

The Fascination of Dimas Kanjeng: Social Phenomena between Religion, Mystical and Economic Motives

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Abstract. This study concludes that the problem that exists in society, especially the followers of the hermitage (padepokan) dimas kanjeng, is an internal problem in the form of a crisis of orientation and dislocation in their personality. These conditions cause disorientation and experience unclear direction, or experience dislocation. Such a society is in a condition of high expectations, namely obtaining financial economy instantly. The nature of greed and ambitious souls dominates the conditions of an unstable following society plus the practice of individual cult centered on one person kanjeng dimas who is glorified. Cults were raised with their performance and the embedding of a great name that made them admired because they were considered to have advantages above average. To recruit followers, The strategy used by Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng is a very subtle approach, polite words and tempting the followers to believe everything that is conveyed by the head of the padepokan. The lure of getting double the money becomes an attraction for followers to join. This study uses a qualitative approach and the data are collected through interview, observation, and documentation toward condition of followers padepokan since 2016 until 2020. The informant of interview religious leaders from Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) Probolinggo resident, the officials of Ministry of Religious Affairs in Probolinggo, and prominent leader of citizens of the locus this study.

Keywords: Dimas Kanjeng, Probolinggo, dryness of religiosity, charismatic figure, instant culture.

1 Introduction

On Thursday, 22 September 2016, the public in this country was shocked by the raid of the East Java Regional Police at Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng. The forced pick-up and later arrest was due to Taat Pribadi, the leader of that hermitage/padepokan has been absent three times at the summons by the East Java Regional Police to be examined about the alleged murder cases committed by 7 of his “santri”. The seven defendants admitted to having committed the murder on the orders of Taat Pribadi. The raid involved no less than a thousand joint personnel of the TNI, Police from the Probolinggo and East Java Regional Police because of Taat Pribadi’s followers were about to obstruct the security forces. The officers were fully armed and wearing bullet-proof vests by driving a special car for mass decomposers, barracuda, tactical cars, water cannons, and dozens of trucks that rushed to the

Padepokan location. The deployment of such heroic officers was carried out as an anticipatory step for resistance from followers in the Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng.

Before an arrest incident, the police had been investigating since the discovery of the man's body from Probolinggo in February 2015 who was suspected of being a "santri" at the Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng. This incident followed by finding of the man's body from Situbondo dumped in the Gajahmungkur Reservoir Wonogiri on April 14, 2016. Since this arrest, the mystery has slowly been revealed at the Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng led by Taat Pribadi whose address is Dusun Sumber Cangkelek RT 22 RW 08 Wangkal Village, Gading District, Probolinggo Regency. In a very exclusive hermitage with tight security for 24 hours, it was suspected that fraud was practiced with multiplying money method. The interaction of the residents of the Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng with their families and communities has changed. The environmental community believes that Dimas Kanjeng does not teach religious knowledge and spiritual activities at the hermitage at all, but only motivates followers to pursue material things. There are spiritual activities in the form of mental cultivation, such as istighatsah or practicing certain readings and prayers many times. However, these activities aim to hope for wealth and interpret life goals as material fulfillment. They bet various things such as money, property, family, and time to multiply material in a short time. Even though the victims were promised to have their money doubled, in fact the victims' money was lost or not returned at all. However, the followers of the hermitage do not feel cheated and fully believe the money is still there.

Competition takes place in life to meet the needs of the followers. Their individual desire is to win the competition in an irrational way. They want to be known as people who are successful in terms of material, status, and popularity. Irrational actions are taken in order to pursue the achievement of these three things. This action is done by many people, especially those who are on the rise. In order to maintain that status, they are willing to do anything. The practice of the individual cult of followers of Taat Pribadi places it as hope and a support for the problems they face.

Physically, Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng is an exclusive cluster area surrounded by a fence, with very tight security at the entrance. It is true that the case of Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng has passed, but socio-religious phenomena and community behavior that lead to irrational attitudes are still symptomatic even though the era has been digitalized. Therefore, this study is very important to do in order to describe and analyze the Dimas Kanjeng phenomenon, which can reappear in every era and generation, from the socio-religious side. To obtain a comprehensive study result, this study is formulated in the following questions: a) How is the phenomenon of the emergence of Dimas Kanjeng in the digital era? Why does the Dimas Kanjeng phenomenon always appear?; b) What is the typology of Dimas Kanjeng followers and how does this figure get the sympathy of his followers? What are the motives for recruiting these followers?

This study is very urgent to carry out because the phenomenon of economic motives wrapped in cults, religious charisma is very susceptible to recurring in the social life of the community.

2 Theory Based and Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Paul Mudigdo Moeliono in Topo Santoso and Eva Achjani Zulfa explained that crime is a human act in the form of violation of norms, which is perceived as detrimental, annoying, so it cannot be tolerated. Crime always refers to human actions as well as limitations or

people's views on what is permissible and prohibited, what is good and bad, all of which are contained in laws, practices, and customs.

The theory used in this study is the theory of relations and the theory of attribution. Theory of relation is used to read how the followers of Dimas Kanjeng have the belief that they are willing to change themselves, if they feel a deep bond with someone who tries to change them. Here establishing a relationship is a very vital key to influence a person's personality to change and get out of the problem they face. Dimas Kanjeng gets trust as a counselor from his followers (counselees) who want to be free from their financial problems. Trust occurs by a very close relationship between the counselor and the counselee. Meanwhile, attribution explains the causes that bring people whom in trouble and problem of life become followers of that hermitage.

To reveal obedient personal leadership in his hermitage, the author uses a charismatic leadership theory approach. Max Weber said that Charismatic leadership can be obtained by an extraordinary person so that his commands and words can influence a group of people. Charisma is an embedding that comes from an interactive process between the leader and followers. The attributes of charisma include self-confidence, strong conviction, calmness, and speaking ability. And the more important thing is that the attributes and vision of the leader are relevant to the needs of the followers.

There is an attribution theory which states that charismatic leadership is based on the assumption that charisma is a phenomenon of attribution (Conger & Kanungo, 1987), and there is also a theory of its own concept concerning a charismatic leader which can be seen in the extent to which followers accept, emotional involvement and high motivation based on extraordinary soul sacrifice (Shamir, house, Arthur, 1993). In addition to the conceptual theory of psycho-analysis of charisma, a leader is treated very unrealistically even with extreme levels of charisma by followers. Automatically, it leads to a cult with negative consequences.

2.2 Previous Studies

The study conducted by Ferry Adhi Dharma was entitled “Dialektika Komunikasi Intrapersonal: Mengkaji Pesona Komunikasi Dengan Diri Sendiri”. In this study, these authors conclude that the communication skills of Taat Pribadi, the owner of Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng are based on a process of rhetoric and persuasion that plays out at the psychological level of their followers. The communication style is to gain one's own benefit unilaterally (disensus). The social construction he builds aims to strengthen his image in the eyes of society through a number of social attributes attached to him.

Umar Anwar “Tindak Pidana Penggandaan Uang Dalam Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana: Tinjauan Kasus Penggandaan Uang Dimas Kanjeng Taat Pribadi” in *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia* Vol. 13 N0. 04 - Desember 2016 : 369 – 378. In his research, Anwar stated that Dimas Kanjeng Taat Pribadi had committed embezzlement and deceived each of his students who entered by depositing a sum of money as a dowry to him and promised to be doubled. (Article 374 of the Criminal Code concerning embezzlement and Article 378 of the Criminal Code concerning fraud).

A study conducted by Nina Hillery with the title “Pembuktian Mengenai Tindak Pidana tentang Kekuatan Gaib di Dalam Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana dan Rancangan Undang-Undang Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana”. This writer reveals the side of the crime committed by Taat Pribadi, the head of Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng. This author sees that the practice of magic for multiplying money cannot be prosecuted by law in Indonesia. He

did not highlight the problem of the socio-religious impact experienced by the followers of the hermitage.

In this position, this study describes and uncovers the problems in Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng from the aspects of social and religious studies

2.3 Dimas Kanjeng and the Irrationality of His Teachings

The focus of this research is the Dimas Kanjeng hermitage which is located at Dusun Sumber Cangkelek RT 22 / RW 08, Wangkal Village, Gading District, Probolinggo Regency. The hamlet is in the south of Kraksaan City, the capital of Probolinggo district, with a distance of approximately 20 km. Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng was initiated by Taat Pribadi. Before the establishment of the hermitage, Taat Pribadi has pioneered various economic ventures, but he always fail and suffered a loss. He does not give up easily, the economic business he has pioneered has experienced success including farming cooperatives (Koperasi Usaha Tani/KUT) and savings and loan cooperatives (Koperasi Simpan Pinjam/KSP), although they also experienced setbacks. He also joined as the coordinator of the Amalillah Foundation which was run by the alm. Raden Ayon. It seems that Taat Pribadi is adopting the method used by the Amalillah Foundation in finding "followers" who will voluntarily hand over "dowries". This strategy was then used by obedient personal to get "victims" and become his followers.

Taat Pribadi is the son of Musta'in (alm) former Dansek Polsek Gading. Taat Pribadi was born on April 28, 1970 in Dusun Sumber Cangkelek, Wangkal Village, Gading District, Probolinggo Regency. During his time as a center for figures in the hermitage, several titles were assigned to him, including "Dimas Kanjeng", "Yang Mulia", "Guru Besar Hadratus Syekh" and Sri Raja Prabu Rajasa Nagara. The titles were obtained from his efforts and his close friend at the hermitage. He obtained the title of Sri Raja Prabu Rajasa Nagara from the Association of the Kingdom of the Archipelago (Asosiasi Kerajaan Nusantara) as an appreciation of this organization for Taat Pribadi who has helped maintain the culture of the people in the Tengger and Probolinggo lands.

Taat Pribadi makes his residence as a Padepokan with a fence around the height of not less than 2 meters. The hermitage land occupies an area of about 6 hectares. The followers of Taat Pribadi are referred by the term "santri". This naming comes from Taat Pribadi when referring to his followers. So, the term "santri" in the hermitage is not like the definition of santri which is generally known as a boarding school which consists of kyai, santri, dormitories, and mosques. The "santri" of this hermitage were followers of the Taat Pribadi and had handed over a dowry of money. The followers in Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng are very exclusive, because they limit themselves to interacting with environmental communities in Wangkal and Gading Village, Probolinggo.

His followers come from various regions and various religions. Some followers came from Makassar, Bali, West Java, Central Java, East Java, East Kalimantan, Papua and others. They are Muslims, Hindus, Christians, and also Catholics. The religious activities carried out by followers who are Muslim after the arrest of Taat Pribadi are routine practice of praying 5 times in a day, reading of al-Qur'an, and istighosah after Maghrib. These activities are carried out in the hermitage or at the Baitul Makmur mosque that belonging to the hermitage. These religious activities, seem normative and have nothing strange. And for those of religions other than Islam, perform their worship according to the guidance of their religion in their respective tents.

Taat Pribadi followers can be grouped into:

- a. Ordinary members, that is, people who only pay the dowry and promised can get double of their money. They came from various regions in Indonesia and received doctrines of the cult of obedience by the coordinators. Their number is very large from various regions in Indonesia.
- b. Coordinators / collectors whom recruiting members, indoctrinating, and collecting dowries.
- c. Sultan. The position of the sultan as someone close to Taat Pribadi, comes from close friends or still has family relationship. The sultan who comes from a family lives in the villages of Wangkal and Gading. According to the people in this village, they are the ones who enjoy the wealth of the hermitage. The sultans lived in luxurious houses and owned expensive vehicles.

The Wangkal community is culturally a village community away from the hustle and bustle of the sparkling city. In a relatively short period of time, this hermitage was visited by an increasing number of followers from various regions in Indonesia. The exclusive social attitude of the followers with the people of Wangkal and Gading villages raises questions regarding religious teachings in the hermitage. The area of the hermitage has turned into a sacred location where people should not enter it carelessly. The collective acknowledgment of the followers of the hermitage that their great teacher who holds the title Dimas Kanjeng has advantages (*linuwih*) after going through his spiritual journey. Dimas Kanjeng can see supernatural things both past and future.

In the last three months before Taat Pribadi was arrested by the Police on charges of murder, Taat Pribadi ordered his followers from various parts of Indonesia to come to the hermitage. The goal is that the implementation of *istighatsah* can be carried out intensively to accelerate the disbursement of unseen money. Because of their large number, they took the initiative to build tents whose roofs were made of tarpaulin. Some of them, with their families, rented houses for residents. However, the people of Gading and Wangkal view the large number of followers who came at the same time because the disbursement would only be made as an excuse. The mobilization of followers was only a strategy for the *Padepokan* to anticipate the forced pick-up of Taat Pribadi by the police. As the proof, the followers were asked to gather at *Padepokan* for several times, but the disbursement of money from the occult did not materialize at all. As a result, many followers ran out of financial and logistical provisions. Some of them only eat fried foods to fill their stomachs and then drink water. There are also those who ask the residents what is there to just eat. There are also those who are no longer able to pay the rent for a resident's house, then just leave, leaving a debt to the home owner. However, they do not put the slightest bit of disappointment in Taat Pribadi and are always kind to their leader.

There are some followers who admit that they are reluctant to return home or be sent home even though they are assisted by the government (Ministry of Social Affairs) for various reasons. Among their reasons are they have no any places to live in their hometown. Some of them are afraid of being billed by the members they recruit. By living in the hermitage even though it only has a tarpaulin roof and a mat, they feel comfortable and calm living in the hermitage while following *istighatsah*, reading *al-Qur'an* in mosques and other worship. Their perspective is the same, namely waiting for the disbursement of money that has been doubled from their lord. What is concerning, the delivery of "dowry" money to Taat Pribadi through the coordinator, mostly there is no proof of submission (receipt). But they were absolutely sure that Taat Pribadi would cash out their money.

The people of Wangkal and Gading Village, which are majority of them did not follow the hermitage, felt that they were not harmed materially by the existence of this hermitage. In fact, the village roads that have been accessed by the hermitage and surrounding villages have been widened and repaired. However, the community is concerned psychologically because many members of the hermitage who come from far away areas who come to the hermitage do not get the money they expect. Some of them even up to a family from outside of Java island renting a house. Their purpose is one, waiting for the disbursement of money from Dimas Kanjeng.

The existence of "santri" hermitage who are ordained as prosecutors of religious knowledge, refers to the opinion expressed by KH. Hasyim Muzadi that the Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng phenomenon does not reflect pesantren or Islamic boarding school generally. The use of the term "santri" is nothing more than a cover for deception who does not dare to mention that the hermitage teaches religion. Santri here is not referring to the standard of Islamic boarding schools which provide religious education and teaching as in general Islamic boarding schools. The existence of religion is no more as a wrapper because it is not a religious teaching, it only has a religious flavor.

Meanwhile, from the socio-religious side, as stated by Azra, the emergence of the Dimas Kanjeng phenomenon has two symptoms; First, the symptoms of the new age, are movements and understandings of spirituality that are actually unclear even though they use the term nomenclature of mainstream religion. In this case what is used is the term in Islam, which is popularly called "santri" and "pesantren". In fact, there is no pesantren or anything related to pesantren in this place because there is a crisis both individually and in groups; Second, the phenomenon which is called pseudo scientific, seems scientific but it is a fake scientific because it cannot be justified. So, the public must be careful and be aware of the existence of new ages and pseudo scientists phenomenon that may appear again in the near future.

Ritual as an institution of worship (Cult Institutions) carried out by Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng is used as a symbol model and a message to the public that Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng regularly holds spiritual events in the form of collective prayer. The figures around Taat Pribadi see that the majority of followers are mostly from Nahdliyin who have istighotsah tradition.

The surrounding public knows that if there is istighatsah it will be followed by the disbursement of donations from the hermitage to its followers. When it was announced that the hermitage would disburse the funds, followers from various regions understood that they had to come to the hermitage immediately to participate in istighatsah. Beside istighatsah, the practice that is carried out is reading shalawat nariyah. This shalawat nariyah has become an obligation in the hermitage that must be read by followers, because it is believed to bring fortune to those who do it. This practice became popular among the followers of the hermitage. To convince the followers of the specialty of this prayer, then deliberately from someone who has a special affinity with Taat Pribadi uploads the video to the YouTube site. In the approximately 3-minute broadcast, Taat Pribadi miraculously took out a large amount of one hundred thousand rupiah bills from behind his body. In front of him is a group of people wearing only trousers without wearing a shirt or t-shirt covering their bodies. They sat face to face, counting the "never ending" bill of hundreds of thousands of rupiah in front of them. While counting the money, these people continued to read the shalawat nariyah. The money came from an "magical bank" which Taat Pribadi was able to penetrate with the "linuwih" he had.

The reading of istighatsah which is generally carried out by the Nahdliyyin which consists of reading tahlil, tahmid and shalawat then becomes a sacred activity according to the followers of this hermitage in addition to practicing shalawat nariyah. Both practices of worship ('amaliyah) done to give assumptions to followers and the environmental community as if what is done in the hermitage is a sacred ritual.

3 Analysis

The emergence of Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng in Probolinggo is in line with the psychoanalytic theory put forward by Sigmund Freud that human behavior is controlled by his personality or personality. Indonesian society is experiencing a crisis that is still ongoing, causing disorientation and unclear direction, or experiencing temporary dislocation, both individuals and society itself are in a condition of high expectations, that is instant financial economic gain. The cause can be internal, orientation crisis and dislocation in the person of Taat Pribadi followers. Reading this fact, it is not surprising that the followers of the hermitage feel at peace living in the hermitage, while on the other hand their life has complex problems. The nature of human greed and ambitious souls dominates the condition of an unstable following society plus the practice of individual cult that centers on one person, the glorified kanjeng dimas. Cult is created by: a) wearing clothes that make people admire like clothes that show he is great that he has advantages unlike the average; b) using names that invite a certain aura, such as the inclusion of the name Dimas Kanjeng with the aim of inviting a certain aura that contains an aura of magic; c) quoting the texts of the Qur'an. Even though the main figures of the hermitage, especially the central figures who are not good at reading al-Qur'an, his followers still see them as good persons because of blind imitation (taklid) and absolute obedience that cannot be questioned because of his cult. The cult has blindly possessed charismatics who understand religion when in reality it is not like that. These symptoms will continue in Indonesia in the various problems that will be faced, especially with the rapid changes in the task of religious leaders to provide socialization regarding the correct understanding of religion, especially when there are things that do not make sense.

The pseudo scientific practice involving thousands of people shows that some people are still irrational and deceived by the culture of 'wanting to get rich quickly'. In many cases, it always involves and stirs up the lower class socio-economic strata of society. What was attracted was not only the lower middle class from the economic and intellectual side, but many came from academics members, officials, members of the TNI / Polri until the figure of Marwah Daud Ibrahim who was known as an intellectual in this country. Amazingly, even though the followers had been promised many times that the disbursement would be made, they did not in the least feel cheated by Taat Pribadi whom they considered to be the master.

Until now, some followers are still remain in the hermitage area. Institutionally, this hermitage has an official license as a foundation. Seeing the fact of the physical and psychological conditions of the followers of the Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng, various elements of society and the government felt it was necessary to find a joint solution. One of these solutions is by educating the public on the importance of revitalizing the intellectual awareness of the community so that they do not fall into instant culture in the midst of the consumptive behavior of the Indonesian people. The mentality of "getting rich quickly" when animating society will deny people to work hard and endeavor.

The success of Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng in influencing many people who are attracted to and become followers of it, because of the success of hermitage subordinates and their hard works to describe the ideal figure of Taat Pribadi. This success is related to the mystical value of the Taat Pribadi figure so that he is authoritative, considers him a maharaja who has charisma so that it attracts other people. But he admits that this attraction is also

inseparable from the mental instant, aka the wish to be rich quickly by some members of the community.

The emergence of problems leading to deviations in Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng, according to the observations of researchers, can be viewed from a sociological and religious perspective.

a. Sociological side.

From the search in the field in Wangkal Village, Kec. Gading, Taat Pribadi started an economic business that started with the Farmers Business Credit (KUT), Baitul Maal wa Tamwil (BMT), donations for orphans, and the Amalillah foundation. From many things he did, the public knew that his business smelled of fraud. In terms of social relations in society, Taat Pribadi and his Padepokan raises problems in the form of fraud. Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng has become a movement by gathering followers and raising funds, managing, having programs, using strategies, manipulative methods (tactics), brainwashing, coercion, threats and bearing the burden of obligation (paying dowries) on followers / victims. Meanwhile, the victim of Dimas Kanjeng's followers was in a false consciousness with an indication of confusion and his soul was empty,

b. The religious side.

From a religious point of view, Taat Pribadi is cultured by his followers as having advantages (linuwih). The cult even seemed to blindly portray the extraordinary nature of Taat Pribadi. He is considered capable of bringing in money from the unseen realm called the bunyan realm (another dimension). To bring the magic money, the followers are obliged to hand over the money as a dowry with the lure that it will be returned to them doubled. Apart from money, his followers also believe that Dimas Kanjeng can bring in items according to his followers' requests, such as diamond rings, vehicles, precious stones, food, fruit and so on. Another example of his advantage (linuwih) is Dimas Kanjeng can bring guardians from the spirit realm (in the form of body and spirit). The saints even greet the followers. The nuances of religion (Islam) that appeared in Padepokan were suspected to be deviant, as stated in the handwritten dictate entitled: "Ajaran Padepokan Taat Pribadi" teachings of Padepokan Taat Pribadi. Here are his teachings:

1). Kun Fayakun practice.

2). Wirid manunggaling kawula-Gusti. This wirid is read privately. The wirid reads: INGSUN SEJATINE ALLAH, WUJUD INGSUN SEJATINE DZAT ALLAH.

3). Read the shalawat fulus, which reads:

وَالْمَطْعُومِ وَالْمَرْكُوبِ وَالْأَمْوَالِ مِنْ بَهَائِجِ عِلْمِي صَلَاةِ الْمُبْعُوثِ مُحَمَّدٍ سَيِّدِنَا عَلِيٍّ وَبَارِكْ وَسَلِّمْ صَلِّ لِلَّهِم
وَ النَّفْسِ بَعْدَ أَنْوَاعٍ وَصَحْبِهِ أَلِهَ وَعَلِيٍّ وَالْجَلُوسِ الْقِيَامِ فِيهِ وَالْجُرُوسِ الطَّرِيقِ لِكُلِّ وَالْفَلُوسِ وَالْمَلْبُوسِ
الرَّحِيمِينَ رَحْمًا يَا بِرَحْمَتِكَ النَّفُوسِ

Meaning:

"O Allah, bestow mercy, safety and blessings on our lord Prophet Muhammad SAW. who was sent, with prayers that can bring / make with him wealth / property, vehicles, food, clothing, and money, from every ways (efforts) and word, standing and sitting, and also convey prayers for the Prophet's family Muhammad, PBUH. and his companions with as many breaths and souls as human beings, with your grace (help), O Allah, the Merciful, the Most Merciful".

4). Having a warehouse for storing money (magic bank).

5). Having Karamah (displayed in front of his followers).

6). Routinize the implementation of Istighatsah to followers.

7). Radhiyatul qubri prayer.

Seen from theological and religious doctrine (Islam), these practices lead to the spirit of obtaining material success quickly. The limitation in understanding religious teachings is certainly a major factor in the fertility of this understanding model. Like the teachings of *kun fayakun* which is a property of God the Creator, if it is believed that it can be done by a charismatic figure even then it will ignore or negate the belief in the pillars of faith, that is believing in *qodho* and *qodar*. This phenomenon can occur due to various social problems that people face on a daily basis. The dryness of religiosity also drives someone to experience this crisis. Religion isn't be understood by society completely and correctly.

Regarding issues related to sociological and religious conditions, it is necessary to revitalize intellectual awareness and the spirit of understanding religion in society so as not to fall into an instant culture amidst rampant consumptive behavior and conditions. From a series of these events, what should become a lesson is the evaluation and strengthening of religious programs.

4 Closing

A proverb said: "As smart as a squirrel jumps, it will fall too." This seems to be what happened to Taat Pribadi and his hermitage. As the end of the field investigation and several problems with field findings, this study concludes that the *Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng* was initiated by Taat Pribadi. Before the establishment of this hermitage, Taat Pribadi has pioneered various kinds of economic ventures. But they always fail and go out of business. However, he did not give up easily. Economic businesses that have been pioneered include agricultural business cooperatives (KUT), savings and loan cooperatives and finally he also joined as the coordinator of the *Amalillah Foundation* which was driven by Raden Ayon (late). It seems that Taat Pribadi is adopting the method used by the *Amalillah Foundation* in finding "followers" who will voluntarily hand over "dowries".

The strategy used by the *Dimas Kanjeng* hermitage is a very refined approach, polite words and tempting the followers to believe everything that is conveyed by Taat Pribadi and his hermitage. The lure of getting double the money is an attraction for followers to join this group.

The recommendations of this study are as follows:

1. The Ministry of Religion has to rearrange database of religious institutions or institutions calling themselves hermitages (*padepokan*) with religious spiritual service nuances. An assessment of this institutional model is needed to identify early on the models of group movements in the name of religion.
2. The Ministry of Religion in collaboration with various agencies, especially religious authorities, religious organizations, educational institutions such as Islamic boarding schools, need to provide guidance and management. This step is focused on mentoring victims regarding psychological aspects and religious understanding using variety approaches, such as counseling, therapy, advocacy, empowerment and cutting the chain of victims from their entire patron network.

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