



THE VALUE OF FIGHTING DANCE TO AVOID CULTURAL VIOLENCE PERSPECTIVE: ON CACI OF THE MANGGARAI TRIBE

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the traditional fighting dance widely known as Caci. Caci still exists in the Manggarai tribe East Nusa Tenggara, a sacred ceremony and contains a moral message value. In this study, we will examine how the value of Caci reduces the perspective of Violence. The data comes from YouTube about the Caci in Manggarai and interviews with an informant. This study used the structuration theory proposed by Anthony Giddens. Based on the results is behind the Caci performance, which is so aggressive, the iconic uniqueness has an implied meaning about the relationship the humans with God. For the Manggarai tribe, being physically injured in Caci is a natural thing to happen and doesn't count as violent or fighting with opponents.

Introduction

Recently, more conceive of consumption that the tradition passed down in a local culture such as the famous traditional dance *Caci* of the Manggarai tribe, which is a fighting dance, is considered very contrary to law and human rights because it contains direct physical violence. It is shown to the public and even shared on various online or social media such as YouTube. This fighting dance has been developed and preserved for a long time as a cultural heritage by the Manggarai tribe in East Nusa Tenggara.

Advances in the skyrocketing digital field make it easier for us to access all forms of information. One of the issues that attract netizens is that cultural issues are also prevalent. The presence of social media plays an essential role in fostering a sense of concern and increasing public confidence to actively share information and update developments on local cultural wisdom.

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Following the explained above, Andreas Kaplan and Michael Haenlein (2010) on Sugeng Cahyono (2016) explained that social media's role is crucial in developing and changing culture. Social media is a group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 and enable the creation and exchange of user-generated content.

The emergence of social media such as the YouTube channel fosters the confidence of young creators from the Manggarai area. There is a lot of content that raises local cultural wisdom, *Caci*, is one of the most famous and iconic cultural dances. In the artistic view, Hawkins (2012) said that culture is a complex that includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, customs, and other abilities and habits possessed by humans as part of society. This opinion aligns with E.B Taylor, who defines culture as something complex that includes knowledge of beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and others obtained by humans as members of society. Art is the most crucial part of a culture; *Caci* is a form of cultural expression inherent in the Manggarai tribe, consisting of a pair of men who fight with whips and shields. The *Caci* system is one-on-one; a dancer armed with a whip (*larik*) will act as an attacker and another player in a defensive position using a shield (*Nggiling*). *Caci* was played during harvest season celebrations (*Hang Woja*) and new year rituals (*Penti*), land clearing ceremonies, wedding ceremonies, or other major traditional ceremonies, such as performed to welcome important guests and celebrate other national day ceremonies and then confirmed by the opinion expressed by Adi M. Nggoro (2013) that the dance is often played at formal events such as traditional weddings, harvest celebrations (*Penti*), and other formal occasions, *Caci* dance performances are usually in front of the traditional house (*Mbaru Gendang*). The place is sacred because the area or field is only used for traditional ceremonies. Of the six *Mbaru Gendang*, only one is still there, maintaining function.

In other assumptions *Caci* viewed from the perspective of human rights and law, it is an example of violence in culture because of the high risk that it can cause minor physical injuries to injuries that require severe treatment because there is a high chance of being hit by an opponent. Even though *Caci* is equipped with a safety costume, there will still be injuries. Besides, the perspective of the tradition was passed down for a long time. The Manggarai tribal community considers that *Caci* can show a man's agility in one-on-one battles. The Manggarai tribe believes the injuries sustained by players are not a violation but a risk that each *Caci* player must bear. Tradition is still an ingrained tradition by carrying it out. Besides, Agustinus Frans P.N (2019) In its development, *Caci* considered experiencing a shift in meaning. A decline in moral values causes this *Caci* appropriately conveyed to people who witness abuse. In practice, the sense of *Caci* is dealing with acts of violence as shown; the moral quality of a human being is really at stake because there is a clash. Interests are happening, and moral values are concerned with goodness, care, and a sense of belonging.

On the contrary, physical violence causes ugliness, a shift in meaning, and various perspectives in terms of human rights. Nevertheless, the Manggarai tribal community, as the leading actor in culture, has room to maintain the ability to maintain morality, and customs and balance the clashes between traditions and the violence displayed. Through

this paper, I want to discuss more deeply *Caci*, which is seen as dangerous and contains violence, basically has meaning and value to be conveyed to the public, knowing the function and purpose of the *Caci* tradition, to answer the research question it is "How the value of *Caci* reduces the perspective of Violence in *Caci* perceived by the audience." This research question refers to the practice of physical violence in the *Caci* dance of the Manggarai tribe because there is a physical strength struggle that can cause injury.

The Indigenous Cultures of the Manggarai Tribe

The Manggarai tribe is an ethnic group that occupies the western part of the island of Flores, East Nusa Tenggara Province. The indigenous Manggarai tribe is geographically divided into three regencies; West Manggarai Regency, Manggarai Regency, and East Manggarai Regency, with around 350,000 people. In terms of language, the Manggarai people speak the Manggarai language, a language known as Tombo Manggarai. This language has about 43 sub-dialects, but in general, the language of the Manggarai tribe is divided into several dialects, such as Pae, Mabai, Rejong, Mbaen, Pota, Central Manggarai, East Manggarai, and West Manggarai dialects. The Manggarai tribe is known as a tribe that is thick with various traditional rituals. A series of significant ritual ceremonies as a form of gratitude to the Almighty for the life that has been lived include;

- Penti Manggarai ritual is a traditional ceremony to celebrate the annual thanksgiving to harvest fields and rice fields.
- Barong Lodok ritual is a traditional ceremony to invite the gardener's spirit to the *lingko* (the center of the garden).
- Barong Wae ritual is a traditional ceremony to invite ancestral spirits who are guardians of the springs.
- Barong Compang ritual is a traditional ceremony to summon the spirit of the village guard at night.

Manggarai Tribe Belief System

The Manggarai tribe believes in performing traditional rituals of worshipping ancestral spirits. According to cultural experts, several cultural elements in the Manggarai community are religious systems and ceremonies, community organizational systems, knowledge systems, languages, arts, livelihood or economic systems, technology systems, and equipment, Koentjaraningrat (1990) on Aslianti (2018). In reality, the indigenous Manggarai people still carry out the remnants of ancient beliefs, packaged as a legacy of time-honored traditions. In ancient times the Manggarai tribe worshiped ancestral spirits (*Empo* or *Andung*). It was cautious about disturbances by spirits called *golo*, or *pelesina*, dragons, and others. They also have a supreme deity called *Mori K'reng* (God Almighty).

The original religion of the Manggarai tribe is dynamism and animism (belief in spirits). The indigenous people of Manggarai believe that spirits of ancestors are present in large trees called *Langke* and in springs. Trees and springs are considered sacred places, believed to have strength and protection (*p'ong*). According to Verheijen (1991) on aslianti's (2018), it was explained as an embodiment of this belief. The ancestors of the Manggarai tribe tried to replant the seeds of the big *langke* tree so that it grew in the middle of the village. The Manggarai tribe believes that when someone falls from a tree, it is usually blamed on the land or ghost (*Poti*) but also against *Jing* (spirit),

Over time, the Manggarai tribe has embraced major religions, as seen from the many scattered houses of worship. Based on data obtained from the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia (2020) Manggarai Regency has 93.36% (Catholic Christian), 0.88% (Protestant Christian), 5.74% (Islam), and 0.01% (Hindu), West Manggarai 77.71% (Catholic Christian), 0.85% (Protestant Christian), 21.38% (Muslim), and 0.06% (Hindu), East Manggarai 91.99% (Catholic Christian), 0.38% (Protestant Christian), 7.59% (Muslim), and 0.03% (Hindu).

Based on the data obtained, the people of the Manggarai tribe, in general, have adhered to legally valid religions. Even so, the traditional rituals left by the ancestors are still an essential part of the life of the Manggarai people; that is what has become the customary tradition that must be carried out nowadays.

Caci Traditional Ritual Procession

Caci dance is an art of agility fighting between two men and consists of one as a challenger and an attacker. *Caci*'s player is divided into two groups: the host group (*ata one*) as the attacking group (*paki*) and the defensive group (*ta'ang*) from other villages (*ata pe'angpe'ang* or called *meka landang*), which means guest challenger. *Caci* looks so heroic and iconic because it is a combination of *Lomes* (beautiful gestures and costumes worn with all kinds of accessories), *Bokak* (beautiful vocal art when singing), and *Lime* (dexterity in whipping or fending off the opponent's whip). The *Caci* players will be dressed like a bull ready to fight, this is illustrated by the equipment used, on the front of the head, both players will wear a *panggal* (crown) made of buffalo skin, and buffalo horns are also made so that it resembles a buffalo head, which serves to protect the head from the risk of serious injury, at the waist the player wears *ndeki* (shaped like a buffalo tail), helps to protect the core. The people of the Manggarai tribe consider the buffalo strong and brave.

Etymologically, *Caci* comes from two words: *Ca* which means one, and *Ci*, which means opponent, it means the dance of one against another. This dance depicts the joy of the Manggarai people. *Caci* was played at *mbaru Gendang* field (a big house as a traditional Manggarai house), where all traditional ceremonial rituals are performed. The player holding the whip acts as the attacker, and the other player holding the shield acts as the defender. Traditional arts can be seen from two different aspects;

First, it can be interpreted as art that is carried out for the continuity of unity of traditional ceremonies. In this case, the traditional customs are the principal value while the arts are only supported.

Second, classic art can be interpreted as an art form with a fixed tradition of norms and rules of arrangement. *Caci* can include the two elements; the *Caci* is never held without a specific purpose, to maintained because it is an essential part of traditional traditions in every ceremony such as thanksgiving for the harvest (*pentilhang woja weru*), village party (*rame natas*), and traditional wedding ceremony (*tae kawing*). On the other hand, *Caci* cannot be done freely because applicable rules bind it; therefore, it must be following existing regulations and norms, such as dressing procedures, washing equipment, completeness of accessories, and rules relating to discipline. At the same time, the game is being played.

Caci is a masterpiece and a means of giving gratitude to God Almighty. In the context of *Penti* (thanks for the harvest), *Caci*'s is held for three to seven days consisting of an opening ceremony, a day of *Caci*, and closing. If the *Caci* is held for three days, then it is divided into; the first day as the traditional opening ritual, the second day the games are held from morning to evening at *Natas Mbaru Gendang* (traditional house yard), and the third day is the last day as well as closing various events during the *Penti*. The players are divided into two groups that alternately switch positions as the attacking and defensive groups. The community performs several traditional rituals to hold the *Caci* game, including those carried out in the fields and springs in the local village. The night before the game starts, a ceremony for the summoning of ancestral spirits is held by slaughtering native chickens.

Before *Caci* begins, there will be an opening dance called *Danding*. This is a dance within singing a song in the form of a rhyme from a group of men and women who form a large circle, asking and answering questions while standing and moving around the ring. Girls and boys can join in a *Danding* but maintain ethics and manners. *Danding* dance is led by a person called *Nggejang*, who stands in the middle of the ring as a center to set the course of *Danding* starting from the rhythm of the movement, stamping the foot, and starting a verse by using a jingle. The dancers wear complete traditional clothes such as black *songke* (traditional woven fabric), *songke* shawl, *mbero* is traditional shirts (female), white shirt (male), headdress (male), white trousers (male), Bali Belo is a traditional crown for female. And using traditional musical instruments gong, drum, and *ndeki* (clatter). The purpose of the *danding* dance is so that young men and women have the opportunity to look at each other and sometimes end up falling in love. The benefits of *danding* dance as a unifying tool between residents and express a sense of art and cohesiveness. Citing the statement in Agus Maladi Irianto's research (2017).

Traditional art exists and develops related to the meaning, function, and culture that underlies the supporting community. For example, while meeting their primary needs, people with farming backgrounds will find opportunities to express their expressions through art. This is in line with the fact that the majority of the population of the Manggarai tribe is farming, which later in the *Caci* tradition becomes a critical moment to do as a form of gratitude for the harvest or annual celebration. Besides that, another opinion was put forward by Soedarsono (1978) in Syefriani (2019). When viewed based on the work pattern, dance can be divided into traditional dances and dances of new creations. Traditional dance has experienced a long history from generation to generation that has not changed. Meanwhile, new dance creations are artistic expressions that are still based on conventional patterns but are unique works that are not based on existing standards. In line with this opinion, the art of *Caci* dance is included in traditional Dance because *Caci* is inseparable from the Manggarai tribe's customs journey. *Caci* grew and developed with businesses that later became a tradition that is maintained to this day.

Method

In addition to referring to the theory put forward by experts, I will also use several YouTube channels media as a source of information to briefly explain the *Caci* dance, namely the Paman Channel entitled "*Sejarah Manggarai dan Kebudayaan Caci*," whole viewers of 58,221 thousand, impressions from the My Trip My Adventure entitled "*Alam Terbuka Flores*" with total viewers of 81,558 thousand and a broadcast from the Engkoz Mitenk channel entitled "*Ba Leso, Acara Adat Manggarai Paling Sakral Sebelum Mualai Tarian Caci*." with whole viewers of 22,550, the most sacred Manggarai traditional event

before the *Caci* dance begins. First, the researcher selects the data so that the data presented is relevant to the research question. The shows on YouTube each explain the function of the *Caci*. In addition to processing data from the three channels, I decided to conduct an online interview with a resource person who knew more about *Caci* to make the data obtained more valid and get more supporting data.

I want to know firsthand how the Manggarai tribe carries out *Caci*, so I need data to be analyzed. The data that I want to obtain is data in the form of information about *Caci*'s activities based on information provided by informants. At the same time, the period and data grouping were carried out from the beginning of writing, from September 2021 to November 2021.

In general, this research was divided into several stages;

The first stage that the researcher wants to reveal in this research is the element of identity on two YouTube channels that refers to the subject of the Manggarai tribe, namely the *Caci* traditional procession. At this stage, I will examine how the three channels collect information related to the implementation of *Caci*.

I want to get incomplete data from sources on the three YouTube channel shows in the second stage. The criteria for selecting the data itself is based on the relationship between the construction of the cultural identity to be studied with the information provided by the source and other supporting elements in the video. At this stage, I will also examine the data sourced from the resource person who profoundly understands the tradition.

In the third stage, I will analyze the data obtained from the three YouTube shows. Furthermore, which is the last stage concludes the overall implementation of the *Caci* dance following the data that has been presented.

Results

The Manggarai tribe has a unique traditional dance; this dance is passed down from generation to generation and is a tremendous conventional tradition, namely *Caci*. This *Caci* tradition is held as a form of respect for the ancestors and an expression of gratitude for life. *Caci* is a complex tradition between significant traditional rituals and iconic dance arts. The sacrifices of the *Caci* players were huge, and they were willing to be injured by being whipped many times until the *Caci* battle was over. There are no accompanying medical personnel, but if there is a severe injury, other people will help treat it traditionally. A good strategy and careful preparation are, of course, very much needed, supported by mental and physical readiness, because *Caci* is carried out for days so that *Caci* players must be ensured in a healthy condition, to avoid things that are not desirable, for this reason, a rule for *Caci* players is only made. It is allowed to hit the opponent from the waist up, the part that is not covered with a cloth.

Meanwhile, areas of the body that are covered with the material should not be hit. The body parts targeted by the opponent are; the chest, back, arms, and eyes. The player is declared defeated if the whip attached to the thin buffalo skin at the end hits the eye part of the body. Traditionally, the game of *Caci* is a tradition of not looking for who loses and

who wins. *Caci* is not just a physical battle, and the most important thing is how *Caci* can convey good values, such as enthusiasm, ambition, hard work, peace, and self-respect. The game of *Caci* is very sporty; the two players alternate roles. *Caci* will finish before sunset, and traditional leaders will stop the game. Even though there are more injured players is no reason to retaliate or continue outside the arena. It is emphasized that *Caci* is only inside the *Caci* arena; when it is finished, there will be no more resistance outside the hall. Although *Caci* is seen as a form of physical violence that is very dangerous, especially for players, the Manggarai tribal people still carry out *Caci*. They consider injury in *Caci* to be a regular thing that risks must be borne, and tradition is still a tradition. The Manggarai believe the spirits of the ancestors are also present when the *Caci* is carried out because previously, there have been several conventional rituals of summoning ancestral spirits.

As written in the method, I will use three videos as data sources: videos uploaded by *Paman Channel*'s channel entitled "*Sejarah Manggarai dan Kebudayaan Caci*", My Trip My Adventure channel entitled "*Alam Terbuka Flores*" and impressions from the track Engkoz Mitenk with the title "*Ba Leso, Acara Adat Manggarai Paling Sakral Sebelum Mulai Tarian Caci.*"

To support this research, I took data in the form of video clips from these three sources and took information related to the implementation of *Caci*. The following is the source of the data we obtained from the video uploaded by the *Paman Channel* channel entitled "*Sejarah Manggarai dan Kebudayaan Caci*" accessed on 2021 Sunday, October 03.

Data 1:



Script: "*Kesenian tradisional Caci diadakan dalam upacara-upacara adat tertentu*"

Translate: *Caci* traditional art is held in certain traditional ceremonies.

Based on the data source, the informant explained that *Caci* is a traditional dance art that has existed since the beginning of the formation of the Manggarai tribe. *Caci* was developed with the history of the Manggarai culture. That is why worms are ingrained and passed down to this day. Although it contains physical violence, insults are still the most crucial part of Manggarai culture. The community considers *Caci* inseparable, even though there are elements of violence. Based on these data, it is evident that the *Caci* performance has been held for a long time and continues to develop today.

Data 2



Script: *“tidak ada latihan khusus Caci, karena secara otomatis putra Manggarai dengan melihat upacara Caci mereka membiasakan diri, di sekolah tinggal mengembangkan”*

Translate: there is no special training for *Caci* because automatically, by seeing it, the sons of Manggarai will get used to it, and they can improve their skills at school.

Based on a brief explanation from the informant, the art of *Caci* dance does not have a special training place but naturally ingrained flows by itself so that the motivation for Manggarai men is formed to follow *Caci*. From a brief explanation, he explained how the world of education took part in the development of *Caci*, schools in Manggarai, especially in the arts, teach values in *Caci*, provide an introduction to *Caci*, and direct students in the form of correct practice of playing *Caci*. Since I was a child, this was formed because I saw the *Caci* procession held every year in traditional villages. Seeing the physical violence that occurred in the *Caci* did not make the Manggarai children afraid.

Data 3



Script: *“Saya tidak takut sama sekali karena saya punya bakat, dari hati kecil saya punya keinginan atau motivasi dasar”*

Translate: I'm not afraid at all because I have talent; deep in my heart, I have a desire or essential motivation.

Data 3 explains how the players feel when following the *Caci*. Player 1 illustrates that there is no element of coercion. Before participating in the game of *Caci*, he already knows the risks that must be accepted and are ready for all the good and bad consequences of

following *Caci*. There is no fear because a talent triggers the spirit to practice and follow the *Caci*. The informant explained that the motivation came naturally even though he did not have a parental background to play *Caci*. He did not have a lineage as a *Caci* fighter, but talent is formed naturally. This is also because the traditional environment always displays *Caci* at traditional ceremonies, and young people get used to seeing *Caci*.

Data 4



Script: “*Saya sudah terbiasa dengan luka karena caci. Saya rasa biasa saja*”

Translate: I'm used to being injured because of abuse. I think it's normal.

Data 4 is the result of an interview with *Caci*'s player. He explained that the injuries experienced during abuse are common, so they do not affect even when they are hit. They rigger their spirit to fight, even if they are injured by being hit by the opponent's whip. The people of Manggarai think that injuries are a risk that they must bear on their own. That's why players shouldn't be just anyone, only people who are physically and mentally ready.

Data 5



Script: “*Luka yang dialami saat Caci justru pemicu semangat para pemain*”

Translate: The wound experienced when *Caci* triggered the players' enthusiasm.

The informant, as a player, shows the arm that was hit; he admits that there is no pain. If someone is struck on a body part, the cursing game will not be stopped unless it hits vital organs such as the eye area. However, softball players rarely get injuries to the eyes, mainly in the body's arms, abdomen, chest, and back.

Based on the explanations obtained from some of the informants above, it can be said that the tradition of carrying out *Caci* is not an outlet for physical violence as thought by the wider community. *Caci* is held based on the awareness of the Manggarai tribe to maintain and preserve the traditional artistic heritage of their ancestors. This tradition certainly

answers the polemic in the community, especially outside Manggarai, who thinks that the *Caci* tradition overrides the morals and safety of the players. The Manggarai tribe considers injuries in *Caci* to be inseparable but sees injury or injury as a risk that must be borne. Before *Caci*, there were various traditional rituals carried out to keep them from misfortune and unwanted things. The *Caci* players are also aware of the risks faced without any element of coercion and pressure from outside. *Caci* players are provided with knowledge and rules of the game by traditional leaders who understand the game of *Caci*.

The following discussion is based on impressions on the My Trip My Adventure YouTube channel entitled "*Alam Terbuka Flores*" accessed on 2021 Monday, October 04.

Data 1



Script: “*Seni tari caci merupakan simbol kepahlawanan dan ketangsan seorang pria Manggarai*”

Translate: *Caci* dance is a symbol of the heroism and agility of a Manggarai man.

The video clip on the My Trip My Adventure YouTube channel briefly explained the meaning of the *Caci* dance as a symbol of heroism and a test of Manggarai men's agility. *Caci* contains artistic values and conveys that even guests can participate in this *Caci* game, which also means brotherhood. Although the *Caci* dance is dangerous, the indigenous people of Manggarai are not afraid of the risks they face. *Caci* has a perfect development, and people outside the indigenous Manggarai tribe also accept it.

Data 2:



Script: *“Tari Caci begitu sebutannya, permainan adu ketangkasan ini dilakukan oleh dua orang lelaki yang berperan sebagai pencambuk dan ada yang berperan sebagai penangkis. Peran keduanya akan dilakukan secara bergantian, tarian ini penuh dengan muatan nilai seni, dalam aksinya penari memainkan gerakan tubuh dengan busana yang dipakai atau yang dikenal dengan sebutan lomes. Busana penari terdiri dari; penutup kepala yang berbentuk tanduk kerbau rotan berbentuk kuncir kuda yang dililit di bagian pinggang sarung songket yang diikat sepanjang lutut celana panjang putih serta manik-manik yang diikat pada bagian bawah dagu kita”.*

Translate: "Caci dance is what it's called, this agility fighting game played by two men who act as whips, and one acts as a parry, the roles of the two will be carried out alternately. This dance is full of artistic value; in action, the dancers play body movements with their clothes which are known as *lomes*. The dancer's attire consists of; a head covering in the form of a rattan buffalo horn in the form of a ponytail wrapped around the waist of a *songke* sarong tied to the knee of white trousers and beads tied at the bottom of our chin."

The art of *Caci* dance is undoubtedly dangerous and leads to physical violence. Many people ask, but in reality, there are more and more *Caci* fans, especially the Manggarai youth. In the preservation of local arts and culture, there is indeed no special place such as a particular school for learning and practicing *Caci*, but by itself, the art of *Caci* will flow and appear to certain people. For the Manggarai community, physical violence is not essential and leads to violations but sees bodily injury more as the risk that must occur and be accepted as risks borne by each player. *Caci's* game upholds the value of sportsmanship. Besides that, justice is also essential; as evidenced in *Caci*, the two players will exchange positions as attackers and repellents.

Data 3:



Script: *“semua pemain Caci ini juga harus konsentrasi bro jangan meleset sedikitpun kalau nggak mau terjadi sesuatu yang enggak kita inginkan bahkan katanya setiap orang yang mau ikut tradisi taji satu hari sebelumnya, harus meditasi dahulu untuk menenangkan dan menjernihkan pikiran. Tari Caci juga didukung oleh alat musik nyanyian dan tarian khas Manggarai. Tarian Caci biasa dimainkan saat musim panen upacara pembukaan lahan sampai penyambutan tamu kayak kita gini. kesenian tradisional Caci ini buat gua bukan cuma identitas kearifan lokal aja tapi buat gua Ini juga nasihat kehidupan dimana kita harus menjunjung tinggi nilai sportivitas.”*

Translate: "All of these *Caci* players must also concentrate, bro, don't miss a beat if you don't want something that we don't want to happen, even though it is that everyone who

wants to join the spurs tradition one day before must first meditate to calm and clear the mind. *Caci* dance is also supported by musical instruments, singing, and dancing typical of Manggarai. *Caci* dance is usually played during the harvest season, from land clearing ceremonies to welcoming guests like us. *Caci's* traditional art is not only an identity for local wisdom but also life advice where we must uphold the value of sportsmanship."

Caci is a complex art, this can be seen from the combination of dance, music, and clothing used. As usual, the women will be dressed up and wear traditional clothes to play music, such as gong and drums, during the process. Some will sing, while the men or elders sing in *Caci* by making a circle. Reply to rhymes and encourage the badger players.

From this explanation, *Caci* does not focus on one point, namely the fight, attacking each other, but *Caci* embraces the community to unite, enlivening *Caci*. There is no sadness and tears in abuse because what they feel is the expression on their face of happiness and joy.

The following is an analysis based on a video interview on 2021 Tuesday, October 05 (19.00 - 22.00 WITA), duration 01:37, conducted virtually with one of the traditional leaders of the Manggarai Tribe, Mr. Leonardus Lefinal, S.E.

In this video interview, he explains in detail the values and messages in the *Caci* tradition to respond to and avoid the *Caci* phenomenon, which seems to be a form of violence in cultural practices.



Script : *“Melihat dari segi kekerasan, menurut orang Manggarai jika dipandang dari dua sudut pandang. Yang pertama dari prespektif hukum tentu akan berdampak pada sebuah tindakan pelanggaran karena ada kekerasan fisik didalamnya, kalau kita lihat dari kacamata hukum tentu dengan jelas ini sebuah pelanggaran. Namun karena ini merupakan budaya dan ini sudah menjadi turun temurun dari leluhur orang Manggarai maka, prespektif tentang kekerasannya itu sama sekali ditiadakan. Caci lebih mengarah kepada kekerasan fisik itu bagian dari bentuk penempatan mental, penempatan pribadi untuk lebih dewasa, lebih mapan, lebih kuat, jadi lebih tangguh dalam menghadapi berbagai tantangan atau persoalan hidup bagi suku Manggarai. Itulah makna yang sebenarnya; sehingga mengarah pada kekerasan hukum atau yang dapat dikaitkan dengan kekerasan hukum itu sama sekali tidak ada.”*

Translate: "From the point of view about violence in *Caci*, according to the Manggarai people, if you look at it from two points of view. The first is from a legal perspective; of

course, it will impact an act of violation because there is physical violence. If we look at it from a legal perspective, this is a violation. The violence is eliminated. *Caci* is more directed to physical violence. It is part of a form of mental forging, unique forging to be more mature, more established, stronger, and more resilient in facing various challenges or life problems for the Manggarai tribe. That's the real meaning; so that it leads to legal violence or which can be associated with legal violence does not exist at all."

Based on the information conveyed by the traditional leaders, *Caci's* view that contains elements of violence is indeed accurate. It can be said to be a form of violation of the law. However, he explained in detail in simple language that in the view of the people of the Manggarai tribe, what has become a tradition will still be preserved because tradition is still a tradition that contains messages of life conveyed through *Caci*. In other words, the art of *Caci* dance is an intermediary symbol to get advice from the community. Others about the meaning of life. What is explained by the interviewee is clear, that *Caci's* phenomenon as a dangerous art because it contains physical violence can't be summed up. Because actually, *Caci* has a deep meaning for the Manggarai tribe, injury due to being hit is considered a risk borne by the players; that's why *Caci* players are mentally prepared and physically healthy.

From the results of the interview, the meaning of *Caci* is obtained to solve the perspective of violence in the *Caci* tradition;

1. The philosophy of *Caci* as the value of struggle and expression; Physical injuries that occur in the *Caci* dance are not included in the form of violations of rights and laws but as a form of sacrifice. Physical violence in *Caci* has a positive meaning that contains the value of life for the Manggarai community. This life requires struggle, hard work, and realizing that every achievement in life is passed with efforts that have consequences for good and bad things. The people of Manggarai are not afraid to watch or play *Caci*. The injuries and other physical injuries trigger the spirit of sportsmanship and courage. After the *Caci* is held, there is no grudge between the players. In addition, what is reflected in the *Caci* is a form of expression and awareness of the Manggarai tribe that this life is under the auspices of the creator God.

2. The function of *Caci* as a ritual; leads to human relationship with God Almighty, *Caci* as an intermediary to communicate with God as a form of respect, praise, and gratitude for life. Putting God above everything is expressed by the term *Mori bate jari agu dedek tana wan awang eta*, which means God who created the heavens and the earth.

3. The social function of *Caci*; The people of Manggarai are aware that apart from being individual human beings, they are also social beings who need other people, there is a value of togetherness, this is indicated by the *Caci* procession that involves many people, and the cohesiveness of the community to unite.

Discussion

In this case study, I will use several theoretical references to search for themes appropriate to this case study about *Caci* and to answer the research questions "How the value of *Caci* reduces the perspective of Violence in *Caci* perceived by the audience". I will use the structuration theory, which is a theory that rejects the dualism (contradictory) proposed by Anthony Giddens (1998).

In connection with Anthony Giddens' theory (1998), namely "The Third Way," he revealed that the structuration concept created has two keywords: structure and agency. The structural theory emphasizes that the relationship between actors and actions is not a

dualism but a duality. Giddens stated that this social practice should be the main object in the study of social science. The duality lies in the fact that the structure (guidelines) that are the principles in practice in various places and times result from repeated individual actions. Giddens later called this schemata structure. According to this theory, the structure has several properties, namely empowering, where this trait allows the formation of social practices for individuals. The objectivity Structure proposed by Giddens is attached to social action and practice. The nature of the structure is to overcome time and space (timeless and placeless) and virtual, so the structure must be applied to various situations and conditions.

According to Giddens (1998), the structure in structuration theory has three principles; the first is the structure of marking or significance (significance), which involves symbols, meanings, mentions, and discourses. The second is the structure of domination, which includes control over people and goods. The third is legitimacy which concerns normative regulations, which are revealed in the legal system.

in further explanation, the structure is related to the following:

The design is structured properties that bind space and time in social systems. These traits may be the same social practice seen as lasting beyond the space-time span, which lends it to it in a systemic form. The structure is the valid order of transformative relations, which means a social system because social practices that reproduce do not have a structure but rather show the structural properties and existence of that structure as the presence of space and time, only in its depiction as in social practices. And as a memory that finds direction in the recognizable behavior of human agents.

Based on the theory put forward by Anthony Giddens (1998), I understand that the *Caci* tradition is an art that is structured because it is bound by space and time, as a cultural heritage that is maintained until it becomes a social practice of the Manggarai community, in an extended period. Based on the description of the theory, it can be explained that *Caci* was born as a guide that binds the community, which is carried out repeatedly from generation to generation and continuously.

In line with the explanation above, in Kuntowijoyo's view in Tatik Atiyatul Mufiroh's (2019), it can be explained that culture is "the work of human creativity with the power of the soul (mind, will, intuition, imagination) and body that expresses itself in different lives and human livelihoods in response to all challenges, demands, and impulses from human beings towards the realization of happiness, and welfare (spiritual and material) of human beings, both individuals and communities as well as individuals in society. The formation of a social structure is a project in which there is a process, and the process is based on a will which also happens in the *Caci* tradition. *Caci* is not an art that has emerged and become a great tradition today, but *Caci* is a work created by the ancestors. *Caci* has spiritual power because it contains high moral values and is materially responsible for implementing *Caci* as a ritual. *Caci* was born and sourced from a community formed together and accepted as an inheritance by the older generation to the younger generation as successors.

Another opinion was expressed by Widjaja (1986) in Ninla E. Falabiba (2019) regarding conservation as an activity carried out continuously, directed, and integrated to realize specific goals that reflect the existence of something permanent and eternal. Refers

to the definition above, preserving is an effort to keep it as it is. Sustainability cannot stand alone because it is always paired with development, in this case, survival. From this explanation, it is clear how the Manggarai tribe respects the cultural heritage of their ancestors by observing parts to care for and keep it strong, preserved indefinitely so that the meaning contained in the *Caci* does not fade or even disappear.

As for another opinion, Koentjaraningrat (1994), from the point of view of cultural values, this value consists of conceptions that live in the minds of the community's citizens regarding things that they consider very noble. The value system in a society is used as an orientation and reference in action. Therefore, a person's cultural values influence him in determining the available alternatives, methods, tools, and manufacturing goals. In line with Sumaatmadja (2013), in the development, development, and application of culture in life, the values inherent in society that regulate harmony, harmony, and balance also develop. These values are conceptualized as cultural values.

From these two opinions, the researcher concludes that the *Caci* dance is not just an ordinary performing art in general. Still, *Caci* has a meaning, and the moral message is conveyed to the local community. Great work, which deserves to be protected. The value of *Caci* is incarnated in various spaces of local people's lives. With the intention that values are very influential on human behavior, both individually and in community groups, regarding all aspects of life, both bad and right and wrong. According to Prayanto Widyo Harsanto (2010), it is the cultural system that underlies and influences humans the most. Every community group, no matter how small and simple, has its own culture. Being cultured is not just having but taking part in culture. Even though the message that wants to go through the art of dance like this *Caci* can change its meaning because it is seen from different perspectives, this is where the role of communication as expressed by Liliweri (2002) in Prayanto Widyo Harsanto (2010) that reading the meaning of connotation is significant—determined by the cultural factors of the audience.

In addition to cultural factors, understanding the importance of messages in images also depends on the purpose and context, so it can be concluded that the success of communication ultimately relies on the effectiveness of communication, namely the extent to which audiences give the same meaning to the message conveyed. For this reason, the cultural background of the target audience will determine the effectiveness of communication. Therefore, understanding the target audience's culture is an essential prerequisite for successful communication. The meaning of the insults can be conveyed and not seen as a form of cultural violence.

Based on the description above, I use Anthony Giddens' theory (1998) as a fundamental basis in answering the research question, "How can the value and function of abuse change the perspective of abuse as a practice of violence in culture."

Conclusions

As we can see from the above explanation based on the data source and from a source person, we could draw at least four conclusions for this case study of *Caci*:

First, the *Caci* show is a cultural heritage from the ancestors that are still well preserved. *Caci* still maintains the authenticity of the inherited art, as explained on Paman Channel's YouTube channel entitled "*Sejarah Manggarai dan Budaya Caci*" that *Caci* is not explicitly taught to the sons of Manggarai, it was purely self-motivated, and before following the *Caci* they had understood the consequences, such as minor injuries or serious injuries. There is no element of coercion in following insults but instead driven by one's intentions.

Second, *Caci* does not have written game rules, but all things in the *Caci* game are inherited orally. Still, before participating in *Caci*, the players are equipped with knowledge from traditional leaders to avoid injury and play *Caci* correctly so that no party is harmed. In this case, the *Caci* are directly supervised by conventional leaders to prevent cheating and revenge between players.

Third, *Caci* is not a show to judge wins and losses. The dance of *Caci* does not refer to the final result of who wins and loses *Caci* refers to the value of togetherness and contains a moral message of life to the Manggarai tribe. Through *Caci*, we see the meaning of the struggle of life; winning and losing are not essential. Still, sportsmanship in *Caci* means that a mighty man always solves problems in the proper arena. Injury and suffering are expected as a form of consequence that must be accepted; thus, it is not considered a violation of human rights or the law.

Last one, *Caci* as a form of gratitude to God the creator and brotherhood, for the people of Manggarai God above all, for that as a form of respect to the Almighty through this *Caci*, expressed gratitude for life, through traditional songs and expressions of Manggarai people, other than as an expression *Caci's* appreciation also describes the social life of the Manggarai tribe. They depend on each other, and as evidenced by the existence of *Caci*, the community can be united in various series of traditional ceremonies, including *Caci*. In the *Caci*, some serve as attackers and challengers, but that is only in the *Caci* arena; outside the arena, they are still brothers as a whole.

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