Pencak Dor in The Cyber World An Analysis of Comments on Youtube

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Abstract

There has been a rise in the spread and new consumption of a traditional fighting sport from East Java, Indonesia. The sport is widely known as Pencak Dor. These days Pencak Dor has received internet users' attention. People can easily find videos of Pencak Dor's fights on the biggest video sharing site, YouTube. However, similar to what happens in the real world; various comments regarding the performance of Pencak Dor appear in the cyber world too. Using encoding-decoding concept from Stuart Hall, we try to unpack the complexity of the diverse comments appeared on YouTube regarding the practices. The result of this study suggested that topics appeared in the comments is not limited to the fight or the fighters. Interestingly, the topic is also about a debate and contestation between preserving the traditional sport and Islamic teachings. Having a root in Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School, Pencak Dor mixes violent culture and religious teachings. The diverse opinions that emerge on YouTube instead affirm that a code that an encoder sends is not necessarily decoded exactly the same as the encoder wants.

Keywords

Pencak Dor; YouTube; decoding; encoding

INTRODUCTION

Pencak Dor in East Java

In recent years, there has been a rise in the spread and new consumption of a traditional fighting sport from East Java, Indonesia. The sport is widely known as Pencak Dor. This sport is, normally, performed on a *genjot*, a place for the fighters to combat which looks similar to a boxing ring. This sport is very popular in some regions in East Java like Kediri, Trenggalek, Nganjuk, and Blitar. On every occasion when pencak dor is performed, hundreds to thousands of people would come and enjoy the performance. Nowadays, a new kind of consumption has arisen since internet started to be used widely around Indonesia. This kind of sport then has become famous and consumed not only by people in East Java but also by people in other regions in Indonesia. Perhaps, this traditional sport has also been enjoyed abroad as it has attracted foreign media's attention to cover Pencak Dor. Foreign media like

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a Daily Mail¹, Deutsche Welle ², and also an American photo stock agency known as Getty Images have covered Pencak Dor. Moreover, it is because of internet so that pictures, videos, and stories covering the traditional fighting sport have been spread worldwide.

The practice of Pencak Dor as a fighting sport has its root from Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School in Kediri since the colonial era (Liputan 6 2017). The students at the school, usually called *santri*, are regular fighters in the sport. When we attend a performance of the sport, it can be seen clearly that Pencak Dor has some differences compared to other traditional fighting sports. It is because a performance of Pencak Dor is always accompanied by songs played with jedor/tanjidor, a traditional music instrument which produces "dor" sound which is also the reason why the name dor is put behind the word pencak (Himawanto 2017, p 256). What makes this fighting sport more interesting is that the songs that accompany the combat are *sholawat* which come from Islam tradition. Sholawat in Islam is a kind of poetic song to recite intended for Prophet Muhammad when a Moslem wants a blessing. Nowadays, although this sport has its root from an Islamic school, the fighters in Pencak Dor are not limited to santri. The practice has become more and more open to public generating people outside santri community to come on stage and fight.

The combat which is held on *genjot* has received various opinions. Some consider the sport as dangerous. It is because blood can be spilled and any combat may

- Daily Mail, a British media through its online platform, Mail Online, at least has published two articles related to Pencak Dor. To read the articles, click these links: a.) https://www.dailymail. co.uk/news/article-2221018/Pencak-Dor-Fightersbeating-holds-barred-martial-arts-contest.html, and b.) https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4462852/Indonesian-school-students-beatpulp.html
- 2 Deutsche Welle or DW, a Germany international broadcaster, has published an article about Pencak Dor. To read the article, click this link: https:// www.dw.com/id/tarung-bebas-pencak-dor-daripesantren-lirboyo/g-38722303

cause bad injuries for the fighters. Faint is highly possible and death can happen to any fighters. Daily Mail (2017), for example, calls this sport as a 'brutal fighting competition'. In February 2017, Kediri local police prohibited performance of the sport in public. This caused some people from Pencak Dor community coming to the Police Station and showed their disagreement of the prohibition. This resulted in some changes of the traditional sport preparation before the show takes place. One of them is medical support team that must be provided for Pencak Dor fighters (Kumparan 2017).

Pencak Dor on Internet

From the above description, we can see that, no matter what, Pencak Dor is very popular in Kediri and its surrounding cities. These days, the popularity of Pencak Dor, as mentioned above, has also received internet users' attention. People can easily find videos of Pencak Dor's fights on the biggest video sharing site, YouTube. YouTube channels like LLM, Pencak Dor, and Wilis TV upload videos covering stories of recent Pencak Dor's events and fighters regularly. Each video that was uploaded has achieved relatively big attention as it has thousands even million viewers. What all these suggested is that Pencak Dor is popular not only in real world but also in cyber world.

Similar to what happens in the real world; various opinions regarding the performance of Pencak Dor appear in the cyber world too. The opinions on the sport can be generated from comments that appear below the video uploaded on YouTube. To give an illustration, one video titled "Pencak Dor Terbaru || KRONOLOGI LENGKAP GEGER JOHNY HUNTER VS ARIS NGORAN"3, which has been viewed for more than 2.8 million times, received nearly 2000 comments. On this single video, various comments appeared focusing on various subjects regarding the sport. For example, some of them commented on how the fight is,



³ This data is taken from the day the video was uploaded, June 3rd, 2017, until October 23rd, 2018. To watch the video, follow this link: https://www. YouTube.com/watch?v=mUhke2A2RNQ

some on how good or bad a fighter is, and some on the contestation between religious teachings against violence culture. There are lots of topic appeared on this just single video uploaded by a single channel to the site. Each of the comments appeared can be understood as an attempt to give a meaning to the performance of the sport. In line with this, Haridakis and Hanson (2009) argued that since YouTube creation in 2005, audience has been an integral part of the media's chain of distribution in which it has socialnetworking capabilities. It is because the audiences on YouTube can be actively involved in sharing their opinions regarding the content of a video uploaded by a user through comments and ratings (p.317). Therefore, viewers' activity on the media is likely to be similar as in the real world.

This meaning making of Pencak Dor, taken from comments on YouTube, is the focus of discussion here. In this paper, we would like to discuss the complexity of meaning making on Pencak Dor's practices and performances through its media representation on YouTube.

METHODS

As studies suggested, YouTube, as a site where people from around the world can share videos and also as a social media which enables people to share their opinions related to the uploaded videos through YouTube's features (comments, like, and dislike), can be considered as data sources and also research tool for scholarly research (Giglietto, Rosi, & Bennato 2012; Haridakis & Hanson 2009; Snelson, Rice, & Wyzard 2012). Therefore, we would also like to propose in this research a similar approach in seeing YouTube as an integral part in the process of meaning making on Pencak Dor practices in East Java through its media representation.

This research uses encoding-decoding concept by Stuart Hall (2006) in trying to unpack the complexity of meaning making on Pencak Dor from YouTube site. The concept helps researchers in understanding how messages/codes are sent and received in studying production, circulation, and also consumption of a media. Encoding can be understood as a practice of producing a code(s) while decoding is the process to receive the code(s). However, as Hall suggested, a message or a code that is encoded does not necessarily received as it is. The codes in the process of encoding and decoding may not be symmetrical perfectly (p.166). Although, there may be "preferred reading" which the encoder wants audiences to received the message as it is, alternative ways of receiving the code/message are possible due to audiences' differences in factors like social class, gender, and culture (Barker 2000, p. 327).

The concept mentioned above is used as the ground framework of thinking in understanding the process of meaning making on Pencak Dor on YouTube. In doing so, we classified YouTube channels that uploaded videos showing Pencak Dor performances in the real world. To help us classifying the channels, we used YouTube's searching feature. In doing so, we typed "Pencak Dor" in the searching feature as the keyword. From our observation, there are at least three channels that upload relevant videos regularly since May 2013 to October 2018. The channels are LLM, Pencak Dor, and Wilis TV. These channels are arguably the most popular channels in which each of them has thousands to millions of viewers on its single uploaded video. Therefore, we would like to propose on studying those three channels as sources of data related to the process of meaning making.

This research applies analysis on media and articulation. The sources of data that are used are: firstly, elements of the channels like channels description, video description, and other elements that also take part in the meaning making by each channel. Secondly, the various comments appeared on videos uploaded by the channels. Besides that, YouTube's feature "thumb up" which means "I like this" and "thumb down" which means "I dislike this" can also show differences in opinion regarding the video.



Figure 1. YouTube's feature on liking and disliking a video.

In doing the analysis, we used sampling data to represent the process of meaning making on Pencak Dor on the channels being studied. In this case, firstly, we selected one video from each channel that has the most viewers. Since there are thousands of comments appeared on a single video uploaded by a channel, we believe on the richness of topics appeared on the comments that are relevant to this study. Then, we interpreted discourses that emerged from the comments as parts of the process of meaning making.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Pencak Dor's History and Popularity

The history of Pencak Dor in East Java can be traced back to a long tradition of Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School in Kediri, East Java. According to Zainal Abidin, the chairman of Gerakan Aksi Silat Muslimin Indonesia (GASMI) or Association of Silat Indonesian Moslem, the root of this sport is much related to the Lirboyo school. Zainal Abidin also said that Lirboyo has had a unique and long tradition in solving disputes between santri (Liputan 6 2017). The tradition, perhaps, is almost as old as the school which was established in 1910s.

The tradition says as when a santri was in dispute with one another, Pencak is the solution. The combat between any santri in dispute was expected to be able in ending the disputes and in preventing future conflict. This was done at the end of every school year. They believe that Pencak Dor can solve not only the conflict but, more than that, it can also strengthen the bond among santri and make them united like a family.

In 1960's, this sport started to be per-

formed in public featuring santri as the fighters. Prior to this, Kiai Agus Maksum is widely known as the person who brought the performance for public's entertainment (*ibid*). It was at this time Pencak Dor started not only performed by santri but also people outside santri community. Interestingly, in the last three or four years, this practice has become more and more open to public. GASMI and Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School are two promoters that brought the traditional sport into a more modern setting. These days, Pencak Dor performance is becoming more organized than before. One of the things that make the performance of this sport becoming more organized is a medical support team that is provided for fighters in every Pencak Dor event. Besides that, fighters are now paid by the promoters. Prior to this, the promoters got the money from audiences who pay parking spaces that are used for their vehicles and also from sponsors that put banners around the fighting ring. These suggest that this sport's popularity is growing as it does not only attract audiences but also sponsors. Considering the potentials, Himawanto (2017), even, said that the performance of Pencak Dor can be a cultural industry. Further, he suggested that the show can be a source of income for local government and can also help residents' economy situation if it is managed seriously.

The attention that this sport received, therefore, has changed the production, circulation, and consumption of this sport. This is not to mention the internet which also takes part in spreading the traditional sport into wider spectatorship. As we suggested earlier, the popularity of this sport also brought various opinions; not only in the real world but also in the cyber world. The next part of this article discusses opinions appeared in the cyber world and how they can be pivotal in this research regarding the representation of Pencak Dor in the internet and the meaning making on Pencak Dor.

LLM, Pencak Dor, and Wilis TV

As mentioned earlier, this research uses

three YouTube channels as data sources. The channels are LLM, Pencak Dor, and Wilis TV. Based on our observation, actually, there are more than three channels that upload Pencak Dor combats. However, these three channels are the top three channels that upload videos containing the combats regularly. During our observation from May 2013 until October 2018, we found that the channels are very active in uploading videos in relatively tight frequency. For example, LLM channel within a month period (from September 27th, 2018 until October 25, 2018) could upload 32 videos. Similar to LLM, Pencak Dor channel uploaded 33 videos within a month period (from September 25th, 2018 until October 25th, 2018). Within exactly the same period with LLM's, Wilis TV uploaded 38 videos. However, there is a slight difference in the uploading habit. LLM and Pencak Dor are more into uploading Pencak Dor's combats while Wilis TV has wider varieties of contents. Wilis TV does not only upload Pencak Dor videos but it also uploads videos containing dangdut musical performances, religious teachings, Islamic musical performances, etc. Within the period, it uploaded 215 videos and about 17.6% of the total is videos featuring Pencak Dor's combats.

Table	1.	Uploading	frequency	within	а
month (September 2018 - October 2018)					

Channel	Number of Pencak Dor combats videos		
LLM	32		
Pencak Dor	33		
Wilis TV	38		

As we can see from the table above, Wilis TV has got the most videos uploaded to YouTube site. However, the gap among the channel is relatively not far. Besides that, on average, the frequency of the three channels uploading videos featuring Pencak Dor's combats is rather similar too. Each of them, on average, uploaded at least one video featuring Pencak Dor's combats in a day within a month.

In short, these three channels are very active in engaging Pencak Dor in the real world with audiences in the cyber world. Further, these channels are not only active in uploading Pencak Dor videos but also active in the attempt of constructing meaning on Pencak Dor. They put the meaning of Pencak Dor for them in video description. The most interesting channel is, perhaps, Pencak Dor channel as it gives the descripti-

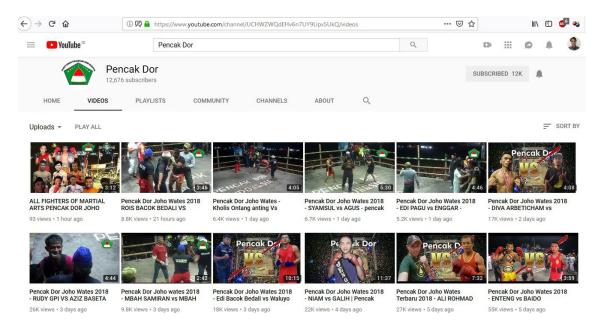


Figure 1. Screenshot taken from Pencak Dor channel on YouTube showing the recent videos uploaded

on in two different languages, Bahasa Indonesia and English. The use of English here suggests the channel's aspiration of wider spectatorship than the other two channels. The owner of the channel perhaps thinks the videos would attract international attention. Here is a copy the description:

> Kesenian budaya PENCAK DOR adalah kesenian budaya dari Jawa Timur yang berdiri sejak Indonesia masih dijajah Belanda, sampai sekarang masih dilestarikan untuk menghormati tradisi leluhur. Mari kita lanjutkan kesenian budaya ini untuk membuat mereka bangga!!! ⁽²⁾

> The Martial Art Of East Java This is A martial art of east java which has been preserved since Indonesia was colonized by the Netherland..., until now remaind preserved in order to respect ancestral tradition..., let's continue this cultural art to make them Proud ©

As we can see from the above description, we know that the owner of the channel would introduce Pencak Dor as 'ancestral tradition' that the people must respect and preserve. In using encoding-decoding approach by Stuart Hall, we can understand the opinion from the owner of the channel as encoding. He/she wants the audiences to see Pencak Dor as a cultural tradition from the past which also has importance to be preserved. This code is also shared by LLM channel. From LLM's description, we can also see that LLM tries to show Pencak Dor's importance as it is in Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School. Furthermore, LLM has widened Pencak Dor's important place in solving disputes not only in santri community. Pencak Dor, LLM wrote can even strengthen bond in people as when the fight finishes the fighters are rejoined in a same place. Traditionally, in the place, there are foods that the event organizer provides which the fighters can eat together. A different approach is used by Wilis TV as it does not give description which can show Pencak Dor's significance to its audiences. However, uploading videos featuring Pencak Dor combats on YouTube just like the other two channels can arguably be seen as showing Pencak Dor's significance and importance to the world and also an attempt to preserve the tradition.

The next part of this article discusses how the audiences react on Pencak Dor combats videos on the three channels (LLM, Pencak Dor, and Wilis TV) through YouTube's 'social-networking capabilities'. From comments appeared on videos uploaded, we can see whether the audiences received the code/message sent by the channels or not.

Audiences' Comments on Pencak Dor Combats Videos

On June 3rd, 2017, LLM uploaded a video titled "Pencak Dor Terbaru || KRONOLO-GI LENGKAP GEGER JOHNY HUNTER VS ARIS NGORAN"⁴. When this research was conducted, the video is the most popular video on the channel generating more than 2.8 millions views. This big number on spectatorship has brought nearly 3000 likes and nearly 2000 dislikes. Besides that, there are also almost 2000 comments appeared on the video. Interestingly, within the comments posted, there are various topics appeared which made the comments not only showing big spectatorship on the video but also diverse opinions. Some of the comments show negative opinions regarding Pencak Dor's practice as something that is not appropriate to do. The followings are the examples:

Husnul Sopian Hadi 1 year ago

solawatan kok di bikin gituan aduhh parah ni

Nama Asli 10 months ago

Kontradiktif, bertolak belakang, nabi muhammad melarang memukul wajah dan sekitarnya, lha ini sholawatan nabi muhammad koq buat mengiringi olahraga yg nabi muhammad telah larang, buat apa kalian buat yg semacam ini ? Konsepnya pun tdk jelas, yg seperti ini pun masih ada yg menganggap bagus melalui komentarkomentar di YouTube... Apa yg telah kalian lakukan ini ? Merusak sekali, tidak

⁴ To watch the video, follow this link: https://www. YouTube.com/watch?v=mUhke2A2RNQ

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membangun

Wahyu Prihantono 11 months ago

Nyuwun nganpunten sak derenge Niki acara mboten pantes, beladiri mboten damel d adu ngonten niku, beladiri damel jogo" bilih onten sing ngancam awake dewe....d tmbahi onten solawatan,,,,solawatan niku nggih ting tempat" sing di restui gusti allah Parah acarane....jempol mudun

arief mun 5 months ago

Acara tolol....gk pantes sekali pada pake peci sarung terus shollawatan...isinya orang di aduin...gk pantes lah shollawat dibawa2 acara seperti itu

The user with screen name Husnul Hadi received big attention from other users as it received 153 likes and 79 replies on his relatively short comment. His comment, perhaps, is best translated into English as follows: "How can *sholawatan* be used in that kind of thing? Ah, it is really inappropriate!". Similar to this comment, comments from Nama Asli, Wahyu Prihantono, and arief mun also show their disagreement on the use of *shalawat* in Pencak Dor's performance.

From the comments mentioned above, we can find an adjective in Bahasa Indonesia that is used repeatedly by the users. The adjective is *parah* which has similar in meaning to *gak pantes* and *mboten pantes*⁵. These words are equal in meaning to 'inappropriate' in English. The word *parah* and its equal words are used to show the users' disagreement on the use of *shalawat* in Pencak Dor's performances. Further, a user with screen name Nama Asli even considers the performance as *kontradiktif*, or contradictive in English, with what Prophet Muhammad has taught.

In other words, the above comments show the users' disagreement on the performance of the sport. Interestingly, through their comments, we can see that all users have based their opinions on religious teachings. The use of *shalawat* in the show is considered as inappropriate and contradictive with the religious teachings. However, some users tried to put their perspectives in line with the owner of the channel's perspective. The comments mentioned below are taken from responses or replies from a user with the screen name Husnul Sopian Hadi that, as mentioned earlier, received big attention from other users:

Ryan Zhafcomm 1 year ago

Husnul Sopian Hadi Hadi buat ngademin situasi itu mas maka nya panitia sholawatan.

Cuplis #87 1 year ago

Husnul Sopian Hadi Hadi maksudnya biar adem suasananya mas.kan td tu pas ribut.gk salah kok.

<u>Kie Zoe 1 year ago</u>

gak parah kok manusia yg lagi marah itu jiwanya sebagian dikuasai setan,dan sholawat bisa mengembalikan emosi utk tenang kembali

Rizki Afif 1 year ago

Husnul Sopian Hadi Hadi dari dulu sebelum sampean lahir bahkan sebelum Indonesia merdeka para syuhada kita sudah menggunakan sholawat dalam segala hal mas jadi jangan kaget ketika sholawat dilantunkan ketika pencak dor karena hal tersebut sudah menjadi kearifan lokal yang sudah lama di kalangan nahdliyin khususnya ngapunten sebelumnya

ciemazatea mz 1 year ago

Ini keren brow, dari pada sok jagoan tawuran rame rame di jlnan dan bersenjata tajam ini, ini lebih keren lebih jenteul, nah untuk yang doyan berantem mnding gini naik panggung,

ayis pamungkas 7 months ago

Husnul Sopian Hadi ajang silaturahmi mas ini bukan permusuhan

⁵ The words are in Javanese and used by a user with screen name Wahyu Prihantono.

In the video description by LLM, it is written that holding the event is an attempt to preserve the local cultural tradition in martial art and to strengthen the bond among martial art schools in Kediri and its surrounding cities. Therefore, by promoting Pencak Dor, it is believed that the fraternity among the people will be stronger than before. The above comments show more or less similar to what LLM has put in the description. Users with the screen names ciemazatea mz and ayis pamungkas suggest the significance of Pencak Dor in hospitality (silaturahmi) and in preventing conflict. Rizki Afif goes even further in giving significance to Pencak or as saying that the mix between the sport event and shalawat recital as a local wisdom that was born long ago before Indonesia nationalism was there. To simply put, Rizki Afif, perhaps, wants to emphasize the importance of preserving the cultural tradition of Pencak Dor. Therefore, it is indeed importance to tell how long the tradition is and questioning it is unacceptable.

Some users like Ryan Zhafcomm, Cuplis #87, and Kie Zoe tried to put into context why *shalawat* was recited during the fight. This is intended to answer Husnul Sopian Hadi's question regarding the use of *shalawat* in Pencak Dor. These users explain that *shalawat* was used because the fight was out of order and the audience was out of control. The recital of *shalawat* was intended to control the fighters and also the audiences. Kie Zoe even put the situation as *jiwanya sebagian dikuasai setan* or the souls (of the fighters and audiences) have been possessed by the devil and *shalawat* is potent to expel the devil from the souls.

Interestingly, the above topics that appeared in LLM channel also appeared in the other two channels. The debate and contestation between preserving the traditional sport and Islamic teachings are there too. In Pencak Dor channel, we can see the debate and contestation between preserving the traditional sport and Islamic teachings in comments like:

Andra Wenk 1 month ago

manusia di adu tpi kok salawatan

Geofanny Ersandy 1 month ago

Ijank Prakoso kesenian bos

davit priyo 1 month ago

Kamu tau adat istiadat/tradisi gak? Tau olah raga gak? Belajar kesenian dulu gih

milo itu lo 1 month ago

<u>@davit priyo</u> kesenian swperti itu appqkah pantas sama lagu sholawatan goblok.... Ni termaauk orang dungu yg gk nerti

The user with the screen name Andra Wenk is the top commenter in the video titled "Pencak Dor Sunten 2018 Terbaru - JONI HUNTER vs MAS OTONG KOSASI - Pencak Dor Sidomulyo Sunten". The comment has received big attention from other users. Moreover, the comments that follow are taken from the comment's reply. In the comment, the use of *shalawat* is being questioned by Andra Wenk and it receives some support from other users like from a user with the screen name milo itu lo. Some users like Geofanny Ersandy and davit priyo tried to put their perspectives similar to what happens in the video uploaded by LLM in putting Pencak Dor's significance as local martial art and local tradition. In a video uploaded by Wilis TV titled "PENDEKAR CILIK CILIK TAPI GANAS PENCAK DOR SIDOREJO PONGGOK BLITAR", a similar debate also happens.

Besides users that contesting Pencak Dor with religious teachings, there are also users that focused more on how the fight went. In LLM channel, particularly, there are lots of users who gave bad comments regarding how the event was organized by the promoters and also regarding one of the fighters named Johny Hunter who is believed being unsportsmanlike. Here are the examples:

GrifVin Revenge 1 month ago

Saya juga mantan fighter. Dr sebuah perguruan yg namanua ga bsa saya sebutkan. (Skrng saya sudah pensiun krna kcelakaan motor). Gak kurang dr 50 match saya lakukan antar perguruan. Tp dalam match, begitu lawan "give up", harus ttp ada ampunan. Break. Itu bru the REAL FIGHTER. Bukan urakan modal emosi. Ndeso. Ngerti?

riswandha isaris 1 week ago

jonny kontol itu menang curang muluk, kemaren nendang kontol, skrg nginjak kepala lawan dan suruh melepas kuncian bbrp kali tetap tuli!!! anjing lu taek gk jago juga

Beny SukaSuka 3 months ago (edited)

Menit 2.47 Di gedor Tulang Punggung Bahaya Banget Bisa Lumpuh langsung, harusnya ga di perbolehkan, di menit 1.44 juga lawan terlentang dicoba untuk di injak Mukanya harusnya tidak di perbolehkan sangat berbahaya.

<u>John Simon Wijaya 7 months ago</u>

kenapa di ring banyak orang begitu? 3 orang doang ga bisa apa

Mercy ellite 1 week ago

Aksi2 terakhir adalah sebab yang terjadi karena wasit2 dan pengelola pertandingan yang tidak becus.. dan tidak jelas.. sudah di pisah wasit masih aja gebuk2 injek2, gak ada sanksi atau apapun hahaha

Bagia Sedana 1 year ago

Woee kelihatan banget orang Indonesia gak disiplin! Kalau di ring tu jangan kebanyakan orang....cukup 2 petarung sama 1 wasit dan 1 dokter.....yg laen mah kayak tai sok jagoan! Kumal

Abby Suhendy 1 month ago

Tolong yg tdk ikut maen/penonton di bwah. Di ring khusus buat petarung dan wasit (Salam damal persatuan pajajaran bogor)

The above comments are much re-

lated to the title of the video uploaded. As we mentioned earlier, the title of the video is "Pencak Dor Terbaru || KRONOLOGI LENGKAP GEGER JOHNY HUNTER VS ARIS NGORAN" and the users above tried to comment on how the fight could become geger, messy or unruly in English. Users with screen names, Mercy ellite, Beny SukaSuka, and Bagia Sedana, commented and suggested that the organizer and the referee are the reason behind the *geger* fight. Both of them are considered to be incompetent. However, other users like GrifVin Revenge and riswandha isaris, suggested that it was because of the unsportsmanlike Johny Hunter so the fight could become *geger*.

From the comments mentioned above, we can see that although negative comments appeared on the video uploaded, positive aspiration on the sport could be managed professionally is there too. Further, the comments mentioned below even show the users' aspiration that if Pencak Dor managed professionally, it could be like MMA (Mixed Martial Arts), boxing, or wrestling. A user with the screen name m.sujatmiko jatmiko as mentioned below even recalled a recent fight in MMA between Khabib and McGregor in which the fight drew international attention including media in Indonesia.

shodiq muhammad jaffar 3 months ago

Coba di kelola profesional malah sip iki, lek nang ngisor ga di terusno koyok gulat? Kok di pisah yo

Channelnya Lelaki 3 months ago

Asline per daerah bisa ngadakan yg versi profesional MMA gtu...daripada skedar hiburan

Kite Membaca 3 weeks ago

WBA ATAU WWE ini?

m.sujatmiko jatmiko 1 week ago

khabib vs mc gregor

In a video uploaded by Pencak Dor

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channel tittled "Pencak Dor Sunten 2018 Terbaru - JONI HUNTER vs MAS OTONG KOSASI - Pencak Dor Sidomulyo Sunten", we can see that the fight featured the same fighter as in LLM channel. The fighter is Joni Hunter or Johny Hunter as it is written in LLM channel. Interestingly, this particular fighter receives similar responses as in LLM video. There are many users commenting his fighting style as not sportive or unsportsmanlike.

Comments from YouTube users about how a fight went can be found easily in all of the three channels being studied here. In the video uploaded by Wilis TV titled "PEN-DEKAR CILIK CILIK TAPI GANAS PENCAK DOR SIDOREJO PONGGOK BLITAR", the top commenters showed their interest in how the fight between the two *pendekar cilik*, or small fighters in English, went. Here are the comments:

Muhayar Ahyar 2 months ago

Bukan di utamakan tehniknya. Tp ini yg di utamakan nafsu emosi

gerry aprilo 2 months ago

Ini boleh di katakan pendekar, paling tidak mereka tau di mana waktu dan tempat untuk unjuk kekuatan, bukan nya keroyokan di tempat2 umum, sok jago sok penguasa jalanan lw banyak temen nya aja. Salut sama yang ikut pencak dor meski saya bukan pendekar dari golongan apapun.

Umar Yeni 2 months ago

Setidaknya kal d atas panggung namanya gentelman Yg komen nyiyir silahkan merapat kal Ada acara pencak Dor Terbuka buat siapapun yg berani n punya mental

normadhina. blitar dinuk. blitar 2 months ago

Adu bocah ..

Rangga AdityaNtuawan 2 months ago

Tehnik pencaknya blm nampak gun.

Through, the comments above, we can see that the users are keen to comment how the fight went. The users with the screen names Muhayar Ahyar and Rangga AdityaNtuawan commented that the fighters did not really care what techniques being used. In other words, perhaps, they question where the art is in the so called martial art. Furthermore, normadhina. blitar dinuk. blitar suggested that the fight between the two is not done by real fighters. In the user's words, they are just *bocah* or kids.

However, the other users like gerry aprilo and Umar Yeni showed their appreciation to the fighters. In gerry aprilo's words, *mereka tau di mana waktu dan tempat unjuk kekuatan* or they (the fighters) know where and when to show their ability in combat. In other words, Pencak Dor has given a special place for martial art enthusiasts to perform their ability on the right and appropriate place.

CONCLUSION

As we can see from the above explanation, we could draw at least four conclusions for this study:

First, the topics that appeared in LLM channel interestingly also appeared in Pencak Dor and Wilis TV. This means all of them have relatively similar spectatorship. The topics that appeared are: (1) how a fight went, (2) how good or bad a fighter is, (3) audiences' aspiration towards Pencak Dor could be managed professionally like MMA, boxing, and wrestling, and (4) the debate and contestation between preserving the traditional sport and Islamic teachings.

Second, it is interesting to see the topics that appeared are not limited to a combat between two fighters. Moreover, we see that the debate and contestation between preserving the traditional sport and Islamic teachings as the most interesting topic. This is simply because when comments appear on a video talking about the fight, the code that is sent by the encoder, which in this regard is the video uploader, received symmetrically by the audiences. However, the emergence of the debate and contestation instead show different reality. This means the code that is shared by the channels that Pencak Dor is a cultural tradition that must be respected and preserved is not decoded symmetrically by the audiences. The audiences in this regard reacted or decoded the code/message differently. This is in line with what by Hall (2006) and Barker (2000) suggested.

Third, the viewers in this regard can be divided into two categories. One, those who see Pencak Dor as a cultural tradition that needs to be continually practiced and performed. This group of viewers believe that Pencak Dor is significant and important not only in the past but also in the present and in the future as it could prevent future conflict between people in disputes. Besides that, there is also aspiration that if Pencak Dor could be managed professionally, it can have bigger spectatorship and sponsors just like MMA. In line with this, Himawanto (2017) even suggested that it can be a source of income for a local government. Two, those who see the practice and performance of Pencak Dor have violated Islam. They believe that symbols and practices in Islam should not be used in violence culture like Pencak Dor. The use of *shalawat* in Pencak Dor performances, for example, is considered to be inappropriate by this group of viewers.

The last, since the code that is sent by the channels is not decoded by all audiences just like what the encoder wants, we can conclude that the meaning of Pencak Dor shared differently among the channels' viewers. The social-networking capabilities that You-Tube has enable the audiences to share their opinions just like in the real world. Therefore, we can say that the reactions and opinions appeared in the comments are likely to be the representation of meaning making on Pencak Dor in the real world.

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