

**Holy Land of Dimas Kanjeng Padepokan's;
The Risks of Modernity And Commodification of Religious Dimas Kanjeng Taat
Pribadi In The Exchange Theory Perspective**

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Abstract:

According to Giddens, one part of the risk of modernity is capitalization in various lines of life. The capitalist is not just something that has obviously economic value such as agricultural land, factories, etc., in the end culture, religion is often a commodity to achieve profits that are material (profit). The Personal Taat Dimas Kanjeng Padepokan located in Probolinggo, East Java is one of the most representative miniatures to illustrate how religion became a tool of commodity as the impact of religious capitalization. Dimas Kanjeng, as the head of Padepokan can take advantage of keegan and distance sharp enough in society that is not yet ready to accept the demands of modernity. But with all the market approaches, religious packaging, rewards, promises of saturation are finally able to attract the sympathy of the masses with enough phenomenal.

To examine further how Padepokan works in the midst of the demands of modernity, the author tries to use the approach of the theory of social exchange (Exchange theory) as an analytical tool. The theory is used to see how the followers of Padepokan can do relationship and traksaksi with Dimas Kanjeng considered quite successful so that it can recruit thousands and even tens of thousands of followers Padepokan. For this analysis to be more easily understood and more appealing, I try to combine the theory of exchange with commodification.

According to the temporary observation, the success of Padepokan in attracting public sympathy can not be separated from the commodification of religion. Religion continues to be reproduced with new meanings to attract public sympathy. The production of teachings, beliefs, religious rituals, occult banks, magic boxes, bracelets and so on are part of the commodities performed by the hermitage to capture the hearts of consumers. The work of this kind of Padepokan can be seen using the social exchange approach. With the theory of exchange, the packaging of religion as a tool komoditas can be used as a means of exchange that is calculated as baiya (cost) to get bigger profits (profile). Followers Dimas Kanjeng as consumers Padepokan willingly pay the cost (cost) to get penghargaan (rewards) promised by the Padepokan. The relationship between the followers (santri) at this level, the religion is packaged (commodity) in such a way as to have a high bargaining power according to the needs of the consumer, which at the end is to achieve profit marginally (profit). Finally the commodification of religion was in Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng Taat Personal works well.

Keywords: *Padepokan, Theory of Exchange, Commodification, Modernity.*

A. Introduction

A magnificent building surrounded by a luxurious fence, a large and towering gate adds to the beauty and prestige of the building as a kingdom. Visitors were unrelenting passing and turning, from the lower class to the upper class. Starting from a pedicab, to driving a luxury car. The activity inside the magnificent building also looked dynamic, among them there were those who were studying in the mosque, some were busy preparing food, receiving guests, and holding group meetings in the dormitories where the santri lived. That's the atmosphere of Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng Taat Person in Wangkal, Gading, Probolinggo East Java.

Dimas Kanjeng's head office is known quite phenomenal, the article of his followers not only from the lower classes, but also from the upper class, both from among politicians, conglomerates, public figures and intellectuals like Dr. Marwah Daud Ibrahim, former House of Representatives of Indonesia 2014. Dimas Kanjeng followers estimated 25,000 from various parts of Indonesia. Some even come from abroad such as Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand. Besides that, this Dimas Kanjeng hermitage is famous for its multiplication of money. So many people are tempted to become follower of the Padepokan voluntarily.

Every event of the commemoration of Islamic Day (PHBI) such as Maulid Nabi, Isra 'Mi'raj, Hari Rara, the guard leader of Dimas Kanjeng always held istighasah, pengajian and social activities such as dividing the food to orphans, and the poor. The event invites community leaders, kiai and government leaders from local to national level. The national figure and the great kiyai of pesantren are always without the dimension of Kanjeng dimas in every event held by Dimas. In the event PHBI, Dimas Kanjeng not half-hearted, in addition to distributing groceries to thousands of confident and needy children, he also distributed money in the amount of millions or even hundreds of millions. The sympathizers, just wondering where Dimas Kanjeng has that much money. In such an event, his followers, more and more convinced if Dimas Kanjeng is a great figure, a role model of society, who possesses extraordinary supernatural wonders and supernatural powers.

In the meantime, artibut and religious symbols are very visible and striking that always faithfully adorn the clothing Dimas Kanjeng and his followers. All white clothes, equipped with turban and tasbih that never seemed to get out of his grasp. At any moment Dimas Kanjeng looks like a special person ', keeping every step and speech. The words that come out of him like pearls are always awaited by his followers. Of thousands of Dimas's santri, only a handful of people can meet and meet him. Not all santri had the opportunity to meet what else was accidentally met by Dimas. Except on certain days such as on the occasion of the Great Islamic Day like the mawlid of the Prophet.

His followers are notoriously fanatical and loyal to Dimas. They are willing to be a maid (haddam) Dimas Kanjeng. Not only that, the followers also buy a lot of goods produced by pedepokan like, bracelets, necklaces, money boxes, scarves and so forth. Every item produced by Padepokan is believed to have magical powers that can bring wealth and luck in life. No wonder, every santri must collect these items. One type of goods has a price vary according to the strength contained in the goods. According to Haryono, one of his followers, a bracelet worth Rp. 1,000,000, necklace Rp. 1.500.000, ring about Rp.500.000 - 1,000,000. while the magic box that is believed to bring about Rp. 5,000 -10,000,000.

Santri who have a high enough purchasing power usually buy all the goods offered by the parties Padepokan. The santri are convinced that what is purchased from Padepokan will bring abundant material fortune. In addition, like the kegaitan santri, reading the shalawat of the Prophet (asyraqalan) and shalawat nariyah commonly read by a santri also always be a routine reading Padepokan. Shalawat is among santri known as shalawat fulus. Shalawat is read to bring money (fulus). They eagerly and enthusiastically read each one by one while counting the money that has been duplicated and abundant in the neighborhood.

Later, what dikajikikkan by Dimas Kanjeng is a mere fraud under the guise of religion. So finally Dimas Kanjeng proven guilty and entered the process. But on the other hand, even though Dimas is already in jail, some of his followers still live faithfully in Padepokan waiting for the magic and help of Dimas. According to Camat Gading,

Probolinggo District, Slamet Hariyanto, there are still about 86 followers or santri who live in Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng.

According to Suakrman, santri who are still faithful settled in Padepokan, Dimas Kanjeng capture due to slander that deliberately made by the community. He suspects the capture of Dimas is a form of injustice that will eventually get a reward. Bahana according to this Pontianak Borneo people, this year (2017) in Padepokan will happen extraordinary events as miracles and forms of resistance Dimas which became evidence that what is done Dimas innocent. This is one reason some Dimas followers do not return to their area.

On the sidelines of the activities of Padepokan, Dimas Kanjeng always encouraged his santri to be Taat to worship, diligent study and charity with great patience and keikhlasan. Students are always doctrin with sincere knowledge. According to him if charity is not accompanied by sincerity, the heart is white, clean, then the charity will not produce results. Hence the granting of dowry that becomes a routine santri in the form of money into the Padepokan should be done with sincerity. Otherwise, the money deposited into Padepokan will not be duplicated. So devoted to Dimas, one of his santri from Paiton Probolinggo, Usman (alm), before he passed away, he had a will to his son to make a deposit every month to Padepokan continued, in the hope that in time as promised by Dimas will be doubled many times.

One time, Usman was worried that he had made money tens of millions or even hundreds of millions to Dimas, in the hope of going back with the number of billions. While the promised money has not yet arrived. He had time to ask Dimas time liquid. Immediately Dimas told Usman that he was not a sincere person. "Bekak reak not sincere, pa ikhlas, pa poteh atena, not sincerely pessena sajen abit se deddie pesse". (you are not sincere, sincere, clean heart, holy, if you do not sincerely the money is longer to be doubled, because according to the belief of Dimas followers in bersadakah as a form of santri charity should be done sincere sincere If sincere, dowry) to Padepokan will double.

Santri Padepokan are required to pay the dowry and obtain an ATM kitchen in the form of boxes and bags. The box already contains a talisman that can suck up a lot of money. As a ritual to keep the ATM kitchen filled with money, santri have to pay dowries to buy bracelets, belts, and ATM cards, worth up to millions of rupiah (Kompas, 07 September 2017). The box is first charged Rp 10,000. If you want to keep growing, the box should not be opened. Students must continue to pay the dowry so that the money in the box terebut continues to grow. In addition, there is reading Shalawat Fulus, which readers follow Padepokan in every activity. Shalawat Fulus is a reading that is believed to bring in magical money (Suara Surabaya, 12 September 2017).

Meanwhile, there are 100 objects owned by Dimas Kanjeng, from Keris Majapahit to Bung Karno Statue. There are 100 more items given ly to his santri during his followers. Antiquities called supernatural powers, among others, Bung Karno statue made of metal, a variety of kris, including called the property of King Brunei and King Majapahit, and the stove called the legend of nyi Roro Kidul. In addition there are also whips, clubs and other antiques. In addition to these antiques, there are also piles of paper money from various countries, as well as piles of paper that are bundled up the size of a bill.

B. Dimas Kanjang; Head Master of Padepokan

The figure who is famous for this personal devout Kanjeng Dimas name has a personal name Taat Pribadi. He was born on 28 April 1970 in Probolinggo. Around 1994 he married a wealthy wife, Rahma Hidayati, who came from the Kraksaan sub-district of Probolinggo. With her marriage to Rahma, Mas Kanjeng, her familiar greeting, was

blessed with three sons namely Raderi, Radeni, and Saruwul Wahidah. He lives with his family in Dusun Sumber Cengklek, Wangkal Village, Gading District, Probolinggo District.

This famous figure with this money doubling ability, touted as the descendant of a Police retired officer, named Mustain, died in 1992. His mother was Ngantri, a Middle Eastern woman who died in 2002. Since childhood Dimas Kanjeng famous with a pretty naughty figure because his attitude is quite nyeleneh and courageous, until ahirnya he matures. Before the family Dimas Kanjeng had his education in college at one college in Malang before finally drop out.

Before Dimas founded padepokan, he had time to join the multi-business marketing (MLM), but he failed continuously. Even according to Ikbal, neighbor Dimas, because of his failure to run MLM business, he is often derided by friends and neighbors in the area of Wangkal Probolinggo. Until finally Dimas promised to prove to the public to realize his dream of becoming a successful person.

Around the year 2000 he traveled to various regions of Java, Sumareta and Sulawesi to seek spiritual teachers. In the end, he found a well-known spiritual teacher named Kiyai (Abah) Ilyas, from Mojokerto East Java, who died on July 10, 2009. Full Dimas was not among Abah Ilyas' best disciples, but since he never betrayed his teacher, he got some magic one of which was doubling money from Abah Ilyas. Since that time Dimas began to be famous in the midst of society and various regions with the ability of occult, doubling money and withdrawing valuables (gem gold) from the ground. One by one the community began to visit Dimas Kanjeng to study spiritual knowledge and the occult.

With the rapid followers of Dimas Kanjeng from various regions, finally around 2006 he founded the Kanjeng Dimang Personal Prayer Village in Wangkal, where he lived. In the padepokan he plays as a professor, until finally membaiait himself as King of Kings, which oversees several Sultan. According to a number of his students, their motivation to study in Dimas Kanjeng varies, there are those who want to experience the science of religion, have the ability of the occult, draw the gold from the ground, doubling the money and so forth.

However, to withdraw the gold from the ground, his students must raise money to buy magic oil. Because to remove the gold must use magic oil made by Dimas. To remove gold from the ground takes a long time. His students also have to wait until there is advice from Dimas. From initially hunting gold to doubling money up to 1000 times. Until finally his students one by one out of the padepokan gold because of the long-awaited gems and duplicated money does not come.

C. Exchange Theory

Simply put, the theory of social exchange (exchang theory) assumes that the occurrence of social interaction of each individual because of elements of cost (cost), inbalan (reward) and profit (profit). Here it can be understood how a person views his relationship with others in relation to the balance between cost, reward in relationship, the type of relationship and the opportunity to establish better relationships with others. The assumption of a relationship can only happen if both parties benefit from the relationship. Each interconnected party must be allowed to pursue its own individual interests through agreed exchanges so that the goals of each individual are attained which, in the end, the relationship takes place.

Levi-Strauss, a French anthropologist, working within the Durkheim tradition, developed a theoretical perspective on social exchange in his analysis of the practice of marriage and the kinship system of primitive societies. In his analysis, Levi-Strauss

distinguished two systems of exchange; direct exchange and indirect exchange. In a direct exchange, members of a dyad group (dyad) engage in direct exchange transactions, each member of the couple gives each other on a personal basis. In indirect exchanges, members in the triad or larger group, receive something from another partner of the person whom he or she gives something useful. In other words, the exchange is indirect, not reciprocal (Taylor & Francis Group: 1998).

Meanwhile, according to Molm and Cook, the theory that influences the theory of exchange is a theory of behaviorism that is well known in psychology, despite its indirect influence on behavioral sociology and exchange theory. Behaviorism, with its central idea of prizes and costs, is said to have great influence both on behavioral sociology and exchange theory. Thus, in behavioral sociology and early exchange theory, one of the readable propositions is that one's actions are born more based on prize consideration (or reward) and cost (or punishment / punishment). The prize is determined by its ability to reinforce behavior, while the cost reduces the possibility of behavior (George Ritzer - Douglas J. Goodman: 2008).

Homans believes that the process of exchange can be explained by some interrelated propositional statements derived from Skinnerian psychology. The proposition is a proposition of success, stimulus, value, deprivation-satiation, and the blessing of aggression (approval aggression).

1. Success proposition is contained in the statement stating "that in every action, the more often a certain action gets rewarded, the more often it will do it."
2. Stimulus Proposition, "if in the past a special stimulus, or a set of stimuli, is an event in which one's actions are rewarded, the more likely it is that the current stimuli with the past, the more likely it is for a person to do the same or somewhat the same".
3. Value Proposition, "the higher the value of an action, the more happily someone does it".
4. Proposition of Deprivation-Satiation, "the more often in the newly passed period a person receives a certain reward, the less valuable it is for that person to increase each unit of reward".
5. Proposition Restu-Aggression, "if a person's actions do not receive the expected reward, or receive an unexpected punishment, or receive an unwanted punishment, he will be angry; he becomes very inclined to show aggressive behavior, and the results of such behavior become more valuable to him.
6. Whenever a person's actions receive the desired reward, a special reward greater than expected, or does not get the punishment he expects, then he will feel happy; he will be more likely to carry out his favored behavior, and the outcome of such behavior will become more valuable to him (George Ritzer -Douglas J. Goodman).

It is quite clear that what is meant by social exchanges is more or less as a reward or cost between two or more people (George C. Homans: 1962). Homans further based his theory on explanation - not just depictions - social institutions at the level of individual psychology. In other words what is called social structure or fact is nothing but the actions of individuals in their social life. Moreover, since basic human psychological processes are the same throughout the world, although there are a number of cultural variations, the type of theoretical statements developed to explain social institutions or social processes must be universally applicable. Starting from the basic theoretical and analytical principles as seen in Homans's works, Homans's exchange theory can be positioned as microscopic rather than Macroscopic (K.S. Cook and J.M. Whitmeyer: 1992).

D. Commodification

Commodification (comodification) according to Broker is a process of making something previously not a commodity so it is now a commodity. Barker defines commodification as an association process of capitalism, ie objects, qualities and marks serve as commodities. Commodities are something whose main purpose is to be sold to the market (Zebrina Pradjnaparamita: 2012). In this sense, Marx gives him the meaning of whatever is produced and for sale. No pure use value is generated, but only the sale value, traded is not used. Commodification describes the process by which something which has no economic value is given value and hence how the market value can replace other social values. As a commodity it is not only important to be useful, but also powerless (Karl Marx in Evans, Evans, D. S. & P., *Das Kapital for Beginners*: 2001).

In the sense of commodification, something will only become a commodity, every thing can be a ready-to-sell product. The meaning in commodification is not only based on the production of commodity goods and services traded, but how the distribution and consumption of goods is contained as expressed by Fairclough (Fairclough, N: 1995).

Domains and social institutions whose concern not only produces commodities in a narrow economic sense of the goods to be sold, but how they are organized and conceptualized in terms of commodity production, distribution and consumption. The commodification occurs when the economic value assigned to something which were not previously considered in economic terms, such as ideas, identities or gender. So commodification refers to the expansion of previous market trade in non-market areas, and to the treatment of things as if they were a commercially tradable commodity.

Marx's view of commodities is rooted in his materialist orientation, focusing on the productive activities of the actor. Marx's view is that in their interactions with nature and with other actors, people produce the objects they need to survive. These objects are produced for use by themselves or others in the immediate environment. This is called commodity value. This process within capitalism is both a new form and a commodity. The actors instead produce for themselves or their direct association, but for others (capitalists). Products have exchange-value, that is, instead of being used directly, but exchanged in the market for money or for other objects (Ritzer, George and Goodman, Douglas J.:2009).

While Vincent Mosco highlights aspects of media content, audiences, and workers as commodity or commodity aspects that the market receives (Vincent Mosco: 2009). In general, according to Vincent Mosco (1996), the theory of political economy is a study that examines social relationships, especially the forces of the relationship, which in turn involve the process of production, distribution and consumption of products that have been produced. The beginning of the emergence of this theory is based on the magnitude of mass media influence on changes in people's lives. With such a wide spread of power, the mass media is then perceived as not only able to determine the social, political and cultural dynamics at the local, as well as global levels, but also the mass media also have a very significant role in increasing the surplus economically.

This departs from the assumption that mass media acts as a link between the world of production and consumption. Through messages spread through advertisements in the mass media, increased sales of products and services is possible to occur when audiences are affected by messages that appear through the mass media. In the economic and political sectors, the mass media is capable of disseminating and strengthening certain economic and political systems and often does negation or denial of other economic and political systems. However, one thing we can not ignore is that the mass media indirectly perform certain ideological functions such as those held by the owners of the media. To

understand the political economy's overall political concept, Vincent Mosco (1996) offers three basic concepts that must be understood, i.e. commodification, spatialization, and structure (Vincent Mosco: 1996).

Commodification relates to how the process of transforming goods and services along with their useful value becomes a commodity with exchange rate in the market. It feels strange, because the media products are generally in the form of information and entertainment. While both types of products can not be measured as goods move in conventional economic measures. There are several forms of commodification according to Mosco, namely commodification of content, commodification of audience / audiences and commodification of workers. Then there are two other forms of commodification that are part of the commodification of the audience: intrinsic commodification and extensive commodification: a. Commodification of Content or Content The first form that we certainly recognize is the commodification of communication media content. The first commodity of a very first mass media is media content. This commodification process begins when media actors change the message through the existing technology to a meaningful interpretation system until it becomes a selling or marketable message. b. Commodification Audiences or Audience One of the principles of mass media commodity dimension according to Gamham in a book written by Mosco mentions that advertising users is a refinement in the process of economic commodification media. Audiences are an important commodity for mass media in getting ads and income. The media can create their own audiences by making programs as attractive as possible and then interested audiences are sent to advertisers.

Concrete media usually sells audiences in the form of rating or share kepada advertiser to be able to use their air time. The most effective way is to create a program that can achieve the highest number of programs in other stations. c. Worker or Labor Commodity Workers are the driving force of production activities. Not only the actual production, but also the distribution. The optimal use of their mind and energy by constructing their minds on how fun it is to work in a mass media institution, even with unnecessary wages. In this commodification of labor there are two processes that can be considered. First, the commodification of labor is done by using communication and technology systems to improve the empowerment of the workforce and ultimately commodify the whole process of the use of labor including those in the communications industry. Secondly, political economy explains a dual process that when laborers are engaged in commodifying activities, they are at the same time also commodified.

E. Dimas Kanjeng and Risk of Modernity

The Wangkal, Gading, Probolinggo is one of the miniature of semi-modern society. That is between traditional and modern society, or commonly known as the madya. People who are still bound by the culture and traditions of traditional society on the one hand, but on the other hand it also follows the development of modernity. The Wangkal community, Probolinggo still believes in things mystical, supernatural, magical and superstitious. On the one hand also believe in rationality. They occur distance (gap) or follow modernity and traditionality. Both have the same consequences that are not easy. The first choice follows modernity and then leaves the traditions altogether, or vice versa, the latter sticks firmly and believes in tradition with consequences of being an isolated and lagging society. Such societies attempt to adapt modern changes and

developments but are not accompanied by adequate modernity devices resulting in cultural lags and cultural lags.

The community is vulnerable to changes that are not linear, hard to be predicted due to cross culture. The presence of a figure, Dimas Kanjeng on the Wangkal society became a marker of modernity on the one hand, and the representation of traditionalism on the other. At a certain stage the community seeks to overcome the demands of modernity with all its knick knacks, in its own way. The strictly modern life, the harsh competition, the cultural and social gaps that so conspicuously brave the sometimes irrational choices of society. The choice is more of an instrumental choice. It is directed straight with Dimas option to figus kharismetik. The demands of modernity are so strict according to the "victims" that often lose control. So the choices of community action was uncertain. In this position, Dimas Kanjeng is able to provide answers and solutions to the social and cultural gaps that are squeezing the society.

The security of social changes and developments that are so fast becomes the entrance to Dimas Kanjeng to stand upright in the midst of the masakat who is experiencing the gap and the adaptation process. In this paternalistic Wangkal Probolinggo society that develops is a patronage tradition. Namely the birth of a figure who became a model of the client as a follower. Dimas in this context is partitioned as parton, while society as client. The inability and the powerlessness of society in facing modernity becomes the entrance gap for Dimas Kanjeng's henchmen to fill and give choices that seem to be the solution amidst the hustle and bustle of modern life. That is in terms of Giddens called ridiko modernitas.

Since the beginning of modernity has always demanded a "victim". It has a loose character from rung and time. Wangkal as part of the space of modern society he is not free and out of the risk of modernity. In this position Dimas plays the role of modernity on the one hand, and the symbol of traditional society on the other. He was able to use the modern way of thinking and system, by utilizing the traditional society's mindset. So no wonder, if the members and followers loyal not only among the lower middle class society, but also the educated community and the elite. Sharp tension and spacing both in the cultural and social aspects of society requires a blank space and implications for the occurrence of an identity crisis. The identity crisis from traditional society to modern society. The process of adaptation that is not accompanied by the power of modernity infrastructure makes people look for form in their own way.

At this level the followers of Dimas Kanjeng try to find its shape by adapting the demands of modernity with inadequate supplies. So what happens is precisely the gap and distance that increasingly laus with modernity itself. According to Giddens, (1991: 3-4), modernity is a culture of risk. The concept of risk is fundamental to the way cloud actors and technical specialists can organize the social world. Modernity reduces the riskiness of particular areas and ways of life, but at the same time introduces newly unknown risk parameters in the classical period. At a certain moment Dimas Kanjeng tries to avoid the risk of modernity by organizing new social workings through religious

vehicles as a commodity, but at the same time he is not aware if his actions actually generate a new risk that actually becomes a boomerang for him. That's what Beck called the "boomerang effect" in Beck's terms, the risk-side effects of re-attacking even production centers (Beck, 1992: 35).

In the history of the distribution of risk suggests that, like wealth, the risk is attached to the class pattern, only the opposite of wealth rests on top, while risk is at its base. (Beck, 1992: 35). This means that at this level of risk even strengthen the occurrence of class society instead of eliminating. Dimas Kanjeng as an agent with capital and high-class actors tried to prove the risks for his class, and the risk was placed on his followers as the lower classes. He continues to produce "religion" as a means of commodity to continue to be distributed to the classes below to defend himself to be safe from risk. While he is unconscious both the individual and the risk-producing group are also insecure from the risks themselves. The increasingly abundant poverty at the lower level actually becomes a boomerang and a new risk that he does not realize by Dimas Kanjeng, who at the end he must go to jail.

F. Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng and Religious Transactions

Before further attempting to analyze how Dimas Kanjeng's cafes continue to exist, the basic question is why Dimas Kanjeng as head of the hermitage continues to expand his business, while he has gained quite fantastic members to tens of thousands of followers, while the profits he gained are also considerable, or nonmaterial ?. Materially he can even collect billions of dollars to trillions of dollars. Another case with the riches in the form of gold, diamonds, land and houses of other unspoiled treasures. To answer this question, we can use a successful proposition in the theory developed by George Homans. In that theory, Homans explains that the actions one takes, the more rewarded the person becomes, the more likely it is to repeat them (Homans, 1974: 16).

Dimas Kanjeng who is said to have supernatural powers, which is able to remove valuables from the earth / mountain Lawu East Java and do the doubling of money, becomes a cost (capital) for Dimas which can be exchanged with the reward (reward) from the public. These services can be utilized by the general public. Anyone can use the services of Dimas to fulfill his interests, both for removing valuables and doubling his money. The ability to multiply the money he showed by frequent handing out money to the poor wagra. The practice can draw the sympathy of the community to do *trankasi* with Dimas in order to fulfill its importance to be rich. So that transactions occur between Dimas with his followers.

In general, behaviors consistent with this successful proposition include three stages: first, one's actions (actor); second, rewarded results, and third, the original action, at least similar actions in some form (Ritzr; 719). At this level, the success of Dimas's actions of recruiting members at least raises new actions that will continue to be repeated even in different modes. This is related to the subsequent prose in the so-called exchange theory of stimulus proprietary. The success of Dimas's actions in the past has been a stimulus to repeat the next period. The repetition of Dimas action in this case may be another form with the same substance. Therefore Dimas then develops his actions in the form of the production of magic wristbands, necklaces, rings, magic boxes, magical banks believed by his followers to multiply money and bring benefits in life.

Successful proxies in exchange theory according to Homans can be broken down into three things, namely; first, in general, while it is true to say that often-increasing rewards lead to more frequent actions, reciprocation can not continue indefinitely. It is proven what is done by Dimas and his subordinates of the Sultan and the coordinators in doing *trasaksi* giving dowry and giving money doubled due to saturation. Second; the shorter the distance between behavior and respect, the more likely it is that a person repeats the behavior. As experienced by Ismail, Dimas's men who had climbed in the Sultan's position (before he was killed), he continued to search and mobilize Dimas's followers to pay dowries and raise the dowry as well as expand to seek new followers.

Third; that rewards are at times more likely to lead to recurrent behaviors than regular organizers. It can be seen how the members of *Padepokan* as experienced by Suwanto, by staying faithful to become members of *Padepokan* to get the promised money immediately liquid, because in the past he had enjoyed the doubling of money from *Padepokan*. So he adds his dowry money so that more money multiplied in the future. So he remained faithful to follow and increase his dowry money to earn more multiplication of money as *dimasikan* by Dimas Kanjeng. To review further why there are cases of students who stop being a follower of *Padepokan*, and on the other hand the *Padepokan* continue to do the same or similar action continuously. We can use the next proposition in the concept of exchange that is; saturation-loss proposition. The more often a person in the past, not so long ago, received a special award, the less the value of each unit of appreciation for him. Or the greater the gain a person receives as a result of his actions, the more likely it is to do so. (1974: 31).

The disadvantages in this exchange theory can be defined as a loss of respect for not taking alternative actions. While profit is greater the amount of rewards earned than the losses incurred. In addition to the production of magic items such as necklaces, bracelets and so on, *Padepokan* also produce *wiridan* and *shalawat* are believed to bring in money, such as *shalawat fulus*. Behavior of making sincere *shalawat*, magic box and magical bank is part of an alternative action to attract more benefits than previous actions. So also vice versa *Padepokan* followers who resigned from membership *Padepokan* because *penghargaan* that he hoped did not arrive as promised. In this position the member chooses to stop because of a loss, because he hopes not in accordance with reality. While Dimas continues to take alternative action considering that he did have to bring more profit (profit) from the capital that he spend (cost).

As for the members' security, like Ismael, as mentioned earlier, he arrived at the Sultan's position. Previously, Ismail was an ordinary member who only paid dowry to the party as a condition of membership *Padepokan*. Because it can recruit new members with a lot of numbers until he was appointed as a coordinator to be sultan *pedepokan*. *Penganjakaan* Ismail became the coordinator and then the sultan can be understood as a reward (reward), which is at the stage of achieving profit (profit) of his actions. This varied award for Ismail has more value than regular members. That is, reciprocating relationships between *padepokan* and Ismail are mutually beneficial and even get more value so both parties continue to do *hubungan* and repetitive behavior to achieve more valuable rewards. If what Ismail had done did not have value and profit for him, then the relationship between the *padepokan* and himself would be saturated. The rising position of Ismail in the hermitage of the previous position can also be understood as an altruistic and *matrealistic* advantage, as experienced by other members. The altruistic contemplation of the soul's tranquility by following religious rituals, access to follow recitation and reading of *shalawat*. While the benefits of a material such as multiplied money, gold and diamonds, others.

G. Aggressive Action of Dimas Kanjeng Pedepokan

If we look at a more macro level, Dimas Kanjeng is the owner of power in the structure of Padepokan. He is at the top of the position with the power and authority to determine the process of sustainability in the village. Vice versa, santri / followers of the hermit are the men who have dependence on pedepokan. At this level, members and rulers are two entities that form a network of interdependencies for the sustainability of a second relationship. The sustainability of their relationship must be mutually advantageous. If not then it will experience a saturation point that leads to the occurrence of disconnection. Therefore the hopes of both parties should be equally occupied. The fulfillment of hope (pernghargaan) both is the availability of resources into the interests of each entity, both in the form of good and material.

According to Emersion's theory of the theory of exchange, power is a potential level of harm that one can use to influence the other to accept. While dependence means the level of potential loss an actor receives in a relationship (1972: 64). As Yamagishi, Gillmore, and Cook once pointed out, one-sided power on the other in exchange relations is a function of the opposite of its dependence on the other (1988: 837; Whitmeyer, 2005b). From the above teroi it can be understood that the power of Dimas Kanjeng in the padepokan is at the level of loss because he is basically interested in getting his business accepted by his members. He therefore uses a variety of ways in which he can still be accepted by his followers, such as social baks, donations to the poor, and recitals. This level of loss can be understood as the cost (cost) which must be paid with the award, the minimum award is equivalent to the cost. Likewise, on the contrary, the dependence of santri to Dimas as the owner of the padepokan. To sustain the interaction and relationship between the two networks, the hermitage party is responsible for meeting the operational cost requirements. while the dependency itself must be understood as cost.

For a more micro-relationship, Dimas, as a professor of pedepokan, depends on Ismail and Abdul Ghani, as Sultan of Padepokan, the Sultan is dependent on the coordinator and setersunya. Likewise, on the contrary, the members depend on the coordinator, the coordinator to the sultan, the sultan to the Great Master. The pattern of interrelationship between these relations in the hermes is designed so that relations between members and leaders continue to persist. The design is shaped in a resource exchange pattern. Resources include money, access to pedepokan activities, ritual activities and various kinds of products as mentioned above.

Dimas Kanjeng concerned that the Sultan provide information, develop a network, and become a loyal followers padepokan, so that the groceries continue to grow rapidly. If the padepokan berkembang rapidly boast power berepokan be abundant in the form of money, gold, diamonds and other valuable property from the dowry members. While the Sultan wants to get more resources than Dimas, because Dimas as the owner of the hermitage is believed to be able to meet all the needs of the Sultan as they have experienced with the giving of a lot of money, luxury vehicles, homes and others. Besides, with the many members of the Sultan, the dowries he collects more and more. In the end the Sultan will get a bonus (the multiplication of money) from the collection of dowry money from members. Therefore the needs of these two relations, must be equally mutually fulfilled their interests. In order to fulfill these needs fulfilled it must be through the division of resources pro benepokan. If not then the relationship will both be cracked. That is why then there is an aggressive action by the party against one of the members of Ismail and Abdul Ghani.

To see the aggressive actions of the Padepokan party that led to the killing of Ishmael and Abdul Ghani, we used the next proposition of exchange theory, the

aggression-agreement of agreement, namely; when a person's actions do not achieve the rewards he expects, or otherwise receive the punishment he does not expect, he will be angry; he is more likely to engage in aggressive behavior, and the resulting aggressive behavior becomes more valuable to him. (Homans, 1974: 37). The position of Imail and Abdul Ghani in the padepokan is as Sultan. Sultan is the second level position directly under the professor's master, Dimas Kanjeng Obedi Personal. The position (Sultan) is a very strategic position, which determines the fate of padepokan. Both understand the details of the performance of the hermes, they become the key to success and sustainability of the padepokan. Therefore, Dimas himself as the ruling party also has a very high dependence on the two sultans. He wanted how both of them remained faithful and loyal to the hermitage. If they deviate, it is almost certain that the survival of the village will be threatened.

According to the results of the investigation, as in the rules of the Padepokan, to reach the Sultan's position a member must have a number of subordinates under him, and deposit a high enough dowry. Thus the Sultan will get the multiplication of money as promised hermitage. However, later, duplicate money and other valuables as promised hermitage, did not arrive at the hands of Ismail and Abdul Ghani. They smell the fraud committed by Dimas. The doubling of money he promised was not as smooth as he had been the sultan. So they want to dismantle the duplicate lie of money and gold allegedly brought from Mount Lawu by Dimas Kanjeng.

The efforts of Ishmael and Abdul Ghani to dismantle the "lies" and "deception" done by hermes, to Dimas was a threat he did not expect. Even the efforts of Ismail and Abdul Ghani to dismantle "fraud" has reaped the results, as evidenced by the many members who one by one began to retreat from padepokan. If the business is left then most likely the sustainability of Padepokan become threatened. Therefore there was an aggressive aggression on the death of Ishmael and Abdul Ghani. In this Agreement-Agreement proposition, at the level of "fraud" and the stagnant effort of the hermitage as Ismail and Abdul Ghani can be understood as punishment. The punishment is something undesirable by the hermitage, which should have been rewarded by the results of his efforts, in fact the opposite is true. Hence the "disappearance of life" (aggressive action) in this proposition as the most rational compensation and choice of action in order to maintain the sustainability of the business of padepokan. Aggressive action is considered more valuable for the party as a reward (reward) than he did not get at all the awards he had hoped before.

By choosing the act of removing the lives of the two sultans, the Padepokan can secure the assets of the padepokan and secure the other members remain loyal to the padepokan. In addition, the non-disclosure of 'panipuan' done by padepokan also becomes more value that can be understood as profit (value, value). Likewise on the contrary, the act of "fraud" pengepuan "by Ismail and Abdul Ghani can dipamahi as an alternative action to achieve a greater (value) when something they expect is not in accordance with reality. Such aggressive actions, dismantling the "lies" of cash procurement by their hermit expect the loss of trust of members and society, which at the end is the profit of padepokan will be reduced. The decrease in income and loss of trust of members to the hermitage to Ishmael and Abdul Ghani becomes a value of the aggressive action of his choice. The two sides between Dimas as professor of padepokan and Ismail / Abdul Ghani as Sultan both took aggressive measures to avoid the loss of rewards or punishment (loss) that would befall them both before Ismail and Abdul Ghani were killed, and Dimas went to jail.

H. Match Spirituality and Market Strategy

As a company, Dimas Kanjeng's company continues to develop and innovate to expand its business. Religious activities, such as recitation, religious ritual, wiridan, shalawatan and social service, compensation for orphans and the poor are continuously improved to attract public sympathy. In addition, it offers financial benefits are not small, namely by saving money so that later money that is doubled. Of course for the saved money to be multiplied, the members of the hermitage must follow the terms and standard of work that has been set by the party of the hermitage.

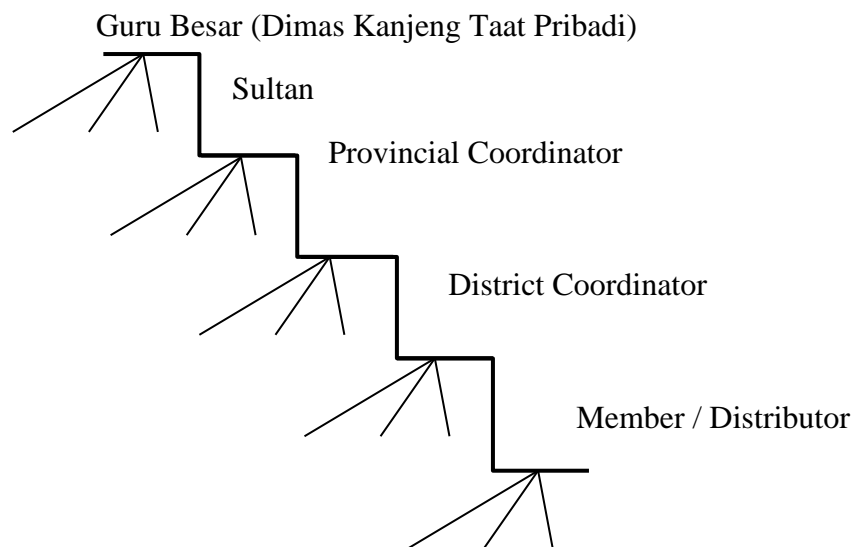
To develop and expand the wings of the padepokan, Dimas Kanjeng using work system with Multi Level Marketing strategy (MLM). This strategy is oriented to the achievement of each member commanded by the Sultan and coordinator-co-ordinator who also plays as a distributor. The sultans and cordonators are required to sell and promote to the public the promises of spirituality, closeness to God and financial endowment as the targeted product and the widest possible network.

As for how the marketing work with MLM strategy applied by the hermitage is:

1. First each member is sponsored by a hermarket distributor, in this case the coordinator. Coordinator is the first distributor to join the hermitage. The members' duties include selling hermitage products (closeness to God and multiplying money), and looking for as many new partners as possible to join the distributor, to form a wide network. At a tentative level that was originally just an ordinary member with a large network underneath, he would rise to become a city / county Coordinator, and so on until he became Sultan.
2. Pay the dowry (starting fee / registration fee). This money is not targeted in a certain nominal amount, ie done in a voluntary manner in accordance with the ability of members. But if the new member wants to rise at a higher level then he must become a distributor by finding new members as much as possible so as to form a wide network underneath. Besides, he is required to pay a certain amount of money. This registration fee will usually be handed over to the coordinator above (koornitar provensi). After paying the dowry a new distributor will get various facilities such as pedepokan membership stickers, rings, and the opportunity to attend the training (training) which is held regularly in padepokan. The amount of money that the registration submitted to the distributor is not binding, but the higher the registration fee then he will get a bigger copy of the money. Subsequent to each month members are required to seek new members and pay monthly fees, so that the money that is believed to double will continue to grow. Because every member has to pay monthly dues until the money is doubled, otherwise the promised money doubles to fail.
3. Make an agreement or contract with the party hermitage. A member / distributor who has paid the starting fee, then executes a contract that binds the distributor and the hermes. A distributor must comply with established rules, while providing a product, providing bonuses or commissions, providing services as promised in a marketing plan, working guidelines for distributors to run their business properly. Each member is entitled to obtain products from the padepokan with distributor price such as bracelets, necklaces and can access to follow the training (training).
4. Invite the members as much as possible. Members / distributors then engage in activities by proclaiming "products" to the community / consumers. Most direct selling is a personal selling / face to face, beginning with a recommendation or a direct approach. The distributors usually give explanations about the products of the hermitage and assure the benefits, excellence, quality, especially those relating to the multiplication of money or financial wealth so that people are willing to become members of the hermitage.

5. Develop a network. In addition to the task of selling products directly to consumers, each distributor must also develop a network keanggotaan as wide as possible. To be able to build a network, each distributor must do the prospect. There are several strategies to get the prospect, which is to develop the widest network of members, to explore the entire market, to meet the people where the prospect depends, and to show the members themselves. To build a network, distributors need to understand the prospects of consumers. To improve the achievement or motivation of the distributors / members, the hermitage periodically provides various trainings, additional insights, strong, strong, and reliable personal building skills to nurture or develop their network, which is what they do every night of the week.

Padepokan already has training programs or business schools called halakah that provide support for its distributors. Usually this training is held regularly in the form of meetings or pengajian-pengajian. In these meetings distributors can meet to share experiences, review or reevaluate their work, and provide guidance on how to build networks, who people can work with, in order to motivate or excite new distributors who have not succeeded. In various forms of meetings or recitations the distributors often invite the sultan and the coordinator, as a way to recruit new recruits. This is important, because the success of recruiting, training, and motivating the distributors is one of the benchmarks of the success of companies using MLM work system (Palupi, 1998). Here's an illustration of how the work and career paths of Dimas Kanjeng Taat Pribadi can be described as follows:



The illustrations above are adapted from the workings and career paths of the MLM system marketing model.

The topmost position is Dimas Kanjeng Taat Person, he oversees several Sultan. Sultan oversees several provincial coordinators. While under it is the coordinator of the city / district. The bottom position is the member / distributor. Members / distributors can climb up on the position (city / district coordinator) if he / she has been able to meet the target according to the target.

I. Commodification Of Religion

Practices performed in the Dimas Kanjeng Taat Pribadi Manual have signs that produce a commodification message. By using a triangle of meaning or triangle of meaning by Charles S Pierce involving the three elements of sign formation, ie signs or representamen, objects and interpretations. Reading *shalawat fulus*, symbols of solidity, using beads, wearing cloak and turban, is one of the messages that put forward the character of Dimas as the most important factor. Dimas Kanjeng showcases a great style to attract consumers as a reference to the exemplary spiritual figures. However, not only the wealth offerings received by the santri. If examined from the semiotic side there is a picture of religious activities that are commodified in such a way to be an attraction to the program. The difference between this Dimas store with the padepokan and the other cottage, that is during this event that always use the padepokan symbol of religion as the main way and invite bebeapa government leaders and boarding school. In this research, the padepokan uses wiridan, pengajian, compensation for orphans and the poor as the main tool to attract public sympathy and the sultan as auxiliary role.

To see more occurrence of commodification on Dimas Kanjeng mantis can be seen some cases in the following.

1. Sri Prabu Rajasa Nagara

On January 11, 2016, Dimas Kanjeng was confirmed as Sri Prabu Rajasa Nagara. The inauguration was conducted by the Chairman of the Royal Association and Kraton Indonesia (AKKI), Shri Lalu Gde, Pharmanegara, Raja Langgoi Irwan Estikaka, Raja Aceh Tengku Surya Nusa, Sultan Bulungan, and Raja Kulisusu Central Sulawesi. At the event was attended by tens of thousands of followers Padepokan and about 10,000 orphans and the poor. In his speech, Shri Lalu Gde, the head of AKII, said that Dimas Kanjeng is the king who will connect Mount Rinjani to Merapi. Dimas Match is believed to be the epicenter of the archipelago kingdom that will continue the struggle of King Hayam Wuruk.

The confession and testimony conducted by a number of figures and the king of the archipelago is very unreasonable considering Dimas is an ordinary citizen, not the descendant of a king. He is just a retired child and a former businessman of the Amalillah foundation. A money-based MLM business game, whose leader is Raden Aiyon, has been arrested West Java police in 2015. Inauguration of Dimas witnessed halayak increasingly make his image increased and pengikunya more fanatik. ditambah at the end of the event done giving to 10,000 orphans and the poor, Rp. 100,000. With the inauguration of Dimas as king, increasingly amaze the public and believe in Dimas's greatness. This can be understood as part of the promotion to maintain the business of Padepokan.

2. Posing with public figures

In every event held by Padepokan, Dimas often coexists with kiai, government figures and pesantren caregivers. Party hermitage also often expose photos Dimas side by side with community leaders. The incident implies as if what Dimas did have the support of community leaders. The closeness is a special attraction for the masyarakat as well as the legitimacy that what Dimas is doing is legal, has gained the blessing of community leaders.

3. Social Benefits

Benefits made Dimas not out of the media spotlight. Assistance in the form of money to orphans and the poor who amount up to billions done in front halayak. People witnessed what Dimas did. This is done to produce the meaning that Dimas is a generous person, has a lot of money. The incident further makes the members sure if Dimas can double the money. In 2012 for example Dimas once distributed Rp. 100,000 for 10,000 orphans and the poor, a fantastic event.

4. Supreme Master Spiritual Dimas Kanjeng

At every ceremony of the celebration of the Islamic Big Day (PHBI), Dimas always holds recitation and istighasah. In the event Dimas accompanied by teachers who are called as spiritual teachers. The spiritual teachers are Ratim alias Abah Abdurrahman, Abdul Karim alias Sulaiman Agung, Murjang alias Abah Nogoso, o, Mrono sumarno, Alias Abah Holil, Atjeb Alias Abah Kalijogo, Sadili alias Entong, Biwa Sutarno aka Abah Sukarno, Mat sani alias Abah Abdul Rahim, Suganda alias Abah Balkan. Though the teachers, as Vijay acknowledges, as Event Organizer every event hermitage, is a pedicab driver brought in from Tangerang. Their appearance is designed in such a way as a kiai, pious and wara '. Clothing them complete with robe and turban. They are very efficient talking, do not even want to talk to other members of the hermitage. This is done because of his authority. Only certain people like Dimas and the sultans can meet directly with the spiritual teacher. (Detiknews 23 September 2017).

5. The Magic Box and Suitcase

One of the bait members of the hermes is a magic box or suitcase. The box is believed to be a tool for doubling money. Every member who has paid the dowry is required to buy boxes that start from Rp 5,000,000 to tens of millions. With the box the dowry of members may be multiplied by twentyfold of the nominal initial amount that the members distribute to Padepokan. so that the multiplication of money can be successful then should be sung shalawat and zikir (Tribun Timur, 20 september 2017). If we examine further shalawat read is shalawat nariah. Shalawat is usually read by a santri to get reward from Allah to get ridlanya. But in Dimepokan Dimas, shalawat is believed to be a sincere shalawat that can bring money. Every day the box must be filled with money by members of the bank in order to multiply the money multiplied.

6. Shalawat and istighasah

The reading of shalawat and istighasah is a weekly activity that is read every night of the week by the santri. They believe that the reading can eliminate the anxieties and concerns that afflict every member. By multiplying istighasah and shalawat intent they will be answered. Shalawat and istighasah who actually to embrace themselves to God just be used as a tool of transactions to get more new members than before. If the money entered in the magic box is not increased, according to Dimas, the reading of shalawat and istighasah is not done sincerely. But to bring material benefits. And there are many other hermitage activities that have been commodified by the padepokan like Bung Karno Statue, Kris belong to Majapahit and others.

J. Closing

The Phenomena of Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng Taat Pribadi in Wangkal, Probolinggo, East Java can not be separated from the consequences of modernity. The phenomenon of modernity gave rise to capitalization in all areas of life, including religion. The drought of spirituality and the very strict demands of the economy make society at odds with control. The process of modernization is too fast inevitably gave birth to a very sharp distance between various elements of society both in the economic and cultural fields. Utilization of religion as a commodity to captivate the sympathy of the community into a very effective tool in the midst of community imbalances. In this position Dimas is able to play a very effective role by using the packaging of religion and spirituality.

The practice of religious rituals, the use of magical objects, and the supernatural power of Dimas Kanjeng as the head of Padepokan which is believed to be able to multiply money and provide solutions for membership is a powerful tool for the exchange of material benefits from their followers. Material and non material altruistic exchanges such as recitation facilities, hospitality and compensation for orphans and the needy between Dimas Kanjeng and members can work quite effectively with the mutual benefits and rewards promised by the Padepokan party to members. It is at this level that the commodities of religion, with the practice of shalawat and wiridan that become the routine of Padepokan find their portions.

The survival and resilience of the Padepokan as well as the loyalty of the members are tied up with a guarantee of peace of mind and material adequacy. While the mismatch of Dimas's promises to members in the form of doubling money as a reward for members with reality, becomes a very dangerous boomerang for Dimas Kanjeng. To secure his position finally happened aggressive action by the party that led to the death of Ismail and Abdul Ghani. This can be understood as saturation when Padepokan does not achieve its ambitions, namely asset security and business sustainability.

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