Watu jagoan Surabaya

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ABSTRACT

Jagoan or “watu” is a character or label given by society because somebody has ability or strong point in a certain field. This research explores the functions and role of “watu” in the Rungkut area, Surabayan society. This research uses qualitative approach that will produce data as expression or note and society behavior investigated. The method used in this research is ethnography method to describe a culture. Watu is a group of strong persons or jagoan in Surabaya. The researcher finds phenomenon that represents watu in Rungkut where the researcher lives and the researcher knows jagoan called watu existing and living in society. Watu is a group of strong persons or jagoan in Surabaya. The term has been given by Surabaya society for them since long time ago. Watu term is given by Surabaya society character because figure of watu shows strong and hard like a stone. It is like Surabaya society character that has strong willing, like to be free from social and another obligation, tend to react hard if depressed, and fast defend themselves. The existence and reality of jagoan in Surabaya society has a meaning and function to get conclusions: (1) jagoan group in Surabaya are at many areas and have various forms like criminal, bodyguard, debt collector (debt creditor), hit man (hired murderer); (2) watu with network they have, they move to security business; (3) the meaning of watu for society is as respected figure, where the interaction with watu makes society feel safe in running daily life activity. (4) watu at society is as informal security has a negative and positive function. The negative function of watu is crime practice namely asking security money. The positive function of watu that is the respected figure makes watu as social control and decrease the conflict that evokes integration between groups and finally makes safe situation and condition in society.

Key words: criminal, bodyguard, social control, crime practice, respected figure

Culture is a human knowledge where the truth is believed, with feeling and human emotion that become the source for evaluation about something good and something bad, which is something basic in society. It happens because culture is influenced by moral values as life view and ethics system owned by every human (Geertz, 1992: 128).

Society knows values and norms in their cognition as idea system and it influences their behavior social activity. The concept is owned continuously and is bequeathed in society up to now. Values relating with a society form has a uniqueness, character, culture covering their life.

Jago culture or jagoan is a form of values in a society. It is from the word jago that means expert in certain field, where jagoan is a character or label given by society because somebody has ability or strong point in a certain field. Jago is also a nick name given in match for winner or unbeaten, or also proposed as superior.

Jagoan culture is universal and found at every society either in rural area or in urban one. This jagoan culture always appears and decorates society life. This jagoan culture is found at various societies in Indonesia, especially in Java. The historical background about jagoan appearance, with all aspects covering it, either social, politics, economy, or around leadership side at society make them a certain group.
Concept about jagoan has appeared from kingdom age in Indonesia, with various heroism stories about good figure and or also wicked figure with spiritualism and silat (martial art) science they own. In pre-colonial period, jagoan like jawara, bodyguard, and same kinds of them present in various forms. The group is the non formal implementation of power that is also other side of the power itself, both for defending people and defending a landlord.

As noted by Ong Ham Hock, jagoan and violence groups are really familiarly heard in the history of Indonesia, especially in kingdoms time in Nusantara. Former terms that are used to call them are bodyguard or jago. However, history finds various words used to denote jagoan like brandal, weri, or blater. Jago organization is the only administrator means to keep the existence (Masaaki and Rozaki, 2006: 106).

This jagoan group resides in a society. They become the important liaison in politic system in rural area. Jagoan is often hired by noble families to mobilize and control local inhabitants, and they use colonial order because it gives much profit. The relation between village chief and jagoan is mutual connection. Jagoan is released from forced labor and land tax, but he helps in fund to pay village chief debts as system consequence of plant force. Jagoan gets fund from stealing, but he does not steal from people living in the same village. He only steals outside the village, in the village that does not have a strong person, or the strong person does not have an agreement with him (Nordholt, 2002: 43).

In the development, jagoan form in this time has metamorphosis in groups either having basic identity or not. The groups, besides entering violence business, also involve in fighting to take economy and politic access by force. Their existence is often exactly as back up from certain group or business.

Jagoan or also called as a strong person is found at java syncretism world and at islamic world, depending on the local situation. This strong person fills gap between village atmosphere and regional government in colonial time. In research report since 1965 written by left group cadres about rural situation in whole Java, there is a power form which is not organized, represented by strong person or jagoan. In the middle of 1960s, this traditional strong person is permanently increasing in regions, especially in Banten (Velsink in Lucas, 1989).

Jagoan is a local strong person or a group of traditional local strong persons, where the jagoan concept is called with various terms by local citizen depending on the area. Jagoan term is relatively seldom used. Jagoan group is more often called bodyguard (a kind of private bodyguard) and robber.

The facts above show that jagoan concept is owned by society either in rural or in urban areas. They are part of society and fill public space with all activities either by their forces or their identities. Jagoan has their own function and role in society. Thus, the researcher wants to present jagoan concept in Surabaya as one of the groups owned by Surabaya society.

Jagoan Group in Surabaya is known as watu. Watu in javanese means stone, in which the word has a meaning resumption seen from stone character that means strong and hard. Strong is interpreted with having strong physic, or having surplus physically. Strong itself, based on the word watu, can also be seen as a bruiser so that he has a strong physic. Hard in this case is a character of a watu evaluated bad-tempered or touchy, or he also does not want to be regulated in the case of the opinion. Besides strong and hard that
provide a basis for somebody to be *watu* he also has a courage or in Surabaya term known" *tatak".  

Watu is somebody that is frightened, well-thought-of, and respected because of the characters above. He dominates a certain area and has his own network and staff. Most people only look that they are freeman looked negatively because they like to make confusion with doing criminal activities, asking money by force, being drunk and acting violence. Indeed, in urban area, freeman term is known more, but *watu* itself has a certain place as jagoan figure in a village or also in certain groups.  

A view about a jagoan or *watu* in Surabaya is a form of values in society. How can a *watu* be a frightened figure because he is a freeman often doing criminal actions, or *watu* becomes a well-thought-of and respected figure because he has his own role in society and gets support from them.  

Watu concept existing in Surabaya society is a phenomenon with Javanese culture background of jagoan group that has certain functions and role as one part of the society. Watu phenomenon with roles in society is still found in Rungkut area where every area in Rungkut has its own *watu* with life and their social activity in society.  

Phenomenon of jagoan existence in various areas in Indonesia, either in rural and urban areas, village and also area that has high economy potential, is culture form defended by society because it has its own function. As a well-thought-of figure, Jagoan has status and role in a society. Jagoan or *watu* in Surabaya is a form of values in a society. Jagoan can be a frightened figure because he is a freeman who often does criminal actions, or he can be a well-thought-of and respected figure because he has a role, function in a society and gets support from them.  

**Method**  

This research uses qualitative approach that will produce data as expression or note and society behavior investigated. Data result compels researcher to directly sees society activity related (Bogdan and Taylor, 1993: 30).  

The method used in this research is ethnography method to describe a culture. Ethnography is a detail depiction and to detect how culture doer sees and owns their culture. It aims to understand view of life from the original viewpoint, that is the connection with daily life and to get the opinion about the world. Ethnography research has involved learning activity to know one’s world that learn to see, hear, speak, think, and act in different manner (Spreadley, 1997: 3).  

Researcher finds phenomenon that represents *watu* in Rungkut where the researcher lives and the researcher knows jagoan called *watu* existing and living in society. Rungkut district, especially in sub-district Medokan Ayu the form of one of the jagoan concept depiction in Surabaya. Ethnography method is used to describe a culture of *watu* and it is also a life view from the origin people viewpoint. This research is focused on the meaning and function of *watu* in society. Data searching is done by observation in the field and interview to informants.  

**Result and analysis**  

**Watu-watu in Surabaya**  

Many of premanisme can be said as the contradiction from city life that is hard with rivalry. The existence depends more on social life, economy and politic, after he
indirectly gets place and role in life part of society. The modus operandi is not only done illegally charge practice and violence, but it is also used by certain groups for threatening media for grabbing influence and power (Abidin, 2005: 1).

A freeman is criminal world group that is one of the groups in society, where they have a system, organization, network, and communication that we can say belong to secret society (Suhartono, 1996: 92). In this case, freeman is a group seen from their activities it relates to criminality. It relates to urban character by showing economy aspect that becomes the reason why the freeman exists. Watu can be said as the leader of the group.

Watu is a group of strong persons or jagoan in Surabaya. The term has been given by Surabaya society for them since long time ago. Watu term is given by Surabaya society character because figure of *watu* shows strong and hard like a stone. It is like Surabaya society character that has strong willing, like to be free from social and another obligation, tend to react hard if depressed, and fast defend themselves.

Watu has a certain characteristic that clings to themselves, where the characteristic is attached to them by the group out of them. As a jagoan group, *watu* has social identity tie caused by identity awareness existence that grows as response or reaction towards society manner in looking at this group. The opinion about jagoan in society to make them as certain figures is caused by activity and background owned by a *watu*. One of them is a frightened respected figure and he has criminal history, and tends to be a criminal. According to one of *watu*, somebody is called *watu* if:

“*watu* is somebody that is frightened. Most *watu* ever did everything like stealing, killing person, entering prison. The name of *watu* always dominates a certain area and he has staffs. He is like a freeman but he is the boss of freeman. The character of *watu* is hard, can not be invited to compromise, and also dare, so people are afraid of *watu*. Watu always has tattoo at the body. Indeed, mostly the background of such person is freeman”

From the explanation above, it can be seen that a *watu* is a person having various backgrounds dealing with criminality and *premanisme* activity. With freeman attribute owned by *watu* like tattoo and network shaped staff makes *watu* frightened and respected. A *watu* has his own area where he becomes jagoan and has power in the area.

Watu is a respected person having hard character and high courage. However, he must not have frightened appearance and have label as freeman. The matters above is really one of the jagoan realizations form that often relates to the world of *premanisme* and crime. Somebody called *watu* is based on the society view and where he lives. One *watu* in Medaeng, the place criminals and crime, is the chief of *watu* who has staff and he does not only operate by asking security fund, but also do theft and snatching.

Another case is *watu* in Bratang area who the appearance does not like freeman or full of freeman label. With the appearance like common people and not like freeman, people do not think that he is *watu* that dominates Bratang. According to him, *watu* that is really "*watu*" is a person who usually seems common and not too glaring or shows that he is *watu* at his village, in which the daily activity is like society in general; but out of his village, he is known as a respected jagoan and has predicate as *watu*.

In Surabaya, a *watu* always resides in some places or in a certain area or region. In a settlement area like in a village and even area that has monetary circulation potential like market and *ruko*, the places are never free from their existence. Watu has special
existence, with the various activities in the middle of society evaluated either good or
dad, they make them has their own status in society.

In Rungkut, each region or at every settlement has *watu*. The famous Watu in
Rungkut are known as Sairin in north Rungkut, in Kedung Asem as Gembor, in Pandugo
as kambing, and in Medo as Cak Rukin. Those names are often known and called as
respected jagoan by society. They become *watu* in their own area and also have staff that
often use their name, especially when arguing with people or other group out of the area.

In Kedung Asem, the person that becomes *watu* is Gembor. This man is really
known as respected figure by Kedung Asem society and also other society in another
area. He does not work, only holds security in Kedung Asem. In running security
business in Kedung Asem of course, he also has staff. Besides Gembor, in fact, there is
another one assumed as respected jagoan, but he is older. He is known as old group called
Cak Puji. Gembor respects Cak Puji because he is a person assumed as jagoan who is
older or who has lived for a long time in Kedung Asem.

Watu in Kedung Asem are often drunk and angry along the street of Kedung
Asem in the night. In a drunk condition, they are hitting one of the boys in the street, who
is also the resident of Kedung Asem. There is no one dare to calm or stop them. After a
few minutes, Cak Puji visits and talks to the angry *watu*. Then Cak Puji takes out money
from his sarong and drink together. After that, the condition in Kedung Asem quiet again.

From several incidents above, *watu* in Kedung Asem is known as someone who
are often drunk and makes trouble even until clobbers residents. It makes *watu* in the area
frightened. Society of Kedung Asem sees *watu* as figure that is frightened and sometimes
makes restless, but they have their own role in society. There is ever someone that ask
them to find lost goods like motor, bike, television and another electronic goods. They
can be relied on when there are lost goods because they have information and network to
get the goods back.

Security business done by *watu* in Kedung Asem is by asking security money in
rent house of Sampoerna cigarette factory laborer. However, the money asked is only for
those who are not original residents of Kedung Asem. They do not ask money to Kedung
Asem residents because they also are part of Kedung Asem society.

In Pandugo, *watu* is called "*kambing*". The name "*kambing*" is really a term for
him; it is the nickname before he becomes *watu*. According to one of the Pandugo
residents who is also the relative of "goat", *watu* in Pandugo comes from respected
family. Before "*kambing*" becomes *watu*, the elder brother became *watu* in Pandugo.
According to him, the one who can be *watu* in Pandugo is the original person of Pandugo.
There is also respected outsider but he cannot be *watu* in Pandugo. According to him
*watu* in Pandugo:

"The one who becomes *watu* here is from that family; since years ago, kambing’s
family is naughty, like to be drunk, fight, and gamble. Before kambing, his brother was
the *watu* here. Although there is one who is tougher, he cannot be *watu* here”

Besides as *watu* in Pandugo, "*kambing*" is known as togel in Rungkut. As togel
croupier, he supplies and sells togel coupon in Rungkut, and hold gambling in Pandugo.
"*kambing*" has ever entered prison because of togel case. However, not long time in
prison, he was out with ransom payment around 25 million to Policemen. Then
"*kambing*" opened sate food stall in Karangmenjangan.
In Pandugo there are many gambling, from togel until another gamble. It is often seen a group of persons on the roadside playing karambol and rummy espoused with money. At field beside stories house, every afternoon there is a cock fighting. Even many people watch it. However, now gambling practice has been rare in Pandugo now; formerly it can be met everyday. It is because there is no 

\textit{watu} that supports or protects the gamble activity in Pandugo.

\textbf{Watu/criminal chief in Rungkut}

In Rungkut, there is the most famous \textit{watu} called Cak Rukin who is \textit{watu} in Medokan. It can be said that Cak Rukin is the \textit{watu} of Rungkut, who dominates Rungkut. It is because the name of Cak Rukin is big and known in Rungkut, not only in Medokan because once Cak Rukin was a criminal and dominated \textit{ruko} in Rungkut.

After getting out from Army, Cak Rukin becomes a criminal in \textit{ruko} in Rungkut. He is the security holder asking money at \textit{ruko}; first only one or two \textit{ruko} and finally he holds many \textit{ruko} and other business places. Along with the security of more places he holds, the name of Cak Rukin is known by everyone. According to the staff of Cak Rukin:

"Formerly Cak Rukin was an Army. He was out from Army because killing the commander. After that he begins to be a criminal at \textit{ruko} of Rungkut; first only one or two \textit{ruko}. Gradually he holds more and his staffs are also many. His name begins to be famous until all people in Rungkut know him. Since then he begins to hold rungkut and to be \textit{watu} in Rungkut"

By being known as a criminal chief that holds Rungkut area, of course he also has staff. The network is formed with he is as the chief and also his staffs asking money at \textit{ruko}, market and other business places in Rungkut. The characteristic of his staff is riding a motorcycle painted green. It is as the identity so that everyone even policeman know that he is the staff of Cak Rukin.

Cak Rukin as a \textit{watu} has power and authority caused by dominant fascination, and it indirectly will disappear conflict in his group. In that group, there is attitude or action patterned by hope, troth, preference, and belief between the staff and Cak Rukin as the leader.

Cak Rukin is not only famous in Rungkut, but it is also heard out of Rungkut in east Surabaya. He has also network out of Rungkut so that he is really known in other place as respected jagoan. At Joyoboyo bus station, he is also respected because the name is often heard in the area. Cak Rukin holds \textit{bemo} transport security, lane JTK Medokan and RT, so that at Joyoboyo he is known as security from two machinery transports.

Cak Rukin is known as criminal chief where many business places in Rungkut use his service as security, and he also has several businesses in Medokan. Besides holding security in \textit{ruko}, food stall and other business places, he is the most known as security from \textit{bemo} public transportation lane RT and JTK. Now he begins to have many businesses. Besides holding security at orange taxi, Cak Rukin also has several embankments in Medokan, fishhook pool business, billiard place, and he is also as land-broker.

There are some names also assumed as respected persons in Medokan like Togok and Parno kenthir. They are friends of Cak Rukin as old group in Medokan, respected by
society. However, their names begin to disappear and never heard again; but Togok moves to Gunung Anyar and holds security in women labor dealer.

From several descriptions about *watu* in Kedung Asem, Pandugo and Medokan, it can be seen that most *watu* do security business where with respected figure, and also the network they own, they are active in security. They make network with the staffs and with the network they detect what is going on at the area.

As a group that has network, they have information and access in black world or crimes. When somebody loses something or theft like motorcycle, for those who know the group or somebody that dominates the place, he just meets and asks to return goods. By giving ransom namely money, the goods will be returned. If calling policeman, besides complicated bureaucracy and needing much money, there will not be guarantee that the goods will be returned back. It needs to remember that most thefts are done by the person from the area itself, or in the area where somebody experience theft. *Watu* and the group is one of the alternative ways in the effort to find to get back the goods.

Besides, some of them act as bodyguard, hit man (hired murderer) and debt collector (debt creditor), they are often hired by bosses that have money to use their service. An entrepreneur that lives in Rungkut that has many businesses often uses their service. In the world of business, to get certain project tender, someone often uses many ways to stop the competitor. One of the ways is by using their service to threaten, intimidate, even until kill. According to the entrepreneur, in Surabaya, the payment is the cheapest compared with other cities. The total wage given for threatening or intimidating is around Rp. 500,000, - and to kill is around Rp. 1,500,000, - (depending on the bargaining). It has been in Surabaya for a long time with the secret network.

There are some of them are in bodyguard field. The hired murderer is formerly army or has military background. Hit man and debt collector as a hired man to threaten and even kill are very professional in the job. Their connection with their service user is limited on work agreement, where their connection finishes after doing the task and getting the wage. It is different from bodyguard that must be ready for 24 hours when they are needed anytime to watch over and accompany the boss. They are confidants who are always with the boss during the boss gives him money and the other fun things.

Most *watu* run the security business out of the village and at their own village, they only apply it to someone who is not original resident of the village. In running crimes practice, *watu* as informal security watchman is supported by local society; it means society does not try to lose or decrease their activity.

As *watu* that has status as respected person, they are sensitive in temptation to get admission from society. Legitimization from society either in their own village or even by society outside gives *watu* authority even power to legalize the figure. It makes *watu* get way to authority position and of course to increase more economy opportunity.

Watu as jagoan figure in Surabaya are the original persons from the area of the power place. As in Rungkut, the *watu* are the original persons in the area. There is a negative sentiment on Madura ethnic. In Rungkut, most ethnic Madura stay in markets and most of them are pedicab driver, and broker or junk seller. There is one community or group of Madura society in Rungkut that is enough famous called Nurul Hayat that organizes pedicab drivers and another social activity like religion and orphanage.

Social network of Madura people in Surabaya formed is one of their strategies to survive in city by relying on their organization or association. Surabaya has many madura
communities that dominates markets and has very vast network that the centre is in Madura. There is one biggest group in Sumenep that is called “black shawl/selendang hitam” whose the leader resides in sumenep and has network at markets in Surabaya.

To be a *watu*, someone has a strong point in himself, so he will be frightened and respected. As a jagoan, *watu* known strong physically and has high courage of course will influence how figure of *watu* is. With *watu* as somebody figure having strong point in himself makes respected. The charisma owned by *watu* makes them in a certain status even to be a leader for his group.

Charisma owned by *watu* comes from individual quality of *watu*, either evil appearance or hard character so it can evoke enchantment power and fascination for society especially for the staffs. According to the staff of Cak Rukin, he becomes his staff because figure of Cak Rukin has what a *watu* must have so that many people respect him.

"Cak Rukin is the one with evil appearance. He is really quiet, never talks much; but if he is angry, he can kill someone. He never make a trouble, he is ex Army so the character is hard but to us, he is good. Sometimes if we are wrong he remind us.”

With the charisma owned by Cak Rukin, he has fascination for the staffs so that they respect him as *watu*. Social interaction connection is based on fascination, where one of them has a certain quality and has fascination for other party. It causes the staffs imitate his behavior and consider figure of Cak Rukin as the example, follow and obey command given by *watu*.

Besides, a *watu* is also influenced by stories about himself. Rungkut society (especially outside Medokan) knows name of Cak Rukin through the stories among the people; that Cak Rukin is a *watu* that is frightened and has background that makes someone interested in him. The story in society about Cak Rukin is told by a boy in Rungkut:

"Cak Rukin is ex Army who killed his commander...Cak Rukin has also killed his enemy at Bungurasih using his sword,”

The more stories he has, the more prestige owned by a *watu*. When a *watu* often show up in society, in every incident either positive or negative, the name of *watu* will continuously be heard and talked by everyone.

To be a *watu*, someone does not only have strong point in himself like charisma as fascination, but a *watu* needs social network that is many staffs and open connection with other *watu* from other regions. Besides, a *watu* must also have money to be able to buy staff and policeman. According to one of the *watu* staffs:

"Actually there is somebody in Wonokromo who is more evil, braver than Cak Rukin but the name is not so famous compared with Cak Rukin. Cak Rukin is strong in capital so he can buy many staffs”

As *watu* that dominates certain areas, he must have staff. These staffs later will influence the existence of *watu*. The more he has, the bigger the *watu* is. It will aim in power place that later will produce profit for them that is money. Besides, to get many staffs and defend them, *watu* needs money. A *watu* as a leader will make fun for the
staffs like a father to the child. Watu will give what his staffs like for example alcoholic drink and money, so that *watu* will get support and loyalty from the staffs.

**Connection between *watu* and policemen**

As a *watu* and also a criminal chief in Rungkut, Cak Rukin has a good connection with policemen. People even also often see policemen come to his house and fishhook pool of Cak Rukin. He always gives money to policemen when they come to Cak Rukin’s place.

When Cak Rukin was given a traffic ticket in Rungkut by a new policeman, he was only calm and went to police station. There Cak Rukin seemed relax, quietly she wrote tattoo at his right arm, the policeman shyly apologized and let him free. At that time, the policeman did not do anything and only waited Cak Rukin whether he was processed or not.

The connection between *watu* and policeman is really mutual beneficial. In *watu* side as criminals’ chief that runs security business informally, the advantage is if the staff has a problem with a policeman, he will not be processed and free. At policeman side, besides getting money from *watu*, they are easy to control and look for information about something. If there is a staff of Cak Rukin makes a trouble, a police only contacts Cak Rukin and he will be angry to his staff and order him not repeat it again. According to one of Cak Rukin’s staff:

> "Police knows Cak Rukin’s staffs. If there is a problem, it is unnecessary to be processed…Once a staff of Cak Rukin made a problem. The police visit Cak Rukin. After that Cak Rukin himself reprimands the staff that makes the problem."

In fact, the connection has existed since a long time ago, before Cak Rukin becomes a *watu*, police often come to his house. Actually, Cak Rukin’s father was also somebody that was famous in Rungkut and had a connection with police. Police has often visited Cak Rukin’s family. It is assumed that police visit to the house and when they go home, it is a habit that they will get money, no matter how much.

**Process to become a *watu***

Characters of jagoan owned by *watu* cannot be known whether assumed as heredity character in one family, although most of them have relation blood between *watu* formerly and now. However, *watu* has physical strength, courage, and even mystical and non-mystical talents owned by them; it makes them becomes a jagoan. It is got with long process with various experiences to be a *watu*.

As presented by Liriweri about social identity and individual identity, a jagoan passes a certain process to get spirit as jagoan. It is one of the ways to get social identity in society that is got through finding and education process for a long time. Individual identity in a jagoan is individual characteristics uniqueness of someone, where a jagoan has something that differs from another person, like ability, talent and skill.

To form a jagoan, someone must pass a certain process. According to Amand in note about jagoan in Kediri in 1872 (Nordholt, 2002: 40), somebody becomes an admitted jagoan when they finish their apprentice time. This apprenticeship consists of aid given to senior jagoan when doing theft and another efforts. The important matter in the process is learning various sciences and ways from senior jagoan.
Apprenticeship ends with meditation and it is followed with ceremonial meal. Wandering to a far place from hometown is the next phase in the process to become a jagoan. With the way like that, a jagoan gets experience and holds a connection with the other jagoan that of course increase knowledge for their young followers. A skilled person may have a contact at a vast area. It depends on the contact width and partnerships followed and also popularity as experienced and respected jagoan.

The things mentioned above are the processes passed by a jagoan in looking for experience and stabilizing skill and personality as a jagoan. According to one of the people that has experience in associating with criminals, he is as a new member in the group is ordered to steal bike and sell it to the buyer of stolen goods. By doing it, he gets money to give or to have alcoholic party drink. When there is a new member, he will be ordered to do the same thing as what is ever done by the senior.

The meaning of *watu* for society

Society opinion towards criminals behavior often impresses ambiguous. In opinion level, many violence actions done by criminals are always defied by general people. Exploitation and illegal charge are evaluated as disturbance towards public interest and anomaly from operative moral value. Society then lay this action donor in negative viewpoint. On the other side, society also gives a chance in crimes activity. The sidewalk trader or market traders that usually give security money are often silent and protect them, and take benefit from what the criminal does (Ardhi, 2005: 9).

A criminal who is often identical with violence like intimidation, threat, and pressure by certain groups in society, in fact he or jagoan has a function in society; where the history, culture, politic, social, and economy often become the rationalization. Thus, there is a mutual connection want between criminal group, society, business world even law enforcer apparatus.

Besides role status from *watu*, there are also general beliefs, norm and value that regulate the interactions. Norm and value has cultural existence in many conceptual spaces covering social structures. In other words, ideas or symbols reside in individual way of thinking and society as code and sanction for the interaction.

Watu group as respected jagoan figure up to now still defended by society has meaning and function. A *watu* can make society feel safe or a *watu* can also make society restless. It relates to their activity at society and society evaluation towards figure of *watu* that later appears in the middle of society.

Society knows Cak Rukin as *watu* that has crime background and also has a business at security by asking some money. However, society has considered that he does not do the activity anymore like an officer in Medokan says. It is known by them because Cak Rukin often goes to sub-district office to arrange land certificate affair. According to the officer:

"Cak Rukin was formerly a criminal but now not again. He realizes, most of them now as land broker…..well, they often come here to arrange land certificate at sub-district, so we often meet. However, sometimes the way they say is snapping. They do it because they are close to chief so they do as they like "

In Medokan society, Cak Rukin is looked well as a *watu*. He does not do without considering act. It is expressed by his staff:
"Although he is *watu*, he is still polite, not arbitrary. There was ever someone stealing fish in his embankment. For first and second time, Cak Rukin was only quiet; but for the third time, he was called and his face was directly struck until fall. It was done in the house of Cak Rukin…in the society, he is a good person. He often informs the staffs not to make a problem. When his staff breaks the traffic light, Cak Rukin is angry to him."

Cak Rukin as *watu* that occupied a certain status in society has rights and certain obligation at where he lives. All behaviors showing his position is his social rule in society. His behavior in social life like how he acts in daily life in Medokan will influence another person and society.

As elite figure in Medokan and also known as a rich enough man, Cak Rukin often participates in every program in Medokan like Islamic celebration day program by contributing money. Every time he holds a program, it must be a great party. Everyone either in Medokan or in Rungkut must know that there is program celebrated by him. As when the child time got married for the third time, the wedding party was very big; dangdut orchestra was invited to celebrate it. There is always a liquor party and many guests come from outside Medokan.

According to bemo driver lane JTK, with Cak Rukin as security of bemo transportation make drivers feel safe because the name of Cak Rukin is famous until east Surabaya. Thus, no one is dare to disturb, and they feel pleasant in earning money.

"Now we are bemo drivers, sometimes if there is something on the street, deposits, criminals will not do anything to us because they understand if the security is held by cak rukin. Thus we earn money comfortably)

In public transport business like machinery trishaw (bemo), bison, bus, and cab there are some informal money asked by criminal either in bus station or on the street passed by public transport; even also sensitive crimes like asking money by force, robberies, and also pickpocket. With *watu* existence that becomes the protector, the matters can be avoided.

According to manager of playstation rental in Penjaringan that the business is good enough by opening rental for 24 hours, with *watu* as the security, his business is safe to run. No body is dare to make a problem as everybody knows that Cak Rukin is the security.

Several cigarette, alcoholic drink and snack kiosk owners in Penjaringan say that they like to give money to Cak Rukin staff more than to police. It is caused that they feel safer to run the business by giving money to Cak rukin’s staff so that no one else that is dare to ask for money, while the police only ask money so that the business is not closed. "It is better to give the staff of Cak Rukin than police. If we give, we are safe, no one is dare to ask other money but if the police only to make my store is not closed. Police is the same as criminals. The difference is that the police wear uniform"

Medokan area seldom has conflict and there is seldom someone that makes a problem or makes a trouble. It is because the one who often makes a problem afraid and bow to Cak Rukin. Because of Cak Rukin, people are afraid to make a problem in Medokan.
"It is safe here, in Rungkut many people are fighting (using weapon). In here, the ones who make problems bow all to Cak Rukin. Thus, there is seldom a fight in Medokan.

In Medokan, there are seldom theft cases, like motorcycle or thief that steals goods at home. There are often fish thefts at embankment in Medokan. It is not too harm only losing a little from embankment result. It is usually done by somebody that is known by embankment owner.

"Thieves are not dare to steal here. There are seldom thefts, losing motorcycle. When you come here in the evening, you are safe. No one steals your bike. The most is thief in embankment, and not many. The thief is known by the embankment owner."

When there is a troubleshoot or conflict between Medokan person with outsider of Medokan, most people outside Medokan still look at Cak Rukin as watu and understand each other so troubleshoot is often finished in peace. According to one of cak rukin’s friends:
"My friend ever had a problem with Kedung Baruk boy. At that time my friend brought the nephew of cak rukin and kedung baruk boy also brought somebody from there. Even though the person of kedung baruk was older than the nephew of cak rukin, finally he was reluctant and the person wanted to finish the quarrel peacefully."

From explanation above, watu has become public property because every individual interprets watu as security in daily life. Society see figure of cak rukin as watu respected by society. The existence of watu makes them feel safe in their life. It can be said indirectly that watu makes a safe condition at society. Indirectly society also own watu as part of their life to give security in their activity.

Function of watu for society

watu as respected group at society is one of the society components in all social aspects and culture and it is maintained by society as one of the components supporting a system. If seen that watu as one of the components of a system namely society, it means watu has a function related to another component at society and creates harmony at system. It can also be said that watu existence in society gives share for maintenance, and system stability and has a certain functional term.

Positive function of watu

Social and cultural system in society has social need that must be filled all so that the system can survive. Every part of culture fulfills the basic function in culture related. Watu as respected and frightened figure becomes a social control where an area that has watu will be safe from crimes either in the area or outside of the area. It is caused by a frightened figure so that somebody is not dare to make confusion, and watu is the figure signalized by society as social control.

With watu as social control, the opportunity of conflict like quarrel and fight either inside or with outsider is little to happen. Even showing social integration where respect to watu is one of the reasons not to have conflict with society in watu area and
peace word is easier between 2 quarrel parties. Integration in this case is merging between two quarreling sides to be one by losing conflict between them because of respected figure of *watu*.

Function of *watu* in society is a respected figure that becomes social control in society and shows integration between hostile sides either in or with outside area and finally makes a safe condition and situation in society.

Negative function of *watu*

Watu as informal security, with network they own, and the crimes activity indirectly get support from society. if seeing the practice done by staff of *watu* by asking security money, and efforts to give money to them is one of the taking care forms with criminal label that usually rely on more in threat strength, being semi organized (like mafia), and has certain power region that is relatively permanent.

Watu existence has a negative function namely crime practice by asking for security money. It shows that *watu* give limited protection to society. Most of them serve the people who give money, service as the security they do by expecting reply shaped material. Their existence does not quit of efforts to increase their economics.

**Conclusion**

From discussion about jagoan culture in Surabaya, the existence and reality in society has a meaning and function to get conclusions: (1) jagoan group in Surabaya are at many areas and have various forms either traditional or modern and professional, like criminal, bodyguard, debt collector (debt creditor), hit man (hired murderer), and also *watu* in local scale society. Their existence does not quit from society giving support towards jagoan activity, either criminals or crimes they do; (2) as respected figure and having charisma, *watu* with network they have, they move to security business. A s organized informal security and in local scale at the area, *watu* has power and authority in practicing their security business. Besides charisma owned by *watu*, to defend the position, a *watu* must have capital shaped money to defend network namely staff and also mutual connection with police to make the figure of *watu* stand and get power to achieve the better economy access. (3)the meaning of *watu* for society is as respected figure, where the interaction with *watu* makes society feel safe in running daily life activity. (4) *watu* at society is as informal security has a negative and positive function. The negative function of *watu* is crime practice namely asking security money. It shows that *watu* gives limited protection to society. Most of them serve to whom that can give money, and their existence does not quit of efforts to increase their economy. The positive function of *watu* that is the respected figure makes *watu* as social control and decrease the conflict that evokes integration between groups and finally makes safe situation and condition in society.

**References**