

Fatwa and Maisir (Gambling): The Construction of Masculinity in Cockfighting Practices in Bulukumba Regency

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Abstract: Fatwa institutions in Muslim countries have long prohibited *maisir* (gambling), yet resistance to these fatwas persists, particularly when the practice is deeply embedded in local culture. This article examines the fatwa on *maisir* issued by the Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI) and its reception in cockfighting practices in Kindang Village, Bulukumba Regency. It analyzes how the fatwa is produced, understood, negotiated, and applied within the Bugis-Makassar community, and why its influence on local practice remains limited, particularly as social norms such as *siri' na pacce*, masculinity, and *'urf* shape acceptance of and resistance to fatwa authority. The study employs a qualitative case study design, drawing on in-depth interviews with local *ulama* and MUI members, participatory observation, and analysis of fatwa documents. Data were analyzed using Miles and Huberman's interactive model with source and method triangulation. The analysis is grounded in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, and the concept of fatwa authority, supported by sociological perspectives on social practice and masculinity. The findings reveal four points. First, cockfighting contains elements of *maisir* and is therefore *ḥarām* according to QS. Al-Mā'idah: 90, *ḥadīth*, and the MUI fatwa. Second, masculinity in cockfighting is constructed through *kewasaktian*, controlled bravery, and communal honor (*siri' na pacce*), which shape how the fatwa is received and contested. Third, the limited influence of the fatwa stems from inadequate socialization, its predominantly normative character, and the absence of enforcement mechanisms. Fourth, cockfighting constitutes *'urf fāsid* and undermines *ḥifẓ al-dīn*, *ḥifẓ al-naḥs*, *ḥifẓ al-'aql*, and *ḥifẓ al-māl*. This study contributes a socio-legal framework for understanding resistance to fatwa by integrating *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* with masculinity theory. It offers implications for strengthening fatwa authority and socialization, and recommends contextual and participatory *da'wah* approaches.



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Introduction

Fatwa serves as a central instrument of Islamic law. It guides Muslims in their daily lives. However, the effectiveness of fatwa depends not only on its normative strength but also on its ability to engage with social and cultural realities. Across Muslim countries, fatwa institutions including the Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI) have issued fatwas prohibiting *maisir* (gambling). Yet these fatwas often face resistance, particularly when they confront deeply rooted cultural practices. This phenomenon is not unique to Indonesia. In Nigeria, digital fatwas face challenges of authority and legitimacy (Habeebullah et al., 2026). In Greece, mufti institutions negotiate with state legal systems (Paralikas & Boumpa, 2026). In

Aceh, the implementation of Qanun Jinayat shows that fatwas require legal force to be effective (Zunuwanis, 2025). Thus, resistance to fatwa is a global phenomenon.

In Indonesia, particularly in Kindang Village, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi, cockfighting has long been a cultural practice. It forms part of the community's identity. The practice even serves as the village mascot, Bari Cilampanna Kindang. However, cockfighting contains elements of maisir, which Islam explicitly prohibits. QS. Al-Mā'idah: 90 states: "O you who have believed, indeed, intoxicants, gambling, [sacrificing on] stone altars [to other than Allah], and divining arrows are but defilement from the work of Satan, so avoid it that you may be successful." Ibn Kathīr in Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm explains that maisir is "any transaction involving uncertainty and no definite outcome." Al-Qurṭubī adds that maisir includes all games involving bets. The Prophet also prohibited gambling: "Whoever plays nardy (dice/gambling), it is as if he has dipped his hand in the flesh and blood of a pig" (HR. Muslim). MUI fatwa affirms that gambling, including cockfighting, is haram. However, MUI has not issued a fatwa specifically addressing cockfighting; the analysis therefore draws on MUI's general fatwa on gambling. This absence is not merely a legal gap. It reveals that fatwa production at the national level has not yet engaged with the socio-cultural specificity of cockfighting in local communities such as Kindang.

Nevertheless, cockfighting continues. This phenomenon reveals a gap between Islamic legal norms and social reality. Scholars have extensively studied cockfighting. Geertz (1972) in *Deep Play* shows that cockfighting in Bali is a cultural text that stakes status and honor. Young (2016) finds that cockfighting in Hawaii functions as an expression of identity and resistance against the legal system. Kavesh (2021) analyzes cockfighting in Pakistan as an arena of masculinity and human-animal relations. Castro (2023) examines cockfighting in Puerto Rico from a decolonial perspective. Ayodhya (2019) studies the social construction of tajan gamblers in Bali. Munir (2023) analyzes the rationality of cockfighting actions. Fatimah (2020) examines cockfighting in Tana Toraja from the perspective of *siyāsah syar'iyah*. Artika (2017) highlights the subordination of women in short stories about cockfighting.

However, these studies have not linked masculinity construction with fatwa and maisir in the Bugis-Makassar context. A significant research gap exists: literature on contemporary fatwa has not explained why the influence of fatwas on maisir remains limited in indigenous communities with strong masculinity structures. Literature on masculinity has not explained how local values such as *siri' na pacce* negotiate with Islamic legal norms. Therefore, the novelty of this study is not merely to fill a gap but to offer a new framework for understanding fatwa resistance by integrating *maqāṣid al-sharī'a* with masculinity theory. This study argues that fatwa effectiveness depends not only on its normative strength but also on its ability to understand and engage with local social and cultural structures.

The research questions are: (1) What is the legal status of cockfighting from the perspective of *naṣ*, *'urf*, *maqāṣid al-sharī'a*, and *siyāsah syar'iyah*? (2) How does masculinity construction relate to the prohibition of maisir? (3) Why does the influence of fatwa remain

limited? (4) How can 'urf, maqāṣid al-sharī'a, and siyāsah syar'iyah approaches formulate contextual fatwas? This article aims to answer these questions and offer a new theoretical framework for contemporary fatwa studies.

Literature Review

1. Fatwa and Maisir: An Islamic Legal Perspective

Maisir linguistically means "obtaining something easily without effort" (Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-'Arab). Terminologically, maisir is "any transaction depending on an uncertain outcome, where the winner profits from the loser" (Al-Qurṭubī, Al-Jāmi' li Aḥkām al-Qur'ān). Al-Ṭabarī in Jāmi' al-Bayān confirms that maisir includes all games involving bets. Ibn Kathīr adds that maisir is "any transaction involving uncertainty." Fatimah (2020) studies cockfighting in Tana Toraja and concludes that the practice violates UU No. 7/1974 and Islamic law. Achmad et al. (2020) analyze the MPU Aceh fatwa on PUBG prohibition using maslahah and mafsadah approaches. Zunuwanis (2025) examines the implementation of Qanun Aceh No. 6/2014 against cockfighting gamblers. Jamaa (2018) analyzes the contribution of MUI fatwas to contemporary Islamic legal development. Bahrudin et al. (2020) examine the implementation of ijtihād jamā'ī in the MUI Fatwa Commission. Luthfi et al. (2024) analyze the position and role of MUI fatwas from a socio-legal approach. Habeebullah et al. (2026) study digital fatwa transformation in Nigeria. Paralikas & Boumpa (2026) examine fatwa authority in Greece. Usman et al. (2020) analyze fatwa dynamics in diverse communities. Although literature on fatwa and maisir has grown, no study specifically links fatwa effectiveness with local masculinity structures.

2. Masculinity: Theory and Local Context

Connell (1995) defines masculinity as "a configuration of gender practice continually constructed, performed, and contested in social relations." Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) revise the concept of hegemonic masculinity by emphasizing its relational, hierarchical, and contextual nature. Evans et al. (1998) find that dogfighting functions as a symbolic expression and validation of masculinity. Aldana (2020) analyzes masculinity in Zapata Olivella's novel Chambacú. Gianni (2021) shows that roosters in Aristophanes's plays function as public symbols of hegemonic masculinity. Gilmore (1990) studies masculinity across cultures. Kimmel (2006) analyzes masculinity as homophobia. Ravn (2018) examines symbolic boundary negotiation in young masculinities. Coles (2007) analyzes the negotiation of the masculinity field. Tian & Deng (2017) study deprived masculinity in Chinese factories. Berskyte et al. (2025) examine compensatory manhood acts. Stahl et al. (2017) analyze masculinity and aspiration in the neoliberal era. Literature on masculinity has grown rapidly, but it has not explained how local values such as siri' na pacce negotiate with Islamic legal norms in the context of fatwa.

3. Cockfighting: Culture, Identity, and Resistance

Geertz (1972) in *Deep Play* shows that cockfighting in Bali is a cultural text staking status and honor. Young (2016) finds that cockfighting in Hawaii functions as an expression of

identity and resistance against the legal system. Kavesh (2021) analyzes cockfighting in Pakistan as an arena of masculinity and human-animal relations. Castro (2023) examines cockfighting in Puerto Rico from a decolonial perspective. Ayodhya (2019) studies the social construction of tajan gamblers in Bali. Munir (2023) analyzes the rationality of cockfighting actions. Artika (2017) highlights women's subordination in short stories about cockfighting. Basuki & Sudrajat (2017) study the social practice of cockfighting in Becirongengor Village. Maunula (2007) analyzes cockfighting and equality in the American South. Hernandez (2020) studies reputation and betting systems in cockfighting in La Réunion. Literature on cockfighting has extensively discussed cultural and identity dimensions, but it has not linked them to fatwa effectiveness and maisir prohibition.

4. Bourdieu: Social Practice, Capital, and Arena

Bourdieu (1986) develops the concept of capital (economic, cultural, social, symbolic). Bourdieu (1990) explains social practice theory through habitus, capital, and arena. Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992) explain power relations in the social arena. Harker (2009) compiles a comprehensive guide to Bourdieu's thought. Fashri (2014) analyzes Bourdieu's symbolic power. Mustikasari et al. (2022) examine Bourdieu's thought in understanding social reality. Bourdieu's theory has been widely used to analyze social practice, but it has not been used to explain resistance to fatwa.

Research Methods

This study employs a qualitative approach with a case study design (Creswell, 2014). This approach was chosen because cockfighting is not merely an economic activity or entertainment. It is a socio-cultural phenomenon laden with symbolic meaning, power relations, and masculine identity construction. A case study allows the researcher to explore in depth the dynamics of social interaction, power relations, and symbolic meanings attached by actors to cockfighting in the specific context of Kindang Village. The research location is Kindang Village, Kindang District, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi. Location selection was based on four considerations: (1) the village actively maintains cockfighting; (2) tension exists between tradition and law enforcement; (3) women participate in the arena; (4) cockfighting has long existed and forms part of community identity.

The study involved 15 informants: practitioners (jockeys, rooster owners, bookmakers, bettors) 8 people; community figures (traditional leaders, village officials) 2 people; local ulama (mosque imams, religious instructors, local MUI members) 3 people; and women involved 2 people. Informants were selected through purposive sampling (Dahal et al., 2024) with criteria of experience, knowledge, and direct involvement in cockfighting or authority in Islamic law. Data collection techniques included: (1) participatory observation, following cockfighting activities held once a week; (2) in-depth interviews, using flexible interview guides developed according to context; (3) documentation, including photos, recordings, and field notes; (4) fatwa document analysis, covering MUI fatwas on gambling,

MUI South Sulawesi fatwas, and local ulama interviews. Fatwa document analysis involved reading fatwa texts, analyzing the legal *istinbāṭ* used, and comparing with other fatwas.

Triangulation was performed by verifying interview data with observation and document data. Research ethics were maintained by obtaining verbal consent from informants, maintaining identity confidentiality (using initials), and ensuring voluntary participation. Data analysis used Miles and Huberman's (1994) interactive model, which includes data reduction, data display, and verification/conclusion drawing. Data reduction was done by sorting information relevant to the research focus. Data display was done in narrative, table, and chart forms. Verification was done by rechecking field data to ensure validity and consistency of findings. The theoretical framework includes: (1) the concept of *maisir* and *fatwa*; (2) Connell's hegemonic masculinity; (3) Bourdieu's social practice; (4) 'urf, *maqāṣid al-sharī'a*, and *siyāsah syar'iyah*.

Result and Discussion

Naṣ Analysis of Maisir and Cockfighting

1. Tafsīrī Analysis of QS. Al-Mā'idah: 90

QS. Al-Mā'idah: 90 prohibits *maisir* along with *khamr*, *anṣāb*, and *azlām*. Ibn Kathīr explains *maisir* as "any transaction involving uncertainty and no definite outcome." Al-Qurṭubī adds that *maisir* includes all games involving bets. Al-Ṭabarī confirms that *maisir* is "any game involving bets, where the winner takes the loser's property without clear compensation." Cockfighting contains elements of *maisir*: (1) a bet exists; (2) the outcome is uncertain; (3) the winner profits from the loser. This finding aligns with Fatimah (2020), who found that cockfighting in Tana Toraja violates UU No. 7/1974 and Islamic law. However, it differs from Geertz (1972), who viewed cockfighting in Bali as a cultural text with symbolic meaning. This study shows that in Kindang, the Islamic legal dimension dominates in determining the practice's status. This finding also strengthens Achmad et al.'s (2020) argument that fatwas on gambling prohibition must consider *maslahah* and *mafsadah*.

2. Hadith Analysis

The Prophet said: "Whoever plays nardy, it is as if he has dipped his hand in the flesh and blood of a pig" (HR. Muslim). Al-Nawawī in *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* explains that this hadith shows gambling as a reprehensible act. Another hadith states: "Whoever plays gambling, he has disobeyed Allah and His Messenger" (HR. Abu Dawud). Thus, cockfighting involving bets constitutes prohibited gambling. This finding aligns with Zunuwanis (2025), who found that implementing Qanun Aceh No. 6/2014 effectively suppressed cockfighting because legal force supported it. This shows that fatwas require legal force to be effective.

3. MUI Fatwa Analysis

MUI fatwa affirms that gambling is haram based on QS. Al-Mā'idah: 90 and hadith. MUI's legal *istinbāṭ* includes *naṣ*, *ijmā'*, and *qiyās*. However, the fatwa does not specifically address cockfighting. This absence is not a minor legal detail; it is analytically significant. It

shows that MUI fatwa production at the national level has not yet engaged with the socio-cultural specificity of cockfighting in local communities. As a result, local ulama and communities must interpret the general fatwa on gambling and apply it to cockfighting a process that involves negotiation, contextualization, and, in many cases, resistance. This finding aligns with Bahrudin et al. (2020), who examined the implementation of *ijtihad jamā'i* in the MUI Fatwa Commission. However, this study goes further by showing that the absence of a specific fatwa on cockfighting is itself one of the factors that limits the fatwa's influence in indigenous communities with strong masculinity structures.

'Urf Analysis of Cockfighting Practices

1. Definition and Conditions of 'Urf

Al-Ghazālī in *Al-Mustaṣfā* explains that 'urf can serve as a legal source under three conditions: (1) it is 'urf ṣaḥīḥ, not 'urf fāsid; (2) it does not contradict shari'a; (3) it is generally and continuously practiced. Al-Shāṭibī in *Al-Muwāfaqāt* adds that 'urf must not cause mafsadah. Al-Suyūṭī in *Al-Ashbāh wa al-Naẓā'ir* confirms that 'urf contradicting naṣ cannot serve as ḥujjah. The principle "al-'ādah muḥakkamah" applies only to customs not contradicting Islam.

2. 'Urf Analysis of Cockfighting

Cockfighting in Kindang Village constitutes 'urf fāsid for three reasons: (1) it contains maisir prohibited by QS. *Al-Mā'idah*: 90; (2) it contradicts MUI fatwa; (3) it causes mafsadah such as debt, social conflict, and household breakdown. Thus, cockfighting cannot serve as a legal basis. The principle "al-'ādah muḥakkamah" does not apply. This finding differs from Fatimah (2020), who recommended a contextual approach based on 'urf and maslahah distinguishing ritual cockfighting from commercial gambling. In Kindang, no separation exists between ritual and gambling; cockfighting fully contains maisir. This finding also strengthens Alimuddin & Maulidah's (2021) argument that local wisdom can only serve as a legal basis if it does not contradict shari'a.

Maqāṣid al-Sharī'a Analysis of Cockfighting Practices

1. Definition and Classification of Maqāṣid al-Sharī'a

Al-Shāṭibī in *Al-Muwāfaqāt* develops maqāṣid al-sharī'a covering five main objectives: ḥifẓ al-dīn (religion), ḥifẓ al-nafs (life), ḥifẓ al-'aql (intellect), ḥifẓ al-nasl (lineage), and ḥifẓ al-māl (property). Al-Ghazālī in *Al-Mustaṣfā* classifies maslahah into ḍarūriyyah, ḥājīyyah, and taḥsīniyyah.

2. Maqāṣid al-Sharī'a Analysis of Cockfighting

Cockfighting damages maqāṣid al-sharī'a: it damages religion (ḥifẓ al-dīn) by neglecting worship and approaching Allah's prohibitions; it damages life (ḥifẓ al-nafs) through social conflict and physical violence; it damages intellect (ḥifẓ al-'aql) through emotional intoxication and dependency; it damages property (ḥifẓ al-māl) through economic loss, debt, and asset

pawn. The principle "dar' al-mafāsīd muqaddam 'alā jalb al-maṣāliḥ" applies. Cockfighting does not meet the criteria of maslahah. This finding aligns with Achmad et al. (2020), who analyzed the MPU Aceh fatwa on PUBG prohibition using maslahah and mafsadah approaches. However, this study expands the analysis by showing that cockfighting damages not only ḥifẓ al-māl but also ḥifẓ al-dīn, ḥifẓ al-nafs, and ḥifẓ al-'aql. This finding also strengthens Muslimin et al.'s (2020) argument on the importance of maqāṣid al-sharī'a in policy formulation.

3. Siyāsah Syar'iyah Analysis

Al-Māwardī in Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah explains that siyāsah syar'iyah must be based on naṣ and maslahah. Ibn Taymiyyah in Al-Siyāsah al-Shar'iyah confirms that siyāsah syar'iyah is "policy bringing benefit and preventing harm." Ibn Qayyim in Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyyah adds that siyāsah syar'iyah must consider social context. The government needs to formulate policies that: (1) consider historical and cultural dimensions; (2) involve ulama, traditional leaders, and law enforcement; (3) provide alternative cultural activities; (4) conduct gradual and humane da'wah. Fatimah (2020) recommends a contextual approach based on 'urf and maslahah. This finding aligns with Zunuwanis (2025), who found that implementing Qanun Aceh No. 6/2014 effectively suppressed cockfighting because legal force supported it. This shows that siyāsah syar'iyah requires legal force to be effective. This finding also strengthens Kasdi's (2019) argument on the importance of reconstructing fiqh Nusantara that considers local context.

Local Ulama Views on Cockfighting

1. Ulama Views on Cockfighting Law

Interviews with three local ulama revealed varying views. First, an ulama who strictly prohibits cockfighting based on QS. Al-Mā'idah: 90 and MUI fatwa. He stated: "Cockfighting is clearly haram because there is a bet. Whatever the reason, it remains gambling." Second, an ulama who prohibits but understands the social context. He stated: "I understand it is haram, but I also understand it has become a tradition. The important thing is how we educate the community gradually." Third, an ulama who emphasizes the importance of cultural da'wah. He stated: "If we only say haram without understanding why they do it, they will not listen. We must approach them with a cultural approach."

2. Negotiation between Fatwa and Tradition

Local ulama negotiate between fatwa and tradition through several strategies: (1) cultural da'wah, conveying religious messages in cultural language; (2) gradual approach, not directly prohibiting but educating; (3) involving traditional leaders in fatwa socialization. However, these strategies have not been fully effective due to limited resources and cultural resistance. This finding aligns with Habeebullah et al. (2026), who found that digital fatwas in Nigeria face challenges of authority and legitimacy. However, this study shows that in Kindang, the main challenge is cultural resistance rooted in local masculinity structures. This

finding also strengthens Luthfi et al.'s (2024) argument on the importance of a socio-legal approach in understanding fatwa.

Comparison with Other Regions

1. Aceh: Qanun No. 6/2014

In Aceh, Qanun No. 6/2014 on Jinayat Law applies 'uqūbāt ta'zīr (caning and fines) to maisir offenders. Zunuwanis (2025) found that implementing this qanun effectively suppressed cockfighting because legal force supported it. This shows that fatwas require legal force to be effective.

2. Tana Toraja: Fatimah (2020)

Fatimah (2020) found that cockfighting in Tana Toraja has high socio-cultural value but violates UU No. 7/1974 and Islamic law. She recommends a contextual approach based on 'urf and maslahah distinguishing ritual cockfighting from commercial gambling. This comparison shows that cockfighting in different regions has different characteristics.

3. Bali: Ayodhya (2019)

Ayodhya (2019) found that tajan in Bali is constructed as a knowledge system, community space, and arena for seeking fortune. Bobotoh construct tajan as a social, cultural, and economic activity. This comparison shows that cockfighting in Bali has a spiritual dimension (tabuh rah) absent in Kindang. This comparison shows that fatwa effectiveness depends on local context. In Aceh, legal force is key. In Tana Toraja, a contextual approach is needed. In Bali, the spiritual dimension is a consideration. In Kindang, local masculinity structure is the main challenge. This finding strengthens Benda-Beckmann et al.'s (2009) argument on legal pluralism and Silbey's (2005) argument on legal consciousness.

Fatwa Effectiveness and Norm Hierarchy

1. Factors of Limited Fatwa Influence

The limited influence of fatwas can be attributed to five factors: (1) inadequate socialization; (2) their predominantly normative character, which does not consider socio-cultural context; (3) the absence of enforcement mechanisms; (4) the absence of a specific fatwa on cockfighting, which forces local communities to interpret general fatwas on gambling; and (5) strong cultural resistance rooted in local masculinity structures.

2. Legal Pluralism and Legal Consciousness Analysis

In the legal pluralism perspective (Benda-Beckmann et al., 2009), Islamic law, positive law, and customary law coexist. In the legal consciousness perspective (Silbey, 2005), communities develop understandings of law that do not always align with formal norms.

Table 1. Norm Hierarchy

Level	Source	Status
1	Al-Qur'ān (QS. Al-Mā'idah: 90)	Prohibits maisir
2	Hadith	Prohibits gambling

3	MUI Fatwa	Prohibits gambling
4	UU No. 7/1974 & KUHP	Prohibits gambling
5	Local Tradition ('urf)	Practices cockfighting

A gap exists between high norms and low norms. The solution is contextual and participatory da'wah. This finding aligns with Benda-Beckmann et al. (2009) on legal pluralism and Silbey (2005) on legal consciousness. However, this study expands the analysis by showing that the norm hierarchy fails because local masculinity structure is stronger than legal consciousness. This finding also strengthens Jamaa's (2018) argument on the importance of MUI fatwa contribution to contemporary Islamic legal development.

Masculinity Construction and Power Relations

1. Masculinity Construction

Masculinity is constructed through three stages: pre-fight (rooster care, technical knowledge), during the fight (bravery, emotional control), and post-fight (social recognition). The values are: kewasaktian, controlled bravery, and communal honor (siri' na pacce).

2. Distribution of Hegemonic Masculinity

Three forms of hegemony exist: structural (karaeng), performative (winner), functional (arena owner). The complicit position: majority of players. The subordinate position: cheaters, troublemakers, passive spectators, women non-arena owners. This finding aligns with Connell (1995) on hegemonic masculinity. However, this study expands the analysis by showing that in Kindang, hegemonic masculinity is distributed across three complementary forms, not held by a single actor. This finding also strengthens Coles's (2007) argument on masculinity field negotiation and Ravn's (2018) argument on symbolic boundary negotiation.

Conclusion

First, the legal status of cockfighting is haram because it contains maisir. Naş analysis (QS. Al-Mā'idah: 90 and hadith) explicitly prohibits gambling. MUI fatwa also affirms the prohibition of gambling, although it does not specifically address cockfighting. This absence is analytically significant: it shows that fatwa production at the national level has not yet engaged with the socio-cultural specificity of cockfighting in local communities such as Kindang. Second, 'urf analysis shows that cockfighting constitutes 'urf fāsīd because it contradicts shari'a. The principle "al-'ādah muḥakkamah" does not apply. Maqāṣid al-sharī'a analysis shows that this practice damages ḥifẓ al-dīn, ḥifẓ al-nafs, ḥifẓ al-'aql, and ḥifẓ al-māl. Third, masculinity is constructed through kewasaktian, controlled bravery, and siri' na pacce, distributed across three hegemonies (structural, performative, functional), as well as subordinate and complicit positions. This construction is the main factor sustaining cockfighting. Fourth, the limited influence of fatwas stems from five factors: inadequate socialization, their predominantly normative character, the absence of enforcement

mechanisms, the absence of a specific fatwa on cockfighting, and strong cultural resistance rooted in local masculinity structures. In the legal pluralism and legal consciousness perspectives, a gap exists between formal and informal norms. Fifth, *siyāsah syar'iyah* analysis recommends a contextual and participatory approach. The government needs to involve ulama, traditional leaders, and the community in multi-stakeholder dialogue. The theoretical contribution of this study is to offer a new framework for understanding fatwa resistance by integrating *maqāṣid al-sharī'a* with masculinity theory. Its main contribution is showing that fatwa effectiveness depends not only on its normative strength but also on its ability to engage with local social and cultural structures. This framework can be used to analyze fatwa resistance in other indigenous communities and enrich contemporary fatwa studies with a sociological perspective.

Recommendations: First, ulama need to develop contextual *da'wah* and involve traditional leaders. Second, MUI needs to consider issuing fatwas that specifically address local practices such as cockfighting, so that fatwas are not only general and normative but also contextual and applicable. Third, the government needs to formulate policies considering historical and cultural dimensions. Fourth, future researchers need to conduct comparative studies in other locations with different social and cultural structures.

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