

Cockfighters in the Legal, Religious, and Social Perspectives

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Abstrak:

Penelitian ini mengkaji persoalan-persoalan yang terkait dengan perilaku beragama dalam hal keyakinan beragama, ketaatan beragama, motivasi sabung ayam, dan persepsi masyarakat terhadap pelaku sabung ayam. Dari analisis data ditemukan bahwa: *Pertama*, menurut hukum Islam, sabung ayam adalah haram, sedangkan menurut hukum positif sabung ayam yang disertai perjudian merupakan tindak kejahatan. *Kedua*, menurut keterlibatannya pelaku sabung ayam dapat dikelompokkan ke dalam *tokang tangghâ'*, *bhutto*, dan *pètaro* (penjudi). *Ketiga*, dalam konteks berkeyakinan, para pelaku sabung ayam tetap konsisten dalam agamanya (Islam). *Keempat*, ketaatan beragama bagi pelaku sabung ayam hanyalah pada amalan ibadah sosial. *Kelima*, yang menjadi motivasi bagi pelaku sabung ayam antara lain, pertemanan, seni, judi, prestise, dan media komunikasi untuk penyelesaian masalah sosial. *Keenam*, masyarakat mempersepsikan pelaku sabung ayam sebagai seseorang yang masih belum mendapatkan hidayah dari Allah.

Kata Kunci:

Pelaku sabung ayam, perilaku beragama, ibadah sosial, *tokang tangghâ'*, *bhutto*, *pètaro*

Abstract:

This study examines the issues related to religious behavior in terms of religious beliefs, religious observance, motivation of doing cockfights, and social perception of cockfighters. From the data analysis found that: *First*, according to Islamic law, cockfighting is *harâm*, while according to the positive law cockfighting accompanied by gambling is a crime. *Secondly*, according to their involvement, the cockfighters can be grouped into *tokang tangghâ'*, *bhutto*, and *pètaro* (gamblers). *Thirdly*, in the context of belief, the cockfighters remain consistent in his religion (Islam). *Fourth*, religious observance for cockfighters is simply the practice of social worship. *Fifth*, is the motivation for cockfighters, among others, are friendship, art, gambling, prestige, and media of communication to solve the social problems. *Sixth*, the public perceives the actor of cockfighting as someone who still does not get guidance from Allah.

Keywords:

Cockfighter, religious behavior, social worship, *tokang tangghâ'*, *bhutto*, *pètaro*

Introduction

Religious behavior can be viewed on any individual or group of individuals. Religious behavior is closely rela-

ted to the social behavior of individuals in their daily life. Religious behavior is also influenced by socio-religious stratification. If someone has a high socio-

religious stratification, it is predictable that their religious behavior by certain entity is also good. On the contrary, if a person is positioned at a low socio-religious stratification, their religious behavior is not become a concern either by themselves or by others.

The religious behavior of cockfighters¹ is interesting to observe, since in the society is growing an assumption that the cockfighters has no attention at all to the religious life. It is because they are constantly doing something that is regarded as deviant behavior. According to Kartono, as quoted by Syarifuddin, "deviations are defined as behavior that is differing from existence traditions or the common characteristics have by the people in a population."² J. Dwi Narwoka et. al. said, "The deviant behavior is the behavior of the citizens who are considered not in accordance with the customs, rules and regulations, and social

¹ In the Madurese language, the word of "cockpit" means "fight". When it is combined with the word of "chicken", it becomes to "cockfighting", which gives a sense of a fight between two roosters. The practice of cockfighting in question is an act done by one or more to complain/make collide rooster. Adrian Pawitra, *Kamus Lengkap Bahasa Madura-Indonesia* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 2009), 598. The game is also called risking the chicken competition. This game has been around since the kingdom of Demak. Cockfighting is actually a social aberrations that occur in the community. Cockfighting is a game of two chickens in one arena, usually pitted chicken until one of them is blurred or lost, even to death. These games are usually followed by gambling that took place not far from the arena of fights. Poerwadarminto, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1982), 95.

² Syarifuddin, "Komunitas Sabung Ayam (Studi Perilaku Menyimpang Masyarakat Malikaji Gowa)", *Jurnal Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan (JKIP)* 1, no. 1 (Juni, 2014)

norms that apply."³ Deviation here more because in practice there are gambling activities which break the social and religion norms. Approval of the cockfighters against the norm is then they identified with the irregularities.

From such thought, then the author tries to formulate the problems associated with the religious behavior of the actor of cockfights. Formulation of the problem in general is: how does the religious behavior of cockfighters in the Camplong Subdistrict, Sampang Regency. This research wishes to disclose: (1) who was included in the elements of the cockfighters, and what terms are used for actors of the cockfights; (2) how the cockfight actors' consistency toward their religion; (3) What are the motivations in the practicing the cockfighting; and (4) how the public perception towards the cockfighters.

To obtain a clear understanding and prevent any misunderstanding, it should be clarified in advance about the religious behavior and cockfights. Religious behavior can be understood as a manner and behavior associated with a religious belief. According to Ramayulis, "religious manner is a situation that comes to a person, who pushed to behave with regard to religion."⁴ Furthermore, according to Ramayulis, "religious manners formed because of the consistency between the beliefs of the religion as a cognitive feelings component, towards religion as effective components, and manners to-

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ramayulis, *Psikologi Agama* (Jakarta: Kalam Mulia, 2009), 97.

wards religion as conative component”⁵ as “religious behavior are all human activity in life is based on religious values he believes in.”⁶

In the Madurese language, the word “*sabung*” means “fight”. When, it is combined with the word “chicken”, to “cockfighting” means a fight between two roosters. The practice of cockfighting is “actions performed by one or more to make collide between two roosters”.⁷ This game has been around since the kingdom of Demak. Cockfighting is actually a social aberration that occurs in the community.⁸ In the dictionary of Indonesia, “cockfighting is a game of two chickens in one arena. Usually chicken collided until one of them is runaway or even to death. These games are usually followed by gambling that took place not far from the arena of cockfighting.”⁹ From the above explanations, it can be understood that cockfighting is an activity of a person or group of persons that involve colliding roosters, whether accompanied by betting money (gambling) or not.

When, it is viewed through the lens of social pathology, it will be understood that cockfighting is part of the many irregularities that occurred in the middle of the community. To understand this, we can use the theory of anomie, social control, and conflict theory. *The anomie theory* describes a condition in the absence of norms or absence of rules shared to-

gether in the society.¹⁰ Likewise with cockfighting, gambling behavior is also caused by the rules or social norms that exist in society are less firmly in banning the cockfighting practice. Or also can be caused by people who think that the social norm should not be firm as firm as the norm/law made by the state. According to the theory of social control, irregularities and even criminality or crime is proof of the failure of conventional social groups to bind the individual to remain conform, such as family, school or educational institution, and other dominant groups.¹¹ From the above explanation, it can be concluded that the occurrence of deviant behavior it is not because the absence of control or social control, but because humans have always had the initiative to not abide the rules or social norms that exist in society. Meanwhile, according to the theory of conflict, the occurrence of criminal behavior is as a reflection of the power that has a difference in defining crimes or irregularities.¹² The elite and bottom groups have different interests. People who perform deviant behavior due to the distribution of wealth that is not balanced between the elites with the common people, so that raises the number of people who live with the limitations, so that the circumstances and conditions that give rise to criminal acts such as theft, prostitution, drinking liquor in expressing and vent their disappointment and relieve stress in the face of social life which is too complex, so, according to their opinion, the previous behavior and actions can fulfill the hopes

⁵ Ibid., 97-8 and H. Abu Ahmadi, *Psikologi Sosial* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1991), 217.

⁶ Ibid., 100

⁷ Adrian Pawitra, *Kamus Standard Bahasa Madura-Indonesia*. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, (2009), 598.

⁸ Kartono Kartini, *Patologi Sosial* (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 2011), 12

⁹ Poerwadarminto, *Kamus Besar*, 95.

¹⁰ J. Dwi Narwoko, et. al., *Sosiologi Teks: Pengantar dan Terapan* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2007), 115.

¹¹ Ibid., 116.

¹² Ibid., 119.

and desires of the low social and economic conditioned-people.

In order to establish a theoretical framework, the authors of this study try to rely on the theory of "interactions-symbolic". The term interactions symbolic first introduced by Herbert Blumer, and are designed to articulate and advance the social psychology of George Herbert Mead.¹³ Blumer coined the term of symbolic interactionism to name the integration of sociological research and socio-psychology.¹⁴ Hans Joas said:

"The focus is on the interaction processes (social actions characterized by reciprocal direct orientation) and investigations of the processes are based exclusively on the concept of interaction that emphasizes on the symbolic characteristics of a social action."¹⁵

Furthermore, Han Joas explains:

"The pattern analysis is the social relations in which the action is not simply taking the form of specific prescription translations into the desired action, but also included the action in which the definition of social relations is proposed and formed either simultaneously or sequentially."¹⁶

As was stated at the outset that interactionism symbolic refers to the views of Blumer in explaining the thinking of George Herbert Mead, it is important

to understand the subject matter of Mead. The ideas raised by Mead in relation to the *symbolic interactionism* are: (1) social priorities; (2) the action; (3) gesture; (4) significant symbols; (5) mind; (6) self; and (7) society.¹⁷

1. Social priority. According to Mead, the George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman, the whole social precedes individual thinking, both logically and on a temporary basis. According to Mead, Individuals who have self-conscious thinking are impossible without prior existence of social group. Social groups appear first, and social groups resulted in the mental development of self-awareness.¹⁸
2. Action. Mead identifies four bases and phase related to actions, namely: (a) the first stage is a desire/desires, which includes "stimulation/spontaneous stimulation associated with sensory organs" and the reaction of the actor to the stimulus, the need to do something about the stimulation. Hunger is a good example for desire;¹⁹ (b) The second stage is the perception. The performer investigates and reacts to stimuli associated with desire. In this case, hunger and also various tools available to satisfy it;²⁰ (c) The third stage manipulation. As soon as the desire expressed itself and the object has been understood, the next step is to manipulate the object or take action

¹³ Jack Barbalet, "Pragmatisme dan Interaksionisme Simbolik", in *Teori Sosial dari Klasik Sampai Postmodern*, ed. Bryan S. Turner, trans. Stiyawati E. A., et. al. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2012), 325-26.

¹⁴ Hans Joas, "Interaksionisme Simbolik" in *Social Theory Today*, eds. Anthony Giddens and Jonathan Turner, trans. Yudi Santoso (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), 137.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern*, trans. Alimandan (Jakarta: Kenca, 2008), 271-88 and Nur Syam, *Model Analisis Teori Sosial* (Surabaya: PMN, 2010), 158-66.

¹⁸ Ibid., 272-73.

¹⁹ Ibid., 274.

²⁰ Ibid., 274-75.

with respect to the object;²¹ and (d) The fourth stage is consumption. Consumption is the implementation phase/consumption or takes some actions that satisfy the actual desire. Man can do anything in accordance with the actual desire.²²

3. Gestures. According to Mead, the motion or gesture is the basic mechanism in social action and in the more general processes. According to Mead definition, gesture is a movement of the first organisms that act as specific stimuli that cause the right responses (socially) of both organizations. Neither animal nor human able to provide cues in the sense that the actions of an individual are without thought and automatically get a reaction from another individual.²³
4. Significant Symbols. Significant symbol is a kind of gesture that only produces by human beings. Gestures become significant symbols when they appear on the individual who makes the symbols together with some kind of a response (but not always the same) obtained from people who were targeted of the gestures. We actually can only communicate when we have a significant symbol. Physical gesture can be a significant symbol, but ideally not suitable as a significant symbol, because people cannot easily view or listen to the cues on its own.²⁴
5. Mind, which Mead defined as the process of conversation with oneself, is not found within the individual; the mind

is a social phenomenon. The Thoughts emerge and develop in the social process and is an integral part of the social process. The Special characteristic of mind is the ability of individuals to bring out in him not only one response, but also the overall community response.²⁵

6. Self. According to Mead is the ability to accept yourself as an object or subject. Self requires a social process; communication between humans. Self emerged and developed through the activity and between social relationships. According to Mead, it is impossible to imagine someone (self) appearing in the absence of a social experience. But soon after developing, it is possible for him (self) to continue to exist without social contacts.²⁶ Mead states:

“By reflecting –by returning the individual experience inside themselves– the whole social process generates the experience of the individuals involved in self; in this way, people can accept the manner of others towards him, the individual consciously able to adapt it-self to the social process, and is able to change the process resulting in social action from the standpoint of his adjustment to the social action.”²⁷

Mead identifies two aspects or phases of self, which he named as “I” and “Me”. Mead stated, “The self is essentially a social process that takes place in two phases that can be distinguished.” “I” and “Me” is the spontaneous response of individuals to others. Mead strongly emphasizes “I”

²¹ Ibid., 275.

²² Ibid., 159-60.

²³ Ritzer and Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi*, 276, Hans Joas, “Interaksionisme Simbolik”, 149.

²⁴ Ritzer and Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi*, 273.

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²⁵ Ibid., 280.

²⁶ Ibid., 280-81.

²⁷ Ibid., 281.

for four reasons. *First*, the “I” is the main source of something new in the social process. *Second*, Mead believes that in the “I” we placed the most important value. *Third*, the “I” is something we all seek, self-realization. “I” is what enables us to develop “definitive personality.” *Fourth*, Mead saw an evolutionary process in history, where a man in a primitive society dominated by “Me”, in modern society component of the “I” is larger. “I” reacted to the “Me” that organizes a set of manners of others that he took into his own behavior”. In other words, “Me” is the acceptance of others which is generalized. In contrast to the “I”, one realizes “Me”; “Me” includes awareness of the responsibility. “Me” is the ordinary individual, conventional. Through the “Me” was the one in charge of individual communities. Mead defines the notion of social control as an expression of excellence “Me” in the above expression of “I”.²⁸

7. Society. Society according to Mead means nonstop social process that precedes the mind and self. Public responses reflect a set of organized expropriated by individuals in the form of “I”. According to the terms of this individual, society affects them and gives them the ability through self-criticism to control themselves.²⁹ According to Ritzer and Goodman, at the more specialized community level, Mead has some thoughts about social institutions. Broadly, Mead defines institutions as joint responses in the community or com-

munities living habits. More specifically, he said the whole community actions focused on individuals based on specific circumstances in the same way. Based on the circumstances, there is the same response in the community. We call this process the formation of institutions.³⁰ However, still according to Ritzer and Goodman, Mead cautiously suggested that institutions do not always destroy individuality or creativity. Mead acknowledges the oppressive social institutions, stereotypes, and ultraconservative, those with the power, the inflexibility, and the unprogressive, destroys or eliminate individuality. But Mead quickly added:

“There is no reason that inevitable, why social institutions must suppress or conservative, or why they were not always flexible and progressive, help more individual development than hinder it.”³¹

According to Jack Barbalet,

“As its name, the symbolic interactionism is an approach that is built on the basis of the social formation of symbols, common meanings commonly understood, and its use in communication, both within *the self* and in the orientation of the *self* against others, in a variety of interactions between agents or social actors.”³²

Furthermore, in explaining pragmatic social psychology of George Herbert Mead, Blumer distill them into three basic propositions;

“*First*, the perception of an actor on and orientation of an object is a function of

²⁸ Ritzer and Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi*, 285-86, Barbalet, “Pragmatisme”, 336.

²⁹ Ritzer and Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi*, 287.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 287.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 288.

³² Barbalet, “Pragmatisme”, 338.

the meaning given by the actor to the object; *second*, the meaning which an actor give to an object is a function of the interaction processes in which the actors in question are involved; *the third*, meaning given to an object by an actor tends to change over time to follow the changes that occur in the interactions that are performed by the actors."³³

Then, according to Blumer, symbolic interactionism works through a process called "self-identification": acting unit is the "self"; "Self-acting" within and in relation to the related situation; and action formed or constructed with interpreting the situation.³⁴

According to Blumer, "interpretation consists of three steps: *first*, self-acting must 'identify things' that will be addressed by the action, such as tasks, opportunities, barriers, distractions, and resources; *second*, self-acting also must "assess things in a certain way"; *third*, self-acting should "take decisions based on these assessments."³⁵

From the explanation in advance, according to Jack Barbalet:

"Two things have clearly seen in the Blumer summary. *Firstly*, the situation regarding *self* action is interpreted exclusively through cognitive processes. The other thing is the tension between, *first*, the requirements of the "indication of self" that the action is constructed by the interpretations made by the *self* itself, and *second*, that a number of interpretations commonly understood resulting from interactions happened previously used by *self*."³⁶

³³ Ibid., 326.

³⁴ Ibid., 339.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

Meanwhile, according to Ritzer and Goodman, there are some basic principles in symbolic interactionism raised by some of the characters, namely:

- (1) Unlike animals, humans are given the ability to think;
- (2) The ability to think is formed by social interaction;
- (3) In human social interaction learn the meanings and symbols that allow them to use their special abilities to think it;
- (4) The meaning and symbols allow humans to continue special action and interact;
- (5) Man is able to change the meaning and symbols that they use in the actions and interactions based on their interpretation of the situation;
- (6) Man is able to make modifications and changes to the policy, in part because of their ability to interact with themselves, allowing them to test a series of opportunities for action, assess their relative advantages and disadvantages, and then choose one among a series of chances that action; and
- (7) The pattern of actions and interactions that are inter-related to form groups and communities.³⁷

The basic principle can explain an interaction experienced by an individual. Where individuals begin their interaction with thinking, studying surrounding social circumstances until an individual can collaborate and be part of the social environment in the form of a social order that is called society. Mead did not take a determination approach for the social, but rather assumes that in addition to socialization, self has a creative and spontaneous aspect that contributes to change and give new patterns to the new socialization. The human individuality con-

³⁷ Ritzer and Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi*, 289.

tribute dynamism and constant social change.³⁸

Research Methods

In order to obtain data related to the religious behavior of the cockfighters in the Subdistrict of Camplong, I used a qualitative descriptive approach and field research as the design. It means research (qualitative) have studied the objects in their natural state, which seeks to understand, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning attached to humans (researchers).³⁹ The object of this study was the cockfighters in the Subdistrict of Camplong, Sampang Regency with the determination of the selected informant, which was already very well known by the public as cockfighters. Collecting data in this study conducted in-depth interviews and observation. The interviews were conducted to collect data related to the things of one's understanding of the practice of cockfighting. This interview was conducted to related objects dealing with the cockfighters in the Subdistrict of Camplong. observation conducted to obtain information and a general description and specific information about religious practices performed by cockfighters. Observations were made at a given moment, in which the actors pro-secuted cockfights or are implementing their religion.

³⁸ Graham C. Kinloch, *Sociological Theory Its Development and Major Paradigms* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2005), 149.

³⁹ Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S., "Pendahuluan: Memasuki Bidang Penelitian Kualitatif", in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, trans. Dariyatno, et. al. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009), 592.

Commonly, the data analysis performed by referring to the management of data by Huberman and Miles, the data analysis consists of three interrelated sub processes; data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions/verification.⁴⁰ Data reduction means that the universality of the potential of the data is simplified in an anticipatory mechanism. This is done by researchers when determining the conceptual framework, research questions, cases, and instruments used in this study.⁴¹ Presentation of data is defined as structured construct solid information that allows making a conclusion and implementation of the action. More focused presentation of data covering a structured summary and synopsis, brief descriptions, diagrams, and matrices with the text of the numbers in the cells.⁴² While the conclusions and verification stage involves researchers in the process of interpretation; determination of meaning from the data presented. How that could be used more and more; comparative methods, formulate patterns and themes, grouping, and the use of metaphors for confirmation methods such as triangulation, looking for negative cases, follow up on the findings and cross-check the results with the informants.⁴³

⁴⁰ A. Michael Huberman and Matthew B. Miles, "Manajemen Data dan Metode Analisis", in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, trans. Dariyatno et. al. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009), 592.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

Results and Discussion

Cockfighting in Legal Perspective

The practice of cockfighting involves two cocks that fought until one of them lost (injury or death) accompanied by gambling. It can be analyzed in the view of the law, whether Islamic law (the Qur'an and hadith) and the positive law legislation.

According to the Qur'an in Surah al-Baqarah (2): 219, which means

"They ask thee concerning wine (khamar) and gambling; say that in both there is great sin, and some benefits for humans, but their bad deeds outweighing the benefits."⁴⁴

In this verse, Allah confronts *al-khamr* (drunken drink) with *al-maysir* (gambling). Both are described to provide benefits for the doer, but Allah. Asserts, sin (*haram*) is greater than the benefits. Because of sin do both greater than the benefits, Islam forbids gambling in any form, including gambling at cockfights. Of course, when referring to this paragraph, it has not seen explicit legal prohibition, because it does not contain an order to stay away. But Allah says in surah al-Mâ'idah (5): 90-91, which means:

"O ye who believe, in fact wine, gambling, idols, and gambled the fate is indecency including satanic, then stay away from the deeds that you have good luck. Satan was intended to cause enmity and hatred between you with drunken drink and gambling, hinder you from the remembrance of Allah and prayer; then stop you (from doing the job)."⁴⁵

In the second paragraph of this, firmly Allah stated that some action should be (mandatory) shunned, among

which is a gamble. In the proposal jurisprudence, meaning *fa ijtanibū*, which means "stay away" has the intention to forbid. Allah has forbidden the legal status do. Because a person who intentionally commit an act that is forbidden by Allah Will get a sin, so jurisprudence establishes legal gambling is forbidden. Because cockfighting became media gamble, determination of the law forbidden the practice of cockfighting on the basis of the practice of gambling is true. Ibn Katsîr stated the word of Allah in the verse shows His ban for every believer of deeds (to drink alcohol and gambling).⁴⁶ In this case, gambling is defined as doing something to risk money or a certain item,⁴⁷ and at a time when it was gambling a lot to do using media dice, as the hadiths:

عَنْ أَبِي مُوسَى قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ لَعِبَ بِالرَّيِّ فَقَدْ عَصَى اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ⁴⁸

From Abû Mûsâ, he said, "Prophet PBUH. said: "Whoever plays dice then he has been disobedient to Allah and His messenger."

So that any form of gambling with a varizject in which there are the torture of animals in a hadith mentioned:

عَنْ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَا تَتَّخِذُوا شَيْئاً فِيهِ الرُّوحُ غَرَضاً⁴⁹

From Ibn Abbas, he said, "Prophet Muhammad PBUH. said: "Do not make something animate as a target."

⁴⁶ Abû al-Fidâ' al-Dimasyqî Ibn Katsîr, *Tafsîr al-Qur'ân al-'Adzîm*, Juz II (Beirut: Dâr al-Fikr, 2005), 623.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Abû 'Abdullâh Muḥammad al-Qazwinî ibn Yazîd ibn Mâjah, *Sunan Ibn Mâjah*, Juz II (Semarang: Karya Toha Putra, n.d.), 1237-38.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 1063. The tradition can be seen also in Abû 'Îsâ ibn 'Îsâ ibn Surah al-Turmudzî, *Sunan al-Turmudzî al-Jâmi' al-Shahîh*, Juz III (Semarang: Karya Toha Putra, n.d.), 18.

⁴⁴ Departemen Agama RI, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya* (Surabaya: Al-Hidayah, n.d.), 53.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 176-77.

Because in the above hadith prohibition to make the animal as a target in a game that cause the persecution of the animal or to result in death. As in another hadits, the Prophet PBUH says:

نَهَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنْ يُقْتَلَ شَيْءٌ مِنَ الدَّوَابِّ
صَبْرًا⁵⁰

"Prophet PBUH. prohibited animals by way of murder in custody."

Referring to the second verse and the hadits above, it can be explained that the prohibition of cockfighting because of two factors: *First*, because in a cockfight going on gambling, and *secondly*, because the cockfight means pitting animals, torture, or even kill animals in a way that does not justified by *syara'*.

Meanwhile, according to the positive law, cockfighting is considered unlawful in which there is gambling. In Article 303 paragraph (3) Criminal Code states:

The socalled game of chance is that each game, where in general the possibility of a profit depends on sheer luck, as well as the players are better trained or more proficiently. Including, any decision of betting on a race or a game of others who are held between those who partakes or play and not, as well as all other bets.

Penalty of gambling stated in the Act. No. 7 of 1974 on regulating gambling: Article 1 states all offenses gambling as a crime. Article 2: (1) Changing the penalty under Article 303 paragraph (1) of the Criminal Law Act, jail forever two years and eight months or a fine of up to ninety thousand rupiah to imprisonment for ever ten years or a fine of up to twenty five million rupiah. (2) Cha-

nging the penalty under Article 542 paragraph (1) of the Criminal Law Act, of confinement forever one month or fine of up to four thousand five hundred rupiah, be sentenced to prison for ever four years or a fine of up to ten million rupiah. (3) Changing the penalty under Article 542 paragraph (2) of the Penal Law, of confinement forever three months or a fine of up to seven thousand five hundred rupiah become forever imprisonment or a fine of a maximum of six years the amount of fifteen million rupiah.

Similarly explicitly mentioned in the Government Regulation (PP) No. 9/1981 on the implementation of Law No. 7/1974 on Gambling Control, in the explanation of Article 1, paragraph (1) letter c, that: "Gambling is attributed to other reasons, such as gambling associated with the habit; 1) Cockfighting; 2) cows fight; 3) bulls fight; 4) horse race; 5) bull races; 6) sheep/goat fight."

As for the chicken fight practice by positive law we do not belong to any legal violations when these activities related to religious ceremonies, and as long as it is not a gamble, as mentioned in the explanation of Government Regulation (PP) No. 9/1981, article 1, paragraph (1) letter d.

According to Kartini Kartono, there are several theories that explain the cause of a crime:⁵¹ (1) Psychogenesis theory (psychogenesis and psychiatric) stressed because of behavior that deviates from someone from the aspect of psychological among others factors of personality, intelligence, fantasy, inner conflict,

⁵¹ Kartini Kartono, *Sinopsis Kriminologi Indonesia* (Bandung: Mandar Maju, 1994), 25.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 1064.

emotion, and motivation of a person; (2) biological theory, argued about the limitations on the causes of crime. Aberrant behavior one does arise because of psychological factors and physical person. In this theory appears experts argued that the tendency to do evil passed down by the family, in this case the parents (biological heritage crime). Core of this teaching is that the particular arrangement of one's personality apart from cultural patterns developing in their social environment; (3) Theory sociogenesis, emphasizes the aberrant behavior of a person according to the sociological aspect, for example, which is influenced by the social structure. Social and cultural factors dominating the institutional structures and social role of the individual in the middle society, in the middle of the group and against itself; and (4) the theory of subcultures, is determined by environmental factors. Because the crime is due to several factors, it is necessary to have a comprehensive handling.

The criminal law is used to solve social problems, especially in the prevention of crime as one form of social ills and a form of social pathologies such as gambling case.⁵² In order to combat gambling as deviant behavior should be done. This is reasonable because gambling is a real threat to the social norms that can cause tension individual and social tensions.⁵³ Therefore, it is clear that gambling is a social problem that can interfere the social

⁵² Kartini Kartono, *Patologi Sosial*, 1st edition, Vol. I, (Jakarta: King Grafindo Persada, 2005), 57.

⁵³ Saparinah Umar, in *Teori-teori dan Kebijakan Pidana*, eds. Muladi and Barda Nawawi Arief, *Teori-teori dan Kebijakan Pidana*, 2nd edition (Bandung: Alumni, 1998), 148.

functioning of the society.⁵⁴ Although the actual reduction crime can not only rely on the application of criminal law alone, but also sees the roots of the birth of this crime issues from social issues, so that social policy is also very important.⁵⁵

Elements and Cockfighters

The practice of cockfighting for the people of Camplong Subdistrict⁵⁶ is not something new, because they think cockfighting has existed since the time of their grandparents are still alive. For those, who are currently active in the practice of cockfighting, have known about cockfighting from parents around them who are previously more active as an actor cockfight.

Moh. Hari said:

Cockfighting I know now, according to the parents has been around since the Dutch colonial period. They used to hold cockfights when there are events of specific celebrations. But at that time, it's just certain people who can follow the cockfights. Usually it is among the nobility and the wealthy.

⁵⁴ B. Simanjuntak, *Pengantar Kriminologi dan Patologi Sosial* (Bandung: Tarsito, 1990), 354.

⁵⁵ Mahmud Mulyadi, *Criminal Policy, Pendekatan Integral Penal Policy dan Non-Penal Policy dalam Penanggulangan Kejahatan Kekerasan* (Medan: Pustaka Bangsa Press, 2008), 51.

⁵⁶ Subdistrict of Camplong is one of subdistricts in the Sampang Regency consisting of 14 villages: (1) Taddan, (2) Banjar Talela, (3) Prajjan, (4) Tambaan, (5) Dharma Camplong, (6) Batu Karang, (7) Sejati, (8) Dharma Tanjung, (9) Rabasan, (10) Banjar Tabulu, (11) Anggersek, (12) Madupat, (13) Pamolaan, and (14) Plampaan. This Subdistrict in 2012 had a population of about 73.306 inhabitants. BPS Sampang, *Sampang dalam Angka 2013* (Sampang: BPS and Bappeda Kab. Sampang, 2013).

Not the same as now, anyone can participate.”⁵⁷

Thus, cockfighting has to be said as a tradition for some people of Camplong. Tradition (Latin: *traditio*, “passed”) or customs, in its most simple sense is something that has been done for a long time and become part of the lives of a group of people, usually from a country, culture, time, or religions are the same. The most fundamental thing of the tradition is the information that is passed on from generation to generation, both written and (often) spoken, because without it, a tradition can become extinct.⁵⁸ However, in the Subdistrict of Camplong, there are no special locations as the practice of cockfighting, Camplong Community practiced in cockfights in the Pamekasan Regency, Subdistrict Tlanakan precisely in the Terrak Village.⁵⁹ This place is agreed upon by the actor of cockfights, which are not only made up of Camplong community, but also from the collection of some communities in Madura.

Actually, not all people can be present at a cockfight game. According Lugin:

People who can be accepted as a member of cockfights here (Terrak) is a person with any profession but is willing to maintain security and order

⁵⁷ Interview with Moh. Hari, villager of Batukarang Subdistrict of Camplong, Sampang Regency, November 25, 2015.

⁵⁸ “Tradisi”, wikipediaorg, accessed on October 18, 2015, <https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tradisi>.

⁵⁹ So this *sabung* community often refers to himself as a member of Terrak. This is in contradiction to the community’s location where a routine practice of cockfighting held.

at the site, and did not report to the authorities (law enforcement).⁶⁰

Judging from the background profession, cockfighters in Camplong society consists of people with the profession: (1) farmers/farm workers; (2) fishing; (3) merchants; (4) the employer; and (5) government officials.⁶¹ The same thing also delivered by Fandi:

Those present at cockfights consisted of various people who assortment of work; farmers, fishermen, a rich man, the village chief also, apples are also there.⁶²

In each of the occupational groups there are significant differences in the routine and the intensity of the presence at the site of cockfights. Among them were present every week, some once a month and there is uncertain.⁶³ Mat Jari stated that there are no special provisions concerning the presence of a person, but generally they are already considered old (oldest) has a presence more often than others.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Interview with Lugin, villager of Batukarang, Subdistrict of Camplong, Sampang Regency, November 25, 2015.

⁶¹ In the case of government officials as cockfighters is dominated by government officials such as the village chief, the village secretary, village head, nor the head of affairs in the village.

⁶² Interview with Fandi, villager of Dharma, Camplong Subdistrict of Sampang Regency, November 29, 2015.

⁶³ What is uncertain is strongly influenced by financial conditions. This group usually consists of those who work as farmers and farm laborers, whose earnings are often erratic. This group is more intense when the harvest comes in the form of tobacco crops.

⁶⁴ Interview with Mat Jari, villager of Rabasan Subdistrict of Camplong, Sampang Regency December 3, 2015.

But those who have understandably shared by Terrak cockfighters community has been regarded as a permanent member, although among them there are levels of presence in every event of cockfights held. Even among those already very familiar with each other. In other words, in the cockfighting community of Terrak, there is no special membership system, but the membership process is determined more by the parties which are considered the oldest (elders). According to Mat Jari that if there *pètaro* (gamblers) are new, then it certainly should be known by the elders (*tokang tangghâ'*) of cockfighters.⁶⁵

While the involvement in the practice of cockfighting in Terrak, the actors can be classified into several groups, namely: (1) *tokang tangghâ'*; (2) *bhutto*; and (3) *pètaro* (gamblers). The actor group has a role and function of each practice and activities as well as the continuity of cockfights. In fact, according to some cockfighters, three groups of actors can be termed as the main actors, because of the absence of these three men, then cockfighting cannot take place, or even be at risk of arrest by law enforcement officials. As said by Lugin, "If there is no *tokang tangghâ'* we did not dare to hold cockfights, anywhere."⁶⁶

To understand more about the three main cockfighters, it can be further explained as follows: First, *tokang tangghâ'*. In the Madurese language, "*tokang*" (artisan) means "people who have expertise in handwork with tools or materials specified".⁶⁷ While *tangghâ'* in the Madu-

rese language means "call to a place (home alone) and tells for deploying a show (spectacle) and paid the required fees."⁶⁸ According to Moh. Hari, "*Tokang tangghâ'* is a person who is considered old (oldest) according to the cockfighters."⁶⁹

As in the context of the practice of cockfighting for Camplong society, *tokang tangghâ'* means a person who is solely responsible for the convening of event cockfighting in a certain place. In this context then *tokang tangghâ'* can be termed also as responsible. Therefore, a *tokang tangghâ'* in a practice of cockfighting have rights and obligations that have become an unwritten agreement among all cockfighters. *Tokang tangghâ'* according to Moh. hari, has a requirement fulfilled by the participants of cockfighting."⁷⁰

Among the rights acquired by a *tokang tangghâ'* are: (a) determine the location. In determining the location *tokang tangghâ'* in cooperation with the owner of the premises (yard of the house, farmland, or a specified place with the consequence may be a requirement to pay the rent or not). As said by Lugin that the question of where everything is up *tokang tangghâ'*. What is important where they are accessible and can be secured from any interference, especially in law enforcement.⁷¹

No other party has the authority in determining the location except *tokang tangghâ'*; (b) get a fee from each nominal money *taro* (stake). Said Abdul Asis, "It was agreed that, any money bet subjected

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Interview with Lugin.

⁶⁷ Pawitra, *Kamus Standard*, 715-16.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 687.

⁶⁹ Interview with Moh. Hari.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Interview with Lugin.

to pieces by *tokang tangghâ'* is ten percent."⁷²

Total fee agreed here amounted to 10% of the amount of money bet. So, if in a cockpit, it is collected bet money amounting to Rp. 20,000,000,- (twenty million rupiahs), then *tokang tangghâ'* get a fee of Rp. 2,000,000,- (two million rupiahs). The agreement until now still continue to apply without any resistance from the other actors, either directly or indirectly rejection. Abdul Asis explained further that what he does know no one ever refused, because the piece was done voluntarily.⁷³

And determining the beginning and end of an event cockfights. Abdul Asis said, "We as members receive notification of *tokang tangghâ'* about when an event cockfight will be performed complete with the place."⁷⁴

Notice was delivered ahead of time before implementation. Meanwhile, in terms of liability, *tokang tangghâ'* has the obligation to: (a) setting up locations that are considered safe, especially safe from the possibility of oversight of law enforcement officers. Mat Tahir said that if a raid by the police, then the one that will solve, is *tokang tangghâ'*. Although merely facilitate negotiations between the actor of cockfight with the officer. Or even have to face the legal process itself, if cock-

⁷² Interview with Abdul Asis, villager of Dharma, Camplong Subdistrict of Sampang Regency November 3, 2015.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

fighting successfully raided by the police.⁷⁵

Therefore, the position of *tokang tangghâ'* is positioned well by the actors of neither cockfighting nor the police in certain areas; (b) collecting money betting on both sides of the bet. Mat Tahir further said that *tokang tangghâ'* assigning someone to collect the bet money on each fight a pair of roosters. After Having collected all the money bet then chicken contested.⁷⁶

In this case, *tokang tangghâ'* distinguish and sum of money bet on each of the parties (chicken supporters who fought); (c) ensure the integrity of money at stake for the winners in accordance with the agreed amount. Mat Tahir asserted, "If there is a shortage of money bet, they must be met. So to avoid that risk, should make sure the money bet has already collected in accordance with the amount submitted by each *pètaro*."⁷⁷

Because *pètaro* believe him as the holder of bet money, then the tradition is being conducted continuously. It is worth the fee agreed between *pètaro* with *tokang tangghâ'*, amounting to 10% of the amount of money *taro*; and (d) give notice to the cockfighters regarding time and place of execution. Mat Tahir added:

In the past before the *mobile phone* technology, we tell about a month before the time specified in a way to meet some *pètaro* and *bhutto*, either directly to their homes or in certain

⁷⁵ Interview with Mat Tahir, villager of Pamolaan, Subdistrict of Camplong, Sampang Regency November 14, 2015.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

places, where they congregate such as coffee shops in some villages.⁷⁸

Nevertheless, as if *tokang tangghâ'* only as a facilitator, in fact *tokang tangghâ'* may contribute more than that, because it is very likely to be *buttho* or *pètaro* once. But the existence of *tokang tangghâ'* will determine the smoothness of a cockfight. Moreover, *tokang tangghâ'* are certain people who are already very experienced in cockfighting and has a special relationship with the particular law enforcement officers.

Second, bhutto. According to Moh. Hari is a person appointed by the owner of the chicken or *pètaro* to hold chicken in a cockfighting arena.⁷⁹

Bhutto was the one who supplied the chickens that are considered worthy enough to be fought in a cockfight. The main task of these individual is located in the cockfighting arena, chicken escorting fighters, and put *tajhi*.⁸⁰ *Bhutto* is a person who is considered to have the capacity to look after the rooster, so it has the ability to fight a reliable and attract *pètaro*. The providers of fighters chicken had the opportunity to show the audience that he is an expert in preparing the chicken fighter. Other opportunities are not overlooked by providers of chicken fighter is their participation in betting also speculate with some amount with the others. If his chickens win the fight, then he will benefit the stakes and also get a share percentage of *pètaro* who also won. Providers chicken fighter enthusiastic actors is crucial to the cockfights in determining the

size of the bet. Because if the chicken is considered convincing fighter to win of course *pètaro* be willing to bet large amounts, and the chicken will be much in demand.

According to Moh. Hari, "A *bhutto* should be an expert. If not, then no matter how good the chicken that competed would lose. Especially with regard to the installation of *tajhi*, if any, it will result in the defeat itself."⁸¹

Mat Jari also said that in addition to chicken physical factors, losing to win in cockfighting can also be determined by *bhutto*. For it is he who is responsible for the installation of *tajhi*, so if the installation *tajhi* its good, then it is very likely that the chicken won.⁸²

Herein lies the strategic from a *bhutto*. The *pètaro* trying to possess or obtain *bhutto* expert, so the chicken can win.

Third, pètaro (gamblers). This group is the people who are deliberately bringing money or goods that will be at stake. Although this group may be also a provider of chicken fighter, but is determined more by nonproviders cock fighter. No other interests of this group except to try his luck in gambling. According to Mat Jari, "Cockfighting without the presence of gamblers is such as cooking without salt. So tasteless and will not crowded."⁸³

That is, *pètaro* is crucial to the excitement of a cockfighting event. Even Mat Jari added that if there was a cockfight without betting (gambling money), so, no one will come.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Interview with Moh. Hari.

⁸⁰ *Tajhi* (spur) is a spur which is made of copper, iron, and so on which is mounted on a chicken leg complaint. Pawitra, *Kamus Standard*, 677.

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⁸¹ Interview with Moh. Hari.

⁸² Interview with Mat Jari.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

They hope the money or goods they bring multiplying the winning bet. The group has a number variation accumulated stakes, ranging from Rp. 500,000,- (five hundred thousand rupiahs) to Rp. 75.000.000,- (seventy five million rupiahs).⁸⁵ According to Abdul Asis, the size of the nominal amount of the bet can be determined by the season (economic conditions), and can also be determined by the condition of the contested chicken. If chickens are contested assured, would dare to bet a lot of money.⁸⁶

The velocity of money in a cockfight location is determined by the *pètaro* group. Even the fate of economic actors in this location is much influenced by the size of the amount of money at stake.

In the tradition of cockfighting community Camplong there are two (2) types of bets. *First*, bet by hand (coordination) *tokang tangghâ'* referred to as betting money authorized by the term *taro*. *Taro* is money and so forth that are bet when gambling.⁸⁷ the actors of cockfight who bet with this type (*taro*) would be cut (*tèk*) by *tokang tangghâ'* by 10% (ten percent) of the total stakes, but the amount of bet money *taro* are guaranteed by *tokang tangghâ'* if the chicken wins. In *taro* there will be obtained accumulation of bet money on *tokang tangghâ'* with a relatively large amount, because they collected bets

from many people. According to Mat Tahir, "*Tokang tangghâ'* only responsible for the money *taro* collected to *tokang tangghâ'*. While *taro* outcomes are not on his responsibility if anything happens."⁸⁸ In this regard, the roles of *tokang tangghâ'* are crucial to set the order between *pètaro*. *Second*, betting that occurs only between two people, and nothing more. This type of betting is termed the *jhâbhân*. The negative effects of this type of bet is sometimes between the two sides *pètaro* not fulfill the deal at stake, or sometimes even when the chicken is lost disappearing before paying the stakes. Lugin said that *taro jhâbhân* these often lead to disputes among *pètaro*, because there is no coordinating money, so they often break the agreement.⁸⁹

Because this type of bet is not official, it is not subject to cuts fee by *tokang tangghâ'*, but the consequences borne by each *pètaro*.

Religious Behavior Performs by the Cockfighters Consistent in Belief

Religion for every human being is a requirement that must be met as well as other needs, both individual needs and social.⁹⁰ While, religion is a nature brought by every newborn child as a potential. According to Lenggulung Hasan, one of

⁸⁵ Data accumulated amount of money bet is obtained from the information brought perpetrators cockfight is based on the amount won or lost they had suffered for some practice cockfighting in Terak Village. Rp. 500,000,- a minimum number of post in 2010. While Rp. 75,000,000,- is the maximum number of the post in 2010. Interview with Abdul Asis.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Pawitra, *Kamus Standard*, 693.

⁸⁸ Interview with Mat Tahir.

⁸⁹ Interview with Lugin.

⁹⁰ According to JP Guilford, human needs based on the division consist of individual needs and social needs. Individual needs include the need: *hoemostatis*, temperature regulation, sleep, hunger, sex, escape, prevention, curiosity, and humor. While the need of seosial include: praise and insults, power and relented, association, imitation and sympathy and attention. Jalaluddin, *Psikologi Agama* (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 1996), 80-8.

the characteristics of this nature is, humans accept Allah as God, and in other words, man originally has a tendency by nature to have a religion by nature.⁹¹ In the process of introduction of religion began with the advent of Allah. According to Zakiah Darajat, children come to know Allah through language. From the words of the people who were in the neighborhood, which at the beginning of acceptance are indifferent. But after she saw the adults show a sense of awe and fear of the Lord, then he began to feel a little uneasy and uncertain about something supernatural that we cannot see it. Gradually, without realizing it would make the idea of God in the formation of his personality and become the object of a religious experience.⁹² That was the beginning of a person to know and gain confidence. The process continues to evolve in accordance with the development of physical and psychic. However, keep in mind the process of belief (religion), according Ramayulis, is stability in view of religious life and religious behavior of stability that someone is not static, but dynamic stability, where at one point he knows well the changes. This change occurs because the process of consideration of the mind, knowledge, and perhaps because of the existing conditions.⁹³

Departing from some of the above explanation, in the context of religion for the cockfighters in the Subdistrict of Camplong found that they had undergone a process of initial introduction toward Allah through informal, nonformal to formal. The religious life experiences of the

cockfighters growth as experienced by many people. This development can be both positive and negative developments. According Fandi, the issue of religious faith (Islam) have appeared since childhood and never changed until today. For us, religion (Islam) is a legacy of the ancestors.⁹⁴

It also expressed by Abdul Asis. He said that although the cockfighters are not devout, but still they are trying to not convert. Because of our belief in Islam is steady.⁹⁵

For the cockfighters in Camplong, religion has a core. The essence of religion is the belief in their opinion, the confident and believes that Allah is their God. Abdul Asis said that the important thing we remain convinced that there is no god but Allah. The point is the belief in the Islamic religion.⁹⁶

They never changed the slightest confidence that, although they had fought against the psychological conflict of the irregularities which they did.

For the cockfighters, there are no intention to change their beliefs or convert (out of Islam). This belief is a fixed price for them. It's like stated by Mat Tahir that betting the lives is better for us than to be converted. Because whatever happens, as long as we are remains in Islam, we are sure to get forgiveness from Allah.⁹⁷

Beyond that, they acknowledge consciously that as the cockfighters, they have violated the norms of religion they believe, and they realize that on a deviant act that later they will get torment, if Al-

⁹¹ Ibid., 90.

⁹² Zakiah Drajat, *Ilmu Jiwa Agama* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 2010), 43-4.

⁹³ Ramayulis, *Psikologi Agama*, 65.

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⁹⁴ Interview with Fandi.

⁹⁵ Interview with Abdul Asis.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Interview with Mat Tahir.

lah did not forgive him. But if God forgive all his sin, then surely they will be saved from the torment of the hereafter. Mat Tahir said, "For a while we will quit these bad deeds and repent to Allah's will. It is also our belief as cockfighters."⁹⁸

This consistency can be seen very clearly from the offender of cockfighting by the manner shown towards religious symbols of Islam. Cockfighters remain as it should be against everything that is believed to be the symbol of Islam, the Qur'an eg, places of worship (mosques and prayer room), religious leaders (scholars), the Islamic education (schools, *madrasahs*), and others etc. Cockfighters in the Subdistrict of Camplong have unique characteristics in the context of the manner towards the religious symbols of Islam in the vicinity. Although they were aware of the actions that are contrary to religious norms, but socially they fixed position, such as *kiai*, *ustâdz*, teacher of the Qur'an, as a religious symbol that should be respected, abstinence for them to disrupt the social fabric that has been built for a long time. As stated by Moh. Hari:

We remain respectful to *kiai*, and make *kiai* as role models and leaders. Although often considered as the one that is not obedient to the teachings of Islam, but they still recognize *kiai* as a religious symbol that should be respected."⁹⁹

This behavior is according to me referred to as an indicator of consistency in belief. For if the cockfighters no longer holds on to his belief in their religion (Islam), surely they would act and be un-

sympathetic towards religious symbols. Aside from that, there is no physical as well as administrative evidence that there is a religion conversions of the cockfight actors occur in the Subdistrict of Camplong. Kiai Abdul Karim said that he surer they (the cockfighters) remain in Islam. However, they still do not get guidance from Allah, so it is still not repent.¹⁰⁰

Exist in Social Worship

Observing the behavior of religious actors in the Subdistrict of Camplong cockfights more interesting when focusing on behavior relating to the exercise of religious worship in Islam are in touch with others. Religious behavior is closely related with manners and religious behavior. Religious manner is a situation that is in a person that drives to behave with regard to religion.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, according Ramayulis, religious manners formed due to the consistency between the beliefs of the religion as a cognitive component. The Feelings toward religion is as an effective component and behavior towards religion as conative component.¹⁰² While religious behavior is all human activity in life is based on the values of religious beliefs.¹⁰³

In the context of the cockfighters in the Subdistrict of Camplong, I found: *First*, cockfighters in the Subdistrict of Camplong have religious act or behave

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Kiai Abdul Karim, villager of Dharma, Subdistrict Camplong of Sampang Regency, December 5, 2015

¹⁰¹ Ramayulis, *Psikologi Agama*, 97.

¹⁰² Ibid., 97-8 and H. Abu Ahmadi, *Psikologi Sosial* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1991), 217.

¹⁰³ Ramayulis, *Psikologi Agama*, 100.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Interview with Moh. Hari.

negatively. This is related to the implementation of the teachings of Islam that is individualized. Suppose, obligatory prayer and fasting obligatory, has been abandoned. Performers of cockfights left prayer and fasting obligatory on the assumption that this practice only concerns himself with Allah, does not involve anyone. So there is no risk of anything that happened to other people, because he did not do that obligation. Because there is only a relationship between himself and Allah in both worships, they were convinced that he would one day repent to God for all his sin, and is sure to be forgiven by Allah. Most of the actors noted that prayer and fasting is the personal worship that connects every human being with Allah, does not concern anyone else. So implementation or not, is a personal affair of each.¹⁰⁴ The cockfighters also continue to believe that religion commanded to worship with the existing provisions, but they feel a personal worship is not the only way to remain in religious beliefs. Although they are not active in individual worship, they still feel enthusiastic about his religion in other contexts, particularly in the context of social life. Moh. Hari stated that it's better to help people who need help than just prayer alone but do not care about the social environment.¹⁰⁵

It was also said by Kiai Nur Hadi, "The actors are rarely seen cockfights congregational prayers in the mosque. Sometimes I also heard, but did not find it directly, they are not fasting in Ramadan. For whatever reason."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Interview wit Lugin.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Moh. Hari.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Kiai Nur Hadi, villagers of Rabasan, Subdistrict of Camplong, Sampang Regency, December 14, 2015.

As for worship tithes can be assured they perform well. It is as stated by Ustadz. Abd. Karim, that they do this properly. They also pay *zakât al-fithrah* for his wife and children. They generally pay tithes to the teacher of the Qur'an.¹⁰⁷

Second, in contrast to individual worship, it turns out the actor of cockfighting quite active in deeds of worship involving others, such as Friday prayers, pay *zakat* (alms), *tahlîl*, birthday, until the regular weekly prayer groups and others. This fact is found in almost all the cockfighters. They are very fond of and enthusiastically show a religious manner related to social participation. In fact, among the actors who hold a cockfight, in Rabiulawal, every year they spend tens of millions of rupiah. Abdul Asis revealed that it is a tradition every year to be implemented, although they had to spend quite a lot. But it is the pride and pleasure for personal and surrounding communities.¹⁰⁸

It can be understood that the cockfighters has a principle more concerned with social issues than on his personality. Another fact that can be disclosed here are some figures cockfights in the Subdistrict of Camplong is familiar and desired advised the public to be a mosque building committee, the committee of Islamic days celebration, and others. Mat Tahir said:

My intention when helping the community or work with people in a particular social enterprises merely serve Allah. Although I know that I am a lot

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Ustadz. Abd. Karim, villager of Pamolaan, Subdistrict of Camplong, Sampang Regency, December 15, 2015.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Abdul Asis.

of sins, but in this way may get forgiveness from Allah.¹⁰⁹

The same thing also delivered by Mat Jari that he was very often invited to help mosques and madrasah around the undertakings holding regular activities yearly, such as the Prophet's birthday celebration, memorial Isa and Maria, and others.¹¹⁰ This is confirmed also by the statement of religious leader, Ustadz Abd. Karim, who said that people here are very familiar in the social events held in mosque, designates one *bâjingan* (cockfighters) to become the core committee. Because according to the community, the cockfighters have the ability and extensive relationships, so it is believed that they can solve problems that required in certain mosque activities, such as the construction of mosques and Islamic holy days celebration.¹¹¹

It can therefore be concluded, the cockfighters exists in social worship, whereas individual worship has a lot left.

Motif in Cockfighting

Motif is a state in the individual that encourage individuals to undertake activities in particular in order to achieve something of interest.¹¹² In the context of the cockfighters in the Subdistrict of Camplong, they are present and active in the events of cockfights in Terrak caused by several factors, namely: (1) Friendship. This factor is a common factor that is the cause someone to do something, as well as in cockfights. They too much influ-

enced by friends. They were invited so by one of their friends, and they were followed, although they are not included in the main actors as *tokang tangghâ'*, *bhutto*, and *pètaro*. Lugin stated that at first himself participated in cockfighting is as it went along to friends only. Then he continues to invite himself.¹¹³

That belong to this group include those present at the event of cockfighting to be *pètaro* or just a brisk walk (cheerleaders). This group does not have a specific target for gambling or bring the chickens. They are more often just a present or just want to know the development of cockfights only. However, their presence in an event of cockfights also contributed to the crowd of cockfights event or not; (2) Art caring for chickens. In line with the main cockfighters has been described before that *bhutto*, the presence of a person in the event cockfighting influenced by his willingness to show the audience or the public that he has sufficient competence to care specifically for contested rooster in a cockfight. Success will win in the promotion of its own, so it will be able to increase the bargaining power of each rooster has. Someone who is already believed to be a *bhutto* will come to a cockfighting arena on a regular basis. Because of his ability which is always required by particular *pètaro*. There is even a sort of fanaticism among *pètaro* that *bhutto* particular provide its own victory. This motif is only possessed by those who are raising chickens fighter, has the expertise to install *tajhi* or ability to incite the chicken in the middle of the rink cockfights. To be

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Mat Tahir.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Mat Jari.

¹¹¹ Interview with Ustadz Abd. Karim.

¹¹² Sumadi Suryabrata, *Psikologi Pendidikan* (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 2008), 70.

¹¹³ Interview with Lugin.

sure this kind of person is present at a cockfight because the art of caring for chickens that had; (3) hoping for luck. Another motivation is complain of fortune. Those who have this motivation are the people who are just pure want to bet or gamble money alone. These desires are strongly encouraged to multiply their money with a shortcut, gamble. There are no other factors that push these people except gamble. For this kind of gambling is the goal. According to Abdul Asis, that if they win in gambling, then the money will be doubled.¹¹⁴

People who are motivated by pit their luck (gambling) not only to those who have bet a lot of money, despite only having a little bet money there too. They assume cockfight gambling in the relative safety of law enforcement officers, because the existing cockfighting activities are responsible, namely by *tokang tangghâ'*; (4) the prestige within the community. For certain Madurese community, especially people of Camplong, someone recognized as *blatèran* after registered or active in the cockfights. So someone who is already considered *blatèr (bâjing)* will continue to maintain that status by showing it to the group that he is active in cockfighting, even then becomes its own prestige when it can be *tokang tangghâ'*. According to some *blatèr* people, cockfighting becomes an arena to show on the *blatèr*-ness of someone. Someone who did not care or were never present at a cockfight arena will be excluded from the association *blatèr* leaders. Especially, those who have the intention to be the head of village. For these people, cockfighting becomes the media to show identity and maturity to their ne-

¹¹⁴ Interview with Abdul Asis.

ighbors and then obtain support from them. Mat Jari said that anyone who would run for village heads in Camplong should be familiar with the tradition of cockfighting. Because otherwise himself considered inexperienced and did not have a broad relationship.¹¹⁵

Finally, (5) communication media to solve social problems. Another interesting factors found is that most of the visitors/actors cockfights in attendance to an event cockfighting is in discussions with several parties *blatèr* in order to solve social problems being faced by the community (village) it.

For instance, the incidence of cattle theft, motor vehicles, and so forth. In this context, communication between *blatèr* occurs in the field or at the site of cockfights. Moh Hari said that many cases of theft of cattle or motorcycle in a village can be solved through the help of actors in the cockfights. They commonly have a lot of information related to criminal acts and the actors.¹¹⁶ The cockfighters that are already considered *blatèr* by the society will always be the environmental safety of his village, including the crime of theft.

Public Perception to the Cockfighters

To determine the public perception of the cockfighters in the Subdistrict of Camplong, it is necessary to explain that perception is consciousness based on the fact intuitive or belief in something immediately.¹¹⁷ Perceptions are build from a fact accepted by the humane senses and then do the processing by the nervous system and become certain stimulus, thus

¹¹⁵ Interview with Mat Jari.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Moh. Hari.

¹¹⁷ H. M. Hafi Ansari, *Kamus Psikologi* (Surabaya: Usaha Nasional, 1996), 449.

inviting a response. Therefore, the perception can be interpreted simply as individual responses on a fact obtained through the well physical system. Public perception of the cockfighters in the Subdistrict of Camplong can be classified into two types: *first*, the perception by the general public. The general public judge about what is done by the offender in the practice of cockfighting is something normal and reasonable. Most of the general public thinks cockfighting together with other hobbies, which can be done by anyone. Tiwan Nur said that himself hang out with cockfight actors in everyday life as usual with community members in general.¹¹⁸ The general public does not see the practice of cockfighting as a social aberration, so that in their opinion the cockfighting actor not need to be treated differently from other people who have a fondness for sports or other. According to Ach. Yani, cockfighters have the same rights as other members of the community in terms of social interaction. No need for isolation, because they are just like people in general. It's just that they're in a state of blind hearts and not get guidance from Allah.¹¹⁹ Because of this perception, social relations between cockfighters and the public is never a distance, there was never a problem, intertwined as it should be, there was a normal social interaction, interdependence, and advantageous in certain positions. Even the presence of the cockfighters in the middle of

¹¹⁸ Interview with Nur Tiwan, villager of Rabasan, Subdistrict of Camplong, Sampang Regency, December 14, 2015.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Ach. Yani, villager of Rabasan, Subdistrict of Camplong, Sampang Regency, November 5, 2015.

the community to help solving criminal cases of theft is expected. Sayu'i said that the *blatèr* (actor cockfighting) are frequently called by communities who lose livestock or bike. The *blatèr* can help the community in an effort to find items stolen by thieves around their villages.¹²⁰

Other factors are also encouraging the public not to position the actor cockfighting dislodged in social interactions is because the general public on the principle that even if someone has sinned, or even great sins though, remain and must be treated accordingly in a social interaction. Amir said that relationships here do not see the profession or hobbies you have, but we deal in an effort to create a good social environment and safe.¹²¹

Instead of just cockfighters, prosecution of the actors, for example, still have the right to get good social relations, as long as it does not harm society.

Second, the perceptions based on the religious leaders (scholars). In contrast to the general public, and clerics have their own perception of the actors in the Subdistrict of Camplong cockfights. *Kiai's* perception can be explained as follows: (1) general interaction. The cockfighters according to *kiais* are those who violate the norms of religion and belonging to the *fâsiq*,¹²² or even those belonging

¹²⁰ Interview with Sayu'i, villager of Batukarann, Subdistrict of Camplong, Sampang Regency, November 26, 2015)

¹²¹ Interview with Amir, villager of Pamolaan, Subdistrict of Camplong, Sampang Regency, 15 November 2015.

¹²² *Fâsiq* can be defined as someone who has to recite two sentences creed but did not do the commandment of Allah and not away from His prohibitions. Al-Sharif 'Alî ibn Muḥammad al-

to commit major sins because sin which they do constantly. In this perceptions, and *kiais* can interact with actors like cockfighting general public. According to Kiai Abd. Karim, relationships (interaction) with cockfight actors occurred as our interaction with society at large. Himself used to greet, chat together in the coffee shop, as well as other forms of association.¹²³

There is no differential treatment between the cockfighters with society at large; (2) limited interaction. In conjunction socially, *kiai* does not differentiate with others. But *kiai's* limiting interaction with actors of the cockfights. Even the limited interaction that is more narrowed again to make them aware of the context. That is, the *kiai* will interact with the cockfighters if these interactions can be expected from the growing awareness to repent. According to Kiai Abd. Karim, on certain occasions, himself invite cockfighters to contribute to the activities at the school and at the mosque, while we hope that it may provide guidance to repent.¹²⁴

This kind of interaction is usually done on the education activities or propagation of Islam, such as *haflat al-imtihân* in a *madrasah*, celebration of Isra Mi'raj in a mosque, or the activities of other Islamic Great Day. In the mentioned activities, *kiais* always involve actors of cockfight according to its potential and competence. The same thing also delivered by Kiai Nahrawi that cockfighters are very enthusiastic to help us in preparing the needs *haflat al-imtihân* in each year. Even though

without command, they would mingle with other parents.¹²⁵

Because it is considered a tradition or even liability for any parents to participate in the event of *haflat al-imtihân*, the actors of cockfighting is also contributed and was well received; (3) special handling. For the purpose of changing the deviant behavior of a cockfighting actor, *kiai's* perform a special communication with the concerned. Special communication is usually done because of uncontrolled someone in the practice of cockfighting, so it is feared could threaten a particular situation, or due to be given directives in order to change their behavior to be good. Kiai Abd. Karim describe that in certain times himself used to call the actors of certain cockfighting to be given advice to immediately repent, at least to soon reduce his habit in cockfights. This is done because himself saw in his family, they had a problem occurs that is quite complicated, particularly on economic issues.¹²⁶ It is also been carried out by Kiai Nur Hadi. He said that most cockfighters should be given special treatment specifically if there have been requested by his family, especially his wife or his son.¹²⁷

In this context, then *kiai* can act as a motivator. He will provide advice related to the negative consequences that will result when the behavior is not stopped cockfights. Or even *kiai* should provide a threat by religion. However, it does not mean religious leaders to discriminate in the interaction, because in fact, restrictions interactions made by religious lea-

Jurjâni, *Kitâb al-Ta'rîfât* (Indonesia: Al-Hâra-mayn, 1421 H), 160.

¹²³ Interview with Kiai Abd. Karim.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

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¹²⁵ Interview with Kiai Nahrawi, villagers of Batukarang, Subdistrict of Camplong, Sampang Regency, November 30, 2015.

¹²⁶ Interview with Kiai Abd. Karim.

¹²⁷ Interview with Kiai Nur Hadi.

ders against the cockfighters only to awaken them, to remind them to repent. Moreover, when a religious figure has been requested by the family to intervene the restoration of the family matters caused by the head of the family that involved in the cockfight. Religious approach is often done by religious leaders in providing advice and warning against the cockfighters.

Conclusion

From the above description related to the behavior of religious actors in the Subdistrict of Camplong cockfighting can be summarized: *First*, referring to the surah al-Baqarah (2): 219, surah al-Mâ'idah (5): 90-1, and the narratives *mujâhid* from Ibn 'Abbâs, Islam lays down the law of cockfighting is illegal, because it contains gambling and pitting animals, both of which are prohibited by Allah. and the Prophet. As for the positive law, cockfighting is legal because it is the custom of certain communities, if it does not contain elements of gambling. If it contains elements of gambling, then the cockfighting belongs to a violation of the law.

Second, cockfighting is an activity of a person or group of persons that involve pitting roosters whether accompanied by betting money (gambling) or not.

Third, cockfighters in Subdistrict of Camplong known as *tokang tangghâ'*, *bhutto*, and *pêtaro*. These actors may profession: (1) farmers/farm workers; (2) fishing; (3) merchants; (4) the employer; and (5) government officials.

Fourth, cockfighters in the Subdistrict of Camplong only active in perform-

ing acts of worship that are social, while individual worship many are left behind.

Fifth, the motivation that drives cockfighting behavior can be classified into: (1) motivation from friend; (2) motivation of the art of taking care the chickens; (3) pit their luck; (4) prestige within the group; and (5) communication with fellow in solving social problems.

Sixth, public perception of the cockfighters, namely: (1) the general public thinks that the cockfighting actor is the same as other community members in general, there is no difference in treatment; and (2) *kiai* have the view that actors can interact cockfight in the form of: (a) public interaction; (b) limited interaction; and (c) interaction of special handling.[]

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