**Togel: Social Network Descriptive Study of Black Toto Gamble Doers in Banyuwangi**

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**ABSTRACT**
Gambling is not a new matter and has been existing since long time ago. Even in several countries, it exactly becomes a legal activity. This research is focused on togel social network in Banyuwangi. This research type is descriptive by using participant observation (observation involved) and interview to be able to detect how togel doers can exist although judicially it is forbidden. Gamble games known by Banyuwangi society are relative various, even for a part of society who are crazy about gamble, the kinds are more various because they assume that everything can be gambled. In Banyuwangi for example, togel or dark white coupon is one of the bet arenas that are still played by part of society. Togel is not a new matter for a part of Banyuwangi society. It is one of the most popular gambles in Banyuwangi besides cards. Togel activities in Banyuwangi also making it as one of the chosen professions is not out of social network existence and tidy, well organized work system. It is concluded that social network forms developed and maintained by togel doers are horizontal social network and vertical social network. In horizontal social network, involved togel doers have social economy status which is relative the same so the exchange that happens between them is relative the same. In vertical social network, involved togel doers have social economy status that is not the same and it finally cause patron-client in connection formed. The two social network forms development is based on power network although in practice, emotion element and certain interest are inseparable.

**Key words:** gambling, social network, profession, economy status, illegal activity.

Gambling is not a new matter. The activities have been existing since long time ago. Even in several countries, it exactly becomes a legal activity. The purpose is more for the country income. However, it is the opposite of what happens in Indonesia which clearly prohibits all kinds of gambling. Although based on the history Indonesia ever has legalized gambling form, namely SDSB (social fund contribution with a prize) or PORKAS which the early aim is to accommodate gamble culture of society, and gathered money is used for sport construction and social help. The assumption that the gamblers are non-Indonesian people so they will canalize their gamble desire abroad if we do not give them a place. In other words, they will be trapped gamble abroad and the money circulation will take to abroad more than in their own country (Mudijono, 2004:13).

Although government has given prohibition towards all gambling activities which is decanted in paragraph 303 KUHP and UU no 7 (year) 1974, the fact in society is exactly on the contrary. Various gambling kinds even increase in society, from card gamble, cock fight, togel or dark white coupon, up to ball score guess that use internet facilities, and now they seem to be an intimate game in society life.

Gambling is a designed bet; namely entrusting one value or something that is assumed valuable with realizing the risk and certain hopes in game events, match, race and events which the result is not/not yet certain.

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In some regions like Banyuwangi for example, *tigel* or dark white coupon is one of the bet arenas that are still played by part of society. Dark *toto* or *tigel* belong to gamble, kind of lottery, where the play rule is by determining a decision with random election. Lottery is usually held to determine the winner of a present. The example is lottery where the participants buy a piece of ticket that is given a number. These ticket numbers is then at random is pulled and the pulled number is the winner number. The ticket holder with this winner number is justifiably on a certain present (Kartono, 1999: 51-52).

In Banyuwangi, *tigel* really belongs to one of the most popular gambles in society although actually there are lots other kinds of gambles known by society. Same as the other gamble games, *tigel* is also speculative action from the executants. However, the speculative action is often provided by mysterious help (*nggrandong*); for example by visiting places that are assumed sacred to do ritual to get mysterious help. There are also people asking number in one who get soul disturbance /crazy or even relating all phenomenon met in dreams, but most often met is by *ngrames* or composing numbers by using certain formulas from *erek-erek*. The numbers are usually based on opening or previous number raffling (*paito*) or numbers got from a dream. However, the ways above are often related one to another depending on the doer’s angered level. The people also has motif which is relative same, namely with very little capital they hope to get maximum profit or to be rich through short cut fast without big efforts. Besides, a society social condition that accepts gamble behavior also has a big role towards growing and increasing the behavior in society.

The growth and increase of *tigel* in Banyuwangi cannot be detachable from network that is organized well with work system and character distribution regulated in such a way. It is one social network based on mutual relationship to get profit economically. Social network formed from the relationship inter executants, make possible closeness feeling or even disagreement towards other executants in network and finally show mutual introspection attitude, control each other, or evaluate one doer with another, so that finally the doers tend to decrease their individual interest to keep the network continuity so that it keeps stable (Agusyanto, 2007:37-38).

The turnover magnitude which is got in every opening is often made as one of the reasons that *tigel* can be made as a livelihood by the doers particularly again they also consider that gamble activity is not something dangerous or harm for other people. Besides the doers are from civil society, there are many from government people up to law enforcer apparatus indirectly involved beyond *tigel* network activity. Thus, if it is seen from the researches before about *tigel*, they show that the doers of *tigel* are from various society layers. The role of the doers even also varies and can be classified based on level or the position in *tigel* network chain, from consumer level up to croupier that is the topmost level. Something that cannot be forgotten is there is a certain rule from each doer who has different role so *tigel* can go on although the gamble is illegal.

**Method**

Approach used is qualitative method because by using qualitative method, the researcher can get descriptive data from behavior that is watched. Moreover, the research done is focused on the problem that is not far from society culture, or can be said as a culture research, so that the result of research is holistic (Endraswara, 2006:81-84).

This research is focused on *tigel* social network in Banyuwangi. It is because there is researcher interest about the *tigel* doers existence in Banyuwangi society life which is explicitly forbidden judicially. However, in fact, there are many people like it and law enforcer apparatus likely close their eyes. This research type is descriptive by using participant observation (observation involved) and interview to be able to detect how *tigel* doers can exist although judicially it is forbidden.

**Result and Analysis**
Gambling in Banyuwangi

Gamble games known by Banyuwangi society are relative various, even for a part of society who are crazy about gamble, the kinds are more various because they assume that everything can be gamble. Gamble of kambang for example, it is one of the gamble forms by racing fast everything that can float at water. Kambang is usually played in a river, canal or gutter. First, this gamble is only played by children, but then kambang is also played by adult people by adding ante element in it. However, kambang is not popular gamble in Banyuwangi society. The popular enough gambles are cards, dominoes and togel. Although actually not only those kinds of gambles known by Banyuwangi society, but both types of gambles are the most often games performed and can be met easily. Both of them are assumed to be more flexible or can easily be performed anywhere.

Some gamble fans in Banyuwangi in this time even use sophisticated technology as media to satisfy the desire to gamble. Doing quickness game while gambling in online game in this time becomes one thing that is liked by a part of society. Besides, more gambles using internet facilities like guess ball score and horse race makes gambling more various and they grow and increase more in society, in this case Banyuwangi.

Togel in Banyuwangi

Togel is not a new matter for a part of Banyuwangi society. It is one of the most popular gambles in Banyuwangi besides cards. The indicator is that togel is always discussed by people; either in cafe, villages, and or at roadside. The fans are not limited only male people but everybody can take a hand in togel. In performing it, people do not need special skill like other kind of gambles, for example cards or billiards. People only buy coupon while guessing minimal two latest numbers, afterwards waiting whether at the guessed number is number which is out when raffling.

In a flash if it is watched, togel does not need long time to be performed because the players only need to buy coupon and the result (win or lose) is known after raffling. In reality, togel spends more time and idea compared with other kinds of gambles. Before deciding to turn on bet, the players predict first the numbers that may be out. When the prediction process lasts, many things are done by the players. grumus/ngrames is usually done while seeing latest product number and racing the played numbers to get fixed number or pair number. Interpreting dreams and putting them into numbers are often done; for example dream about losing key. In dream interpretation book, key is number 33, so number 33 is predicted to be out. Besides the two ways, actually there are still many other ways which are for some people assumed irrational like to ask to paranormal up to use mysterious aids.

Most togel fans know it from the nearest environment, like neighbour, friends, even from family. They usually know togel from people’s conversation who have known togel before. The togel is common for them, the discussion about the topic can be found anywhere without feeling afraid or worried if their discussion is heard by another person. Even, it is not strange if another person that hears it sometimes comes to talk in discussion around togel.

Togel fans come from various kinds of people; does not look at sex, age, or profession. Although they admit that the activity breaks the law, they do not care about it because they just imagine to get folded money if the number that they buy will be raffled.

. . . . right or wrong is a future matter, now let’s think the number that may come out this afternoon. . . .

The high enthusiasm of Banyuwangi society, nice offer can make big turnover for all doers that run togel. Along with the development, togel in Banyuwangi becomes a profession choice with promising turnover per month.

Croupiers of togel also compete to get profit. Around twenty togel croupiers in Banyuwangi at that time make the rivalry among them not well. Each croupier tries to approach
security administrator persons, even not only to the persons but also to the government instances and law enforcer. The croupiers who fail giving or fulfilling persons or instances need related slowly retreat from rivalry of togel croupiers. The areas of the croupiers who retired are taken by strong croupiers. At that time there are only around three croupiers remained that dominate togel in Banyuwangi and all are Chinese ethnic.

Furthermore, around 2001 three gamble administrator croupiers of togel in Banyuwangi decrease and only one croupier remained. Thus, automatically the only one croupier becomes bedhe (big croupier) of togel that dominates Banyuwangi. It is inseparable with the contribution from big family of the croupier who is really the families from successful entrepreneurs who have business in various sectors. The capital and enough human resource of course it makes togel network they run more successful. The operation areas even reach out for a part of Jember, Situbondol, and a little part of Bali area. With the wide network operation areas, it must make the turnover is also very big.

Furthermore, around mid 2002, the croupier fate was bad because several of his believed persons were caught and the important officials always supporting him were moved to other regions because of certain cases including the case in protecting gambling. In the middle of the 2004, the role of croupier big family began to decrease, with consideration that founded network showed fast progress. Since then togel becomes one of the favorite gamble for a part society of Banyuwangi. The fans are not only from trishaw drivers, car drivers, and fishermen, but almost all people.

**Togel as Livelihood**

Getting involved in togel activity is not really everyone’s willing, particularly this activity is illegal. However, for some people in Banyuwangi, having livelihood as croupier or coupon togel retailer is a chosen job. Even, some of them make this job as principal livelihood source to supports family. However, some exactly make this job as an effort for adding income or side job.

To enter and get involved in the world of togel is not an easy matter. It needs courage, honesty, loyalty, and hard work to be the most important principal for those who want to reach success in togel business. However, getting access from croupier is the most important condition to join with the business because usually people who get involved in this business still family or close friend of croupier believed persons, like port child or merely reference from pengepul. Thus, not all people can join in this business as an effort to limit access from stranger reach disturbing the smoothness of their illegal work system.

Not only the fans (togel coupon consumers), the doers also have background that vary. The doers are almost dominated by men, but there are some them women. However, women do not have big rules in business network. They are more as togel coupon retailers, and even not all of them really want to join, most of them only continue the business run by their husbands.

It is really admitted by several male retailers, they say that female coupon retailers exactly have bigger turnover than them. The reason because purchasers from housewives group prefer buying coupon in female retailers; besides, female retailers do not pick big money if there is lucky purchaser, namely the number is out. It is different from male retailers who usually pick big money or accustom the amount of money got by the number guesser; although cut is actually based on voluntary attitude from the lucky coupon buyer.

Profession as togel coupon retailer is a chosen profession that promises profit although they realize that jail punishment from law enforcer apparatus can happen anytime. To avoid it, coupon retailers usually have special strategies in running the business. Some retailers even use subscription system via cellular telephone. The transaction is even also done through bank bill transfer each month, so is to pay the lucky buyer.

Coupon sale strategy with subscription system is one of the new penetration forms of coupon retailers in following technology development and modernization current that demand
everything is more practical, fast and efficient. In fact, coupon sale by conventional way or advertisers come directly in coupon retailer to turn on, obviously are liked more by advertisers. The conventional transaction is riskier towards law enforce apparatus threat. However, the threat does not evoke scared effect to all coupon retailers, because catching process done often has a game element that actually involves the policeman member person with croupier. Before catching process, police person often coordinates with croupier to ask retailer names that must be caught because the activities get an eye from local society. Then the croupier also coordinates with the subordinate, in this case gatherer and retailer to prepare or inform that one of them must be extradited in policeman to follow up the report from society. After being caught, the croupier will pay sum money to set the subordinate free while the retailer or gatherer family that is caught will accept money for the living cost during he is in jail.

Although catching action done by police apparatus does not make scared effect to all togel doers, but at least the process can disturb performance of togel business itself. In the case of turnover for example, croupier usually must separate out some daily income to give daily need to retailer or gatherer family that is caught. Responsibility is a part of agreement agreed by croupier with the subordinates. Sum money that must be given to the family depends on sum daily turnover from retailer or gatherer. Thus, in process series, it resembles practice of arisan.

Of course in the case of responsibility, croupiers have bigger portion in togel business network circle. They have a role as field coordinator that must be responsible to organize the subordinate, and they must be good in negotiating to facilitate the subordinates so that all togel gambling activities can then go on without hindrance from other parties like government, law enforce apparatus, and society organization. Thus, the continuity of togel at one area depends on them. With the big responsibility, of course it is not a wonder if the income they obtain is also big enough. The croupiers are actually the believed ones of big croupier; thus, to be able to be croupier is not an easy matter. They are usually still close family with the big croupier; while the ones who are not from family are chosen by the big croupier directly by considering various aspects with certain criterion.

**Work System of Togel Network**

Togel activities in Banyuwangi until making it as one of the chosen professions is not out of social network existence and tidy, well organized work system. Formed network is getting stronger. It shows remarkable role of togel doers. In Banyuwangi itself previously there are some big croupiers and it appears rivalry among them. However, along with the development, one by one of big croupiers close and now only one remains in consequence of their failure to supply persons that have formal position. The supply is the form of consequence to “tie up” the connection with persons who are directly responsible with togel activities. Since by involving persons that has formal power, supposed when there are estimated or sudden risks, they are that has power formal will act to do pacification action or protection because they also involved in it. For the persons, the possibility to protect themselves (without caring other) is very little because the transfer is mutual beneficial, and each side has anticipation to prevent the possible “deceit” (Agusyanto, 2007:75-76).

In running the activities, a big croupier is helped directly by croupiers. A croupier supervise one district or even 2-3 districts with the note that togel activities at each district is relative little so that it can be covered by one croupier. The croupier is the person who is responsibility and coordinator the entire togel activities up to the bottom layer that is retailer. In short, they are the field coordinator that must protect gamble activities from local law enforce apparatus disturbance. These croupiers always supply police persons so that gamble activities can go on. Because of that habit, they are frequently called receptionist.

A croupier will supervise several togel gatherers. Gatherers have a duty to supervise the subordinate activities that is coupon retailers. Besides, gatherers also have a duty to recapitulate numbers given by retailers. The number recapitulation is furthermore given to the croupier. In the
practice, a gatherer is responsible to the croupier supervising him/her so the communication with the big croupier is impossible to happen.

The *togel* coupon retailers only interact with consumer and gatherer supervising. It is not amazing if coupon retailers do not know the croupier even less the big croupier supervising. A croupier only detects the total number of retailers he supervised, the names, operation places, and not more than that. This such strategy is right way to disguise the doers really involved in it, so that police finds difficulty in identifying the involvement of each doer if one of them is caught with the proof.

The involvement of local police person is also one of the formed social network existence strengths. The police persons also play a role in preventing and overcoming wild retailer operating out of system from the admitted network. Thus, every month several policepersons will do data collection to every coupon retailer doing activities in their area. For new coupon retailers, they will be asked the keyword or operation code in the area for example "red". If the coupon retailer concerned cannot mention the operation password when it is asked, the retailer is directly given warning to stop the activities and compelled to extradite sum money to compromise, and directly caught if the police persons for second time still find the retailer does the activity. While for the new retailer that can answer, knows the password and enters the admitted network, police person will only collect data. Data collection later is made to be consideration how much should be extradited by croupier per month. The more the retailer enters in police person data, the more money that must be extradited by croupier per month.

The good connection cannot be separated from the existence of not written permission with earlier police official person, so that in the development it can be stronger and take root even be difficult to be removed by police official that replace him. The role, croupier is also fully responsible on all the subordinate activities so that they do not cause uneasiness too much and evoke disturbance. Thus, besides giving money as compensation per month, croupiers also always prepare contribution money if there are programs conducted by local security resorts like *Polsek* also *Kodim*. While for individual programs and not institution like celebration carried out by *Kapolsek*, contributively also peculiarly given.

**Togel** existence in Banyuwangi also may not be got out from government official persons and society organization (mass organization) local role although the role they show does not as obvious as that by police apparatus person but their position that directly relates to society makes them as fortress towards opposition current from society that is contradiction with **togel**. The cooperation form offered is almost the same with what the security has done, but in this case, the croupier role is seen more. Lobbies are also often done by the croupier himself especially when facing high official person and the member of region parliament. The meeting to discuss **togel** activities done by the croupier with official person is usually held out of official hour in the evening. The meeting location is even also discursive and possible done out of Banyuwangi.

It must be done because anyway the authority to take out one policy is from the officials, while law enforce apparatus only as regulator and security administrator. Based on the assumption, a croupier always tries hard to fulfill the request asked by the officials and mass organization leaders in local society. The consequence is guarantee to protect **togel** activities from society denial, and a little soft policy for matters related to gambling activities especially **togel**.

**Result Distribution and Income Percentage Inter Doer**

**Togel** increase becomes one of the beneficial businesses with organized work system. It is not detachable from beneficial mutual result distribution existence. Responsibility load as the consequence from the role size in network matter is very influential in the result distribution determination.

A retailer will get commission ten percents from overall sale result in every day opening. A big croupier will get all money from entire croupiers that has been cut for commission and unforeseen money. The money will be managed by a croupier to be given to the lucky buyer that
the number is raffled, to pay several employees out of croupier up to retailer, to supply formal figures that are responsible on togel activities so it can go on. The rest of all is then the individual profit of the croupier.

Such result distribution system, it is felt enough fair and beneficial for all doers and formal actors concerned in it. The indication is there is no conflict caused by imbalance in result distribution process. Justice form reflected from fair result distribution based on the job and responsibility by the doers is a really correct strategy to watch over the intact formed network, but in this network, the doers are very difficult to rise the status so that it is seen static.

**Behaviour and Consumer Activities as Customer**

To buy togel coupon in Banyuwangi is not really difficult but several sellers or retailer do not want to serve purchasing from one is who assumed strange by saying that the coupons are sold. The retailers often do it to avoid catching from police apparatus although their safety is already guaranteed by a croupier or the senior that cooperates with local policemen. Thus, although togel coupon retailer in Banyuwangi is easy to met, but to buy it is not an easy matter.

Retailers usually have permanent customer who always wait for it every opening day of togel. Most of the customers are neighbors or people who have been known for a long time. That makes the safety in having transaction guaranteed because the activities are not so obvious. However, in several areas especially at city district area, it is not applicable.

The most effective way to look for and buy coupon at area not yet known the retailer is by visiting coffee shop which the visitors are relative crowded. Besides there is usually a blackboard with today number prophecy out if it is afternoon, and tomorrow number prophecy out if it is after maghrib. The prophecy form written on the board usually like kunci kembar, keramas, and still many others. Prophecy book existence or dream exegesis is also the characteristic that the café is usually used as togel transaction although it is not sure the cafe owner is a retailer.

It is the most effective step to look for and detect togel coupon retailer existence unknown before. It is often done by togel doers. They are usually not only subscribe to one retailer. It is the strategy used by the doers especially for those who have crowded daily routines and discursive from one location to another one like sembako sales, mail messenger, etc.

**Strategy to Win**

The doers in togel gamble are the ones who on purpose express destiny and the fortune to get profit by betting sum money to get folded money swiftly and easily.

To get maximal result is the motive of almost all people, particularly for togel coupon buyers. To get result from the ante is not really an easy matter because togel is pure and luck speculation. It is different from gamble of billiard, chess, also wild motor race that can be predicted before where skill and ability of doers can be increased, so that there is no 100% speculation and luck.

Everyone that will turn on number always has his/her own calculation which is different from the others. The trust existence towards nature phenomenon sometimes influences their cognition to guess pair number. Some of them exactly create formulas to produce pair number based on the yesterday, last week, last month, even from last year expenditure result.

Strategy difference existence in determining pair number is part of the intensity level and the length of a person join togel. Although it does not make one can guess pair number that out congenially, the strategy or the way they use can show what level the person involved in togel, like what a gambler of togel says:

. . . . The way to manage number between old comer and newcomer is seen, even less one who only kills the time. . . .
In *togel*, the ability to look for pair number is influenced very much by how long somebody begins to like and play *togel*. Besides the smartness to look for pair number by using formula, many of them use paranormal service to help to look for notation on opening day of *togel*. To use paranormal service is not a difficult matter because now more local tabloids write notation from paranormal and it is special on certain opening.

The same as other gamblers, people who gamble *togel* also have assumption that lose to win is as a life cycle. Luck is a matter they trust; error in looking for pair number is part of their carelessness and does not make them scared to play it again because they believe that their fortune will certainly come.

**Disagreement Incidence Because of Deceit**

Disagreement incidence in gamble is the matter often happens, not only in *togel* but also in other kind of gamble. The causes of disagreement are various; dishonest behavior of the doers is the most important matter. In *togel* itself, disagreement is usually made by deceit often done by gatherers and retailers. The matter that often happens is the gatherers and retailers do not give the money as they should to do the lucky buyer. The money is usually brought away.

However, after the incident happens, the dishonest doers may not be involved or enter in *togel* network again. They may not get trust to run activities like they get before local society will also excommunicate it in daily association. The doers usually feel shame and they tend to be out or move from the environment.

When it happens, police person becomes the central figure who is often responsible to find the run away doer. The police person gets direct request from croupier supervising the doer and the area. It is done to show to society that deceit happening is not from croupier side. The hope is the incident like that will not break their network image at society eye.

Police persons do not only try to find the run away doer, but also to protect the doer from mass running amuck if he is caught by society. Of course mass running amuck that is over can disturb *togel* activities smoothness, particularly if disagreement is appeared at media prints up to electronic media.

Deceit that happens is mostly because of the low level doers. This tendency is more in economy problem. The high level doers like croupier and big croupier are rare to do dishonest thing because they are aware that any way for them *togel* is a business that produces remarkable turnover per opening. Thus, so any way they wish that the business runs smoothly. The deceit they do, of course it will bring much more loss for them. Anyway it is possible that the deceit is done to get maximal result.

**Togel Community Appearance**

*Togel* communities in Banyuwangi exist around in the middle of 2006, the community exists on initiatives from several fans of *togel* as a means to facilitate fans of *togel* in exchanging information about anything and information around *togel*.

To contact one into another is by using ORARI, with frequency 577 mhz. The media is chosen with consideration that many members are fishermen and they still use this such tool as information access with land; besides ORARI in Banyuwangi, Jember, and Situbondo is still used by many people as one of the communication means.

*Togel* community in this time is presided by a well-known person among *togel* doers. In the case of membership there is no limitation for anyone; the community is opened enough and it does not make a closed impression. They admit that their activities are often monitored by police but they do not make it as a problem because there is no matter that break s law and there is no *togel* transaction going on. In short, *togel* community is only a place for all *togel* lovers to merely gather and communicate one into another.

**Togel Social Network**
This part will show what form and social network function developed and maintained by *tobel* doers in Banyuwangi. If reviewed from aim that forms social network of *tobel* doers entirely, power network model is more conspicuous if compared with two other network kinds like *interest* network and sentiment network. In the social network, power centre will continuously investigate the social units and put structured reward and sanction into effect formally to support willingness with order or regulation by their power centre.

Reviewed from economy social status, the involved doers in *tobel* network in Banyuwangi is distinguishable in horizontal social network and vertical social network. The horizontal social network, there is friendship horizontal social network and kinship horizontal social network. It also happens in vertical social network.

**Power social network**

Power social network in this case is the strategy used by a croupier in running *tobel* business in Banyuwangi. The social network power, there is social connection which is patron-client, where the doer having structure lower than power (pattern) centre automatically client himself. The system like this, the doers involved in *tobel* activities business instantaneous will follow all rules appointed by a croupier. Order and regulation appointed by a croupier of course are supported with clear and firm reward and sanction because infringement done by a doer supervised by a croupier will cause a confusion that can disturb *tobel* network stability entirely.

Power social network is usually attributed in conditions creating needed conditions to reach the achieved purposes (Agusyanto, 2007:36). Although explicitly it is seen that formed social network is *power* social network, the implementation will be included in *interest* social network and sentiment social network (emotion network). It often evokes contradiction between action and attitude shown by the doer. The result is formal rules, values, norms prevailing in the network will not fully prevail in reality.

In *patron-client* network developed by *tobel* doers in Banyuwangi, a croupier is e most central (ego) figure from network. Thus, the croupier will choose and determine with whom he must cooperate.

It can be explained that croupier is as ego and pattern from formed network; social-economy resource ownership which is relative good becomes a reference for other doers to client them to him. It also happens to the croupiers although most of them come from big croupier’s family, but in connection context, croupier is the client of big croupier. Big croupier has position in a line with the family, government official person, with *TNI/POLRI* official person. The connection among them is not patron-client caused by parallelism in social economy resource ownership.

**Horizontal Social Network**

**Kinship Network**

Social connection is the component in forming social network. Based on the comprehension, in social network, there is right and obligation that of course becomes the media to regulate mutual interaction among the doers in it. The doers or individual involved in one social network of course cannot be separated with the position at the origin social environment like kinship environment, profession environment, also existing organization in society like *RT, RW,* and *Karang Taruna*.

Kinship environment is the closest scope to express any idea; support is also easier to get particularly with collective feeling existence because of family. Kinship horizontal social network also comes from comprehension. The *tobel* network in Banyuwangi, the connection does not relate instantly, but there is a long kinship historic element.

Meanwhile, in retailer stage, kinship horizontal social network cases are many. Participation is based on the recommendation from one of the families who really get belief from the higher position. Selling location is usually relative far and apart from village or sub-district. It
is done to minimize conflict at society level as the form of social jealousy attitude. The exchange form they do is usually mutual tombok’an debt. The debt is the way used by retailer to pay the lucky buyer before money from gatherer is accepted. It usually happens if in one day the total of lucky buyers are very many, while to pay all the croupier needs two days after opening day. During the time the retailer is usually chased by lucky buyers, especially the buyers who do not know the retailer well or they are not customers.

The retailers will debt to other retailers who of course still have supply or enough savings. It is done by retailers so that the buyers keep buying coupon to him.

**Friendship Network**

Friendship connection is the connection happening naturally as the form of societal life, where individual role as social creature of course may not be can achieved without help from another person. It is of course the basic to how important a friend is in achieving a specific-purpose and getting maximal resource; It also happens in network developed by togel doers. In horizontal social network, the doers involved have this friendship. The involved doers have relative equal resource and the interaction process will form one mutualism symbiosis form, so that the connection can survive in long range of time.

The involved doers in this kind of social network are not instantly involved directly in process of togel coupon circulation, exactly in this network the doers involved in it are formal actors that are figures behind the screen on the existence of togel in Banyuwangi until now. Their role is more as protector and of course without existence of them, togel in Banyuwangi will not be popular in society. The good cooperation between croupier and formal figures is one of the successful indicators from togel business run by croupier.

This kind of social network for the case in retailer group is relative many. However, discussion focus is aimed more to the high level because the exchange form is not too big and conspicuous. Also in croupier and gatherer level, connection and resource exchange does not influence the formed social network too much.

**Vertical Social Network**

**Kinship Network**

The vertical social network has patron-client relationship. It appears as the form of the difference of owned and exchanged resource. The appeared behavior is there are senior and subordinate; senoir of course has economy resource more compared with the subordinate. Although the connection is patron-client, there may be close kinship element in it. In togel social network in Banyuwangi there is also a connection existence like that.

In gatherer and retailer level, the character is not too conspicuous although in this level the case like that is found also, but only few. It happens because in level under croupier, the involved croupier does not have an authority to recruit somebody. In that level, the involved doers can only give input while all rules are the authority of the croupier supervising it.

The conspicuous difference lays in access property in level on it, for example if there is something happening, the doers who still belongs to family will get special treatment and of course different treatment with other doers. In the case of reward and sanction, they also get different treatment. Nevertheless other doers never make it as a problem because they realize anyway kinship connection is very specific because it is based on blood relationship.

**Friendship Network**

In togel network in Banyuwangi, the connection because of friendship is seen in almost every stage. It can be seen from upper level occupied by big croupier and croupier up to the lowest stage that is gatherer and retailer stage. Friendship element is inherent part in this network, family and friend are the strongest pole in keeping social network continuance, especially in togel network in Banyuwangi. Although friendship is admitted in this network membership, but
process to enter and unite are not easy matters and it is relative. It means, for some people it may be easy but difficult and impossible for some other people.

The doers in togel Banyuwangi network will usually have tight selection. The selection is usually based on investigating on member candidate biography. Furthermore, it will be seen from friendship factor which intended to of whom member candidate get recommendation. Recruitment is usually done by the senior at each stage; for example to be a retailer, selection is done by gatherer henceforth reported to the croupier as decision taker. The process does not happen every time. It is usually done if they really need a new member. Anyway, not everybody detects to when network needs a new member because information about it will only be known by the doers involved. Thus, people who propose are always from family circle or even friend from the doers.

Apart from recruitment process, friendship form that is seen in network work system is commission distribution. In this case, it is often found such a different size of commission distribution. Commission is actually the reward form given by each croupier each month to the subordinate that is assumed work well. Commission gift is sometimes not in the form of cash, but it can also be formed goods like sembako, clothes, up to mobile phone. The gift can directly be given to the gatherer or even to coupon retailer through gatherer; but as the habit, the gatherer always gets something from the croupier. Each gatherer does not get the same amount. The difference is based on the seniority level or the length of service, daily report, and the important thing is there is a special connection or not that relates between croupier and the gatherer. In coupon retailer, reward is given based on gatherer report to the croupier, so that per month only some get reward. Thereby, only retailers that has good connection with gatherer that has a bigger chance to get reward.

Function of Formed Social Network

The formed social network and took care well in togel doers in Banyuwangi is one of the concrete examples from willing appearance of the involved doers in achieving to gather economy resource. The doers ability in accessing all information and experience gives them knowledge to overcome everything that can disturb their aim in getting economy resource. The obstacles come from many matters, discord towards applicable law is one of the main troubles.

Basically, social network has function as message conveyor that can be done in the form of action based on the interpretation from message receivers. That is why, to form social network, it needs individuals that have mutual understanding so that social network created can minimize everything that hinders for achieving the individual aim that resides in it. Thus, building social network through kinship and friendship is one correct choice. That is why, there is a foundation that can be a reason to strengthen connection between them.

The formed social network obviously has given change in handling illegal business trouble. Non-formal legalization they finally get is the form of long struggle process in building and taking care the social relation among the doers. It is also the concrete realization of social network strength that finally develops from the connection they have. Their strength actually can break and turn bureaucracy wall which during the time is their main enemy and now make it as part from them. Residing in social network, each involved individual has non formal responsibility as the consequence on a wish of the aim they want to reach. Thus, although the membership tends to be flexible and not tie, there is a tendency to take care among the involved doers.

Conclusion

It is concluded that social network forms developed and maintained by togel doers are horizontal social network and vertical social network. In horizontal social network, involved togel doers have social economy status which is relative the same so the exchange that happens between them is relative the same. In vertical social network, involved togel doers have social
economy status that is not the same and it finally cause patron-client in connection formed. The two social network forms development is based on power network although in practice, emotion element and certain interest are inseparable.

References
Yogyakarta: Pustaka Widyatama.