The Artistry of Ondel-Ondel

Ayu Nova Lissandhi
LIPI, Jakarta

Abstract
Ondel-ondeel is an ancestor inheritance artistry which survives and develops until now in Betawi society. Problem appears when Ondel-ondeel as ancestor culture inheritance comes up and dominates every program as the identity of “true Betawi” in Jakarta. The researcher classifies it as internal conflict that is conflict happening in ethnic Betawi between structural Islam namely thinking that develops in religious teachers environment and sub-ethnic “Betawi Tengah” with Islamic way of thinking that develops in artists environment, namely that is at area “Betawi Pinggir.” The controversial position of Ondel-ondeel invite researcher to understand and deepen its existence in Betawi islamic culture. This research uses qualitative descriptive method in order to describe artistry dynamics of Ondel-ondeel that concerning change of meaning, function, system and structure related to the supporter society condition that develop more and more complex. The results show that Ondel-ondeel is a tradition inheritance from the past having mystical and magical elements because the function is related to mysterious matters. It can be concluded that Ondel-ondeel becomes one of the Betawi culture identities, is passing a continues process in redefining return tradition and the identity not only as answer towards autonomy process that is interpreted by Betawi people in all fields --politic, economy, social, and culture, but also as the community demand experiencing change.

Key words: Betawi, culture identity, tradition, changing culture, magical element.

Social culture dynamics of a society included Betawi has an impact in some life aspects which also effect to society order. Human’s life in mingle with society is influenced very much by the environment. Indonesia with various traditions has rules which are still professed strongly by the society. In reformation era, local culture is hoped to have an important meaning and can be one of strong points in globalization era. As stated by Giddens (in Ardana, 2003:38) culture globalization always evokes a question about the survival of culture identity and local human as strategy and local culture dynamics.

Kroeber and Kluckhon define culture as the results of learning process happening in society (in Koentjaraningrat, 1990:180-181), culture is not a biological inheritance. Here is the difference between human and animals because human can do learning process. Betawi people can accept Ondel-ondeel because they are also open with learning process in mingle with society.

Anthropologists see art as a culture message of a society to dig value system, life view, knowledge and norm (Ahimsa, 2000:408). Position of art has an important meaning in answering and interpreting the social life problems to fill need or achieve the same goal. That is what Jakarta people have done as one of big city societies in Indonesia, who

1 Correspondence: A. N. Lisandi. LIPI, Jalan Gatot Subroto 10, Jakarta Pusat. Telephone: +62 21 , E-mail:a.lisandi@alumni.unair.ac.id
experience very complex life colored with social change, modernization, and globalization. Art becoming an attention from researcher now is Ondel-ondel belonged to Betawi society appearing as regional artistry in big urban community Jakarta with the culture which is multicultural (a culture blend from many ethnic groups like: Bali, Java, Bugis, Malay, Arabic, and others).

Ondel-ondel is an ancestor inheritance artistry which survives and develops until now in Betawi society. The principal property of this artistry is giant doll that is installed mask (face) then somebody enters to it and lifts it and dances with joy to follow song rhythm. This show is loved by society so it has a place to grow and develop, and it is also shown in many celebration programs to console guests. This research aims to detect the relationship between dynamics of a society (Betawi) with acceptance an artistry form (Ondel-ondel) as the ethnic identity.

Ondel-ondel is one of the Betawi culture wealth. Blend of Jakarta as the area having local society, Betawi, makes society out of it often call Jakarta as Betawi. Ondel-ondel is identical to Betawi, so it is reasonable that Ondel-ondel becomes the mascot at programs in Jakarta which has dynamic society.

Ondel-ondel is often shown to be paraded or displayed as room decorator in certain programs like circumcision, wedding or another celebration. Even one of cafés (relaxing places) in Semanggi, and HIV/AIDS advertisement spreading out at electronic media uses Ondel-ondel as the promotion model. Ondel-ondel appears in every special souvenir in Jakarta.

Islam, a religion accepted by Betawi society, effects in many artistry forms assumed polytheist or pornographic which are now guessed almost extinct even lost because it is not supported by the society. Ondel-ondel contains animism element as a view considering that nature or all things have spirit or strength (soul) and it clearly contradicts Islam as Betawi ethnic life guide for the people who embrace islam (Shahab, 2004: 122). Ondel-ondel initially gets hard reaction from a group of Betawi people, but another group posing more opened can accept Ondel-ondel and society can still embrace Islam. In many cases, an ethnic group has culture values staying in a system with life guide continuously kept by the people. However, there are some culture values which is not as lucky as other culture values in the case of guard and the preservation.

Based on the research done by an expert of society betawi that is Yasmine Shahab, Betawi consists of some groups, namely Betawi city (Betawi kota), Betawi suburb (Betawi pinggir), Betawi village (Betawi udik), and new Betawi (Betawi baru) (shahab, 2004: 140-141). The classification is seen horizontally based on geography, culture characteristic including language and tradition artistry. Culture area of Betawi is formed because of several things, among others are the historical, economical, sociological difference, degree difference of ethnic elements which become the pioneer, including tribe origin culture degree that influence their culture life furthermore. To simplify in understanding Betawi society that is complex, related to the research written by the writer, Betawi is classified into two based on the sub-dialect namely Betawi Tengah and Betawi Pinggir.

Problem appears when Ondel-ondel as ancestor culture inheritance comes up and dominates every program as the identity of “true Betawi” in Jakarta. The researcher classifies it as internal conflict that is conflict happening in ethnic Betawi between structural Islam namely thinking that develops in religious teachers environment and sub-
etnik “Betawi Tengah” with cultural islam thinking that develops in artists environment, namely that is at area “Betawi Pinggir.” The controversial position of Ondel-ondel invite researcher to understand and deepen its existence in Betawi islamic culture.

Method
This research uses qualitative descriptive method in order to describe artistry dynamics of Ondel-ondel that concerning meaning change, function, system and structure related to the supporter society condition that develop more and more complex.

According to Koentjaraningrat (1984:29) this research done is a descriptive research because it tries to describe correctly the characters of an individual, condition, phenomenon of certain group, or to determine the frequency of certain connection between one phenomenon and another phenomenon in society. through social culture approach (in liliweri, 2005:190), researcher tries to describe Betawi condition as an ethnic group that experiences free mobility then relates it to age development effecting to the development of an artistry product which has an important position in Betawi society today.

Result and Analysis
Ondel-ondel is a tradition inheritance from the past having mystical and magical elements because the function is related to mysterious matters. Proposed by Soedarsono (2002:8), that art of Indonesian shows is archaeology things related to devoting ceremony to ancestor spirit, animism belief with belief to totem lasting in prehistory time from hundreds year before Christ era until first century BC.

Ondel-ondel, besides warding off misfortune, it is also used to chase away evil spirit that disturbs the quiet of society, either in a custom ceremony celebration like ‘sedekah bumi”, or finally in part of human life cycle ceremony like wedding or circumcision and especially when people face crisis times. In Suwardi (2004:124-125) it is mentioned that “bala” by society of java is called ghost as evil spirit realization. Thus, ‘tolak bala’ means chasing away ghost. So that Tylor and Frazer in the same book classify the belief they profess is animism that is a belief towards spirit. Animism comes from word anima (Latin language) that means spirit. Otto mentions in line with Koentjaraningrat (1987) (in Suwardi, 2004:6) that mankind belief in the world is always centered in the concept of mysterious world (mysterium) that is assumed the greatest (termendum) and holy by human.

Because of myth opinion which is animistic above, myth-forming consciousness appears, that is consciousness to realize ghost myth. They believe in spirits, both the good one and the bad one. They are special world creatures deserving to be respected. According to Beatty (in Suwardi, 2004:2) someone who believes in spirit will continue in worship level (cult). The first version is told by several informants. It relates to epidemic disease (poken or chicken pox) and because of the limited medical science, to overcome it, something assumed magic is made by society. The second version tells that the existence of Ondel-ondel is because most Betawi society entrust their life to the agricultural sector. They do not yet know fertilizer then they think to make a doll in the form of rice field scare crow as ‘Dewi Sri’ realization that symbolizes fertility and welfare. However, there is also literature which has an opinion that Ondel-ondel is the realization of ancestor.
Some opinions say that the existence of *Ondel-ondel* in Jakarta is the influence of Chinese ethnic coming to Sunda Kalapa at that time. It can be seen from the similarity like Barongsai (lion dance from dynasty T'ang), procession tradition, also the performance either from clothes aspect, mask, or color use (red, white). There is also someone that has a notion that *Ondel-ondel* is also Hindu or Buddha influence or even blend of both as kingdoms inheritance ever staying in the area. It is supported by the influence of outsiders from Bali assuming that *Ondel-ondel* has sameness with *barong landung* belonging to them. Another reason is proposed by soedarsono (2002:19) that barongan which the appearance has a face like a tiger is believed to have strength to protect as the incarnation of Gods Wisnu. From the attraction done that presupposes ondel –ondel player must master kungfu science and coconut flower use on *Ondel-ondel* head, it can be assumed that *Ondel-ondel* is as Arabic influence brought by Malay at that time. It is the effect of Betawi society melting so that it makes possibility of diffusion that is idea transform process and culture element belonged to a society into another society. It means that an art form of *Ondel-ondel* comes from zones which have "superior" culture as explained above.

Most informant say that *Ondel-ondel* term appears around 70s when song “*ngarak ondel-ondel*” created by Joko from Surabaya was booming then it was popularized by Benyamin s. from Betawi Tengah. Betawi Tengah group has known *Ondel-ondel* term for this big doll because the movement called “*gondel-gondel*”. According to Ridwan Saidi met by the researcher, *Ondel-ondel* comes from Sanskrit that is *kundil* namely coconut flower put on *Ondel-ondel* head. Previously, *Ondel-ondel* especially at Betawi Pinggir is called *barongan* because of china or Bali influence. Another reason is that barongan is taken from the word *bareng-bareng* (together) in a particular procession tradition that is “*nyok kita ngarak bareng-bareng*” (let’s have a procession together) or according to one of the informants called *bang* (elder brother in Betawi) Yahya, *barongan* is a tradition to have a big doll parade followed by people to go around village.

Society in the past explain *Ondel-ondel* as a big doll and some others call it as rice field scare crow as ritual equipment related to society belief that is assumed as ancestor realization or goddess and god that can protect and chase away evil spirit that disturb society quiet. Philosophy element implied in *Ondel-ondel* as adoration tool, symbol of keeping away *bala*, devil ruler, good guy vs bad guy. *Ondel-ondel* in this time is explained as part of culture activity series shown as local culture identity of DKI Jakarta that is Betawi as *abang none* realization. *Ondel-ondel* comes up in the form physically as mask, doll and today society knows it as one of the special artistry attractions from Betawi which is preserved because it contains culture value which is dynamic, cheerful, and creative. *Ondel-ondel* is categorized as an art because it fulfills human need on aesthetics. Based on interviews there are people calling it as movement art, dance art, theater art, mask art or doll art escorted with a song. Philosophy element consisted in it is latch (door watchman) which now has *profan* function like processing, making more cheerful, greeting guest and consoling guest both for *pajang* and *ngibing* in a celebration program for example formal ceremony or rites of passage (transition rite) of B etawi society.

To make it survive, a culture certainly changes to accustom condition and the society need including *Ondel-ondel* which comes up as an art element from Betawi society culture. Talking about art change, Shahab (2004:100) sees art change in a few
forms, namely change in appearance, function, art owner and art consumer. Researcher categorizes art owner and consumer as a system, and he adds art structure change in the form of the staging. In this case, a change has a relation towards artistry function displace. Previously, Ondel-ondel is used as media (tool) in ritual to chase away devil, protect and ask benediction for a society which is categorized by soedarsono (2002:271) as art destination namely art created for local society to be greeting media, to console guest in celebration programs, Betawi ethnic identity media. Local government even lifts it as one of the tourism commodities that enriches nation culture. For a part of Betawi society, Ondel-ondel has ever a position as low art (ngamen) is a beneficial job in this time because it is often used in Betawi programs.

Gradually Ondel-ondel then loses its supporter society, which finally Betawi society itself loses its special characteristic in multicultural society. Several culture observers say that the phenomenon makes Betawi society have "pretentious character".

The first change happens in meaning then function in line with the society development. Afterwards espoused transformation related to the packaging as follows: (a) size; previous Ondel-ondel is big human depiction because he is considered (sakti). The evaluation is relative different every informant (the size of Ondel-ondel now is made in various size even as big as cock (tool used in badminton)); (b) color; in the past Ondel-ondel's clothes were black, and its mask was white. Now they vary from yellow up to pink even also there; (c) stuff, wood use (lame, jackfruit) as the basic stuff of Ondel-ondel mask is felt by artist meet obstacle. Besides the making process needs long time, the maker also has a difficulty to find it in Jakarta which doesn't have forest. The solution is that finally the maker uses fiberglass to overcome the obstacle as the society development demand, which is economical and practical; and (d) character, previous Ondel-ondel was known with scary face like devil so children were afraid of it. Ondel-ondel now is as sweet big, funny, fun and interesting doll as the realization of abang none that reflect Betawi culture which is opened, funny and friendly.

Talking about system as what that presented by Saifuddin in Contemporary Anthropology that is component set mutual related in such a way that whole characters differ from every shaper element. From the definition above concerning with the importance of society religion tradition that formerly profess animism, through a ritual activating sacred and magical nuance only at domestic area that is special ethnic Betawi Pinggir. Today, systematically Ondel-ondel turns into society consumption as entertainment (welcoming guest) with profane nuance that put forward society need on aesthetics which today has important position namely ethnic identity based on Islam values. Ondel-ondel in this time has been used in general although non-Betawi like government, education institution, company, restaurant, hotel etc. The use scale in the past was limited only for Betawi Pinggir communities as religion media. Along with industrial development it becomes one of the human’s ways to fulfill the need on aesthetics which the background is ethnic identity. A lot of Betawi Tengah people have also already used Ondel-ondel in celebration programs because it is considered special preserved Betawi culture. Jakarta uses it to show province culture sign when interacting with another culture.

Related to system, researcher finds that Ondel-ondel show also experiences change in exhibition structure of Ondel-ondel like: (a) equipment aspect; equipment experiences change from sacred thing related to presentation use (land product containing
offerings, drink and cakes) and spell formula in line with Buckland and Carrington in Suwardi (2004:13-14) that communicating with ghost needs to use special language namely certain symbols like spell formula and offerings, banyan leaf as coconut flower. The use of aged wood is now not again used and replaced with other stuffs which are economical, efficient and practical as society demand living in the industrial region. As society show formerly Ondel-ondel had simple accompaniment which consisted of three pencu bonang, one kempul having slendro harmony, one little kendang (penunthung) and one medium kendang. It was different from now which is noisier with accompaniment of gambang kromong, tanjidor even cassette or CD (compact disc); (b) show time aspect. Formerly Ondel-ondel was only took out in a special or certain time like in human crisis or past tradition celebration for example in earth alms (sedekah bumi). It changes to be annual celebration (placed within certain time) or conditional (accustomed with condition and need) which is special Betawi or Jakarta out of ritual and a part of Betawi life cycle; and (c) staging aspect. Formerly Ondel-ondel was only escorted with leles and maglek (slow or fast rhythmical music). Today the music escorting Ondel-ondel show varies but often Betawi songs like “jali-jali”, “kicir-kicir”, “ngarak ondel-ondel”, “keroncong kemayoran”, “sirih kuning” etc. Ondel-ondel in the past was procession containing event trance. Now it has been programmed as exhibition art that joining with another art so that many artists improve another art like pencak silat and gambang kromong.

There is also an informant stating that there is no change happening in ondel-ondel (Asnawi) with the reason that it is always the main in Betawi programs. He considers Ondel-ondel have profane nuance since the past time and it is merely entertainment.

Betawi society accepts Ondel-ondel in their mingle life more than the other Betawi art because it can be applied in social activities (the proof is that it has a little child as a fan). Betawi society usually looks at Ondel-ondel as culture identity from the ancestor inheritance which has a role as a symbol of solid ethnic unifying instrument, introduces, marks and represents Betawi even jakarta. Indeed there is a small part of Betawi society that still believes to use Ondel-ondel to carry out khaul (vow). Betawi representation performing in a certain program having Betawi nuance is related to abang none and funny character of Betawi people. Up to now Ondel-ondel can be found in the form of procession to greet and console guest, city decoration as Jakarta fascination, and souvenir as Jakarta tourism commodities.

As the function theory summarized by R. M. Soedarsono, primary function of Ondel-ondel shows is as individual entertainment and as aesthetic presentation. Ondel-ondel is demonstrated enthusiastically by the supporters. They do not feel encumbered with this activity. They do it conveniently because they really enjoy it as a hobby. Ondel-ondel show presented in front of public means presented to audience, and it can have a role as art of presentation (art presented to public). A show presented to audience has a very conspicuous function as entertainment. Secondary functions of Ondel-ondel show are: (1) as solidarity binder of society (2) as legitimization medium of social status (3) as creativity expression medium and culture preservation.

Ondel-ondel show in this time develops more and it has an aim as self expression for Betawi people which is preserved and it indicates the existence of Betawi ethnic and Jakarta in the interaction with another culture in the form of artistry with the purpose to
promote other traditional Betawi artistry, console, parade, greet guest, make atmosphere lively in Betawi or Jakarta activities.

Indirectly, all shows carried out have been medium expression of artists. They display the ability in being attractive as funny audience through the product packaging creativity so that it can be sold. It also means they have done preservation effort towards Betawi culture which has already existed far before Islam religion. Something that can not be avoided is an opinion that artistry related to “devil” has to be removed from earth because it opposes against Islam teachings. However, in other side it cannot be denied that this artistry is one of the culture elements ever existed and clung in the society so that necessary to be preserved.

From the data got, Ondel-ondel has a function in the field of Jakarta society life, especially Betawi. The basic thing is the function in culture field as ancestor inheritance of Betawi in the form of artistry enriching archipelago culture nuance which is preserved because it can reflect identity and show existence of Betawi.

It effects tourism area as tourism commodity from local culture which is beneficial owned by DKI Jakarta as the geographical area. Tourism business which is global or international has touched society life of Betawi. Revitalization of Betawi artistry including Ondel-ondel is begun by local government for tourism. J. Macquet in Soedarsono (1999:271-273) states that tourism art show is a show art which has a function as aesthetic presentation presented to tourists so that it can grow. It is known as the concept of art by metamorphosis. The concept has an aim that art product produced by local artist sold out to tourists. Therefore product modification process (metamorphose) happens so it can be enjoyed by tourists. The concept is blend between local artist aesthetic taste and tourist taste so that it can be said that show art has experienced acculturation process just like Ondel-ondel. Based on the tourism art theory explained by Soedarsono, Ondel-ondel as art show carried out special for the tourists has characteristics: the original imitation of feature, it is carried out briefly and solidly, the primary value is put away, full variation, interesting and cheap. The packaging, according to Sadeli, an Ondel-ondel maker, is related to Ondel-ondel revitalization till now done continuously with workshop of Betawi art and culture that held periodically by LKB cooperating with culture official to stimulate artist creativity and knowledge about Ondel-ondel that is interesting.

Betawi consists of sub ethnic having different opinion and attitude on Ondel-ondel. Anyway, today there is no difference found among them to see odel -ondel as art form of ancestor culture inheritance preserved because it has passed a culture compromise process in order to show one form of Betawi. Researchers say that conflict based on condition characteristic experienced by Betawi society related to the existence of Ondel-ondel as ethnic identity ever happens and it is elaborated below. Referring to conflict process described by Liliweri (2005:274) the researcher describes it as follows:
Conflict happened in line with Kleden (1996:185) is value and norm conflict, and peculiarly behavior conflict (attitude conflict) and ideological conflict. Various conflicts appear because Betawi Tengah sub-ethnic having dominant culture hopes Betawi Pinggir sub-ethnic behaves the same norms in order to show one form of Betawi. According to Liliweri (2005:258), based on the source, it can be categorized as internal conflict because shall expectation in the connection with role expectation should be obeyed, but there will be no real sanction when it is not obeyed. Muslim Betawi society must avoid animism activity because in the teachings it is assumed twinning God and when breaking the rule, they are assumed polytheist. Thus, there is a clash culture because they have moral duty in continuing inheritance culture to make it exist.

Conflict discussed in this article presents laughing behavior because it is not appropriate with their habit and Betawi Tengah people disagree with the existence of other party namely Betawi Pinggir. The parties are formed in subcultures which are in this time called Betawi including in the case of art and the culture after troubleshoot towards ethnic identity happens.

Explained in shahab (2004:99) “refusal toward an artistry by a social group because the artistry is assumed inappropriate with social status from the group is a common phenomenon in this earth”. In the research done by Yasmine Shahab in his dissertation the Creation of Ethnic Tradition in 1994 mentioned that refusal towards Betawi arts doesn't reflect Betawi that is religious developing at the culture area.

Art ever experiencing denial as something belonging to Betawi with religion reason explained in this research includes Ondel-ondel because it is assumed to have
animism element. It also happens to \textit{lenong, gambang kromong, cokek} because the appearance does not reflect Betawi. Another factor playing a part in denial is the negative stereotype existence from religious society group towards \textit{panjak} (Betawi artist) that has life style opposing Islam teachings; some of them are the high degree of divorce, the way to earn money through \textit{sawer}, assumption that gamble, alcoholic drink and immoral are found in the show.

Refusal forms explained in the researches above are: the artist is gibed and kept away (such as Mr. Yasin), children are forbidden to watch by the parents (like what bang Syahroni experiences), embarrassed when watching or carrying out a show besides Islamic artistry for religious teacher, show sabotage towards tools and equipment the program holder. Another case is when government promotes \textit{gambang kromong} as Betawi music which also often escort \textit{Ondel-ondel}. It is refused until the end of 1980s through \textit{walkout} from the program done by Betawi figures. It is finally ever not showed in formal Betawi programs.

According to Ridwan Saidi (1995) and Amarul Asbah (2005) as Betawi observers and expert council of LKB having important role in promoting Betawi culture in Jakarta, by investigating to ethnic identity it is known that \textit{Ondel-ondel} is ever refused by a part of Betawi society because it is assumed pre-Islam belief which doesn't represent religious Betawi. This matter is in line with a research done by Abdul Aziz in 1994-1998 in \textit{Islam's role in forming Betawi identity} in an interview (1995) done by informant Abdul Ali that is a LKB founder stating that there is a jam to develop an activity based on the difficult in finding agreement among Betawi figures about culture art forms that can be applied as ethnic identity.

In line with what presented by Shahab (2004:87) ”these oppositions are different understanding and interpretation about Betawi among Betawi groups and among Betawi people with Betawi observers”. There is a different idea in labeling aspect of trick creation to categorize it as Betawi or non Betawi. One way to overcome it is art workshop and culture of Betawi which is held periodically by LKB cooperating with culture official in 2004; then about \textit{Ondel-ondel} and \textit{tanjidor} ever followed by Sadeli are suggested not to use ritual because besides inefficient it is also assumed less Betawi.

Society of \textit{Betawi Tengah} who is progressive (education) and strong in Islamic religion teachings look \textit{Ondel-ondel} as \textit{ngamen} (street singing) art that has mystical nuance breaking Islam teachings so that in \textit{Betawi Tengah Ondel-ondel} has ridicule term \textit{“tontonan belis”} (devil show) or anak-anakan (doll).

It also found in song” \textit{ngarak ondel-ondel}” created by Joko Subagio from Surabaya then popularized by the late Benyamin s., a multi talented artist from \textit{Betawi Tengah}, according to several key informant it is found that \textit{Ondel-ondel} is ridicule word towards the artistry. The song consists of a story that first \textit{Ondel-ondel} is a part from procession circumcision of Betawi; second about child of \textit{Ondel-ondel} that there is cigarette butt putting on the head so that the head is burnt then poured with sewage.

\textit{Betawi Pinggir} looks \textit{Ondel-ondel} as culture inheritance ever used (even may be up to now like cakung and cipayung regions) related to custom ceremony where special ritual necessary to be done in the practice. About something ridicule, it is experienced by \textit{Ondel-ondel} artists ondel who have conflict with their \textit{ngaji} (reading Al’quran) teacher. It happens because the form of \textit{Ondel-ondel} which is scary and the ritual espousing it assumed to worship.
Ondel-ondel artists admit that they experience dilemma in continuing tradition and they experience pressure from the people around their house whom many of them join *taklim*. However, it can be compromised because ritual run is not public consumption, because *Ondel-ondel* is put in a certain holy place for few days then a name is called a name to fill the soul of *Ondel-ondel*. Although obstacle ever happens because the family who is 'asked for a help' in a cemetery doesn’t approve and calls polytheist on what is done by the artist. In this time, *Ondel-ondel* artist rarely do the ritual except being asked by the host with economical reason and the dilemma experienced before.

A part of *Betawi Pinggir* society’s struggle to fulfill main need is one of the artistry reasons to enter Betawi Tengah area by *ngamen* (singing on the street) in order to fulfill society need on entertainment through art. In Kleden’s research, it is also found that there are efforts from the artists to be accepted for example the dominant culture by becoming pilgrim so that the artistry group can widen.

One of the other solutions which is not less important to integrate this different subculture is by art trick creation that is done by local government since 1970 through elements removal opposing against Islam. Thus, although ethnic group of Betawi doesn’t admit odel-ondel belongs to them, this creation is ‘forced’ to be accepted by Betawi people. It is accepted as part of Betawi traditions through LKB authority with social organization dominated by *Betawi Tengah* elite group because it does not have qualification to prepare matter on art whom they have refused and it has been created by non Betawi person.

The perception above influences attitude and behavior of different sub ethnic in the position as local society identity of DKI Jakarta that is preserved namely Betawi. Betawi society generally supports *Ondel-ondel* as part of their culture, including *Betawi Tengah* that can accept the position supported by government and non Betawi Jakarta society.

Talking about attitude and action of society elite figures in *Ondel-ondel* context that appears as artistry is not a problem anymore because they like other aspects in show for example its procession, song accompaniment or *pencak silat* even they support the existence because of the aesthetic, identity and entertainment function accustomed with Betawi fixed culture values which are religious. For them, *Ondel-ondel* reflects Betawi that is friendly, funny, out of a sacred ritual because age development that influences the society knowledge on discrimination of culture and religion. Based on the interview result in the case of attitude taken, cultural observer and government support artistry survival very much because it is a part of their task and importance.

Informants agree to declare that *Ondel-ondel* belongs to Betawi because basically sacred value in *Ondel-ondel* is not found anymore. Everybody has considered it something usual and there is no holy value again because it is held in the form of art *profane* entertainment having commercial strength in its public area use.

About artistry denial of ondel- ondel as Betawi property depends on the way to see and to choose artistry form. But when until it is placed that *Ondel-ondel* is not Betawi, *Betawi Tengah* people protest because the final decision states that *Ondel-ondel* now is the trademark appropriate with Betawi values.

Betawi society has a role as the society supporting *Ondel-ondel* existence and they realize it as an art from the culture preserved. Society who develops in Jakarta sees *Ondel-ondel* as an entertaining artistry that console and it is liked by children. Betawi
society generally doesn't know the origin and philosophy value implied in *Ondel-ondel* even the original form is not known by *Betawi Pinggir* that professes traditional Islam (religious but still found mystical element in the life) as a group where the artistry comes from.

Ondel-ondel appearance as one of Betawi identities that represent Jakarta related to identity need of a Betawi ethnic as local society living in fast developing city like Jakarta. In globalization era, there is art development current called global culture that appreciates work of art with any style and from any country. In the field of performance art, every ethnic group in Indonesia wants to display their own authenticity. Local government can hold *Ondel-ondel* as ancestor culture inheritance so that it can adapt age development and religious industrial society demand. Ondel-ondel in this time can answer rivalry challenge by getting support not only merely from Betawi, but also from government including non Betawi Jakarta society.

Friedman in Kleden (2003:41) sees that sign or culture symbol can represent an identity through interpretation process of a meaning. Ondel-ondel is assumed to be able to reflect Betawi characters which are simple, dynamic, creative, cheerful and funny. Ondel-ondel has value more compared with another traditional artistry because it is unique, easy known, and it still survives, easy to apply, flexible, simple and cheap because it can be held in any Betawi. It includes *rites of passage* part of Betawi society with various conditions that fulfill market request on the entertainment that can enliven atmosphere liked by children with the popularly song “*ngarak ondel-ondel*” by benyamin s., the multi talented artist that has influence for something related to Betawi in Jakarta.

According to Kleden (2003:41), the signs and cultural symbols performed as identity form can be said that culture revitalization is often political. The troubles appearing when culture sign comes from exhibition art that is culture sign position represents an ethnic group. Debate about whether *Ondel-ondel* one of Betawi identities is studied from previous explanation and it is one of the reasons that influences a change happening in *Ondel-ondel* although it is not the primary. The visible matter is that *Ondel-ondel* is not used as religion media having scary face and it relates to a certain ritual that has magical nuance because it is assumed that it doesn't reflect religious Betawi. The change cause of *Ondel-ondel* is influenced more by age development as comfort world industrial and tourism demand that put forward market taste which is realistic, economical and practical as the modern industrial society characteristic after experiencing transition process that still goes on up to now from agrarian life pattern.

Through a process, culture compromise has involved many sides for a long time to overcome internal conflict in Betawi parties concerning identity problem. To achieve compromise, ethnic and tradition must be ready to be formed again to have competitiveness as adaptation strategy that brings success in increasing group appearance.

The culture compromise process based on accommodation definition presented by Liliweri in prejudice and conflict (prasantka dan konflik) is a process where each side decreases demand towards what they require and want to fulfill.

Kayam (1981:39) stated that betawi society has chance to be creative in order to form renewal and culture pattern including artistry that is possible to create art change process. Based on revitalization category proposed by shahab (2004: 24), *Ondel-ondel* has passed *re-created* process that is tradition created again with old form but it has a
new function. Trick creation in our discussion context is culture sign that is created based on tradition.

The target of Betawi tradition created is tradition from suburb of Jakarta (Betawi Pinggir) because Betawi Tengah tradition has limit to be promoted as tourism commodities. The process usually involves Betawi Tengah people as an elite group that the Islamic nuance is strong. They have access in studying in higher education in public education and they have urban professions. Realizing potential owned by Betawi Pinggir, modification and compromise in trick creation of Betawi tradition happens based on the creators and controlling Betawi children through Betawi organizations cognizance and towards trick creation from their tradition.

Betawi tradition spreads out non Betawi people because of several reasons; some of them are Islamic sense that appears in programs related to Islam and because several Betawi elements are used by government in giving Jakarta ethnic sense. Referring to Hobswan, He said that trick creation process brought impact to social tie formation among the members, legitimized status and authority also value socialization process and behavior conversion in Betawi society. In trick creation process of Betawi tradition, something important is that the form is acceptable and it final can achieve targeted aim namely survival in order to nationalize local tradition. This matter is in line with statement that social and economy strength from trick creator and tradition owner determines process success that can increase group performance by improving the special character.

Another important thing is song “ngarak ondel-ondel” created by Joko and popularized by Benyamin s. It tells that Ondel-ondel is funny doll that is used in custom program like circumcision in Betawi held in cheerfulness and fun. It makes Ondel-ondel familiar in Jakarta society either Betawi or non Betawi. Therefore in line with the chart proposed by Geriya Irawan (2003:9) in his research about Bali society, Betawi society acceptance towards Ondel-ondel existence based on art stages as tourism commodities is said that in discovery level, society attitude is eforia, while in response level, local people are apathy then passing trick creation process, it moves to sympathy and in the last level their institutionalization is acceptance and institutionalization continues.

Ondel-ondel artists as the lead roles entrusting their lives alive in this artistry get guidance in increasing ability to adapt with the creativity as society demand and age development. Ondel-ondel today still survives as the proof of Betawi existence in culture multi cultures in Jakarta. Shahab (2004: 92) stated that government effort in reviving Betawi tradition that is aiming extinction, in turn it appears existence of Betawi people from 1950s up to 1970s which is at that time experiencing identity crisis through many trick creation traditions. Existence form can be seen from Betawi involvement in seminar, discussion, match, and festivals. Moreover, there is a position change in trick creation from result user creator outside party becomes creator.

Ondel-ondel existence in religious Betawi society is supported by several parties’ cooperation. Primary factor having role is government of DKI Jakarta with the self interest at that time (Ali Sadikin time). He was successful revitalizing and making trick creation of this artistry so it is properly presented to public. Government role in the case of promotion is helped by mass media, instances and society organizations and culture with the mission giving motivation, appreciation and comprehension to Jakarta society especially Betawi to keep and preserve this traditional culture so it does not disappear.
### Table 1
Society acceptance towards tourism commodities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>Kind of attitude</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eforia</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>people generally accept gladly, full of wish to bring a life change to the better aim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apathy</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>People participate in various activities individually and collectively in getting any chances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>People/society behave naturally. They are faced and know bad and good, positive and negative phenomenon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sympathy</td>
<td>worry</td>
<td>People/society are glad toward tourism because of various positive functions: economy, culture, social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>People/society are worried because there is a gap between a wish and fact about basic meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance and Institutionalized continue</td>
<td>Refusal</td>
<td>People/society accept continuously because the positive effect is bigger than the negative one physically-mentally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>People/society refuse because negative effect is bigger than the positive function. Negative effect has entered life of economy, culture, social, religion, environment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Conclusion
Ondel-ondel that becomes one of the Betawi culture identities is passing a continues process in redefining return tradition and the identity not only as answer towards autonomy process that is interpreted by Betawi people in all fields (politic, economy, social, and culture), but also as the community demand experiencing change. There is a reciprocal process between both of them. Now, Ondel-ondel position and role grow in line with development and age change. In life change, Ondel-ondel can survive and has a role in industrial cultural society in Jakarta as entertaining art. Betawi society can accept Ondel-ondel existence and position in the life because it supports their existence as local
society of Jakarta after previously passing trick creation process, coordination various parties as strategy to face globalization.

References