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THE EXPLORING ONDEL-ONDEL VILLAGE: A STUDY OF THE NETWORK AND THE WORKING SYSTEM OF KRAMAT PULO'S ONDEL-ONDEL

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Abstrak. This study aims to provide an overview of the Kramat Pulo community's network and the working system on performances of ondel-ondel. This study uses a qualitative approach. The data were collected using in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation. The data that has been obtained is then analyzed using qualitative inductive analysis. The results show that the ondel-ondel network system of the Kramat Pulo community consists of several divisions of roles: owners, managers, studio members, entrepreneurs, field coordinators, buskers, and the Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta. The network system then establishes and supports the ondel-ondel working system: ondel-ondel performances and ondel-ondel busking. Ondel-ondel performances are generally only practised once or twice weekly. In contrast, ondel-ondel busking activities are practiced daily by Kramat Pulo teenagers. On the other hand, the relationship between the studio owner and entrepreneur and Kramat Pulo teenagers who want to parade ondel-ondel for busking on the streets can be done in two ways: rental or profitsharing. This relationship is based on a belief system maintained by the Kramat Pulo community. Therefore, it is recommended that the Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta make unique spots for Ondel-ondel performances. In addition, coordination is needed between the field coordinator and the Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta to arrange ondel-ondel busking activities routes to create order without losing cultural nuances. In this case, Betawi indigenous people carry out their traditions by parading ondel-ondel to surround the village.

Keywords: Betawi; Indigenous Peoples; Network; Ondel-Ondel; Working System.

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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the countries which it has various tribes and cultures. Almost every tribe and culture has its characteristics and icons. One of the cultural characteristics is ondel-ondel from the Betawi indigenous peoples (Muhtarom, *et al.*, 2021). Ondel-ondel is produced with a height of up to 2.5 meters and is displayed in the form of a doll (Purbasari, *et al.*, 2019). Ondel-ondel is also often displayed as a male and female pair (Ardiansyah, 2021). The Betawi indigenous peoples interpret

the existence of ondel-ondel as an antidote to disaster and bad luck. Betawi indigenous peoples carry out their traditions by parading ondel-ondel to surround the village. In addition, the Betawi indigenous peoples also accompany the ritual by beating various objects or tools that make noise and screams from the community. The Betawi indigenous peoples believe this series of rituals is a way to ward off evil spirits that bring harmful effects and disasters to the community's village settlements (Zulkifli, 2019). Furthermore, ondel-ondel is often presented in various Betawi indigenous peoples' activities: weddings and circumcision parties.

Ondel-ondel is also registered as one of the eight icons of the Betawi indigenous peoples based on Governor Regulation of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta Number 11 of 2017 on Betawi Culture Icon. The regulation contains that philosophically, ondel-ondel means a symbol of strength over the ability to maintain security and order, toughness, courage, firmness, honesty, and anti-manipulation.

As the mascot of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta, ondel-ondel is very easy to find in various places, such as museums, national monuments, and other historical places (Fitri & Rahayu, 2020). Often ondel-ondel is also located on the outskirts of the streets. Ondel-ondel is paraded around the urban village while dancing to the rhythm of the music. One of them then handed over a container hoping that whoever was in front would fill it with money (Chienita, et al., 2018). This condition is usually referred to as ondel-ondel busking. On the other hand, ondel-ondel is an interesting urban phenomenon. Ondel-ondel buskers involve a fairly complex network. In this case, society is not only stimulated by the appearance of buskers but also by social structures that are not visible on the streets (Totanan & Paranoan, 2018).

Several previous studies have a discussion theme similar to this study. Paramita (2018) concluded that in today's modern era, ondel-ondel has changed in various aspects. For example, ondel-ondel has become one of the livelihoods, making it an object of entertainment for the people around the Special Capital Region of Jakarta. Purbasari, et al. (2019) concluded that ondel-ondel changed the meaning of sacred objects for the ritual to ward off evil spirits to become objects in general for supporting cultural tourism. Muhtarom, et al. (2021) concluded that in this era of globalization, people in the Special Capital Region of Jakarta lack an understanding of the meaning of ondel-ondel art. From this description, it can be understood that the previous study focused more on changing the meaning of the existence of ondel-ondel. In contrast, this study focuses on the involvement of other parties in parading ondel-ondel for busking on the streets.

Based on the description above, this study aims to provide an overview of the Kramat Pulo community's network and working system on performances of ondelondel. It is hoped that the results of this study can be input for the Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta and related parties in parading ondel-ondel for busking on the streets.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach to understand groups of people, objects, situations and conditions, events that are currently happening, and even systems of thought (Whitney, 1960). This study was conducted from May 2019 to June 2019 in the Special Capital Region of Jakarta. In this case, ondel-ondel is a Betawi culture icon and the mascot of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta. The population in this study are the studio owner and entrepreneurs of ondel-ondel, while the sample in this study consists of three key informants who were determined by purposive sampling. The data collection techniques of in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation were used to obtain the data needed in this study. The data that has been obtained is then analyzed using qualitative inductive analysis. Inductive analysis is an approach that starts from field facts, which are then analyzed based on appropriate theories and arguments to produce a conclusion (Neuman, 2003).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Kramat Pulo as Ondel-Ondel Village

This ondel-ondel village is located in Kramat Pulo around the Gaplok Market, Central Jakarta. The culture of the Betawi indigenous peoples started in the 1960s in this village. Five friends of the Betawi indigenous peoples initiated the studio ondel-ondel culture, so the studio was named the Betawi Studio of Five Friendship. The late Mamit was one of the figures from this studio. The presence of the Betawi Five Friendship Studio caused Kramat Pulo to be known as Ondel-Ondel Village. In the 1980s, new studios sprung up in Kramat Pulo. However, the Betawi Studio of Five Friendship is changing its name to the Betawi Studio of Mamit-Cs. On the other hand, ondel-ondel culture also requires arts and crafts activities. So since then, many local people have worked as ondel-ondel craftsmen.

Currently, there have been four ondel-ondel studios in Kramat Pulo. Each studio consists of three to four craftsmen. Even though it consists of several studios, craftsmen often refer to this village as the Betawi Studio of Mamit-Cs area. Most craftsmen have skills inherited from their fathers or grandfathers. As with the existence of studios, most of them are also inherited from a sibling, family, or their predecessors.



Figure 1. Ondel-Ondel Village in Kramat Pulo, Central Jakarta (Personal Documentation, 2019)

Everyone who visits this village will feel welcomed by ondel-ondel, whose positions are to the left and right of the Kramat Pulo Gate. The gate made of bamboo also bears the words Ondel-Ondel Village. Visitors to this village can see firsthand the activities of local people who produce ondel-ondel. The craftsmen also still produce ondel-ondel traditionally. So that visitors can still observe the process of cutting bamboo, arranging frames, making masks, and decorating ondel-ondel. The process that takes the longest is cutting bamboo. The craftsmen must scrub the pieces, so there are no sharp sides on the bamboo. Therefore, everyone who parades ondel-ondel will not experience an accident when busking on the streets.



Figure 2. Ondel-Ondel Production Activities in Kramat Pulo, Central Jakarta (Personal Documentation, 2019)

The craftsmen produce and market ondel-ondel to consumers in various sizes and prices. Small ondel-ondel, also used as a souvenir with a height of 30 to 50 cm, are usually sold from IDR 120,000.00 to IDR 150,000.00. In contrast,

ondel-ondel, a pair of large sizes with a height of 1 to 3 meters, is usually sold from IDR 1,500,000,000 to IDR 6,000,000.00. In addition, the studios in this village also provide packages for Betawi cultural performances. Rates for ondel-ondel shows are priced starting from IDR 1,500,000.00. Meanwhile, rates for complete show packages are priced up to IDR 20,000,000.00. The complete show package includes performances of ondel-ondel, tanjidor, xylophone, doorstop, and artists with identical performances with Betawi indigenous people in the past.

Until the end of 2019 or before the Covid-19 pandemic, the community was still enthusiastic about involving ondel-ondel performances at their events. Deny Al-Fathir stated that:¹

"People are still interested in involving ondel-ondel in the events they organize. The fans are not only from the people of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta but also from the surrounding region. For example, Depok, Bogor, to Tangerang. However, the involvement of ondel-ondel to fill the event is only in certain seasons: circumcision events during the school holiday season and weddings before or after the month of Ramadan for Muslims."

B. Ondel-Ondel Network System

Initially, the studio manager or entrepreneur of ondel-ondel invited and taught several teenagers how to use busking ondel-ondel. After that, the studio manager or entrepreneur will rent out the ondel-ondel to teenagers who can already do parading ondel-ondel for busking on the streets. The studio manager or entrepreneur can rent out more than one ondel-ondel daily. In this case, it depends on the number of ondel-ondel they have. On the other hand, the studio managers or entrepreneurs of ondel-ondel create a social network that can facilitate supervision and coordination for renters when parading ondel-ondel for busking on the streets. Agus Hermawan stated that:²

"The Betawi Studio of Respal only has four pairs of ondel-ondel. The daily average only rents out three pairs of ondel-ondel for busking on the streets. Most of those who rent ondel-ondel in our studio are teenagers in this village. Even if there are renters from outside this village, we will involve one of the teenagers we have trusted to accompany the renters when parading ondel-ondel for busking on the streets."

Most studio managers or entrepreneurs rent ondel-ondel to Kramat Pulo teenagers. The ondel-ondel rental mechanism is based on a belief system. Most of those who are parading ondel-ondel for busking on the streets are the people of Kramat Pulo. Although there are renters from outside Kramat Pulo, the studio manager or entrepreneur does not immediately rent out their ondel-ondel. Renters outside this village can rent ondel-ondel if they are willing to be accompanied by Kramat Pulo teenagers.

¹Interview Results with the Owner of the Betawi Studio of Al-Fathir. Deny Al-Fathir, on 2019.

²Interview Results with the Owner of the Betawi Studio of Resos Palaksi. Agus Hermawan, on 2019.

Parading ondel-ondel for busking on the streets also consists of three to four people in one group. Several ondel-ondel busking groups are connected with the field coordinator. Field coordinator is a role formed by the studio managers or entrepreneurs of ondel-ondel. The field coordinator is tasked with dividing the territory so that each group of ondel-ondel busking does not intersect on the streets. The field coordinator is also tasked with ensuring the safety of the renters and the presence of the ondel-ondel. The field coordinator generally has a vast social network and is respected by the surrounding community. On the other hand, the activities of the ondel-ondel busking group are not only in the Special Capital Region of Jakarta but also in the surrounding region. For example, Depok, Bogor, to Tangerang. Through the field coordinator's relationship with the city transportation drivers, each ondel-ondel busking group also performed a show in the transportation bus. In this case, the ondel-ondel busking group carries out activities to take advantage of the time to arrive at their destination.

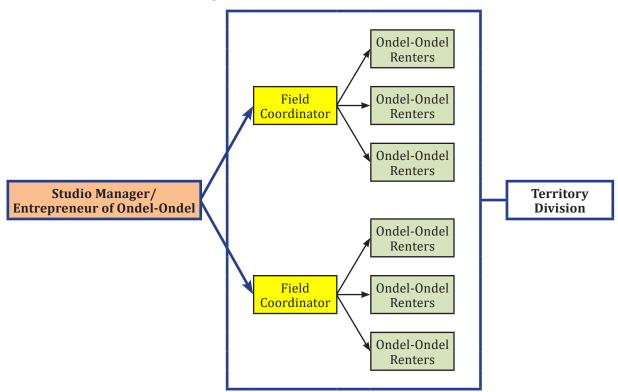


Figure 3. Ondel-Ondel Busking Network System (Primary Data, 2019)

From the description above, it can be understood that the concept of social networks can explain a social relationship bound by a relationship of trust. Values and norms maintained by the community can maintain a belief system (Wahyudi & Sasongko, 2019). Social networks are formed because of the relationship of knowing each other, informing each other, reminding each other, and helping each other implement or overcome a problem (Reski, *et al.*, 2022). Social network theory assesses that each actor (individual or group) has different access to resources (property, power, and information) (Ayuningtyas & Abdullah, 2017). Granovetter

& Swedberg (2019) further describe that the social network in the economy is a series of stable relationships between individuals, groups, and or individuals to groups. In addition, the group in the social network consists of some people (Zaimah, *et al.*, 2021). It consists of at least three people who have different abilities from each other.

Furthermore, the Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta also plays an active role in developing the culture of Betawi indigenous peoples. In this case, through collecting and providing space for studio managers to perform ondel-ondel performances at several events organized by the Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta. Deny Al-Fathir stated that:³

"Since 2017, there has been an increase in demand for production and demand for ondel-ondel performances at various events. This condition cannot be separated from the role of the current Government. Because during the previous campaign, Mr. Anis Baswedan promised that he would make ondel-ondel the mascot of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta. Therefore, the current demand for production is also mostly from government agencies because they make ondel-ondel a symbolic icon in Provincial Government Offices."

Deny Al-Fathir continued, that:4

"In previous years, the demand for production only ranged from a maximum of a dozen pieces per month. However, since 2017, I have even had trouble completing production requests, which reach 20 orders per month on average. Meanwhile, the production cost for one ondel-ondel is around IDR 2,500,000.00. The fees include IDR 700,000.00 for making masks, IDR 500,000.00 for making frames, and IDR 1,300,000.00 for decorations."

Kramat Pulo's Ondel-Ondel has even been involved in international events, such as performances in Malaysia, Singapore, till Japan. Several studio managers who participated in the international event stated that some participants liked and appreciated the ondel-ondel cultural performances at the event. Even tourists from Russia come to Kramat Pulo to learn how to produce ondel-ondel.

C. Ondel-Ondel Working System

As the mascot of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta, ondel-ondel is very easy to find in various places. From the roadside, around the villages, shopping centers, and tourist areas. Meanwhile, the ondel-ondel parade for busking on the streets must be accompanied by the rhythm of the music. Sirih Kuning is a musical rhythm that must be heard when doing ondel-ondel busking. Supported by speakers with a USB port, each group of ondel-ondel busking consisting of three to four people has entertained every community around them. One of them then

³Interview Results with the Owner of the Betawi Studio of Al-Fathir. Deny Al-Fathir, on 2019.

⁴Interview Results with the Owner of the Betawi Studio of Al-Fathir. Deny Al-Fathir, on 2019.

brings a used bottle, candy packaging, or used container can while expressing a sincere request for donations to every community around them. This condition is not complex and strange when encountered by tourists visiting the Special Capital Region of Jakarta.

Betawi Studios in the ondel-ondel village does not deny the existence of ondel-ondel busking activities. They see that this activity is carried out to show the existence of the culture of the Betawi indigenous peoples. In addition, they also considered that the activity empowered ondel-ondel. In this case, ondel-ondel performances are generally only practiced once or twice weekly. Furthermore, the ondel-ondel busking activity is also part of the regeneration process for teenagers. In this case, for teenagers of the Betawi indigenous peoples in general and teenagers of the Betawi Studios and ondel-ondel village in particular. As for assessing the surrounding community, it is not an important matter to be disputed. On the other hand, anyone who wants to give money or not to the ondel-ondel busking group return to the community's sincerity. So it can be understood that ondel-ondel busking and ondel-ondel performances have the same concept and purpose. In this case, the activity aims to preserve the culture of the Betawi indigenous peoples. Umi stated that:⁵

"Initially, my son was happy when he saw ondel-ondel busking. Then I realized that ondel-ondel is the cultural identity of the Betawi indigenous peoples who have the potential to move the family economy. In addition, many teenagers are still unemployed. That's why since 2015, I started buying ondel-ondel and mobilizing teenagers to do ondel-ondel busking activities. Currently, many teenagers in the ondel-ondel village have income even though their income is mediocre."

Furthermore, Deny Al-Fathir stated that:6

"I often hear scorn from people who think that ondel-ondel is only used as a commodity for busking. But for us, as studio managers, we believe that ondel-ondel busking is part of an effort to preserve Betawi culture. So even though we are scorned, what we do is keep the identity and traditions passed down from our ancestors."

Deny Al-Fathir continued, that:⁷

"After all, what's with the ondel-ondel busking activities from teenagers in this village? Kramat Pulo teenagers also do the ondel-ondel busking activities to survive. They are parading ondel-ondel for busking on the streets to make a living. Busking is also a lawful job and does not violate the rules."

The studio manager or entrepreneur will rent the ondel-ondel to teenagers for a specific daily fee. The ondel-ondel for rent also includes speakers with a USB

⁵Interview Results with the Entrepreneur of Ondel-Ondel. Umi, pada 2019.

⁶Interview Results with the Owner of the Betawi Studio of Al-Fathir. Deny Al-Fathir, on 2019.

Interview Results with the Owner of the Betawi Studio of Al-Fathir. Deny Al-Fathir, on 2019.

port and a flash drive containing Betawi songs. The studio manager or entrepreneur of ondel-ondel also wants to empower teenagers to have more productive activities. The ondel-ondel used to parade for busking on the streets differs from the ondel-ondel for performances. The difference lies in the size, accessories, and decoration of the ondel-ondel.



Figure 4. Rental Activities Ondel-Ondel (Personal Documentation, 2019)

Teenagers who are active in studios are more likely to be self-taught. They also more often directly imitate the activities of seniors and studio managers. In addition, several teenagers initially went with their friends who were parading ondel-ondel for busking on the streets. Ultimately, they were interested in joining and carrying out learning activities and cultural preservation at the Betawi studio. On the other hand, the studio's management always involves teenagers for producing and participating in ondel-ondel performances. The studio manager also creates groups and arranges their respective schedules for ondel-ondel parading for busking on the streets. The ondel-ondel busking group formed by the studio generally consists of 10 to 15 teenagers. In addition, the group is also trained for performances of ondel-ondel, tanjidor, xylophone, and doorstop, and looks identical to Betawi indigenous people in the past.



Figure 5. Ondel-Ondel Busking Activities (Personal Documentation, 2019)

Apart from the studio owners, several local people who live in Kramat Pulo also take on the role of ondel-ondel entrepreneurs. Umi stated that:⁸

"I do not have a studio yet, so I am just buying. I bought it at several studios in the ondel-ondel village. For example, in the Betawi Studio of Al-Fathir owned by Deny Al-Fathir and the Betawi Studio of Mamit-Cs owned by Taufik Hidayat. Besides renting out the ondel-ondel to teenagers, I also give some Kramat Pulo teenagers operational costs when they want to do ondel-ondel busking activities. For example, providing ondel-ondel transportation costs from Kramat Pulo to destinations such as Bekasi and Tangerang."

From the description above, it can be understood that Kramat Pulo teenagers who want to parade ondel-ondel for busking on the streets do not always have to do it with the rental mechanism. Kramat Pulo teenagers can also carry out ondel-ondel busking activities with a profit-sharing mechanism. Umi continued that:⁹

"I gave operational costs of IDR 300,000.00 to Kramat Pulo teenagers. Operating expenses include IDR 150,000.00 for transportation and IDR 150,000.00 for consuming them. In contrast, the daily rental prices are IDR 50,000.00. So after Kramat Pulo teenagers parading ondel-ondel for busking on the streets, they divided it to me around IDR 330,000.00 to IDR 350,000.00. It also depends on the income of teenagers after busking. When their income is low after doing ondel-ondel busking activities, the daily rental costs are reduced to IDR 30,000.00. Rain is one factor that decreases income from ondel-ondel busking activities."

⁸Interview Results with the Entrepreneur of Ondel-Ondel. Umi, pada 2019.

⁹Interview Results with the Entrepreneur of Ondel-Ondel. Umi, pada 2019.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Based on the results and discussion above, it can be concluded that the ondelondel network system of the Kramat Pulo community consists of several divisions of roles: owners, managers, and members of the studio, entrepreneurs, field coordinators, buskers, and the Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta. Ondel-ondel network systems are formed because of knowing each other, informing each other, reminding each other, and helping each other implement or overcome a problem. Furthermore, the network system then establishes and supports the ondel-ondel working system: ondel-ondel performances and ondel-ondel busking. In addition, the Kramat Pulo community more often conducts ondel-ondel busking activities than ondelondel performances. Ondel-ondel performances are generally only practised once or twice weekly. In contrast, ondel-ondel busking activities are practiced daily by Kramat Pulo teenagers. On the other hand, the relationship between the studio owner and entrepreneur and Kramat Pulo teenagers who want to parade ondel-ondel for busking on the streets can be done in two ways: rental or profit-sharing. This relationship is based on a belief system maintained by the Kramat Pulo community. Based on the description of these conclusions, it is recommended that the Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta make unique spots for Ondel-ondel performances. In addition, coordination is needed between the field coordinator and the Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta to arrange ondel-ondel busking activities routes to create order without losing cultural nuances. In this case, Betawi indigenous people carry out their traditions by parading ondel-ondel to surround the village.

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