency is experiencing significant growth on density, especially in Diwek District. The growth is triggered by the existence of Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng (Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School), well known as a very popular boarding school that attracts students from various areas even outside the country [21]. In addition, many government officials are alumni of Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng. Therefore, a lot of politicians and even the president himself visit this pesantren to keep in touch with the *kyai* and to ask for a blessing [21].

The locals also have a strong connection with the pesantren since most of them are Tebuireng alumni. A *santri* is required to devote themselves to the pesantren for 2 years after graduation. It is not rare for a *santri* to get married to their Kyai children and then settle in the area around pesantren during the devotion period. This happens to a large number of pesantren staff, teachers, and caregivers who come from other regions [21] [22] [23]. The growing number of the locals from this matchmaking culture contributes to Tebuireng's fame as well as to the growth of the city.

Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng is located in Tebuireng Village, Cukir, Diwek District, Jombang Regency, East Java. It is near Cukir traditional market and the old Sugar Factory of Cukir established since 1853. The area around the pesantren is dominated by residential areas, rented houses, and other small pesantren.

The history of Tebuireng dated back in 1853, when the Dutch founded the Cukir Sugar Factory along with 4 other sugar factories at Jombang. The name 'Cukir' comes from the word Suiker, which means 'sugar' in Dutch. The locals pronounce it as Cukir. In 1897, the Dutch built the Kediri-Jombang railroad which had a special line that headed straight to the Cukir Sugar Factory. The railroad line was located on the east side of Ngoro Jombang road, facing the main entrance of Pesantren Tebuireng. The rail still exists along with the crossroad that once led to Cukir Sugar Factory.

Figure 2. Location of Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng, Jombang (source: Google Earth, author)

The area around Cukir Sugar Factory used to be infamous for gambling and prostitution [21] [23] [3]. These activities are considered as sins in Islam, thus various Islamic religious leaders around Jombang condemned the area. The area began to change in 1899 when K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari moved there to eliminate these 'sinful' behaviors by establishing Pesantren Tubeireng, the only pesantren in the area during that time. Initially, there were only 3-5 santris who studied there but the numbers kept growing albeit slowly. There was a decrease in number during the Japanese occupation in 1945 but afterward, the number of santri drastically increased and initiated Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari to establish additional dorms, called Pondok R1, R2, R3 and P. In 1947, Kyai Hasyim died and was buried in the pesantren's cemetery on the west side of the dorm area. The leadership of the pesantren was then continued by his descendants.

Since the beginning, the pesantren only accepted male santri. It wasn't until Kyai Hasyim's son's initiative to build a dorm for female *santri* not far from Pesantren Tebuireng called Pondok Putri Walisongo that they started accepting female santri. Furthermore, the alumni of Pesantren Tebuireng and descendants of the Kyai Hasyim also established several small female student dorms in the Cukir area.

Pesantren Tebuireng's development and influence kept growing as time went by. They built formal educational institutes such as Institut KeIslaman Hasyim As'ari (IKAHA, now it is called Universitas Hasyim Asy'ari) and Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic High School) near the dorm in 1967. In 1975, the Pesantren Tebuireng's foundation expanded its development by establishing regular junior and senior high schools. They then established Madrasah Qur'an (School of Qur'an) in 1982. These educational institutes drove significant development of the area. Even though it is formally considered as a *desa* (village), Cukir began to develop as an urban area [3].

The rapid development of the automotive industry forced the railroad company to officially close its business in 1984 due to the lack of interest in using the train as a transportation mode around Jombang and Kediri. After the railroad was closed, the locals started to build their houses closer to the side of the railroad. In the present day, we can still see the railroad tracks right along the front door of the houses on the side of Ngoro Jombang Road.

Pesantren Tebuireng kept developing the educational institution in Cukir area. In 2003, the kyai and the Hasyim Asy'ari foundation decided to build the official female dorm called Pondok Putri Tebuireng. Later on, they established a university that studied Islam in particular called Ma'had Aly in 2006.

According to the data from Hasyim Asy'ari Foundation in 2018, around 7,657 regular students, santri and college students were educated in Tebuireng area. The detail amount is as follows: 746 santri from Madrasah Tsanawiyah (islamic junior high school), 808 regular students from A. Wahid Hasyim Junior High School, 770 regular students from A. Wahid Hasyim High School, 721 santri from Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic high school), 109 regular students from A. Wahid Hasyim vocational high school, 327 santri from Mu'allimin (Quranic high school), 176 *mahasantri* (Islamic college student) from Ma'had Aly and around 3000 college students from Universitas Hasyim Asy'ari. We conclude that there were 2748 santri lived in the dorm of Pesantren Tebuireng by then.

The learning system applied at Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng is classified as modern pesantren. They use the curriculum system and classical learning method (pesantren type D). As a leader who takes care of the santri, a kyai regulates several matters related to the santri lifestyle, such as daily schedules, restrictions on the interactions with the opposite sex, and other restrictions on mundane activities. This is done to keep santri focused on studying and getting used to living according to Islamic teaching.

As the number of santri increased and became overwhelming for one kyai to handle, the kyai appoints some people to act as caregivers while he acts as the head caregivers. The caregivers are responsible for groups of santris and they interact directly with the santri. They are also obligated to know the condition of each santri that lies under their care.

The tight schedule reduced the opportunity for the santri to interact with the locals. Hence, there is a beneficial relationship between santri and the local. The santris' parents and families who pay visit regularly offers opportunities to the locals to build lodging, restaurant, and others daily supporting facilities to accommodate their stay. In addition, many students also take advantage of their time off on Friday for leisure and shopping.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF GUS DUR'S TOMB

The more rapid regional development occurred after the death of Kyai Haji Abdurrahman Wahid in late 2009. Abdurrahman Wahid, also known as Gus Dur, was the fourth president of Indonesia from 1999 to 2001. Moreover, he was the leader of Nahdlatul Ulama' (NU), the largest Moslem organization in the country, and a politician who was well respected internationally.

Since Gus Dur was born and raised in Tebuireng, he was buried in the pesantren cemetery complex next to the tomb of his grandfather, Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari. Gus Dur tomb significantly changes Tebuireng. A large number of people came to Tebuireng for doing *ziarah kubur* (tomb pilgrimage). It is reported that more than 3.000 people visit the tomb during weekdays and increase into 10.000 during the weekend, which sums up to around 1.5 million pilgrims per year [21]. Due to the growing numbers of visitors, Pesantren Tebuireng's foundation then proposed to the local government to redesign and expand the area around Gus Dur's tomb in 2011. The proposal was accepted without any hassle. Even in 2018, the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo officially opened Museum Islam Indonesia which is built as one of the amenities as well as the icons in the tomb area.

To this day, the area around Gus Dur's tomb is still under development. One of the plan is to build a hospital on the west side of the dorm across the main entrance of the bus parking area for Gus Dur's tomb (see figure 3).
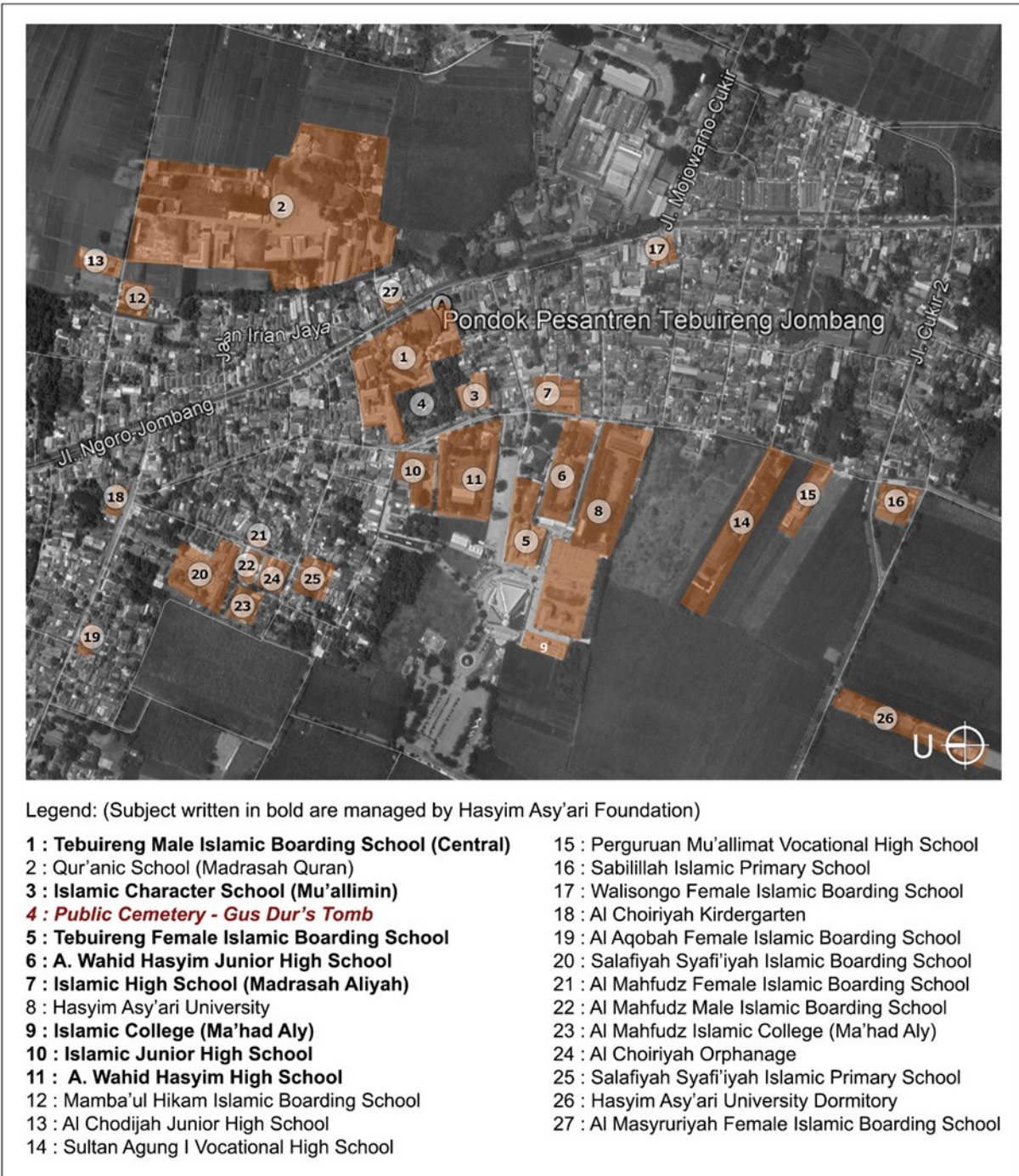
Figure 3. Map of Islamic Educational Institution around Tebuireng area (source: author)
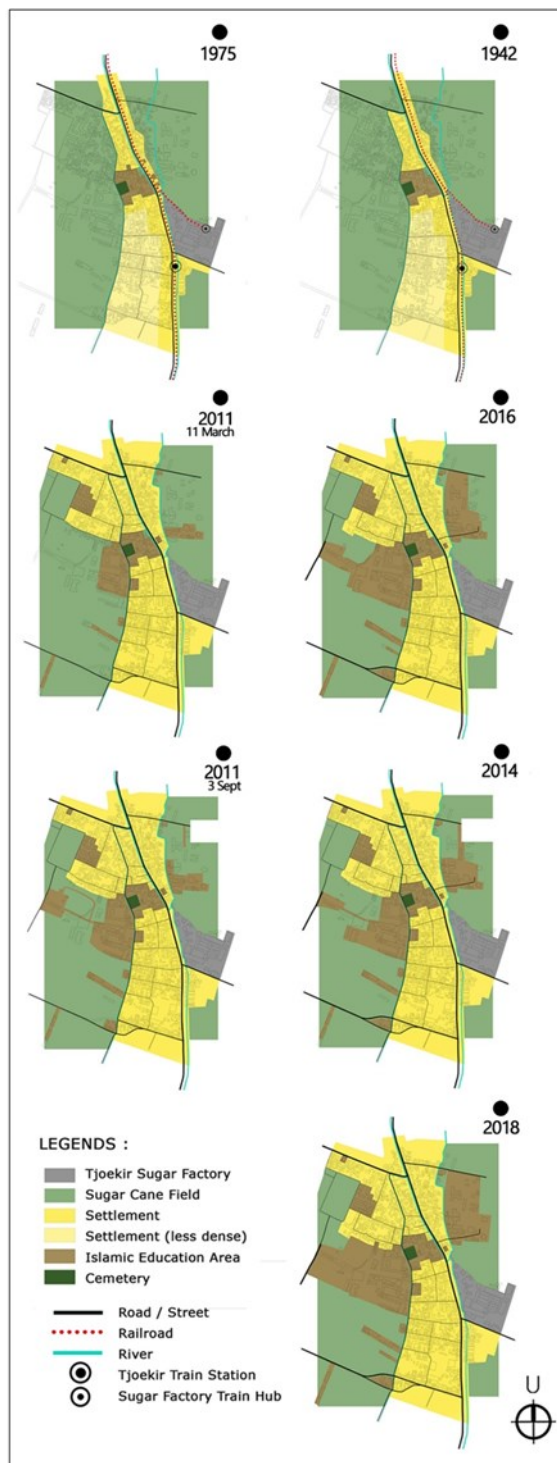
Legend: (Subject written in bold are managed by Hasyim Asy'ari Foundation)

1 : **Tebuireng Male Islamic Boarding School (Central)**
2 : **Qur'anic School (Madrasah Quran)**
3 : **Islamic Character School (Mu'allimin)**
4 : *Public Cemetery - Gus Dur's Tomb*
5 : **Tebuireng Female Islamic Boarding School**
6 : **A. Wahid Hasyim Junior High School**
7 : **Islamic High School (Madrasah Aliyah)**
8 : Hasyim Asy'ari University
9 : **Islamic College (Ma'had Aly)**
10 : **Islamic Junior High School**
11 : **A. Wahid Hasyim High School**
12 : Mamba'ul Hikam Islamic Boarding School
13 : Al Chodijah Junior High School
14 : Sultan Agung I Vocational High School

15 : Perguruan Mu'allimat Vocational High School
16 : Sabilillah Islamic Primary School
17 : Walisongo Female Islamic Boarding School
18 : Al Choiriyah Kirdergarten
19 : Al Aqobah Female Islamic Boarding School
20 : Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic Boarding School
21 : Al Mahfudz Female Islamic Boarding School
22 : Al Mahfudz Male Islamic Boarding School
23 : Al Mahfudz Islamic College (Ma'had Aly)
24 : Al Choiriyah Orphanage
25 : Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic Primary School
26 : Hasyim Asy'ari University Dormitory
27 : Al Masyruriyah Female Islamic Boarding School

Figure 4. Regional development over time (source: author)

Figure 5. Pilgrimage facilities in Gus Dur's Tomb.
Up: (left) Asmaul Husna monument, (right) Museum Islam Indonesia KH Hasyim Asy'ari; Center: The gate to Gus Dur's Tomb; Down: commercial area selling foods and souvenir around the gate. (source: author)

The pilgrimage diversifies the interactions among actors and revives the surrounding areas. Many locals, especially those who live along the path to the tomb gain the opportunity to modify their houses for shops, public toilets, and prayer rooms. Others rent their houses that have been modified as a shop to the newcomers who sell souvenirs to the pilgrims.

The majority of the shop are opened during the busiest days of pilgrimage, namely Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Islamic holidays, and regular holidays. Considering how trading activities are closely related to Pesantren Tubeireng, the shop traders formed a union to facilitate coordination between the traders and the pesantren foundation, especially regarding Pesantren's operational hours. As mentioned earlier, Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng frequently receives notable visitors such as army commanders, governors, and even presidents. These VVIP guests usually need high-level security that caused the traders to close their shops during the visit.

The tomb of Gus Dur also has certain opening times, which are as follows: 07.00-16.00 and 20.00-03.00 on regular days, and 07.00-11.00, 13.00-16.00 and 20.00-03.00 on Friday only. As the tomb is just next to the Pesantren dorm complex, a fence was built between the two areas to avoid the pilgrims intrude the dorm. Those conditions are determined related to 5 times prayer, and in-out school times, as an effort to avoid clashes between santri and the pilgrims. Another consideration is to maintain santri's focus and ensure the dorm security. The Gus Dur tomb closes for public at 3:00 am and determined as the exclusive time for male santri to study in the close distance to Gus Dur's tomb. Santris claim that staying in Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng give them exclusive pilgrim access so they are able to practice the faith of *ngalap barokah* devotedly as often as possible. They also claim that the silence and the feeling of 'being near to Kyai' help them to focus on memorizing Quran and enhance their concentration to study.

Figure 6. Scenes of the gate to Gus Dur's Tomb during Thursday night (up), pilgrims waited for the gate opening (center), and the crowd around the commercial area (down). (source: author)
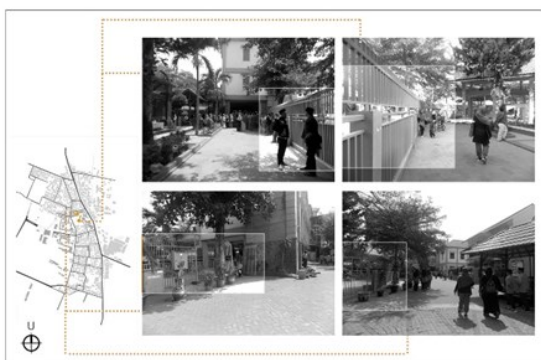

Figure 7. Fence bordering area between male dorm and cemetery/Gus Dur's tomb area (source: author)

NGALAP BAROKAH & RAPID URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN PONDOK PESANTREN TEBUIRENG, JOMBANG

The influence of the Kyai's teachings in the pesantren, and the existence of Gus Dur's tomb are inseparable factors that trigger the fame of Tebuireng. Those factors unintentionally act as an agent of the city branding, while at the same time attracting the great interest of prospective santri to study at the pesantren and the increasing number of pilgrims to visit Kyai's tomb.

The existence of the Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng and Gus Dur's tomb provides a major contribution on the configuration and transformation process of the urban form of Tebuireng. This can be seen from the transformation of residential areas into lodging, parking areas, commercial areas and others. The increasing density from time to time also indicates the significant growth of the area (see Figure.1). Below, we highlight several findings that trigger the rapid development of Tebuireng.

1. *The significant number of believers and the substance of the belief* in the occurring phenomenon. For example, in the case study, the large number of Islam's believer who practices ngalap barokah (taking blessings or goodness) influences the number of pilgrims because they need to visit important religious figure like the kyais. *Ngalap barokah* also influences the high enthusiasm of prospective students who want to study at Tebuireng. As a result, the Islamic Boarding School in Tebuireng keeps growing in terms of its area size or the number of institutions in the area. It leads us to understand how the substance of the belief manifests in everyday activity;

2. *The area where the faith-based phenomenon occurs.* This phenomenon initiates the expansion of infrastructure development which can increase the reach of actors towards the area [24]. Consequently, it is also related to the spatial organization around the area. In Tebuireng, the surrounding sugar cane fields allowed the pesantren to have more flexible horizontal growth. The growth will certainly be different if a similar phenomenon occurs in a densely populated area.

3. *The unintentional place branding potential.* This branding potential can emerge from habits, responses and issues found in the context.

   - The values that are instilled by the religious leaders, namely the Kyai in this case study. For example, a *santri* is expected to kiss the Kyai's hand as a form of greeting and expressing honor. There is also a typical way to dress as a *santri* and *Kyai*, they usually wear sarong and *peci* (headwear for Moslem) while the women wear veils and skirts. This unique lifestyle unintentionally forms the image of Tebuireng.

   - New places that emerge to accommodate visitors. For example, stores that sell religious souvenirs for pilgrims such as veils, peci, prayer mats, prayer beads, sarongs or other souvenirs that are attached to the Kyai's or Islamic identity.

   - The fame of persons related to the area where faith-based phenomenon occurred. For example, the success of *santri* graduates in practicing the teachings obtained from Kyai, namely K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari as a national hero who played a significant role in seizing independence, Abdul Wahid Hasyim as the first religious minister in Indonesia, Gus Dur (Abdurrahman Wahid) as the 4th president of Indonesia, K.H. Ma'ruf Amin as recent vice president of Indonesia, and so on.

4. *Rules imposed by religious leaders.* The rules draw influences to the sustainability of activities in the area. For example, there are restrictions on interactions between public pilgrims and santri in the area around Gus Dur's tomb with certain open-closed schedules of the tomb, as well as restrictions to the interaction of the opposite gender. This point is also related to the substance of belief in the first point. The rules imposed by Kyai is originated from the substance of Islamic belief. Another example is the rules for santris' weekly day-off schedule on Friday, which is different from the

regular school. It is appointed by Kyai because in Islam, Friday is considered as a good day to perform more worship activities.

CONCLUSION

Finally, we can conclude that faith matters and is able to draw significance on how city spaces are used. In the case study, we found that the faith of 'ngalap barokah' becomes the background of the rapid urban development that occurs over time. Since faith does matter in Indonesian's everyday life with a significant number of believers, in the future, we must pay attention to potential faith-based areas/destinations that might perform immense growth. The concluding points of this study are:

1. Faith has a very significant role in the morphology formation process of Indonesian cities and leads to how actors in the city use urban space. In this case, *ngalap barokah* as a form of faith plays that role.

2. Faith-based areas, in this case study, consist of Pesantren and Gus Dur's tomb. Both are interrelated but each has different actors. Pesantrens are dominated by *santris* and the tomb is dominated by pilgrims. On the other hand, the interrelation lies between the time when the tomb is closed for public and it can be accessed only by the *santris*.

3. Here, faith encourages urban development because the city's morphology is determined by religious activities in *pesantrens* and Gus Dur's tomb. Pesantrens control and dominate land use in Tebuireng, while Gus Dur's tomb becomes the reason for the local government to extend infrastructure (roads) and build more city icons (museum, monument, terminal, etc) in creating Tebuireng a religious tourism destination.

4. In point 3, there are no strategic urban design principles used to strengthen the image of Tebuireng as a religious tourism destination, as we can find in the precedents of religious cities in the world. There is no attempt to strengthen the character of the city by applying certain concepts. Instead, it is carried out with the principle of business as usual.

5. However (point 4), we can sense Islamic atmosphere through physical attributes that can easily be found in Tebuireng daily activities, such as 'hand kissing gesture' between santris and Kyai or the young and the old, cloth wearing following Islamic law, billboards written in Arabic, etc.

6. Pesantrens and Gus Dur's tomb provide economic opportunities and encourage the transformation of residential to commercial functions such as shops and lodging. The emergence of these functions occurs sporadically by locals. There are plans from the local government to anticipate chaos tendency caused by this transformation. However, the condition had drastically been changed during the Covid-19 pandemic. Most *pesantrens* had been under lockdown or in visitor-restricted status. Some of it had had to send their *santris* back home and Gus Dur's tomb had been closed for public.

7. As 'Santri City', accessibility and the use of urban spaces in Tebuireng are gender based. This is an interesting phenomenon because it is contrary to the universal principle of using public space which should be inclusive, so that it can be available to anyone at any time as applied in general cities in Indonesia. However, this phenomenon is certainly acceptable and does not invite exclusivity issue, considering Tebuireng is indeed a special region due to its role as a home for one of the largest Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia.

Additionally, in relation to the crisis drawn by the Covid-19 pandemic, it is important to realize that the urban space we used to know has drastically changed. Living together in pesantren, pilgrimage, prayer in-congregation, to the smallest action like kissing Kyai's hand as described previously, and all forms of public activities related to faith in city spaces have been limited or even prohibited during the pandemic. Along with it, we also need to realize that various pathogens are closely related to human social and urban worlds, so infectious diseases are here to stay (Wolf, 2016). We argue that rules imposed by the Kyai in the pesantren and its surrounding area will adapt to this situation, and lead to different kinds of urban issues. Following up on this, further research regarding the manifestation of faith and city spaces in Tebuireng during the pandemic will be carried out in our next publication.

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