

The Level of Factors Affecting Cockfighters Engagement in Illegal Sabong

Mark Raniel R. Darlo^{1*}, Arnold L. Dela Luz², Darwin C. Lahaylahay³

^{1,2,3}Davao Oriental State University, Davao Oriental, Philippines

Abstract: This study investigates the factors driving participation in illegal cockfighting ("sabong") among residents of Cateel, Davao Oriental, Philippines. Utilizing a descriptive comparative research design, a survey questionnaire was administered to 60 respondents from three barangays, selected via snowball sampling. The demographic analysis revealed a predominantly male (100%) respondent pool, with the majority aged 35-42 years old and earning ₱5,001-₱10,000 monthly. A significant number (66.7%) had been involved in sabong for five years or more. Analysis of the influence of various factors on sabong engagement showed that economic factors (mean score 4.31), entertainment factors (mean score 4.45), and learning factors (mean score 4.23) all significantly influenced participation. While age showed no significant difference in engagement levels ($p=0.675$), a marginally significant difference was found in relation to years of experience ($p=0.05$), and a statistically significant difference was observed based on monthly income ($p=0.033$). The study concludes that the persistence of illegal sabong in Cateel stems from a complex interplay of socio-economic pressures, cultural acceptance, and the inherent thrill of the activity. The study draws upon existing literature on gambling behavior, Filipino culture, and the Theory of Planned Behavior to contextualize its findings.

Keywords: Affecting Cockfighters, Engagement Illegal Sabong, Factors, Level.

1. Introduction

A. Rationale

Cockfighting or "sabong," is a widespread issue with significant social and economic consequences. Several variables, such as perceived negligence of law enforcement, economic opportunity, and cultural acceptance, contribute to the continued success of this illegal enterprise. Illegal cockfighting poses significant social and financial risks globally. According to Sumampong (2023), this cruel practice fuels animal abuse, violence, drug trafficking and illegal gambling. High-stakes betting often leads to firearm presence, safety hazards and criminal gang involvement. Organizers evade detection by relocating events. Despite alarming connections, cockfights are often conducted in festive atmospheres, normalizing illegal behavior and perpetuating community cycles (Meniano, 2020). This illicit activity threatens innocent lives, particularly children and dependents of participants, potentially sparking violence and catastrophe.

For instance, sabong has been long-standing in Filipino

culture, often intertwined with tradition and social gatherings. However, the illegal nature of the activity raises concerns regarding animal cruelty, gambling addiction, and potential links to other criminal activities (Liday et al., 2023). This has led to severe consequences for families, particularly when gambling losses spiral out of control. Many cases reveal that financial stress from sabong debts can drive individuals to violence, with some addicts engaging in domestic abuse due to mounting frustrations Dowling, N.A. Rodda, S.N., & Lubman, D.I., (2018). In extreme situations, addicted gamblers have resorted to theft or unauthorized sales of family property, leading to significant financial instability and, at times, the breakdown of families through separation or divorce. Additionally, involvement in illegal sabong gambling has pushed some individuals into other criminal activities like fraud or embezzlement to manage their addiction, risking imprisonment and deepening family hardship. These actions highlight the underlying factors contributing to this phenomenon (Vidal, 2021).

According to Cheadle (2019), besides animal cruelty, the other common complaint against cockfighting is that the people who do it are "bad people." As the Humane Society says, "Cockfighting often goes hand in hand with gambling, drug dealing, illegal gun sales, and murder." As paralleled to Vidal, (2021) also stated that it destroyed so many people and shattered families.

The ongoing issue of illegal sabong in Cateel highlights a significant research gap, as the persistence of this practice suggests that current measures to curb it are insufficient. Local engagement in sabong remains prevalent, underscoring a potential failure in enforcement, cultural resistance to the ban, or economic pressures that drive individuals to participate. There is a pressing need to understand why residents of Cateel continue to engage in illegal cockfighting and what specific factors in this locality contribute to its persistence. This research gap is crucial to address because illegal sabong is not just an issue of animal welfare; it has broader implications for public safety, economic stability, and social well-being. In light of this, the researcher aims to provide clearer discussion on determining and evaluating which factors have high level of influence to Cateelino cockfighters' in engaging in illegal sabong, thereby enabling more targeted interventions and policies to address the problem.

*Corresponding author: markranieldarlo@gmail.com

B. Statement of the Problem

The proliferation of illegal sabong (cockfighting) in Cateel, Davao Oriental, poses significant social and economic concerns. Despite efforts to suppress this illicit activity, its persistence necessitates thoroughly examining the demographic profile and engagement factors among citizens. This study aims to investigate the demographic profile of respondents and assess the level of factors influencing their engagement in illegal sabong.

1. What is the demographic profile of the respondents in terms of:
 1. Age;
 2. Gender;
 3. No. of years being a cockfighter;
 4. Monthly Income?
2. What is the level of factors affecting Cockfighter's engagement in illegal sabong in terms of;
 1. Economic factor,
 2. Entertainment factor,
 3. Learning factor?

Is there a significant difference of the level of factors affecting Cockfighters engagement in illegal sabong when analyzed according to profile?

C. Objectives of the Study

Illegal sabong (cockfighting) persists in Cateel, Davao Oriental, despite prohibition. This study investigates the demographic profile of citizens engaged in illegal sabong and examines the factors influencing their participation.

1. To determine the demographic profile of the respondents in terms of:
 1. Age;
 2. Gender;
 3. No. of years being a cockfighter;
 4. Monthly Income?
2. To determine the level of factors affecting engagement of Cateel citizens in illegal sabong in terms of:
 1. Economic factor,
 2. Entertainment factor,
 3. Learning factor?
3. To determine the significant difference of the level of factors affecting engagement of Cateel citizens in illegal sabong when analyzed according to profile.

D. Conceptual Framework

According to Sumampong (2023), cockfighting in the Philippines thrives due to economic, entertainment and cultural factors. It generates informal income for various stakeholders, including breeders, arena operators and vendors, and offers a potential escape from poverty through betting. In addition, in their study titled "Factors Influencing the Community to Cockfight and Challenges of Police Officers in Suppressing Illegal Cockfighting in the Philippines" revealed that, in terms of entertainment, cockfighting holds deep cultural roots and serves as a form of leisure and spectacle, particularly appealing to those seeking excitement. As a high-revenue sector, it supports related sectors like poultry farming and feed supply,

employing individuals across socioeconomic backgrounds. Cockfighting also provides entertainment, combining gambling with traditional values, serving as a stress reliever and pastime. Rooted in Filipino culture, it embodies resilience, courage and self-control, transcending its reputation as a game of chance.

The main variable of the framework has three (3) indicators, namely the economic, entertainment, and learning factor. The economic factor in the lens of illegal sabong refers to the financial elements that influence and drive the underground cockfighting industry. This can include the potential for high monetary gains from betting, the economic necessity for participants seeking income, and the costs associated with organizing and maintaining this event (Lawier et al 2020). The entertainment factor pertains to the enjoyment and thrills the participants and spectators derive from the cockfighting events. This includes the excitement of the competition, the social interactions among attendees, and the cultural significance that this event may hold for certain communities (Yap & Batino, 2022). Lastly, the learning factor involves the skills, strategies, and knowledge that participants acquire through involvement in cockfighting. This can include understanding the breeding and training of gamecocks, betting strategies, and the nuances of organizing such events, all of which contribute to a deeper engagement with the activity (Korteman, 2022).

Moreover, this study is also anchored in the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB), which offers a robust framework for understanding the factors that drive individuals' decisions to engage in specific behaviors (Ajzen, 1991; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). TPB posits that behavior is influenced by attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control. This study examines how economic, entertainment, and learning factors influence the TPB components in the context of illegal sabong. For instance, economic hardship can lead to positive attitudes towards illegal sabong as a potential source of income (Ajzen, 2002; Bamberg & Möser, 2007). Similarly, in communities where sabong is deeply ingrained, social norms may support participation, particularly when it is regarded as a normal way to make money (Armitage & Conner, 2001; Cialdini et al., 1990). Furthermore, easy access to sabong venues and the perception of low risk can increase perceived behavioral control, making engagement more likely (Bandura, 1997; Godin & Kok, 1996). The theory emphasized that cockfighters commonly engaged in illegal sabong not only on a particular or innate stigma but on the external environmental factors that enable their participation in this unlawful activity.

E. Significance of the Study

1. Government. This study can help the government develop more effective strategies and policies to combat illegal sabong by understanding the underlying factors that drive citizen's participation. Understanding these motivations can also guide the allocation of resources for law enforcement and public awareness campaigns.
2. Law Enforcement Agency. The findings can aid law enforcement agencies in identifying and addressing the root causes of illegal sabong, leading to more

targeted and effective interventions. By understanding these factors, authorities can develop more nuanced approaches that go beyond reactive measures. For instance, focusing on high-risk areas, improving intelligence networks, and addressing the broader criminal networks involved (e.g., drug trafficking, illegal arms trade) can lead to more effective and targeted interventions.

3. Cockfighter/Sabongero. By shedding light on the reasons behind the prevalence of illegal sabong, the findings of this study can empower the community to take proactive steps towards prevention of the illegal activity and rehabilitation of individuals.
4. Future Researchers. This study can serve as a foundation for future research on illegal gambling and its impact on communities, providing valuable insights and directions for further investigation.

F. Scope and Delimitation

This descriptive comparative study focused on identifying the level of factors affecting cockfighters' engagement in illegal sabong (cockfighting). This research specifically targeted residents of Cateel, Davao Oriental, who participated in illegal sabong activities. The respondents of the study consisted of 60 individuals residing in the three largest barangays in Cateel, namely Poblacion, San Antonio, and Taytayan. The sample size was calculated using Yamane's formula. Data were collected from the respondents through an adapted survey questionnaire. The study commenced in October 2024 and was completed in December 2024, during the 1st Semester of AY 2024-2025.

G. Definition of Terms

Engagement refers to an individual's active participation in the activities surrounding cockfighting, particularly in illegal cockfighting or sabong Doromal, R. P., & Epe, R. C. (2022).

Illegal sabong (cockfighting) refers to the underground practice of organizing and participating in cockfights for betting purposes, despite its prohibition in various countries like the Philippines (Liday et al. 2023)

Sabong is a local term for "cockfighting" and is it a blood sport involving domesticated roosters as the combatants. The gamecocks, specially bred and conditioned for increased stamina and strength, are often fitted with metal spurs to enhance their fighting ability (Zeff, 2018).

2. Review of Related Literature

The literature review encompasses various studies on illegal cockfighting and elaborates on its background and historical development. It presents diverse perspectives and research findings from individuals and institutions across different periods. Both the positive and negative consequences, along with the limitations of the existing studies, are discussed to provide comprehensive insight into the beliefs and ideologies surrounding illegal cockfighting.

A. Historical Background of Illegal Cockfighting

Cockfighting is an activity, illegal in many countries, in

which people watch and bet on two cocks fighting. The term "sabong" is an indigenous Tagalog word for cockfighting (De la Cruz, 2022). Sabong, also known as cockfighting, is a traditional sport where two roosters engage in combat within a regulated setting until one of them is rendered unable to continue or succumbs to the fight. The roosters are often fitted with sharp spurs.

The history of cockfighting goes back to classical times. It is a ritual carried out by the Greeks prior to warfare, aimed to inspire courage and heroic actions among the soldiers. The tradition of making roosters fight one another was introduced to Greece by the Persians, but it is generally accepted that the activity first emerged in Southeast Asia. During the middle ages, the hobby became popular throughout Europe and was well-known in England during the initial colonial period. The sport, which was enjoyed by both aristocrats and commoners and had a significant aspect of wagering, was brought to the New World colonies by English settlers where it thrived (Garcia, 2021).

The origin of cockfighting dates back thousands of years; but it was during Ferdinand Magellan's expedition to the Philippines in 1521 that the contemporary practice of cockfighting was first recorded by his chronicler, Antonio Pigafetta in the kingdom of Taytay. The sport, which is brutal continues to persist, is disturbingly prevalent in the Volunteer State. Cockfighting was outlawed in most states during the 19th century, and in the 21st century. The U.S. Congress has criminalized cockfighting and prohibited it throughout the state. This federal legislative movement began seriously in 2002, which becomes illegal in all parts of the state up to this time. It is also against the law to train birds for combat, transport them across state, territorial, or national boundaries, trade in the fighting equipment attached to the birds' legs by cockfighters, or to attend a fight or bring a minor to one (Hernandez, 2023).

B. Demographic Profile of Cockfighters

Key data on the demographics of cockfighting participants were presented in a 2023 study by Liday et al. entitled Factors Influencing the Community to Cockfight and Challenges of Police Officers in Suppressing Illegal Cockfighting in the Philippines. Notably, all 80 participants were male, with the majority (57.5%) aged between 19 and 30. The study also found that 62.5% of participants earned between ₱1,000 and ₱5,000 per month, and 37.5% had been involved in cockfighting for less than a year (Liday et al., 2023).

Moreover, according to a study titled "The Impact of Illegal Cockfighting in Barangay North Fairview, Quezon City," the majority of cockfighting participants are between the ages of 30 and 40. The study also revealed that 85% of respondents were men, 60% were married, and 50% had either completed high school or college (Amar, et al., 2019).

In addition, the results of the study titled Factors Influencing the Community to Cockfight and Challenges of Police Officers in Suppressing Illegal Cockfighting in the Philippines showed that, while inhabitants' monthly incomes varied, most earned between ₱5,000 and ₱10,000. Their spending on cockfighting activities reflected this income disparity, with individual

expenses differing accordingly. Furthermore, a significant portion of their income came from cockfighting winnings, highlighting the impact of this activity on their financial situation (Liday et al., 2023).

The survey presented in the study of Marimla (2024) revealed that the most common participants have five to six years of cockfighting experience. This length of time indicates a high degree of dedication and participation in the activity. The result shows that people who have been involved in cockfighting for almost five years or longer are probably very ingrained in the community and culture that surrounds the sport.

C. Cockfighting in the Philippines

Cockfighting is a customary activity that enjoys significant popularity and social acceptance in the Philippines. Nevertheless, it is subject to government oversight, and regulations have been established to ensure it is conducted in a humane and secure manner (Liday et al., 2023).

Martinez (2022), a World War II U.S. veteran in the country, shared his experience with sabong: "While I was stationed in the islands, I saw cockfighting going on all day. Everybody from old men to boys carried a cock around under his arm. They were fighting all over the place. Of course, the army boys would gather around, egg them on, and bet on the fights. Some of those old papa-sans made a hell of a lot of money on those old roosters." Moreover, scholarly literature often characterizes cockfighting as a male-dominated activity (Geertz, 1973; Marvin, 1984). As Marvin (1984) notes, "Cockfighting is a masculine ritual that reinforces traditional notions of masculinity and male bonding." Similarly, Geertz (1973) describes cockfighting as a "male sport" that reflects and reinforces the values of masculinity and male status. The absence of female respondents in this study suggests that cockfighting may be a highly gendered activity in the context of Cateel, Davao Oriental.

D. Impact and Issues of Illegal Cockfighting Towards People

The cockfights are illegal in most jurisdictions, the reason why they are typically held in secret locations. Although cockfighting is subject to criminal sanction and informal social disapproval, in reality, it often takes place in open public spaces such as weekly markets, fairs, and playgrounds (Lopez, 2022).

Illegal cockfighting has serious negative effects on both society and moral values. It disrupts public order, security, and peace. Moreover, this form of gambling can contribute to various crimes, including theft, molestation, murder, and even domestic violence. The government addresses gambling-related offenses through regulations such as Article 303 of the Criminal Code and Law No. 7 of 1974, which specifically focus on the control of gambling activities. In this context, police efforts to combat illegal gambling in communities include conducting investigations, gathering intelligence, surveillance, making arrests, confiscating evidence, and community education (Rivera, 2023).

E. Descriptive View of Cockfighters and their Roles

According to Yusof (2023), cockfighting is considered haram (forbidden) in Islam, while under the law, cockfighting

accompanied by gambling is regarded as a criminal offense. Cockfighters are typically categorized based on their roles: tokang tanggha' (handlers), bhutto (trainers), and petaro (gamblers). Despite their involvement in cockfighting, these individuals often remain adherents to Islam, although their religious practices may be limited to social expressions of worship. In terms of motivation, individuals participate in cockfighting for various reasons such as friendship, artistic expression, gambling, prestige, and as a form of social interaction or problem-solving. From the perspective of the broader public, those engaged in cockfighting are often viewed as individuals who have yet to receive spiritual guidance from Allah.

According to Lopez (2022), cockfighters typically select between two types of fighting cocks: the Desi Morog and the Pahari Morog. The enduring passion for cockfighting has made it a deeply ingrained tradition and a significant form of diversion among Filipinos (Castillo, 2022). Beyond being a mere pastime, sabong has been viewed from different perspectives as a representation of 'cultural degradation,' a 'political resistance,' a 'nationalist symbol,' and a condemnation of the powerful authorities (Reyes, 2023). At the most evident characterization of cockfighting, it was described as an addictive vice by Filipino nationalist, Dr. Jose P. Rizal in his famous novel *Noli Me Tangere* (1961). After all, a crucial aspect of this game is the betting system that is driven by its unpredictability, resulting in a potential loss of money (Alvarez, K. J. 2023).

F. Related Laws on Illegal Cockfighting

The Philippines has enacted laws regulating cockfighting and animal welfare. Republic Act No. 8485 (Animal Welfare Act of 1998) prohibits animal cruelty, including cockfighting. Republic Act No. 6713 (Code of Conduct and Ethical Standards for Public Officials and Employees) regulates government officials' involvement in cockfighting. Presidential Decree No. 449 (Cockfighting Law of 1974) regulates cockfighting, allowing it in licensed arenas.

The Revised Penal Code also addresses cockfighting. Article 270 (Illegal Gambling) penalizes participation in illegal gambling, including cockfighting. Article 251 (Animal Cruelty) prohibits the mistreatment of animals, including cockfighting.

Local government units have enacted ordinances regulating cockfighting. Various cities and municipalities require licenses, while some barangays prohibit cockfighting entirely.

Recent legislation has strengthened regulations. Republic Act No. 11369 (Cockfighting Regulation Act) regulates cockfighting and imposes stricter penalties. Republic Act No. 10951 (amending RA 8485) enhances animal welfare protections.

The Department of Agriculture Administrative Order No. 13 (2010) regulates cockfighting and animal welfare. The Philippine Amusement and Gaming Corporation (PAGCOR) oversees licensed cockfighting operations.

G. Socio Economic Factors

Poverty and limited economic opportunities are significant

drivers of participation in illegal sabong. In many communities, sabong is seen as a quick way to earn money, even if it involves risks (Liday *et al.*, 2023). This is especially true in areas where unemployment is high and alternative income sources are scarce. Furthermore, the perceived low barrier to entry in terms of capital and skills makes it an attractive option for those seeking financial gains (Morales, 2023). The allure of potential wealth, even if improbable, can be particularly strong in impoverished communities where daily subsistence is a struggle. This desperation can lead individuals to engage in illegal sabong, as the urgent need for financial resources often outweighs concerns about potential legal consequences (Quimbo, 2018). As stated by Gutierrez (2023), variations in behavior linked to age result from an interplay of biological, psychological, and sociocultural influences, which could clarify why age does not appear as a crucial predictor of participation in cockfighting.

The experience in cockfighting shapes the motivations and behaviors of participants, fueled by aspirations for joy, status, or monetary rewards (Adriatico and Dascil, 2023). Likewise, Diaz (2021) examined the experiences of Filipino cockfighters, underscoring themes such as leading a regular life and the impacts of gambling. Studies also indicate that cockfighting is profoundly rooted in Filipino culture, with a substantial industry built around the sport (Adriatico & Dascil, 2023).

Moreover, the social acceptance of sabong in certain communities can normalize this activity, even its illegal forms. In places where sabong is deeply ingrained in the local culture, participation can be seen as a way to gain social status and respect (Guerrero, 2010). This social dimension, combined with the economic incentives, creates a powerful force that draws individuals into illegal sabong. For some, the sense of belonging and camaraderie associated with participating in sabong, even if illegal, can provide a sense of community and identity, further reinforcing their involvement (Tolentino, 2021). This complex interplay of socio-economic factors underscores the need for multifaceted interventions that address both the economic and social roots of illegal sabong.

Economic necessity often drives individuals to engage in illegal activities. Studies have shown that communities with limited economic opportunities are more likely to resort to illegal practices as a means of survival. For instance, Junaidi (2023) emphasized that economic drives significantly motivate communities to engage in illegal activities, suggesting that similar motivations could apply to illegal sabong in Cateel, where financial pressures may compel individuals to participate in such activities to meet their daily needs (Junaidi, 2023). Furthermore, the presence of structural disadvantages, as discussed by Semenza *et al.*, indicates that communities facing economic hardships may experience a decline in both informal and formal social controls, leading to increased engagement in illegal activities (Semenza *et al.*, 2024).

A qualitative study by Peñalba (2020), titled *Cockfighting in Later Life: A Qualitative Inquiry into Elderly Filipinos' Gambling Experiences*, revealed that cockfighting served as an engaging hobby, a source of excitement, a means of social interaction, and a way for Filipinos to generate income.

However, individuals from any background can develop gambling-related problems. It begins as a harmless and enjoyable pastime that can escalate into a harmful obsession with serious repercussions. Gambling issues can lead to strained relationships, job loss, and financial collapse, regardless of whether one gambles on sports, scratch cards, roulette, poker, or slot machines—be it in casinos, racetracks, or online platforms. In severe cases, individuals may even engage in uncharacteristic behaviors, such as incurring significant debt or resorting to theft to sustain their gambling habits (Segal *et al.*, 2025).

H. Psychological Factors

Psychological perceptions also play a pivotal role in shaping individuals' attitudes toward illegal sabong. The Protection Motivation Theory (PMT) posits that individuals assess the risks associated with their behaviors and the potential rewards before engaging in them.

Research indicates that income status can affect individual's involvement in cockfighting, as some participate for monetary benefits or social standing. This activity entails substantial wagering and monetary exchanges, which may influence the motivations and actions of those involved (Adriatico and Dascil, 2023).

Au and Tsang (2022) discuss how maladaptive perceptions can hinder individuals from adopting protective behaviors against legal risks. In the context of illegal sabong, individuals may underestimate the legal repercussions or overestimate the benefits, leading to continued participation despite potential risks. Moreover, a study by Sutin *et al.* (2020) found that life experiences and personality attributes can affect risk taking behaviors such as cockfighting across various age groups. However, research conducted by Kim and Lee (2022) discovered that factors related to entertainment, economics, and learning are important indicators of participation in leisure activities. Additionally, the stigma associated with illegal gambling can create a cycle of secrecy and shame (Tessler *et al.*, 2017). This stigma may discourage individuals from seeking help or reporting their activities, thereby perpetuating the cycle of illegal engagement. The psychological burden of secrecy can lead to increased participation as individuals seek to cope with their circumstances through gambling, further complicating the issue.

I. Cultural Influences

Cultural perceptions and norms surrounding illegal activities play a significant role in shaping community engagement. Peñalba (2021) emphasizes the cultural significance of sabong in Filipino society, suggesting that the normalization of such practices can lead to increased participation despite their illegal status. This cultural acceptance can create an environment in which illegal sabong is perceived as a traditional activity rather than a criminal offense, thereby diminishing the perceived risks associated with participation.

Sabong is deeply ingrained in Filipino culture, often viewed as a tradition and a source of entertainment (Liday *et al.*, 2023). This cultural acceptance can normalize participation, even

when it operates outside legal boundaries. Social events and celebrations often revolve around sabong, further solidifying its place in the community fabric. This normalization can desensitize individuals to the illegal aspects of the activity. A research study conducted by Jeong et al. (2022) revealed that individuals who take part in activities possessing deep social and cultural importance, like cockfighting, frequently cultivate favorable views and feelings towards these activities. Moreover, a study by Ortiz et al. (2020) emphasizes the significance of social learning and cultural transmission in influencing attitudes and behaviors connected to traditional activities.

Cultural factors significantly influence the acceptance and practice of illegal sabong within communities. The normalization of cockfighting as a traditional activity can lead to a perception that it is an acceptable form of entertainment, despite its illegal status. This cultural acceptance can create an environment where illegal sabong is viewed as a harmless pastime rather than a criminal offense. Gore et al. (2016) illustrate how local perceptions of risk and legality can diverge considerably from formal legal frameworks, resulting to disconnect between community practices and legal expectations.

Research conducted by Brandt et al. (2020) suggests that men are more inclined to engage in activities characterized by competition, risk, and physicality, such as cockfighting. Moreover, Velasco (2022) emphasizes how traditional masculinity influences men's perceptions and behaviors toward animals. According to Del Mundo (2023), men are more predisposed to activities involving animal exploitation, like cockfighting, due to sociocultural norms that associate masculinity with dominance over animals.

Moreover, the role of media in shaping perceptions of illegal activities cannot be overlooked. Stewart et al. (2010) discuss how media discourse can influence public perceptions of illegal activities, which may parallel the way illegal sabong is portrayed in local narratives. Negative portrayals can reinforce stigma, while positive representations can normalize participation. This quality highlights the importance of understanding cultural narratives surrounding illegal sabong and its impact on community engagement.

J. Legal and Enforcement Factors in Curbing Illegal Sabong

The effectiveness of law enforcement and the legal framework surrounding illegal sabong plays a critical role in influencing citizen engagement. As Travers et al. (2019) argue, community engagement in reporting illegal activities is essential for effective law enforcement. When communities trust law enforcement and feel confident in the legal system's ability to address illegal sabong, they are more likely to report such activities and cooperate with authorities (Liday et al., 2023). This collaborative approach strengthens the overall effort to combat illegal sabong and fosters a sense of shared responsibility between law enforcement and the community.

However, weaknesses in the legal framework and inconsistent enforcement can undermine these efforts. If the penalties for participating in illegal sabong are perceived as

lenient or if enforcement is lax, individuals may be more inclined to engage in these activities (Harris et al., 2019). This is particularly true when the potential financial rewards of illegal sabong seem to outweigh the risk of legal repercussions. A study by Adam et al. (2023) highlighted that a clear and well-publicized legal framework, coupled with robust enforcement, is crucial in deterring individuals from participating in illegal sabong. This includes not only targeting those directly involved in the fights but also those who organize, finance, and profit from these activities.

Furthermore, the accessibility and affordability of legal sabong can influence participation in illegal activities. When legal alternatives are limited or expensive, individuals may turn to illegal sabong operations as a more accessible option (Prasetyawati & Lamoste, 2021). Therefore, ensuring the availability of regulated and affordable sabong venues can play a role in reducing the demand for illegal operations. This requires a nuanced approach that balances cultural traditions with the need to regulate gambling activities effectively.

The effectiveness of legal frameworks in curbing illegal activities is often contingent upon community perceptions of law enforcement and the justice system. Studies have shown that when communities perceive law enforcement as legitimate and fair, they are more likely to comply with laws (Snyder et al., 2019).

Conversely, if individuals view law enforcement as corrupt or ineffective, they may be more inclined to engage in illegal activities, including sabong. This dynamic is critical in understanding the factors that influence engagement in illegal gambling within Cateel. Moreover, the role of local governance in addressing illegal sabong is paramount. Effective governance can create an environment where legal alternatives to illegal gambling are accessible and appealing. Most lawful cockfights take place in stadiums or arenas, whereas unlawful cockfights tend to occur in different locations. Recently, due to the presence and advancement of information and digital technology, Filipinos can now place their cockpit bets via online "sabong" or "e-sabong" without needing to be physically present in arenas (Diaz, 2025).

Bitariho et al. (2022) highlight the importance of long-term funding for community projects in mitigating illegal activities, suggesting that similar investments in legal gambling alternatives could reduce the prevalence of illegal sabong.

K. Community Dynamics and Participation

A Deeper Dive Community dynamics play a crucial role in shaping individual behaviors and attitudes towards illegal activities such as illegal cockfighting (or "tupada"). These dynamics encompass a range of factors, including social cohesion, collective efficacy, and the overall socio-economic well-being of the community. Understanding these dynamics is vital in developing effective strategies to combat illegal cockfighting.

L. Social Cohesion and Collective Efficacy

Social cohesion, characterized by strong social bonds and a sense of shared identity within a community, can act as a

protective factor against illegal activities (Putnam, 2020). When communities are tightly knit, individuals are more likely to adhere to social norms and discourage deviant behavior, including participation in illegal cockfighting. Conversely, in communities with weak social cohesion, where individuals feel disconnected and distrustful of each other, illegal activities may thrive (Sampson, 1997).

Collective efficacy, defined as the community's shared belief in its ability to achieve collective goals and maintain social order, is another critical factor (Sampson et al., 1997). Communities with high collective efficacy are more likely to actively intervene to prevent illegal activities and address community problems. This can manifest in various ways, such as reporting illegal cockfighting operations to authorities or organizing community initiatives to provide alternative recreational activities for young people.

M. Socio-Economic Factors and Access to Opportunities

Socio-economic conditions within a community can significantly influence engagement in illegal activities. Poverty, unemployment, and lack of access to legitimate economic opportunities can create an environment where individuals are more susceptible to the lure of illegal gambling and cockfighting (Zyambo, 2024). In such situations, illegal activities may be seen as a means of survival or a way to improve one's financial situation, despite the risks involved.

Addressing these underlying socio-economic issues is crucial in reducing the appeal of illegal cockfighting. This can involve initiatives such as providing job training programs, supporting small businesses, and improving access to education and healthcare. By creating a more equitable and prosperous community, the incentives for engaging in illegal activities can be diminished.

3. Methodology

This section provides an overview of the methodologies and protocols employed by the researchers in this investigation. It encompasses the research locale, research design, research respondent, research instrument, data gathering procedure, and statistical treatment of data.

A. Research Locale

The study was conducted in Cateel, Davao Oriental, which served as an ideal local setting for examining illegal sabong due to its unique socio-economic and cultural dynamics. Sabong had long been deeply ingrained in Filipino culture, particularly in rural areas where it functioned not only as a form of entertainment but also as a means of economic survival. In the case of Cateel, its rural nature, combined with limited employment opportunities, made it an attractive location for individuals to engage in illegal sabong in pursuit of financial gains through gambling and cockfighting. This aligned with studies that highlighted how rural areas with limited resources and weaker enforcement mechanisms became hotspots for illicit activities such as illegal gambling (Liday et al., 2023).

B. Research Design

The researchers utilized a descriptive comparative research design. This approach was valuable for comparing variables, groups, or phenomena to identify similarities and differences. The design aimed to contrast the profile of the respondents in terms of age, gender, monthly income, number of years of experience, and educational attainment (Best & Kahn, 2006). It focused on providing detailed descriptions of the phenomena being studied while drawing comparisons between various groups or conditions, thereby helping to clarify existing patterns and characteristics (Creswell, 2014).

Additionally, this research design did not require manipulation of variables, making it ideal for studies where the researcher could not control certain factors. It was well-suited for exploratory research, where the objective was to observe and describe existing conditions without interference (Heppner et al., 2008). Moreover, descriptive comparative research is often cross-sectional, meaning that data can be collected at a single point in time, which made it a cost-effective and relatively straightforward method for comparing variables across different groups (Cantrell, 2011). In this study, it was also used to measure the levels of factors influencing citizen engagement in illegal sabong in Cateel.

C. Respondents and Sampling Technique

This study was composed of 60 respondents from Cateel, Davao Oriental, specifically from the barangays of Poblacion, Taytayan, and San Antonio. These respondents were selected using a snowball sampling technique. Data were collected from 20 individuals in each barangay by asking known participants to identify others involved in illegal sabong. However, before distributing the sample equally among the three barangays, the researchers first determined the appropriate sample size using Yamane's formula. By employing this method, the study aimed to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the level of factors affecting cockfighters' engagement in illegal sabong.

D. Research Instrument

The primary means of gathering data for this research was through a survey questionnaire. The tool used was adapted from the study of Liday et al. (2023), entitled "Factors Influencing the Community to Cockfight and Challenges of Police Officers in Suppressing Illegal Cockfighting in the Philippines." The survey questionnaire was divided into two sections. The first section focused on the demographic profile of the respondents, which included age, gender, number of years as a cockfighter, income, and educational background. The second section assessed the level of factors affecting cockfighters' engagement in illegal sabong.

E. Data Gathering Procedure

This study employed a quantitative research approach in investigating the factors influencing engagement in illegal sabong among Cateel citizens. To ensure validity and reliability, a meticulous data gathering procedure was followed:

1. Secured Ethical Clearance. Ethical clearance was secured from the University Research Ethics Board to ensure that the study adhered to ethical standards in

- conducting research. This process involved obtaining informed consent from all participants, ensuring that participants' anonymity and confidentiality were maintained, and securing the data against potential breaches or unauthorized access. These steps were crucial in protecting the rights and well-being of the respondents.
2. **Letter to Conduct the Study Outside the Campus.** The researchers sent a formal letter of request or permission to conduct the study outside the campus to the campus coordinator as part of their academic program. The study, titled "The Level of Factors Affecting Cockfighters' Engagement in Illegal Sabong," aimed to gather data that would contribute to the understanding of the factors influencing cockfighting participation. Specific locations outside the campus were identified for data collection, and it was believed that this would provide valuable insights to enhance the validity of the findings. All necessary protocols and ethical considerations were followed, and relevant university policies and guidelines were complied with. Upon approval, the study was conducted in a manner that reflected positively on the university.
 3. **Seeking Permission to Conduct the Study.** After ethical clearance was secured, the researchers sent a formal letter of request to the cockfighters to obtain permission to conduct the study. This letter detailed the purpose of the study, the methods used, and how the data would be collected and utilized. Upon receiving approval, the researchers proceeded with data gathering.
 4. **Administration and distribution of the questionnaires.** After receiving approval from the local authority, the researchers approached the respondents and began the survey. The researchers administered the questionnaires in person, providing clear instructions and answering any questions the respondents had. During the survey, respondents were assisted throughout the process to ensure they understood each question and could provide accurate responses. The researchers were available to clarify any ambiguities and provide support as needed. Anonymity and confidentiality of respondents were strictly maintained throughout the data collection process. For in-person administration, paper-based questionnaires were distributed to respondents, who completed them with the assistance of the researchers.
 5. **Retrieval of the Questionnaires.** The researchers collected the completed questionnaires after the respondents completed them within the allotted time. The data collected was handled with care to maintain confidentiality and data security throughout the process.
 6. **Data Encoding.** Following the retrieval of the questionnaires, the data was encoded and tallied using Microsoft Excel. This step ensured that the data was accurately recorded, organized, and prepared for analysis. Excel provided an efficient way to handle large datasets, ensuring the information was correctly processed and stored for future analysis.
 7. **Analysis & Interpretation.** The researchers analyzed the respondents' profiles and found that cockfighters involved in illegal sabong operations were predominantly male, aged 18 and above. Notably, a significant proportion of respondents reported being engaged in sabong activities for 1–2 years, 3–4 years, and over 5 years, suggesting a deep-seated cultural and social attachment to the practice. Furthermore, the majority of respondents identified financial gain and social status as primary motivators for their participation in illegal sabong, highlighting the complex interplay between economic, learning, and social factors driving this illicit activity.
- F. Data Analysis*
- The collected data underwent statistical analysis to identify patterns, correlations, and significant differences. The analysis employed descriptive and inferential statistics to provide a comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing engagement in illegal sabong among Cateel citizens
1. **Frequency Count.** This tool was used to analyze the demographic profile of the respondents.
 2. **Mean.** This tool was used to analyze the level of factors affecting cockfighters' engagement in illegal sabong.
- ANOVA.** This tool was used to determine the difference of the level of factors affecting cockfighters' engagement in illegal sabong when analyzed according to profile.
- G. Ethical Considerations*
- This research underwent ethical review by the University Research Ethics Board (DOrSU-UREB) to ensure adherence of ethical standards and considerations. This study addressed ten key dimensions of research ethics: social value, informed consent, vulnerability of research respondents, risk benefit and safety, privacy and confidentiality, justice, transparency, research qualifications, adequacy of facilities, and community involvement.
- Informed Consent.** All respondents of this study are of legal age. The survey was conducted in person. Before the survey, respondents were thoroughly informed about the study's purpose, procedures, potential risk, and benefits. The respondents were informed of their freedom to withdraw from the study at any point without repercussion. Respondents were provided with written consent, signifying their agreement to participate and acknowledgment of their rights as research subjects. Questions and concerns raised by participants were promptly addressed by the researchers.
- Vulnerability of Research Respondents.** This study involved cockfighters (sabongeros) who participated in illegal sabong in the Municipality of Cateel, ensuring that all participants were of legal age and capable of making informed decisions. Their identities and responses were kept confidential, and any

Table 1
Interpretation table

| Mean Value | Verbal Description | Interpretation |
|-------------|--------------------|---|
| 1.00 - 1.49 | Strongly Disagree | Respondents strongly disagree with the statement, indicating a very negative or unfavorable view. |
| 1.50 - 2.49 | Disagree | Respondents disagree with the statement, reflecting a generally negative or unfavorable view. |
| 2.50 - 3.49 | Neutral | Respondents are indifferent, neutral, or unsure, showing no strong preference either way. |
| 3.50 - 4.49 | Agree | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view. |
| 4.50 - 5.00 | Strongly Agree | Respondents strongly agree with the statement, indicating a very positive or favorable view. |

instruments used in the study underwent rigorous validation to ensure fairness and appropriateness.

Risk-Benefit and Safety. This research was conducted for academic purposes and aimed to benefit both the participants and the community through its findings. The survey instruments were carefully designed to avoid any form of bias, offensive language, or questions that could cause discomfort. The researchers prioritized the safety and well-being of the respondents throughout the data collection process and ensured that confidentiality was maintained at all stages.

Privacy and Confidentiality. This research strictly adhered to the Data Privacy Act of 2012 (RA 10173) to protect the participants' personal information. Respondents were not required to disclose sensitive or identifying details unless absolutely necessary, and in such cases, appropriate safeguards were implemented to ensure the confidentiality of their identities. All data gathered were securely stored and used solely for the purposes outlined in the study.

Justice. This study ensured fairness and equitable treatment of all respondents. Cockfighters and demographics in Cateel had an equal opportunity to participate, ensuring a diverse and representative sample.

Transparency. In this study, the researchers remained open to suggestions from the panel members and thesis adviser. The research underwent an ethics review to ensure adherence to ethical standards throughout its conduct. During the consolidation of data and interpretation of results, transparency was strongly upheld to promote openness and the responsible sharing of information with individuals and organizations involved in the study. Furthermore, the researchers intended to share the findings with the public through research forums, academic conferences, and publications to ensure that the results were accessible to a wider audience.

Qualifications of Researchers. The researchers took full responsibility and accountability for all aspects of the study, including the methodological processes, context, and content. They remained aware of their limitations in terms of research competencies and ensured that they possessed the necessary knowledge and skills to complete the study with integrity and academic rigor.

Adequacy of Facilities. All equipment used in the conduct of this study such as laptops, internet connection, printers, and other necessary tools were solely provided by the researchers. They also covered all expenses related to the research operations. However, access to additional informational resources further enriched the study. The university where the researchers were enrolled supported the research process by providing access to essential materials, including journals, books, and printed research outputs. Furthermore, the researchers were guided and supervised by their research

adviser and members of the panel throughout the study.

Community Involvement. The researchers collaborated with cockfighters who participated in illegal sabong activities in Cateel to ensure the study's relevance and acceptance within the community. The local community was informed about the study's objectives and findings through presentations and published reports. The results of the study will serve as a valuable tool in identifying the extent and nature of the factors influencing cockfighters' involvement in illegal sabong.

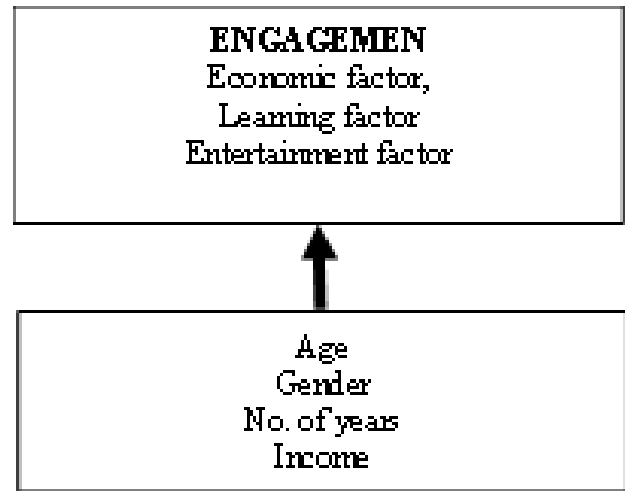


Fig. 1. The conceptual diagram showing the variables of the study



Fig. 2. Map of Cateel

4. Result and Discussion

This chapter shows the results and discussion of the study. The presentation of findings aligns with the research objectives: (1) to determine the demographic profile of the respondents, (2) to assess the level of factors affecting the engagement of Cateel citizens in illegal sabong, and (3) to examine whether there is a significant difference in the level of these factors based on selected variables.

The survey lasted for 15 minutes. The result of the survey was analyzed and discussed. Tables and diagrams were used to emphasize the results and help make the discussion clearer.

A. Socio Demographic Profile of the Respondents

Table 2
Age composition of respondents in percentage

| Classification | Frequency | Percent |
|----------------|-----------|-------------|
| 26 to 34 | 15 | 25.00% |
| 35 to 42 | 29 | 48.33% |
| 43 and above | 16 | 26.67% |
| Total | 60 | 100% |

In Table 2, the age distribution of the research is centered on those aged 35–42 years old, who make up 48.33% of the population. Those aged 43 and older, who make up 26.67% of the population, have the highest rate of unlawful sabong. This indicates that cockfighting is frequently associated with middle-aged adults. As a result, 25% of those between the ages of 26 and 34 participate in unlawful sabong to the least extent.

Contrary to the demographics of cockfighting respondents in the study of Liday et al. (2023) titled “Factors Influencing the Community to Cockfight and Challenges of Police Officers in Suppressing Illegal Cockfighting in the Philippines,” it was stated that the majority of cockfighters are young adults, specifically between 19–30 years old (57.5%).

Furthermore, according to a study titled “The Impact of Illegal Cockfighting in Barangay North Fairview, Quezon City,” the majority of cockfighting participants are between the ages of 30 and 40. The study also revealed that 85% of respondents were men, 60% were married, and 50% had either completed high school or college (Amar et al., 2019). Hence, a study by Sutin et al. (2020) found that life experiences and personality attributes can affect risk-taking behaviors, like cockfighting, in a variety of age groups.

B. Gender

Table 3
Gender of the respondent

| Classification | Frequency | Percent |
|----------------|-----------|----------------|
| Male | 60 | 100% |
| Female | 0 | 0.0% |
| Total | 60 | 100.00% |

Table 3 findings indicate that every respondent (100%) is male, showing that participation in cockfighting is predominantly male-oriented. Research conducted by Brandt et al. (2020) suggests that men are more inclined to partake in activities characterized by competition, risk, and physicality, such as cockfighting.

C. Number of Years Playing Cockfight

Table 4
Number of year playing cockfight

| Year Interval | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------|-----------|----------------|
| 1 to 2 years | 2 | 3.30% |
| 3 to 4 years | 18 | 30.00% |
| 5 years | 40 | 66.70% |
| Total | 60 | 100.00% |

Table 4 presents the number of years involved in cockfighting. Forty of the respondents engaged in gambling cockfights for within 5 years, comprising 66.70% of the population, suggesting a high level of experience and involvement in the activity. Meanwhile, 18 of them participated

in gambling cockfights for 3–4 years, representing 30% of the population.

However, 2 of them played gambling cockfights within 1–2 years, accounting for 3.30% of the total population. Peñalba (2021) emphasizes the cultural significance of sabong in Filipino society, suggesting that the normalization of such practices can lead to increased participation despite their illegal status. This social dimension, combined with the economic incentives, creates a powerful force that draws individuals into illegal sabong. For some, the sense of belonging and camaraderie associated with participating in sabong, even if illegal, can provide a sense of community and identity, further reinforcing their involvement (Tolentino, 2021).

In addition, findings by Grant and Chamberlain (2019) reveal that people who partake in extended periods of gambling, such as cockfighting, are more prone to cognitive distortions and irrational thought processes. This tendency can result in an escalated risk of problematic behavior and challenges in managing gambling practices. Hence, the survey found in the study of Marimla (2024) that the most common participants have five to six years of cockfighting experience. This length of time indicates a high degree of dedication and participation in the activity. According to the results, people who have been involved in cockfighting for almost five years or longer are probably very ingrained in the community and culture that surrounds the sport.

D. Estimated Monthly Income

Table 5
Estimated monthly income

| Income Bracket | Frequency | Percent |
|----------------------|-----------|---------------|
| ₱ 5,000 and below | 4 | 6.7% |
| ₱ 5,001 to ₱ 10,000 | 37 | 61.7% |
| ₱ 10,001 to ₱ 15,000 | 16 | 26.7% |
| ₱ 15,001 to ₱ 20,000 | 2 | 3.3% |
| ₱ 20,001 and above | 1 | 1.7% |
| Total | 60 | 100.0% |

Table 5 shows estimated monthly income, 37 of the respondents earn 5,001–10,000 with 61.7%, this indicates that people who has low income are into gambling cockfight, and 16 of the respondents earn 10,001–15,000 with 26.7%. Other 4 respondents earn 5,000 below with 6.7% and 2 respondents earn 15,001–20,000 with 3.3%. While 1 respondent earn 20,001 and above with 1.7%, the low percentage of respondents with higher incomes (₱20,001 and above) may indicate that cockfighting is not an activity that appeals to higher-income individuals, or that it may be stigmatized among more affluent groups.

In connection with the results of the study titled “Factors Influencing the Community to Cockfight and Challenges of Police Officers in Suppressing Illegal Cockfighting in the Philippines,” it was shown that while respondents’ monthly salaries varied, most earned between ₱5,000 and ₱10,000. Their spending on cockfighting activities also varied as a result of this income gap, with individual expenses differing accordingly. Furthermore, a sizable portion of their income came from cockfighting winnings, underscoring the influence of this activity on their financial status (Liday et al., 2023). This is particularly prevalent in areas with high unemployment and

Table 6
Economic factors

| No. | Statement | Mean |
|----------------|--|-------------|
| 1 | I play cockfight as my source of income and my way to improve quality of Life | 4.20 |
| 2 | Cockfight provide income which is enough for my basic needs. | 4.27 |
| 3 | I earn easy money in cockfight gambling activity. | 4.48 |
| 4 | This gambling activity is a form of investment for it can double or triple. | 4.28 |
| 5 | I can easily provide the financial means to my children to school, house bills and others from playing cockfight activity. | 4.30 |
| Average | | 4.31 |

Table 7
Entertainment factor

| No | Statement | Mean | Std. Deviation | Interpretation |
|----------------|---|-------------|----------------|---|
| 1 | I find pleasure when I watch the actual cockfight game. | 4.47 | 0.62 | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view. |
| 2 | I change negative to positive mood when I join in cockfight game. | 4.50 | 0.65 | Respondents strongly agree with the statement, indicating a very positive or favorable view. |
| 3 | The game arouses my interest to apply strategies in order to win. | 4.23 | 0.65 | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view. |
| 4 | The game provides genuine happiness every time my cock wins. | 4.60 | 0.59 | Respondents strongly agree with the statement, indicating a very positive or favorable view. |
| 5 | The games serve as my stress reliever every time I watch and play | 4.45 | 0.77 | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view. |
| Average | | 4.45 | 0.42 | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view. |

Table 8
Learning factor

| No. | Statement | Mean | Std. Deviation | Interpretation |
|----------------|--|-------------|----------------|--|
| 1 | The game helps develop my critical thinking of applying different strategies. | 3.95 | 0.85 | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view. |
| 2 | Winning strategies are factors which I learned in playing this gambling activity. | 4.00 | 0.82 | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view. |
| 3 | Winning strategies are factors which I learned in playing this gambling activity. | 4.25 | 0.73 | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view. |
| 4 | Every win of my bird boosts my confidence to invest and continue the game. | 4.42 | 0.67 | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view. |
| 5 | When I am inside the gambling place, I learn a lot from the stories of every player regardless they win or lose. | 4.52 | 0.70 | Respondents strongly agree with the statement, indicating a very positive or favorable view. |
| Average | | 4.23 | 0.51 | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view |

limited income opportunities. The relatively low startup costs and minimal skill requirements make illegal sabong appealing to those seeking financial gains (Barcelo & Ramos-Araneta, 2019).

E. Level of Factors affecting Cockfighter's Engagement in Illegal Sabong

1) Economic factors

Table 6 indicates that economic factors have a high influence on engagement in cockfighting, with an average mean score of 4.31 which means that respondents typically concur with the statement, indicating a positive or favorable perspective. The statement 3 has the highest mean score of 4.48, indicating that respondents strongly agree that potential earnings from cockfighting are a significant factor in their participation as supported by Liday et al (2023). Meanwhile, statement 2, 4, and 5 follow closely, with mean scores from 4.27, 4.28 and 4.30 respectively, indicating that respondents agree with the statement showing a positive or favorable perspective. However, statement 1 has the lowest mean score of 4.20 which means that respondents also agree with the statement, reflecting positive or favorable view.

The combination of social connections and economic incentives creates a strong appeal for individuals to participate

in illegal sabong. This dual attraction can make it difficult for people to disengage, as they've invested in both social relationships and financial aspirations (Tolentino, 2021). Also, people often turn to illegal cockfighting (sabong) due to poverty and limited economic options, seeing it as a way to earn money quickly despite the risks (Liday et al., 2023). Communities struggling with economic hardships often experience weakened social structures, leading to reduced informal and formal controls. This can result in increased participation in illegal activities, like sabong. (Semenza et al., 2021).

Therefore, financial considerations have a big impact on cockfighting participation, with participants strongly agreeing that the possibility of earning money is a key incentive. The results demonstrated that respondents see cockfighting as a way to earn money instantly, enhance their quality of life, and support their families. With an average mean score of 4.31, the study indicates that social ties and financial incentives make it difficult for people to stop cockfighting, especially in areas with few economic alternatives.

2) Entertainment Factor

Table 7 indicates that entertainment factors have a very high influence on engagement in cockfighting, with an average mean score of 4.45 which means that respondents generally agree with the statement with positive view. The statement 4 has the

Table 9
Summary of the level of factors affecting cockfighter's engagement in illegal Sabong

| Factors | Mean | Std. Deviation | Interpretation |
|----------------------------------|-------------|----------------|--|
| A. Economic Factors | 4.31 | 0.45 | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view |
| B. Entertainment Factors | 4.45 | 0.42 | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view |
| C. Learning Factors | 4.23 | 0.51 | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view |
| Overall Factor Engagement | 4.33 | 0.39 | Respondents generally agree with the statement, reflecting a positive or favorable view |

Table 10
Significant difference of the level of factors affecting engagement of cockfighters in illegal Sabong according to age

| Variables | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|----------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|-------|-------|
| Between Groups | 0.124 | 2 | 0.062 | 0.395 | 0.675 |
| Within Groups | 8.971 | 57 | 0.157 | | |
| Total | 9.096 | 59 | | | |

highest mean score of 4.60, indicating that respondents strongly agree that the thrill and excitement of cockfighting are significant factors in their participation, followed closely by statement 2 with a mean score of 4.50 and statement 1 of means score 4.47 and statement 5 also have high mean scores of 4.45, suggesting they are perceived positively or favorably. While statement 3 has a slightly lower score of 4.23, which means that the respondents also generally agree with the statement indicating positive or favorable view.

Sabong is deeply ingrained in Filipino culture, often viewed as a tradition and a source of entertainment (Liday et al., 2023). Cultural factors play a significant role in shaping attitudes towards illegal sabong, often normalizing it as a traditional activity. This cultural acceptance can lead to disconnect between community perceptions and legal frameworks, making it challenging to address the issue (Gore et al. 2016). Likewise, a qualitative investigation conducted by Peñalba (2020) titled "Cockfighting in later life: A qualitative inquiry into elderly Filipinos' gambling experiences" revealed that cockfighting served as an engrossing hobby, a source of excitement, a means for social interaction, and a way for Filipinos to earn income.

3) Learning Factor

In table 8, the mean scores for learning factors range from 3.95 to 4.52, indicating a generally strong perception of influence. Statement 5 stands out with the highest mean score of 4.52 which means that respondents strongly agree with the statement having positive view, followed closely by statement 4 with a score of 4.42 indicating that respondents generally agree with the statement following with a positive or favorable perspective. And next is statement 3 with a mean score of 4.25 which means that the respondents also generally agree with the statement indicating positive or favorable view. The overall average mean score of 4.23 suggests that these learning factors are perceived a positive or favorable view with the respondents agreeing to the statement. Although Statement 1 and Statement 2 have slightly lower scores of 3.95 and 4.00 respectively, these still reflect a positive or favorable view from the respondents, indicating agreement with the statements.

Nevertheless, Au and Tsang (2022) discuss how maladaptive perceptions can hinder individuals from adopting protective behaviors against legal risks. In the context of illegal sabong, individuals may underestimate the legal repercussions or overestimate the benefits, leading to continued participation despite potential risks. Despite this, for some people, the sensation of camaraderie and friendship associated with

participating in sabong, irrespective of its legality, can provide a sense of belonging and self-identity, thus increasing their involvement (Tolentino, 2021). A research study conducted by Jeong et al. (2022) revealed that individuals who take part in activities possessing deep social and cultural importance, like cockfighting, frequently cultivate favorable views and feelings towards these activities. Moreover, a study by Ortiz et al. (2020) emphasizes the significance of social learning and cultural transmission in influencing attitudes and behaviors connected to traditional activities.

F. Summary The Level of Factors Affecting Cockfighter's Engagement in Illegal Sabong

Table 9 shows factors influencing engagement in illegal sabong have a strong overall impact, with a mean score of 4.33 which means that respondents generally agree with the statements indicating a positive or favorable view. Entertainment factors are the most influential and got the highest mean score of 4.45 stating that respondents favored the statement, followed by economic factors garnering a mean score of 4.31 that indicating that respondents has positive view of the statement and learning factors got the lowest mean score of 4.23, indicating that respondents also agree with the statement with positive or favorable view.

A research conducted by Kim and Lee (2022) discovered that factors related to entertainment, economics, and learning are important indicators of participation in leisure activities. Also, cockfighting, referred to locally as "sabong", is a customary activity that enjoys significant popularity and social acceptance in the Philippines. Nevertheless, it is subject to government oversight, and regulations have been established to guarantee its conduct in a humane and secure manner (Liday et al., 2023). Additionally, social cohesion, characterized by strong social bonds and a sense of shared identity within a community, can act as a protective factor against illegal activities (Putnam, 2020).

G. Significant Difference of the Level of Factors Affecting Engagement of Cateel Citizens in Illegal Sabong According to Profile

1) Age

The ANOVA results indicate that there is no significant difference in the level of factors affecting engagement in cockfighting among different age groups ($F = 0.395$, $p = 0.675$). This suggests that age may not be a significant predictor of cockfighting engagement.

As stated by Hulus et al., (2019), variations in behavior linked to age result from interplay of biological, psychological, and sociocultural influences, which could clarify why age does not appear as a crucial predictor of participation in cockfighting. Most lawful cockfights take place in stadiums or arenas, whereas unlawful cockfights tend to occur in different locations. Recently, due to the presence and advancement of information and digital technology, Filipinos can now place their cockpit bets via online “sabong” or “e-sabong” without needing to be physically present in arenas Diaz (2025).

2) Years in Cockfighting Experience

The ANOVA results indicate that there is a marginally significant difference in the level of factors affecting engagement in cockfighting among different groups of years in cockfighting experience ($F = 3.12$, $p = 0.05$). This suggests that the level of experience in cockfighting may have some influence on the factors affecting engagement.

According to Adriatico and Dascil (2023), the experience in cockfighting shapes the motivations and behaviors of participants, fueled by aspirations for joy, status, or monetary rewards. Likewise, Diaz (2021) examined the experiences of Filipino cockfighters, underscoring themes such as leading a regular life and the impacts of gambling. Studies also indicate that cockfighting is profoundly rooted in Filipino culture, with a substantial industry built around the sport (Adriatico & Dascil, 2023).

3) Monthly Income

The ANOVA results indicate that there is a significant difference in the level of factors affecting engagement in cockfighting among different income groups ($F = 2.840$, $p = 0.033$). This suggests that monthly income may be an important factor influencing engagement in cockfighting.

Research indicates that income status can affect involvement in cockfighting, as certain individuals participate for monetary benefits or social standing. According to research on the Gamefowl Industry in the Philippines, the activity entails substantial wagering and monetary exchanges, which may influence the motivations and actions of those involved (Adriatico and Dascil, 2023).

That is why, poverty, unemployment, and lack of access to legitimate economic opportunities can create an environment where individuals are more susceptible to the lure of illegal gambling and cockfighting (Zyambo, 2024).

5. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

This chapter provides an overview of the study's key findings, draws conclusions based on the results, and offers recommendations for future actions or research.

A. Summary

According to the respondents' demographic profile, middle-aged individuals (those between the ages of 35 and 42) make up the largest percentage of the group (48.33%), followed by those aged 43 and above (26.67%). Interestingly, all respondents (100%) are men, suggesting that cockfighting is a male-dominated activity. A high level of involvement and expertise is evident, as the majority of respondents (66.70%) have

participated in cockfighting for five years or more. Furthermore, with 61.7% of respondents earning a low monthly income between ₱5,001 and ₱10,000, cockfighting appears to appeal primarily to individuals with limited financial opportunities.

The variables affecting cockfighters' participation in illegal sabong are perceived favorably by the respondents. The descriptive equivalents for the learning, economic, and entertainment categories, in particular, show that respondents largely concur with the claims, indicating that these factors are important in cockfighters' participation. Additionally, the summary of overall factor involvement indicates that most respondents agree with the statement, indicating a good or positive opinion of the factors influencing cockfighters' participation in unlawful sabong. This implies that a mix of learning, economic, and entertainment reasons drive cockfighters.

The statistical analysis found no significant age difference among the respondents (p -value = 0.675). However, there were significant variations in years of cockfighting experience (p -value = 0.05) and monthly income (p -value = 0.033). This implies that the number of years of cockfighting experience and monthly income level have a substantial impact on respondents' engagement, although age does not appear to be a relevant determinant.

B. Conclusion

This study on illegal cockfighting ("sabong") in Cateel, Davao Oriental, Philippines, reveals a demographic profile dominated by middle-aged men (35-42 years old) with low monthly incomes (₱5,001-₱10,000). A significant portion (66.7%) have participated in cockfighting for five or more years. Analysis reveals that entertainment (mean = 4.45), economic factors (mean = 4.31), and learned skills (mean = 4.23) significantly influence their participation. While age shows no significant difference ($p=0.675$), years of experience ($p=0.05$) and monthly income ($p=0.033$) do. The conclusion emphasizes the complex interplay of socio-economic pressures, cultural acceptance, and the thrill of the activity as drivers of continued participation. Recommendations include targeted economic development, community-based alternatives, and enhanced law enforcement to effectively combat illegal sabong in Cateel. The study uses the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) as a theoretical framework and considers various factors such as cultural norms, psychological perceptions, and the influence of media. The research utilized a descriptive comparative design with 60 respondents' selected using snowball sampling from three barangays.

C. Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, a variety of factors such as the excitement of entertainment, financial difficulties, and societal pressures lead people to participate in cockfighting. In particular, cockfighters are motivated by the possibility of financial gain as well as the enjoyment of the sport as a kind of entertainment. Furthermore, social pressure and other people's influence are important factors in their involvement,

underscoring the complexity of the reasons behind this conduct. In light of these results, the researchers recommend the following:

1. *Entertainment*: Given the entertainment value of cockfighting, one possible strategy would be for law enforcement to investigate regulated frameworks, like licensing and registration, setting apart particular locations for the sport, and instituting regulatory oversight to stop animal abuse and guarantee fair play. This might acknowledge the historic relevance of cockfighting for some communities while also addressing concerns about public safety, generating cash, and possibly reducing illicit activity.
2. *Economic Factors*: The government could promote alternative livelihoods through job opportunities, vocational training, or microfinance programs in order to address the economic factors that drive cockfighting. The government can also promote economic growth in areas where cockfighting is common by aiding small enterprises and encouraging entrepreneurship. Furthermore, putting in place social welfare initiatives that deal with unemployment, poverty, and economic injustice might lessen the financial incentives for cockfighting and offer communities and people sustainable alternatives.
3. *Learning Factors*: Law enforcement and other pertinent authorities can run awareness efforts to inform communities about the rules, dangers, and repercussions of illegal sabong in order to address the learning elements that fuel cockfighting. Authorities can help change social norms and promote informed decision-making by drawing attention to the negative effects, such as animal welfare issues and legal ramifications, and supporting other sources of entertainment. This will eventually lower involvement in the activity.

References

- [1] Adam, S., Salmon, H. C., & Makaruku, S. (2023). Countermeasure strategies for law enforcement of illegal online Toto gambling: Study at Central Maluku Police. *Gema Wiralodra*, 14(3), 1395–1402.
- [2] Adriatico, D. A., & Dascil, R. M. (2023). Meron! Meron! Constructing the Nature of Man in Sabong (Cockfighting). *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 11, 417–424.
- [3] Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 50(2), 179–211.
- [4] Ajzen, I. (2002). Perceived behavioral control, self-efficacy, locus of control, and the theory of planned behavior. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 32(4), 665–683.
- [5] Alvarez, K. J. (2023). Risk, chance, and culture: The gambling economy of sabong in the Philippines. *Asian Journal of Social and Behavioral Studies*, 11(1), 40–57.
- [6] Amar, C., Magondacan, K. J., Obinguar, R., Velmonte, M., & Osorio, J. Z. D. G. (2019). The impact of illegal cockfighting in Barangay North Fairview Quezon City. *Ascendens Asia Singapore – Bestlink College of the Philippines Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 1(1).
- [7] Armitage, C. J., & Conner, M. (2001). Efficacy of the theory of planned behaviour: A meta-analytic review. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 40(4), 471–499.
- [8] Au, C., & Tsang, K. F. (2022). Gig Workers' Self-protective Behaviour against Legal Risks: An Application of Protection Motivation Theory.
- [9] Bamberg, S., & Möser, G. (2007). Twenty years after Hines, Hungerford, and Tomera: A new meta-analysis of psycho-social determinants of pro-environmental behaviour. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 27(1), 14–25.
- [10] Bandura, A. (1986). Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory. Prentice-Hall.
- [11] Bandura, A. (1997). Self-efficacy: The exercise of control. W. H. Freeman.
- [12] Barcelo, M., & Ramos-Araneta, P. (2019). The social and economic impact of sabong in the Philippines. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 50(2), 233–252.
- [13] Best, J. W., & Kahn, J. V. (2006). *Research in education* (10th ed.). Pearson Education Inc
- [14] Bitariho, R., Akampurira, E., & Mugerwa, B. (2022). Long-term funding of community projects has contributed to mitigation of illegal activities within a premier African protected area, Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda. *Conservation Science and Practice*, 4(9), e12761.
- [15] Brandt, M. J., Wiese, C. W., & Henry, P. J. (2020). Gender role conflict and men's health. *Journal of Social Issues*, 76(2), 345–363.
- [16] Castillo, L. F. (2022). Sabong and society: The cultural persistence of cockfighting in the Philippines. *Philippine Journal of Cultural Studies*, 17(2), 45–61.
- [17] Cantrell, M. A. (2011). Demystifying the research process: Understanding a descriptive comparative research design. *Pediatric Nursing*, 37(4), 188–189.
- [18] Creswell, J. W. (2014). Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches (4th ed.). Sage Publications.
- [19] Cheadle, B. (2019). David Copperfield and the autobiographical fragment reconsidered. *Dickens Quarterly*, 36(3), 205–223.
- [20] De la Cruz, A. M. (2022). Tradition, blood sport, and identity: The enduring culture of sabong in the Philippines. *Philippine Journal of Cultural Studies*, 18(2), 75–92.
- [21] Del Mundo, R. S. (2023). Masculinity, power, and animal contests: A socio-anthropological study of cockfighting in the Philippines. *Asian Journal of Gender and Society*, 11(1), 50–68.
- [22] Diaz, B., Gatmaitan, R., Villaluz, M. N., Villanueva, R. P., & Riezabelle Layco. (2025, April). Motivation and gambling behavior of Filipino adults.
- [23] Diaz, J. C. (2021, May). The Lived Experience of Filipino Cockfighter and Their Role as Father and Provider for Family. Insta bright gazette. V1 (4).
<https://www.instabrightgazette.com/blog/the-lived-experience-of-filipino-cockfighters-and-their-role-as-father-and>
- [24] Dowling, N. A., Rodda, S. N., & Lubman, D. I. (2018). Problem gambling and family violence: Findings from a population-representative study. *Journal of Gambling Studies*, 34(3), 795–810.
- [25] Doromal, R. P., & Epe, R. C. (2022). Cultural and economic motivations behind illegal cockfighting in rural Philippines. *Asian Journal of Criminology*, 17(2), 199–216.
- [26] Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (2010). Predicting and changing behavior: The reasoned action approach. Psychology Press.
- [27] Garcia, M. E. (2021). Blood sport and colonial identity: The cultural history of cockfighting in the Anglo-American world. *Journal of Colonial Studies*, 12(3), 112–130.
- [28] Geertz, C. (1973). Deep play: Notes on the Balinese cockfight. *Daedalus*, 102(1), 1–37.
https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-1-349-62397-6_10.
- [29] Gore, M., Lute, M., Ratsimbazafy, J., & Rajaonson, A. (2016). Local perspectives on environmental insecurity and its influence on illegal biodiversity exploitation. *PLOS ONE*, 11(4), e0150337.
- [30] Guerrero, S. (2010). Cockfighting in the Philippines: A cultural and historical perspective. *Philippine Sociological Review*, 58, 135–158.
- [31] Gutierrez, M. A. (2023). Age, risk behavior, and cultural tradition: Analyzing participation in cockfighting in rural Filipino communities. *Philippine Journal of Social Psychology*, 9(2), 88–104.
- [32] Grant, J. E., & Chamberlain, S. R. (2019). Gambling disorder. In J. E. Grant & S. R. Chamberlain (Eds.), *Impulse control disorders: A clinician's guide to understanding and treating behavioral addictions* (pp. 37–55). Elsevier.
- [33] Harris, L., Gore, M., & Mills, M. (2019). Compliance with ivory trade regulations in the United Kingdom among traders. *Conservation Biology*, 33(4), 906–916.
- [34] Heppner, W. L., Kernis, M. H., Lakey, C. E., Campbell, W. K., Goldman, B. M., Davis, P. J., & Cascio, E. V. (2008). Mindfulness as a means of

- reducing aggressive behavior: Dispositional and situational evidence. *Aggressive Behavior*, 34(5), 486–496.
- [35] Hernandez, P. L. (2023). Blood sport and the law: A comparative analysis of anti-cockfighting legislation in the U.S. and Southeast Asia. *International Journal of Animal Law and Policy*, 6(1), 35–52.
- [36] Hülür, G., Ram, N., Willis, S. L., Schaie, K. W., & Gerstorf, D. (2019). Cohort differences in cognitive aging: The role of perceived work environment. *Psychology and Aging*, 34(8), 1040–1054.
- [37] Jeong, S., Lee, J., & Cho, H. (2022). Understanding the cultural significance of traditional games and activities: A systematic review. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 25(2), 147–162.
- [38] Junaidi, Musnadi, S., Idris, J., & Darusman. (2023). Community's motivation to carry out illegal oil mining in Indonesia. *Journal of Law and Sustainable Development*, 11(4), e540.
- [39] Kim, H., & Lee, I. (2022). The mediating effects of social support on the influencing relationship between grit and academic burnout of the nursing students.
- [40] Korteman, J. (2022). The story of my eye-opening cockfighting experience in Bali. Notes of Nomads. <https://notesofnomads.com/cockfighting-bali/>
- [41] Lawier, M., et al. (2020). Directive speech act in Moluccan children traditional game songs in Maluku. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute Journal (BIRCI-Journal)*, 3(1), 1013–1022.
- [42] Liday, B., Bitos, M., Usin, J., Sumampong, A., Cano, J., Saguran, J., Tagle, A., & Gabon, M. (2023). Factors influencing the community to cockfight and challenges of police officers in suppressing illegal cockfighting in the Philippines. *10*, 237–248.
- [43] Liday, B. C. G., Bitos, M. L., Usin, J. E., Sumampong, A. J., Cano, J. C., Saguran, J. B., Tagle, A. A., & Gabon, M. G. (2023, June 26). Factors influencing the community to cockfight and challenges of police officers in suppressing illegal cockfighting in the Philippines.
- [44] Lopez, R. D. (2022). Between law and leisure: The public paradox of illegal cockfighting in rural Philippine communities. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Anthropology*, 14(2), 55–72.
- [45] Marimla, L. (2024). Behind the cards: a qualitative exploration of the lived experiences of the people with gambling addiction. *IJCRT.org*, 12(12).
- [46] Marvin, G. (1984). The cockfight in Andalusia, Spain: Images of the truly male. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 57(2), 57–66.
- [47] Martinez, E. G. (2022). Wartime recollections and cultural encounters: American servicemen's impressions of Philippine traditions during World War II. *Journal of Philippine Historical Studies*, 13(2), 58–74.
- [48] Meniano, S. (2020, May 11). Northern Samar governor warns vs. illegal cockfighting amid pandemic. *Philippine News Agency*. <http://pna.gov.ph>
- [49] Morales, C. J. (2023). Gambling economies: Informal livelihoods and risk-taking in low-income Filipino communities. *Philippine Journal of Development Sociology*, 19(1), 64–80.
- [50] Ortiz, E., Jr., Laodenio, A., Carangian, S., Palma, P., & Madrona, A. (2020). Praxis: The Bandura's Effect to Educational Innovation and Creativity. *Pantao*, 4(2).
- [51] Peñalba, E. H. (2021). *Cockfighting in later life: A qualitative inquiry into elderly Filipinos' gambling experiences*.
- [52] Prasetyawati, Y. R., & Lamoste, A. D. (2021). The relationship of consumer attitude and government regulations towards online gambling behavior in the Philippines. *Communicare: Journal of Communication Studies*, 8(2), 146–160.
- [53] Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon & Schuster.
- [54] Quimbo, M. (2018). Poverty and inequality in the Philippines: A multidimensional perspective. *Philippine Economic Journal*, 57(1), 1–26.
- [55] Rivera, M. P. (2023). Community policing strategies against illegal gambling in urban barangays: A case study of Metro Manila. *Philippine Journal of Criminology and Law Enforcement*, 10(1), 88–104.
- [56] Reyes, D. M. (2023). Blood sport and identity: The cultural politics of sabong in the Philippines. *Journal of Philippine Cultural Critique*, 8(1), 21–40.
- [57] Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., & Earls, F. (1997). Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science*, 277(5328), 918–924.
- [58] Segal, J., PhD, Smith, M., MA, Robinson, L., & Reid, S. (2025, January 24). Gambling addiction and problem gambling. <https://www.helpguide.org/mental-health/addiction/gambling-addiction-and-problem-gambling>
- [59] Semenza, D. C., Silver, I. A., Stansfield, R., & Bamwine, P. (2024). Local gun violence, mental health, and sleep: A neighborhood analysis in one hundred US Cities. *Social Science & Medicine*, 351, 116929.
- [60] Snyder, K., Mneney, P., & Wittemyer, G. (2019). Predicting the risk of illegal activity and evaluating law enforcement interventions in the western Serengeti. *Conservation Science and Practice*, 1(9), e81.
- [61] Stewart, C., Pitts, M., & Osborne, H. (2010). Mediated intergroup conflict: The discursive construction of “illegal immigrants” in a regional U.S. newspaper. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 30(1), 8–27.
- [62] Sutin, A. R., Stephan, Y., & Terracciano, A. (2020). Personality traits and risk-taking behaviors in adulthood. *Journal of Personality*, 88(3), 537–548.
- [63] Sutin, A., Stephan, Y., Luchetti, M., & Terracciano, A. (2018). Loneliness and risk of dementia. *Innovation in Aging*, 2(suppl_1), 966–967.
- [64] Sumampong (2023). Factors Influencing the Community to Cockfight and Challenges of Police Officers in Suppressing Illegal Cockfighting in the Philippines. *International Journal of Research*, 10(6).
- [65] Ramos, L. D. (2023). The social costs of gambling: A case study on sabong-related violence in Filipino households. *Philippine Journal of Social Issues*, 15(1), 45–60.
- [66] Tessler, A., Beyrouty, K., & Crapnell, N. (2017). An exploratory study of illegal gamblers in Hong Kong. *Asian Journal of Gambling Issues and Public Health*, 7(1), Article 3.
- [67] Tolentino, R. (2021). *Culture and identity in the Philippines: Contemporary perspectives*. Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- [68] Travers, H., Archer, L. J., Mwedde, G., Roe, D., Baker, J., Plumptre, A. J., Rwetsiba, A., & Milner-Gulland, E. (2019). Understanding complex drivers of wildlife crime to design effective conservation interventions. *Conservation Biology*, 33(6), 1296–1306.
- [69] Vidal, R. (2021). Gambling addiction and its impact on Filipino families: A case study on sabong-related consequences. *Philippine Journal of Social Issues*, 12(4), 234–245.
- [70] Velasco, N. T. (2022). Performing masculinity: Animal contests and male identity in rural Philippine culture. *Journal of Gender and Cultural Studies*, 14(2), 102–118.
- [71] Yap, C., & Batino, C. (2022, March 18). Online cockfighting wagers rake in billions in the Philippines. *The Japan Times*. <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2022/03/18/asia-pacific/philippines-online-cockfighting/>
- [72] Yusof, H. M. (2023). Faith, law, and vice: The legal and religious dimensions of cockfighting in Southeast Asia. *Journal of Southeast Asian Legal and Cultural Studies*, 9(2), 77–94.
- [73] Zeff, S. (2018). Alleged cockfighting ring busted in east Kansas City. *KCUR - Kansas City News and NPR*.
- [74] Zyambo, D. (2024). Understanding and addressing the challenges of online gambling addiction in mainland China. *General Psychiatry*, 37(2), e101477.