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Criminological Factors Against Cockfighting Gambling Crimes

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the criminogenic factors contributing to cockfighting gambling and the efforts to overcome it in Central Adonara District, East Flores Regency. Cockfighting gambling remains prevalent despite being prohibited under Indonesian criminal law. This phenomenon not only violates legal norms but also creates social problems, including increased criminal activity and public disorder. This research employs an empirical legal research method with a case approach. Data were collected through interviews, observations, and literature studies involving 13 respondents, including government officials, community leaders, religious figures, and gambling participants. The data were analyzed qualitatively. The results show that the criminogenic factors influencing cockfighting gambling include economic conditions, environmental influences, cultural traditions, weak social and religious control, and ineffective law enforcement. Additionally, the practice is sustained by community perceptions that view it as part of local tradition. Efforts to combat this issue include pre-emptive, preventive, and repressive measures; however, these efforts have not been fully effective due to weak coordination among stakeholders and limited supervision. In conclusion, cockfighting gambling in Central Adonara District is driven by complex factors and requires comprehensive handling through synergy between law enforcement agencies, local government, and the community.

Keywords: Criminology; Gambling; Cockfighting; Crime Prevention.

INTRODUCTION

Gambling, in its various manifestations, is seen as a social disease that can have devastating impacts on individuals, families, and society as a whole. The negative consequences of gambling are not only limited to economic aspects, such as the loss of property and being entangled in a debt cycle, but also penetrate the social and psychological realm to potentially trigger other more serious criminal acts. Dependence on gambling can damage interpersonal relationships, decrease work productivity, increase stress and depression levels, and encourage criminal behavior in an attempt to cover up losses or finance gambling habits.

Juridically formal, the prohibition of gambling practices in Indonesia has strong roots in the criminal law system. Article 303 of the Criminal Code is the main provision that also regulates the crime of gambling. This article comprehensively covers a wide range of activities related to gambling, from offering or providing opportunities to gamble to the public, participating in the organization of gambling, to actively holding or participating in gambling games without a valid license from the authorities. The criminal threats listed in this article, in the form of imprisonment of up to ten years or a maximum fine of twenty-five million rupiah, reflect the state's commitment to eradicate this practice that is considered disturbing. Furthermore, Article 303 bis of the Criminal Code aggravates criminal sanctions

for gambling perpetrators who make it a livelihood or habit.[1] Despite this, social realities show that the practice of gambling is still going on in various forms and manifestations in different regions of Indonesia. One form of gambling that is often discussed is cockfighting. In some areas, cockfighting may have historical ties to certain traditions or social activities. However, this practice is often distorted and switches to gambling venues that involve money wagering of varying scales, from small bets between individuals to large bets involving specific syndicates or groups. This shift in function raises legal and social problems that require in-depth analysis, especially from a criminological perspective. Central Adonara District, which is part of the administrative area of East Flores Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province, has unique geographical and social characteristics. Information about social dynamics and crime in this region, especially related to cockfighting gambling practices, is increasingly being revealed through community and media reports.

On August 22, 2022, the East Flores Resort Police in the West Adonara Sector responded to public information by dismantling an arena that was strongly suspected of being used for cockfighting gambling in Lite Village, Central Adonara District. Although no gambling activity was found during the raid, the existence of a permanent 8x8-meter arena indicated the existence of organized practices. This action shows the initial response of the police to potential violations of the law in the region.[2]

Furthermore, a news report published on April 14, 2025, with the title "Searching for Mr. Village Head in the Crowd of Gamblers," provides a more in-depth and worrying picture of the development of cockfighting gambling practices in Lite Village. The report mentions that cockfighting gambling has spread rapidly in the past month or two and attracted the participation of not only Lite Villagers, but also gamblers from other villages. Ironically, the majority of perpetrators are suspected to be recipients of social assistance (Direct Cash Assistance and the Family Hope Program), which should be vulnerable groups.

The report highlights alleged neglect by the Lite Village Head, who did not take decisive action to stop this illegal activity, even reneging on his own promise to eradicate gambling through the Village Regulation. This neglect occurs amid the outbreak of gambling practices that are organized daily and involve more and more players. The connection between these two cases is very clear. The demolition of gambling arenas in 2022, while a law enforcement action, does not appear to have a significant deterrent effect or eradicate the root of the problem. News reports in 2025 show that the practice of cockfighting gambling is not only continuing, but is actually expanding and even involving groups of people who are supposed to be protected by social programs. The news report also linked the outbreak of gambling to an increase in crime rates, particularly theft, in Lite Village. Residents live in unrest and are forced to take independent measures to maintain security. This shows that cockfighting gambling is not only a violation of the law, but also has a destructive social impact and threatens public safety and order.

From a criminological perspective, these two cases continuously illustrate the complexity of the problem of cockfighting gambling at the local level. The disclosure of gambling arenas in 2022 can be seen as an early law enforcement effort, but the failure to thoroughly eradicate

[1] R. Soesilo. *Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana (KUHP) Serta Komentar-Komentarnya Pasal Demi Pasa*l. (Bogor: Politiea, 1993), p. 222-225.

[2] https://kupang.tribunnews.com/2022/08/25/basmi-perjudian-anggota-polsek-adonara-barat-flores-timur-bongkar-arena-sabung-ayam

the practice indicates the presence of strong criminogenic factors and perhaps a lack of effective countermeasures strategies. The resurgence of gambling and its impact on crime, as reported in 2025, further underscores the urgency of conducting an in-depth criminological analysis.

This research will use various criminological theories, such as rational choice theory, social control theory, anomie theory, and subculture theory, to understand why cockfighting gambling practices still exist and even expand in Central Adonara District, especially in Lite Village. In addition, this study will also evaluate the effectiveness of law enforcement efforts that have been carried out, including the response of police officers after the disclosure of gambling arenas in 2022, as well as the role and response of village governments to this phenomenon, as highlighted in the 2025 news report. Based on the background that has been comprehensively described, this research is expected to provide a deep and holistic understanding of this phenomenon, starting from the criminogenic factors behind it, how this practice manifests at the local level, how law enforcement efforts have been carried out, to public perception and participation. Therefore, the question that can be formulated to analyze the results of this study is what are the criminogenic factors that contribute to the occurrence of cockfighting practices in Central Adonara District? What are the countermeasures carried out by the authorities in the crime of cockfighting gambling in Central Adonara District?.

METHODS OF THE RESEARCH

The research method used by the researcher is Empirical Law Research, which is data obtained directly from the field or the community (Primary Data).[3] The data obtained is expected to serve as a support to explain the findings of non-legal material in the interest of legal research. The data used are primary and secondary data, with data generation techniques carried out through interviews, observations and literature studies. Primary data is information data obtained and collected directly from the source.[4] So, to obtain primary data, prospective researchers will conduct interviews with various parties such as (village leaders, youth leaders, cockfighting gambling perpetrators, community leaders, sub-district heads, police chiefs, and families), who are in Adonara Tengan District, East Flores Regency. Secondary data obtained is from an internet site, or from a reference similar to what the author is researching.[5] So with this, prospective researchers use various literature and books that are closely related to the subject matter of prospective researchers. The collected data is analyzed qualitatively.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Analysis of Factors Causing Deviant Behavior in Cockfighting Gambling

1. Social and Social Environmental Factors

Environmental factors in Central Adonara are the main drivers of the emergence of gambling behavior through the social learning process. Criminologists in this case are explained through the Differential Association Theory put forward by Edwin H. Sutherland, that criminal or deviant behavior is studied through interactions with others in intimate

[3] Mukti Fajar, and Yulianto Ahmad, *Dualisme Penelitian Hukum: Normative Dan Empiris,* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010), p. 154.
[4] Rifa'i Abubakar, *Pengantar Metodologi Penelitian*, (Yogyakarta: SUKA-Press UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2021), p. 121.
[5] Sugiyono., *Metodologi Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*., (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2016).

private groups.[6] The environment that is accustomed to cockfighting makes people, especially young people, absorb the techniques, motives, and attitudes that support gambling as natural. An informant named Festo (a gambler) said that his involvement began at the invitation of his friends which later developed into a habit. In theory, this suggests that peer group pressure is capable of changing a person's character. Festho's desire to remain considered part of the society makes him follow the behavior of his friends until he reaches the stage of addiction. Here, the environment is not just a place, but a teacher who teaches how to gamble to individuals. In addition to direct invitations, the atmosphere in the crowded arena is also an attraction factor. Rinto (gambler) explained that he often came to the arena just to watch, but because of the adrenaline-filled atmosphere, he ended up placing bets. This shows that the arena environment has an appeal that can turn people who were initially just passive spectators into active players. The boisterous atmosphere and cheers in the arena create a strong psychological boost for anyone who is there to take part in the betting.

Community leader, Mr. Aron, warned that if young people continue to be exposed to the gambling environment, they will lose focus on their future. The gambling environment creates an instant mindset where people want to earn money without working hard. If this is left unchecked, then the next generation in Central Adonara will grow up in an ecosystem that considers gambling as a solution to economic problems, which is very damaging to the work mentality and honesty. Furthermore, this gambling environment can be a place where other new crimes appear. Aron added that young people who are already addicted to gambling and run out of betting money are often pressured to steal. This proves that the criminogenic environment (the environment that causes crime) not only creates gamblers, but also the seeds of thieves. This unhealthy environment eventually destroys the tranquility of all villagers due to the increased risk of loss of goods or security.

The location of the arena that is often in remote places or vacant lots further supports this behavior. The location is far from police monitoring provides a sense of security for the perpetrators to act. As long as the surrounding community still does not care or even protect the existence of this arena from the officers, the bad influence of the environment will continue to spread. This "safe" location factor is what makes it difficult to break the gambling network in Central Adonara.

2. Cultural Factors and Hereditary Customs

Culture and customs are often a strong reason why cockfighting gambling is difficult to stop in Central Adonara. The traditional leader, Father Pete, explained that cockfighting actually has a close relationship with tribal traditional rituals (*tukan*), such as in the traditional house making ceremony. This is very much in line with Subculture Theory, where a group of people has its own rules or customs that are different from the laws of the country. Because it is considered an ancestral commandment, the community feels a moral obligation to maintain it.[7]

However, nowadays, the meaning of this culture has undergone a very long shift. Informant Father Awaludin noted that the current practice of cockfighting has gone out of

[6] Muhammad Mustofa, *Kriminologi: Kajian Sosiologi terhadap Kriminalitas, Prilaku Menyimpang, dan Pelanggaran Hukum*, (Jakarta: Kencana, 2007), p. 82.

[7] I. S Susanto, *Kriminologi*, (Semarang: Badan Penerbit Universita Diponogoro, 2011), p.54

the original ritual context because it is carried out almost every day. The name "culture" or "tradition" is often only used as a shield or an excuse for the perpetrators to still be able to gamble freely. It is a form of perversion in which customary noble values are used to legalize the criminal act of gambling that is actually prohibited by the rule of law. This habit is also reinforced through parenting in the family, which is the smallest unit in society. Renti (a gambler) admitted that he was used to gambling because since school he was often invited by his father to the arena. While Baba (a gambler) feels that his cockfighting talent is his family's lineage. This shows the failure of Social Control Theory at the family level, where parents who are supposed to supervise children so that they do not make mistakes, are the ones who introduce the deviant behavior.

The learning process of the family creates the belief that gambling is part of their identity. When a child sees a figure he respects (father or grandfather) gambling, then the values of obedience to the laws of the country will be considered unimportant. As a result, gambling behavior carries over into adulthood and is considered a legacy to be preserved. This is what causes cockfighting gambling in Central Adonara to have very deep roots because it starts from the domestic environment itself. In addition, cockfighting is often considered a symbol of masculinity in certain groups of people. Men who have strong complaints often get praise or higher social prestige in their village. This culture that glorifies victory in the gambling arena makes people compete to get involved in order to maintain their social status. As long as the standard of honor in the village is still measured by the results in the gambling arena, then this practice will remain difficult to dismiss completely.

Overall, this combination of traditional rituals and family customs forms a very strong group identity. People feel that they have their own rules that they consider superior to police laws or laws. The biggest challenge in dealing with this cultural factor is how to provide an understanding that the original traditional rituals are not the same as daily mass gambling that damages the morale and economy of the citizens.

3. Weak Factors in the Practice of Religious Values

The people of Central Adonara have a strong religious identity, but their practitioners have not been able to stop gambling. This is related to the element of belief in social control theory.[8] The Parish Priest admitted that cockfighting gambling has become integrated into people's lives so that it is difficult to separate. Criminologically, this reflects a weak "inner control" or belief in a person to resist the temptation to do wrong. People may be obedient in worship, but when they leave the place of worship, they return to the gambling arena.

The weak practice of this religion is also caused by the lack of public understanding of the adverse effects of gambling on the soul and family. Many perpetrators feel that as long as they continue to carry out their religious obligations, then gambling is considered an ordinary social affair that is not a great sin. This inconsistency in applying moral values makes the community's self-defense fortress fragile. They do not feel a strong moral burden because there are many people around them who are doing the same thing.

The Church realizes that so far the approach taken may still not touch the root of the problem. The parish priest emphasized the importance of a personal approach to each perpetrator rather than just a general prohibition in the pulpit. Heartwarming explanations

[8] I. S Susanto, *Ibid*, p. 56

of how gambling can destroy children's futures are considered more effective. However, without a strong intention from within the ummah to change, the influence of religion will always be defeated by the temptation of instant profits in the gambling arena. In addition, the lack of a forum or positive activities for villagers makes them more easily tempted to come to the cockfighting arena. The parish priest suggested that the church should be more creative in creating positive activities that attract the interest of residents so that their free time is not wasted. If the church is able to provide constructive programs, people will no longer seek entertainment in gambling places. However, currently such activities are still very limited so that people return to their old habits.

Religion is supposed to be the guardian of human behavior, but in Central Adonara, the influence of tradition is often more dominant. Many residents feel "safe" even though they gamble because they see people around them who are also religious doing the same thing. As long as there is no collective awareness from all people that gambling damages spiritual life, then religion will only become an identity on the ID card without being able to change the bad behavior that is ingrained.

There needs to be cooperation between religious leaders and community leaders to equalize the view that gambling is a common enemy. If religion forbids and is supported by strong social rules, then society will have a strong reason to stop. Strengthening faith is not only a matter of diligent going to church, but it is a matter of having the courage to refuse the invitation of friends to gamble in order to maintain one's integrity according to God's teachings that prohibit all forms of gambling that harm others.

4. Economic Factors and Pressure on Living Needs

Economic factors are the main drivers that provide a strong reason for people to keep the gambling arena open. The West Adonara Police Chief revealed a unique phenomenon where people ask for permission to open gambling on the grounds that the proceeds will be used for the construction of public facilities, such as bridges, this is a real example of Robert K. Merton's Anomie Theory, especially in the type of adaptation of Innovation. where the community has a good goal (wanting to build a village), but because there is no official funding, they use the wrong way (gambling) to achieve the goal [9]

This economic reason is very dangerous because it creates the impression that gambling becomes "permissible" if the purpose is for the benefit of the public. People feel forced to take this path because government assistance for infrastructure development is considered slow or difficult to get. As a result, gambling is considered an independent solution for villages to get quick funds. However, legally, a noble goal like building a bridge can never justify illegal means such as gambling.

Individually, for perpetrators such as Armando (gamblers) who work as drivers, gambling is seen as entertainment that can provide additional profit opportunities. In the midst of erratic income, gambling offers false hope of big wins that can change fate instantly. In fact, according to the Rational Choice Theory, the perpetrator is actually making a high-risk bet where the chances of winning are much smaller than the risk, yet they still choose it for the sake of momentary gratification.[10] The gambling arena also drives the wheels of the small economy around which many citizens are financially dependent. Food vendors,

[9] Yesmin Anwar, and Adang, *Kriminologi*, (Bandung: Rafika Aditama,2010), p. 156.
[10] Topo Santoso, and Eva Achjani Zulfa, *Kriminologi*, (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2011), p. 68

parking service providers, and land owners get money every time the arena is opened. This economic dependence is what makes residents often defend the existence of gambling arenas when the police come to disperse them. They feel that if gambling is shut down, then their additional source of income will be lost, resulting in resistance to law enforcement.

However, in the long run, gambling is actually an economic burden on society. Informant Aron warned that money that should have been used for household and school needs of children was actually used up at the gambling table. Gambling addiction makes people become lazy to work and only hope for the luck of their chickens. So, even though it seems to help fund the construction of bridges, gambling slowly impoverishes the mental and economic of its players individually.

The economic factor in Central Adonara is an excuse that is often used to protect criminal practices. As long as the local government does not immediately meet the basic infrastructure needs of the community officially, the excuse of "bridge funds" will continue to be used as a weapon by the community to resist the gambling ban. The government must be present to provide legitimate economic solutions so that people no longer feel the need to rely on gambling as a way to build their villages.

5. Weak Law Enforcement Factors

Law enforcement against cockfighting gambling in Central Adonara is currently considered not strong enough to give fear to the perpetrators. The West Adonara Police Chief admitted that the police's actions were only limited to giving a warning letter or summons to the city, but there has been no really harsh or serious action. This shows the weakness of formal social (legal) control, so that people consider that the rules on the prohibition of gambling are just bluffs without real action.

The inconsistency of the apparatus in acting provides an opportunity for bookmakers to continue operating. Because the police consider the aspirations of the community regarding development funds, the perpetrators feel that the law can be negotiated or negotiated. This makes the legal authority fall in the eyes of the public. Bookies are also increasingly daring to open arenas in remote places because they feel that the legal risks they face are only limited to receiving letters without any prison consequences.

At the village level, local authorities also find it difficult to stop this practice. The Secretary of Lite Village revealed that verbal reprimands from the village are often ignored by residents. This happens because there are no strong written rules at the village level, such as Village Regulations. Without a strong legal basis in the village, village officials do not have full authority to impose strict sanctions, so that the community feels free to commit repeated violations.

This condition is exacerbated by the slow coordination between agencies to make uniform regulations. The Head of the Sub-district admitted that gambling is very rampant and he is trying to get each village to make its own Village Regulation. However, as long as the Village Regulation has not been passed, gamblers can still take advantage of this legal loophole. They often move between villages to find places with the latest-imposed supervision, so that gambling practices continue to run smoothly despite enforcement efforts.

In addition, the factor of the number of police personnel that is not proportional to the size of the area is also an obstacle. Often the police have to deal with large numbers in the

gambling arena, which if repressive actions are carried out without careful preparation, can trigger riots. The dilemma between enforcing the law and maintaining social calm is what often forces the police to take subtle steps, which unfortunately are used by gamblers to continue to violate the rules.

For law enforcement to be effective, indiscriminate firmness and a strong legal umbrella from the village to district levels are needed. If the sanctions given are really heavy and consistent, then the calculation of society in choosing to gamble will change. They will realize that the risk of punishment far outweighs the benefits gained. The law must again function as a respected control tool so that the practice of cockfighting gambling can be completely eliminated from Central Adonara.

B. Efforts to Counter Deviant Behavior in Cockfighting Gambling

1. Initial Approach Efforts (Pre-emtif)

Pre-emptive efforts in Central Adonara focus on trying to touch the moral conscience of the community before the intention to gamble arises. This step in the perspective of criminology is a form of strengthening the Social Control Theory put forward by Travis Hirschi, where crime prevention is carried out by strengthening the individual's attachment to social norms. The Church through the Parish Priest takes a personal approach to strengthen the aspect of *the people's Belief*, that gambling is an act that damages the spiritual integrity and dignity of the family, so that self-control arises from within the perpetrator himself.[11]

In addition to strengthening beliefs, this effort also aims to rebuild emotional *attachment* between individuals and families and community leaders. This personal approach is carried out so that the perpetrators realize that their deviant behavior has a negative impact on the future of children. If the emotional bond to the family is strong, a person is likely to avoid deviant behavior for fear of damaging the reputation or happiness of their loved ones in the domestic environment.

The provision of alternative positive activities by the Church and community leaders is the application of *the element of Involvement* in social control, by keeping residents busy in sports tournaments, art activities, or economic empowerment, the free time that is usually used to visit the gambling arena is reduced. In theory, if a person is preoccupied with legitimate and useful activities, then the opportunity to be exposed to the influence of criminals in the gambling arena will be closed automatically.

This pre-emptive effort also serves as an antidote to the Differential Association Theory, in which gambling behavior is learned from wrong associations, by creating a new and healthier social environment under the guidance of religious leaders, it is hoped that the process of learning gambling behavior can be stopped. Education to the younger generation is the main key so that they no longer imitate the bad habits of the older generation, so that the regeneration of gamblers in Central Adonara can be decided early through strong character education. This pre-emptive step is very subtle and requires a lot of patience because the goal is to change the culture from within. The results may not be immediately apparent, but it is essential to build a moral foundation of society in order to have resilience to the temptation of gambling. The essence of this step is to restore the function of the family

[11] Romli Atmasasmita, *Teori dan Kapita Selekta Kriminologi*, (Bandung: Eresco, 1992), p. 37.

and religion as the main institutions of social control that are able to maintain the behavior of each member so that they remain within the corridor of applicable law and morality.

2. Preventive Efforts (*Preventif*)

Preventive efforts are made to close the opportunity for gambling to occur through cooperation between elements of society and the creation of clear rules. This step is in line with the principles of Situational Crime Prevention. which seeks to increase the risk of arrest for perpetrators. Through routine patrols by the Police (West Adonara Police) together with village officials, the presence of officers in the field will physically reduce the opportunity for bookmakers to open gambling arenas on vacant land freely: 1) Individuals**:** Residents are invited to have strong self-control so that it is not easy to be invited by gambling friends. Awareness of economic risks for families must always be instilled in every head of family; 2) Community: Through the cooperation of the "Three Pillars" (Customs, Religion, Government), the community must unite to reject the existence of gambling in its environment. Informant Grandpa Jacob emphasized that if these three elements are compact in making rules, then the space for the gambler will narrow; 3) Police & Government: The Sub-district Head and the Secretary of the Sub-district are trying to make a strict Village Regulation. The existence of the Village Regulation will provide a legal basis for residents to reprimand or disband gambling practices. The police also conduct regular patrols to monitor vulnerable points to ensure that no new arenas are rebuilt by the perpetrators.

The most effective prevention is when the community feels that they have a shared responsibility to maintain the good name of their village. If the construction of bridges, which are often used as a reason for gambling, is immediately realized by the government, then the economic reasons of the residents will disappear. Prevention must touch the side of meeting the basic needs of residents while tightening supervision in the field so that there are no more loopholes for bookies to act.

3. Strict Enforcement Efforts (Represif)

Repressive efforts are strict legal actions aimed at providing a deterrent effect, which in criminology is known as *Deterrence Theory*. This theory emphasizes that in order for a punishment to be effective, the punishment must be certain, fast, and have a commensurate weight. Through the forced dissolution of gambling arenas and the summoning of big bookmakers, the police show that the state has full authority to crack down on violations of Article 303 of the Criminal Code regardless of any reason behind it.[12]

This decisive action against the townspeople was intended to change the calculations in the Theory of Rational Choice. So far, bookmakers feel that the risk of being caught is very small compared to the money gains they get from each gambling round, with consistent enforcement and confiscation of assets (betting money and chicken), the legal risk becomes very high, so rationally the perpetrators will rethink to continue their gambling business because the losses faced are much greater.

Transparent and indiscriminate law enforcement also serves as a general preventive measure for the wider community. When residents see that gambling organizers are really criminally processed and subject to fines or imprisonment, there will be fear for other residents to do the same. This is the main function of the law as a tool of social *control* that is

[12] Topo Santoso, *Op. Cit.* p. 68.

tasked with forcing every individual to comply with national legal agreements for the sake of public order. However, this repressive action must still be carried out with good coordination between the police and traditional leaders so as not to trigger mass riots. The police must be able to explain that law enforcement is carried out to protect the morality and economy of the people of Central Adonara as a whole. The synergy between the firmness of the authorities and the moral support of community leaders will create tremendous pressure for gamblers, so that they no longer get social protection from their environment.

Finally, consistency in repressive efforts is the main key to tearing down the long-entrenched gambling subculture. The police must not provide room for compromise for anyone involved, either as a venue provider or a player. Continued enforcement will permanently destroy the existence of the cockfighting gambling arena. So that in this way, the law really serves as a means of social change towards a more orderly, law-abiding society, and has a better future without the shadow of gambling. In addition to the above strategies, countermeasures also face significant operational obstacles due to the strong defense system of the gambling subculture in Central Adonara. Researchers found high resistance from perpetrators who shut themselves off for fear of legal risks, as well as strict internal security in the arena that prohibits any form of visual documentation. The reality of this field shows that the practice of cockfighting is not just a hobby, but a social network that has a strong self-protection mechanism. This is a real obstacle to countermeasures efforts, because closed access to information and visual evidence makes it difficult for intervention from outside parties and law enforcement officials to penetrate the roots of the network.

CONCLUSION

Criminogenic Behavioral Factors that contribute to the occurrence of cockfighting practices in Central Adonara District: 1) Environmental Factors**:** Peer influence and the desire for existence turn the audience into active players. Gambling behavior is considered normal because it is done collectively; 2) Factors of Customary Culture and Inheritance: Abuse of traditional rituals (*utukan*) as a daily gambling shield and internalization of gambling as a "family heritage" from an early age; 3) Weak Factors of Practicing Religious Values: Religion is limited to formal identity; spiritual values fail to stem the satisfaction of adrenaline and hobbies in the gambling arena; 4) Economic Factors and Conditions: The use of illegal means (gambling) for social purposes (construction of village facilities) and the calculation of instant profits that are considered greater than legal risks; 5) Weak Law Enforcement Factors: Administrative actions of the apparatus and the existence of oral negotiations dilute the authority of the law. The absence of Village Regulations weakens the basis for enforcement in the field. Efforts to Counter Criminal Behavior of cockfighting gambling in Central Adonara are carried out through a multi-level strategy involving various stakeholders: 1) Pre-emptive Efforts (Initial Approach): Spiritual strengthening through the personal approach of religious leaders and the transfer of free time to positive activities (art, sports, creative economy); 2) Preventive Efforts (Prevention): Collaboration of the Three Pillars (Customs, Religion, Government) in the preparation of the Village Regulation with strict sanctions, strengthening the role of the family, and routine patrols; 3) Repressive Efforts (Enforcement): Indiscriminate firm actions in the form of the dissolution of arenas, confiscation of evidence, and legal processes for big cities to remove the stigma of legal negotiations.

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