

## INTANGIBLE SPACE OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGES IN *ONDEL-ONDEL'S* COSTUME ELEMENTS AND PERFORMANCE

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### ABSTRACT

*The research discussed Ondel-ondel, a significant and tall doll from Betawi. Since the costume elements could be changed anytime, anywhere, and in any shape, Ondel-ondel appeared more alive and appealing in different looks. Initially, Ondel-ondel seemed too unchanged, but it was prettier than before. There were many Ondel-ondel performances in Jakarta's streets that were not accompanied by music. Ondel-ondel transformed not only the costumes but also the myth from repellent to entertainer. The changes were exciting to discover the concept or idea of its background, relationships, impacts on the environment, and other meanings for society. Based on a historical approach with semiotic analysis and interpretation as a research method, Ondel-ondel costume elements underwent continuity and changed alongside the social, political, economic, and cultural contexts linked to the role of power of its respective time. Within the continuity and changes in each Ondel-ondel model, there was a compromise and social dynamic in society, which gave the costume elements a unique trade. This compromise created a cultural negotiation space in the community and helped to develop a typical environment that distinguished itself from others. The result is four Ondel-ondel models, each representing society's compromise and the social dynamic between the authorities, the community, and the Ondel-ondel players. When the transformation of the ondel-ondel's appearance creates an intangible space between maintaining its ideology. Meanwhile, on the other hand, the changes in ondel-ondel portray how the changing times also alter the appearance of the ondel-ondel.*

**Keywords:** Betawi, giant puppet, ondel-ondel, intangible space, meaning

### INTRODUCTION

Jakarta is home to various ethnicities and cultures, but nevertheless, the native Betawi people still play a role as main actors in art and daily living in Jakarta. Betawi in Jakarta is a unique group with a mixed (creole) identity (Baihaki, 2021; Knörr, 2014). The plurality of the Betawi people holds a significant part in its cultural process. One of the manifestations of the Betawi culture that still exists today and can easily be found is *Ondel-ondel* (Wahidiyat &

Carollina, 2023). This giant puppet is as big as 250x80x80 cm and is made of rattan or bamboo frame with high-quality wood for its mask. *Ondel-ondel* is designed to be a couple of male and woman (Saputra & Nurzain, 2009). As Jakarta's icon, it has existed since the ancient people still believed that big-size objects possessed infinite power. Ever since it was declared as the capital city Jakarta's icon around the 70s by Governor Ali Sadikin, *ondel-ondel's* numbers have increased and can easily be spotted anywhere and anytime in the form of art performances as well as

decorations (Kembdikbud, 2010).

As a Betawi art performance, which takes part in folk parties, *Ondel-ondel* function is to portray ancestors who always watch over the descendants or the local villagers. Saputra (2013) has argued that *ondel-ondel* represents ancient Betawi culture, which is a part of the sacred folk ritual. At first, *Ondel-ondel* is called *Barung*, then later becomes *Barongan*, which means a group of people in Betawi since *Barongan* is not a solo art performance. In the old days, the *ondel-ondel* parade is accompanied by special music, and to make it livelier, all kinds of performances, from fireworks (Chinese influence) to *pencak silat* (martial arts), are held according to the consumer's request (Anzanny, 2023).

Even though its form is simple and always looks similar, *Ondel-ondel* looks more beautiful day by day. It attracts the attention of the locals who come out to see and watch its attraction; kids often cheer to greet and follow its path (Wahidiyat & Carrollina, 2023; Wahyu, 2021). Multiple colorful accessories appear lively, followed by attractive free movement and twirling in sync with the music, making *Ondel-ondel* a fascinating spectacle.

The performance of *Ondel-ondel* is the main thing that must be staged (Callula, Nolani, & Ramadhan, 2022), especially regarding the visual appearance of *Ondel-ondel* itself through their costumes. Uniquely, the costumes used by *Ondel-ondel* are very striking in color and shape.

Borrowing the term 'room within the room' by Francis D.K. Ching, it is said that small spaces can take place in large spaces. Small spaces depend on large spaces, which are connected to the environment (Ching, 1996). In general, each *Ondel-ondel* parade creates small spaces consisting of a pair of *Ondel-ondel* (including costume elements), the musicians, and the spectators. The spectators are not limited to the locals who come to watch the spectacle but also the street vendors who try to gain profit by selling toys, food, and beverages, depending on the location and surroundings. The formed space does not always have the same size and performance. So, this research analyses some small spaces and the meanings created from costumes, elements, and the appearance of *Ondel-ondel* from time to time. The interpretation of significance has been conducted through Roland Barthes' semiotic approach due to its incorporation of a historical dimension. This historical lens is employed to examine the evolution of *Ondel-ondel* over time, particularly by scrutinizing specific *Ondel-ondel* iterations characterized by their elemental costumes and physical manifestations.

## METHODS

This research is a descriptive qualitative study, focusing on the visual appearance of *Ondel-ondel*. The data sources used in this research include primary data sources such as interviews and secondary

data sources in the form of literature reviews and observations. Through direct interaction with the Betawi community, the researchers gain knowledge and experience of the object, then reconstruct the use of *Ondel-ondel* to be able to find the meaning behind social reality with *Ondel-ondel*. From here, all data are interpreted by using Barthes' semiotic connotative approach, including historical perspectives. The historical perspective is used to seek the changes in *Ondel-ondel* costume elements from time to time, with periodization in the *Ondel-ondel* models. The models are read through the visual changes, which are the forming elements known as costume elements. Barthes' semiotic connotative approach interprets the meaning of *Ondel-ondel* through costume elements in some subjects, such as denotation, connotation, and the relation of signs symbolically, paradigmatically, and syntagmatically. The classification of the *Ondel-ondel* model by its costume elements becomes the basis for determining the space and its changes in each model.

After observing the changes in costume elements and classifying them into models based on the significant events, the Ching's space within space (Ching, 1996). Ching's approach is used to see what spaces transpire with the *Ondel-ondel* performance as a sign of the Betawi community's existence. Interviews are conducted with the makers or studio owners of *Ondel-ondel*, who usually also participate in the parades, buskers, and spectacles. Random interviews with 100 participants are not limited to certain age and gender groups throughout Jakarta and surrounding areas, including Ciputat, Setu Babakan, Meruya, Kemanggisan, Kebayoran Lama, Rawasari, Kramat Pulo, Menteng, and Depok. In every performance, *Ondel-ondel* attracts the locals' attention through dancing and parading (Sari & Widiyaningsih, 2023); the local crowd where *Ondel-ondel* performs also creates spaces. Ching's concept said that architecture observation means understanding as a whole the relationships between elements and systems of a form, as the response to the meaning within, it can be images, patterns, signs, and symbols (Purbasari, Marianto, & Burhan, 2019). Small spaces and meanings are formed by *Ondel-ondel* performance, which is produced from the interactions and intentions of the performers and spectacles in time with the changes of *Ondel-ondel* performance through costume elements in each model.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

A set of *Ondel-ondel* consists of a couple, male and female. *Ondel-ondel*'s costume elements from top to bottom, head to toe, are almost unchanged and remain simple. A pair of male and female *Ondel-ondel* has similar shapes and structures with different details. In general, its structure consists of three major parts: top, middle, and bottom (Figure 1) (Purbasari, Marianto, & Burhan, 2019).

The top part is the head, decorated with coconut

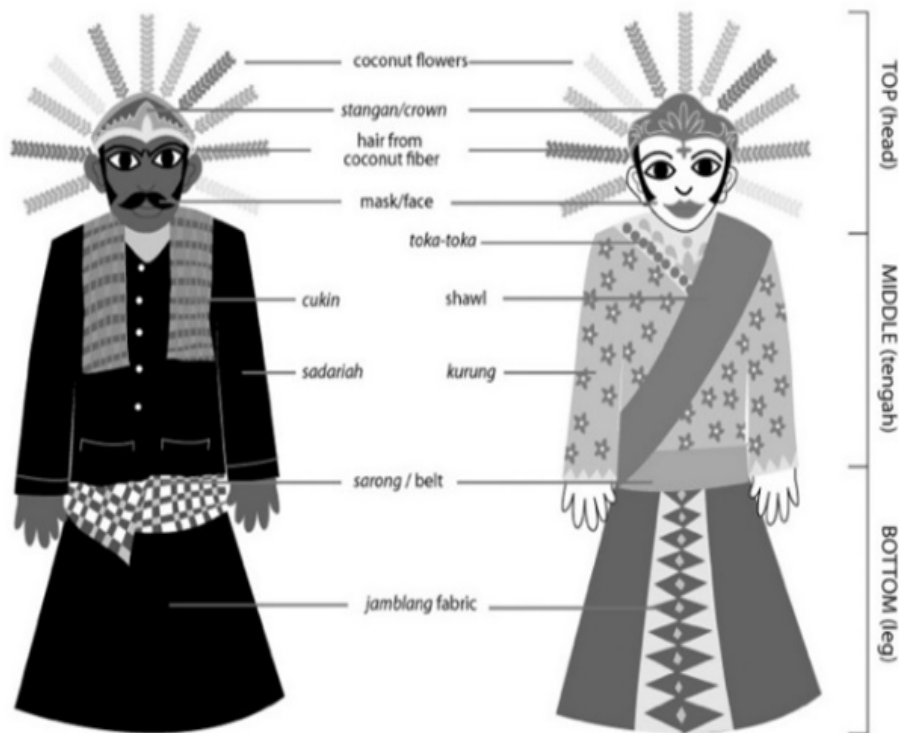


Figure 1 Structure and *Ondel-Ondel*'s Costume Elements (Wahidiyat, 2021)

flowers (*kembang kelapa*), crown (*stangan*), hair on the back made of coconut fiber (*ijuk*), and face mask from good quality wood such as woods from magnolia (*cempaka*), cananga (*kenanga*), kapok (*kapuk*), and *rambutan*. These woods are easily carved, lightweight, and have pleasing aromas (Saputra & Nurzain, 2009). Using good quality wood in making the mask is a sign that the old *Ondel-ondel* or *Barongan* in that era was an art form that holds a good spot in the community. Furthermore, it tells a story of how, in the old days, the Betawi people were closely connected to nature and made good use of the surrounding nature. The usage of those woods portrays Jakarta as having vast lands where those trees grow lush and big. The difficulty in gaining good quality wood nowadays adds to the length of time taken to carve the wooden mask and the cost of shifting to fiber material for the mask. It describes how the sacredness of material is no longer considered important, and its function blurred.

The middle part is the body. The male is covered with *sadariah* cloth (Betawi Malayan Muslim clothes inspired by the Chinese), *cukin* or sash, and a belt from a checkered sarong or plain cloth. As for the woman, she is wearing a *kurung* or kebaya top, *toka-toka* (triangle-shaped cloth placed on the chest), which is adorned with a pomegranate (*delima*) seed detail, sash with a contrasting color to the top, and a cloth belt. Finally, the bottom part is covered with a sarong called *kain jamblang*. Figure 1 shows the *Ondel-ondel*'s structure and costume elements.

In the performance, a pair of *Ondel-ondel* is accompanied by special music where they dance and twirl to the rhythm, but there are no certain moves

in the parade. Today, the music of *Ondel-ondel* has many variants, not limited to its signature music, but rather freely plays Betawi songs (*gambang kromong*, *kicir-kicir*, *keroncong tugu*, *Ondel-ondel*, and others) and pop songs favored by the young. The traditional music accompanying *Ondel-ondel* only consists of 6-8 percussion played by 6-7 musicians [*gendang tepak*, *kecrek*, *ningnong (kenong)*, small gong (*kempul*) and big gong, one string and one *tehyang* (Permana & Yuwono, 2012)]. These numbers are flexible, depending on the available members. All the accompanying members often switch instruments, except for *tehyang*. The performance also requires 2-4 persons to take a turn in playing *Ondel-ondel* and 1-2 *pencak silat* performers, which also makes a path for *Ondel-ondel*. In reality, the parade usually needs 8-13 performers. *Ondel-ondel*'s appearance for parading around the village is different for ceremonies (weddings and circumcision); it can be paired with *pencak silat* and rhyme performance called *palang pintu*.

Throughout the history of *Ondel-ondel*'s appearance, some costume elements have experienced changes in form, color, and elements. The uniqueness changes and will still be found until 2018. Then, according to the time and events that occurred, *Ondel-ondel* is classified into four models. *Ondel-ondel* comes from *Barongan*, then develops into a personification model for the sake of identity, continues to be an Islamic model, and is heavily laden with commissions a commercial model.

*Barongan* model is an ancient *Ondel-ondel* model. Visually, it appears enormous and frightening. *Barongan* appears at the same time with the belief that



giant-size objects are considered to possess the power to protect and fight against evil. *Barongan* becomes the incarnation of the village protector. It is predicted that *Barongan* presence can be traced back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Banten, based on the writing of W. Fruin Mees that has stated a Dutch merchant in 1605 who saw the procession escorting Prince Jayakarta Wijaya Krama to celebrate the circumcision of 10 years of Banten King, Abdul Mafakir (Mees, 1920). There was a giant puppet in the procession. To fulfill the urgency, *Barongan* goes through the *ukupan* (smoking) ceremony, which is believed to ask for protection and power from the master of nature to fight off evil spirits that disturb the village. *Barongan* does not form a popular culture component for the outer or central Betawi communities.

According to visual data analysis, no significant difference is observed in the structural composition of *Barongan* compared to contemporary *Ondel-ondel* representations (Figure 2). *Barongan* costume elements look like *Ondel-ondel*'s. A few distinctive details are the *kembang kelapa* made from the real flower part of the coconut plant and *kemuning* leaves, stangan, sash stiff with a sharp shape that looks hard and rough, and mask tinted dark color (red or black) with round bulging eyes, long fang teeth, and huge ears.



The *ondel-ondel* personification model (Figure 3) is constructed when Jakarta is on the fast track of a development program, shaping itself to compete with other cities. The Betawi people live together with different ethnicities in Jakarta; thus, the concept of identity becomes crucial, particularly given the transition from traditional to modern contexts. The name *Ondel-ondel* came up and became well-known when Benyamin Sueb and Ida Royani sang a song written by Joko Subagio titled *Ngarak Ondel-ondel* in 1970. Since then, the notion of identity has become crucial, particularly given the transition from traditional to modern contexts (Permana & Yuwono, 2012). As the icon of the capital city, *Ondel-ondel* must transform both ritually and physically to gain acceptance from all Betawi communities. It starts to adorn many government buildings in Jakarta with a more civilized appearance resembling a human. Not only serving as main entrance guardian and VIP guest greeter but also as building decoration.

Saputra (2013) has noted that the male *Ondel-ondel*'s visage is no longer as menacing as in *Barongan* performances, despite retaining large eyes albeit without bulging, the removal of fangs, abandonment of *ukupan* rituals, and certain anatomical softening, such as in the facial features. Men and women are differentiated; the male's mask is colored red to give



Figure 2 *Barongan* Visual Appearance (Tifada & Febrian, 2022)



Figure 3 *Ondel-ondel* in 1970s (Komunitas Bambu; Rizal, 2019)

a firm and strong impression, while the woman's mask is painted white to give the image of softness and maternal. In other words, *Ondel-ondel's* face is personified. With the changes, it is clear that this formerly fierce and frightening giant puppet with all the sacred rituals shifts as though becoming a human figure with a certain standard intended to be accepted by all Betawi communities (central and outer), both adults and children.

The Islamic model is created in the 80s. Islam's influence can be seen in *Ondel-ondel* costume elements. Clothing and sash in a woman previously only use bright colours in plain motifs then are replaced by patterns, such as flowers, stripes, etc. For the male, not limited to dark or black anymore, contrasting colour from its female counterpart becomes the next option. *Kebaya* style with bright colours starts to be worn by woman to give a look more feminine and prettier (Figure 4).



Figure 4 Islami *Ondel-ondel* Models (Ok, 2020)

Based on the head of DKI Jakarta Cultural Service advice, who also doubles as Chairman of Koordinasi Dakwah Islamiyah (KODI), Azhari Baedlawie, the male's costume formerly using a bright color sash is replaced with a checkered sarong places in the neck (*cukin*) completed with a similar belt. Usually, the *cukin* and the belt take a color that contrasts with the clothes (Saputra, 2013). The combination of *sadariah* and *cukin* reminds people of the profile of religious *pesantren* male student or Betawi master Si Pitung and the appearance of *abang* Jakarta in a *demang* suit jacket. The male *Ondel-ondel's* performance with *cukin* and checkered sarong gives an image of Jakarta's young males, especially the Muslim Betawi, who is not only concerned with outward appearance but with health and spirituality. From that on, the male *Ondel-ondel* has two alternative accessories, a *cukin* and a sash, complete with a sarong belt.

By request, *tanjidor* music also spice up the performance throughout the village. When *Ondel-ondel* is invited to perform in a building, *Gambang Kromong* can be requested as accompaniment. The atmosphere becomes livelier and fuller with all kinds

of music. The continuity and changes in costume elements of the Islami model *Ondel-ondel* are on the usage of *cukin* complete with a matching belt and the form of *stangan*, which looks like *kopiah* in the male *Ondel-ondel*.

In the commercial model, *Ondel-ondel* is used as the commercial object to gain financial and power profit. Heavily laden with 'commissions', it means the market or buyer's desire to determine the artistic decisions to satisfy the market's desire for the sake of fulfilling the economic needs of the makers and artists as the excuse. Today, *ondel-ondel*, which usually appears in pairs, can perform in large numbers in parades or carnivals (Figure 5). The costume elements are used more freely, without control. Not only in size and appearance but the changes also go into the media. As for the decorations, *Ondel-ondel* does not necessarily appear full body, usually only taking the top part, which is the mask complete with crown and coconut flower to represent the whole body. Size is adjustable to needs.



Figure 5 *Ondel-ondel* in Commercial Model (Tumanisme, 2013)

The size of *Ondel-ondel* varies according to its usability. For a parade or carnival, it can be oversized; as for decorations, they can be shorter to as tall as humans to avoid bumping into the ceiling. Furthermore, they can be downsized significantly, as seen in souvenir items aimed at tourism markets, including wall decorations, small puppets, keychains, and fridge magnets. *Ondel-ondel* also transforms into cake decor and clothing patterns (batik, shawl). Other than that, the costume elements can use various styles and sizes with clashing color combinations and high contrast. This combination gives the impression of cheerful, mortified, up-to-date, bold, commercially 'pretty', and contemporary. The continuity and changes in the costume element of the commercial model are dominated by diversity and creative freedom according to the buyers' requests. In this model, *Ondel-ondel* loses its sacred value because the function and meaning have changed (Muhtarom et al., 2021). The changes in the *Ondel-ondel* costume elements can be seen in Table 1 (see Appendix).

*Ondel-ondel* performance can create a space

regarding the structure of its elements (between costume elements, accompanying music, and viewer). Referring to Ching on space within space, it is highly possible that small space constructs without actual four solid walls as in general. Space can form without definite boundaries, often called intangible space, which can be formed by a group of people with common interests as a building element. In this research, the crowd is responding to *Ondel-ondel* performance, then forms a name and small spaces within the processions of *Ondel-ondel* and the local Betawi neighborhood. *Ondel-ondel* becomes the magnet, which attracts people, thus forming spaces.

This space can be formed by people directly involved in the crowd (Permatasari & Nugraha, 2020), such as musicians accompanying *Ondel-ondel* and *pencak silat* (martial arts) performers, also by the non-directly involved such as the spectacles, the locals, street vendors looking for instant profit and neighborhood security personnel. When the procession of street *Ondel-ondel* appears without a sidekick and full team, the spectacle becomes less enthusiastic and even tends to avoid it. This condition forms a small space that dimming disappeared.

The meaning of these small spaces is determined not only by the interaction and intention of the people in the crowd but also by time (Dea, Riska, & Kusuma, 2021; Howell, 2022) and *Ondel-ondel*'s appearance through the costume elements in each model. The same space name at different times can create different meanings.

According to Lefebvre in Pamungkas (2016), social space is a small space inside the city that is formed by experience and human interaction (Pamungkas, 2016). Like Sugiyono's (2022) opinion, city space is dynamic and shaped by various aspects, namely economic, political, and cultural. He has added that urban space is colored by capitalist interests, which tend to want to gain large profits through city development.

When *Ondel-ondel* and its companion play music, it often invites a lot of attention from residents. At the moment of village circumference, some children run after *Ondel-ondel* excitingly, and the others are scared. The crowd forms the space's elements (Shen, Xu, & Liu, 2021; Pei, 2021).

The form of social spaces is sometimes in different sizes and amounts, depending on the community response to this activity (Sertiawan, Nasution, & Syafira, 2023). The ordered *Ondel-ondel* parade holds time and is funded by a certain company so that the social space will be predictable. The costume elements in ordered *Ondel-ondel* will generally look very glamorous and pretty in a colorful festive mood. The most attractive social space comes from the *Ondel-ondel* buskers' crowd completed with the companion team, and the *Ondel-ondel* parade for a wedding celebration in a *kampung* (village) has an incredible and unpredictable social space. That space comes from unpredictable audiences, such as illegal street vendors, residents, and people who

coincidentally pass by. When the *Ondel-ondel* shows based on order, its appearance will be completed and optimal, both in terms of complete accessories for the *Ondel-ondel*'s costumes and musical players and the completeness of musical instruments. This situation invites a crowd of other spectators, which creates intangible space.

The residents gathering in that crowd come there to watch the performance intentionally, and some are forced by the children's request; that is the time when space forms. The social space is formed when there are human interaction activities, such as greetings, acquainted, joking around, storytelling, selling, and spreading rumors (Sugiyono & Dwianto, 2021).

The continuity and changes of *Ondel-ondel*'s costume elements caused by significant events indicate the existence of cultural bargaining between various parties, such as the local government as the ruler, the Betawi community as a craftsman, and *Ondel-ondel*'s audience.

In cultural negotiation space (Brett, 2022), the process of personification has already occurred during the *Barongan* era, which is subsequently rebranded as *Ondel-ondel* and proposed to become Jakarta's iconic symbol in the 1970s. To make it happen, *Ondel-ondel* must be accepted by the whole community. This negotiation involves three parties: the political (local government) and religious elite (*kyai*) as the ruler, the Betawi cultural institution as a mediator of ruler and artist, and the artists who generally are Rural Betawi community (Erwantoro, 2014; Shahab, 2001). *Ondel-ondel* is prohibited from performing in Middle Betawi (*Ondel-ondel* from the central of Jakarta) because it deals with occult matters and violates Islamic religious norms. For this reason, ancient *Ondel-ondel* must undergo many changes by humanizing it. Some costume elements are changed to be more exciting, attractive, and civilized. The *ukup* process must be taken out. These changes are offered by political and religious elite groups. The artists do not have a choice and have to accept it for the sake of artistic activities in the land of Jakarta.

The continuity and changes in costume elements on the Islamic *Ondel-ondel* model began because of several important events that happened in Jakarta around the 1980s, such as the Fatwa of the MUI chairman, Buya Hamka, that banned congratulating and joining the celebration of Christmas for Muslims (Pratama, 2017), and the massacre of *santri* in Tanjung Priok who held a protest against the security forces who defended the continuation of screening X-rated movies in local theatres (Liputan6, 2003). To control this situation, the local government used *Ondel-ondel* as a cultural approach to reduce the *santri*'s tension. Through the *Ondel-ondel* with *cukin*, the Betawi ruler at that time was carrying out symbolic communication with the community to have a similar and comfortable identity, then got a positive response on the legitimacy of the power, even after several socio-cultural and political distress over the past few years. With the addition of *cukin* accessories on the male *Ondel-*



*ondel's* chest, the Betawi Muslim was born through *Ondel-ondel*. The policy of using *cukin* and checked sarong on male *Ondel-ondel* leads to the process of Islamizing it.

When Jakarta was required to bolster its tourism sector through initiatives like organizing the 471<sup>st</sup> Jakarnaval in 1998 (Kompas, 2008), *Ondel-ondel* began to feature more prominently and frequently in paired formations, participating in formal marches and large-scale processions held in public spaces or mass gatherings to enhance event vibrancy. Not only the costume's elements but also the changes in the structure. *Ondel-ondel's* functions change from cultural to tourism, commercial, and trade instruments (Callula, Nolani, & Ramadhan, 2022). The making of *Ondel-ondel* become increasingly easy and autonomous with lively, attractive, and sellable consideration. The *Ondel-ondel* commercial model becomes very autonomous because it has a commodity status. With this kind of status, all the materials, sizes, and shapes of the *Ondel-ondel* models also become varied. There is a single *Ondel-ondel* that is accompanied by smaller *Ondel-ondel* as the children. *Ondel-ondel*, as an art decoration form, appears without control. *Ondel-ondel* can be created in two and three dimensions. The continuity and changes in *Ondel-ondel* commercial's costume elements freely answer the craftsmen's and the Betawi communities' questions about government policies in the tourism and trade sectors. The changes in *Ondel-ondel's* meaning are no longer an important issue.

The existence space (Sushanti, Yuniati, & Angelia 2021) that occurs from the continuity of *Ondel-ondel* costume elements changes could be seen in three parties: the government or authorities, the owner of the studio, and the *Ondel-ondel* parade, as the audience. The government's existence space occurs because the legitimacy of its power gets a positive response from citizens through *Ondel-ondel*. The amount of financial strength and force that influences the organizer can be noticed in the appearance of the *Ondel-ondel* accompaniment music team. Using *tanjidor* and *gambang kromong* shows the financial strength of customers.

The craftsman gives special characteristics to the *Ondel-ondel* and makes it easily recognizable. Nevertheless, as the demand for *Ondel-ondel* studios grows, the identification of both the studio and its owners becomes crucial, necessitating their inclusion on the *toka-toka* (the traditional percussion instrument) and music cart. This serves as an identity marker and promotional tool, demonstrating cohesion and the capacity to participate in parades effectively. The primary function of *Ondel-ondel* is to provide personal entertainment and aesthetic presentations, wherein the figures are paraded with enthusiasm by accompanying performers. This is executed with notable self-assurance as they derive enjoyment from the activity. The *Ondel-ondel* procession during the carnival exemplified a strong sense of solidarity and cohesion, serving as a medium for social status

validation, creative expression, and the preservation of cultural heritage.

The increasing number of *Ondel-ondel* studios indicates the demand for this giant puppet is spreading. In addition, when *Ondel-ondel* is performed with lots of audiences, it often creates an atmosphere similar to the impromptu night market. Illegal street vendors are drawn to sell food, drinks, and toys. This condition usually attracts other illegal jobs, such as parking attendants, security guards, and so on.

The intangible spaces created by each *Ondel-ondel's* model can be biased and disappear when the environment does not respond or loses interest in the *Ondel-ondel* performance anymore. The uncontrivable changes in *Ondel-ondel's* costume elements and performance can make people avoid and lose interest in *Ondel-ondel*. For example, *Ondel-ondel* performs without a spouse (single) or a complete music companion, creating a small space because there are fewer members. An incomplete team makes the audience lose interest and prefer to run away because this kind of situation gives an image of *Ondel-ondel* only as a beggar. When incomplete *Ondel-ondel* performances lose the society's passion, then the intangible space is not being created. If the intangible space does not exist, it means Betawi's environment is not going to be formed, too. The image, characteristics, and identity of Jakarta are going lost.

## CONCLUSIONS

The continuity and changes of *Ondel-ondel's* costume elements create four different models from time to time, and each model is influenced by the rules of power of the local government. Each model of *Ondel-ondel* could also build intangible spaces in the community with a unique characteristic called Betawi. The Betawi community itself can become a space in DKI Jakarta. The intangible spaces, such as social, negotiation, existence, and opportunity to workspace, have been created by *Ondel-ondel's* costume elements and bright colors combined with high contrast, as well as the crowded and festive music. Since *Ondel-ondel* has been recommended as one of Jakarta's icons, it automatically becomes one of the government properties. It means that Jakarta's local government can use *Ondel-ondel* not only for identity but also to legitimate the government's policies or commands to the community to accept and follow their order without obstacles.

As one of Jakarta's icons and Betawi's identity, the *Ondel-ondel* appearance needs to be maintained. *Ondel-ondel* consists of a pair of males and females accompanied by a typical *Ondel-ondel* music team who sing Betawi songs. The local government needs to provide guidance and basic knowledge about *Ondel-ondel* as well as financial assistance for local *Ondel-ondel* studios so that *Ondel-ondel* can exist back in the middle of Jakarta in good condition as well.

The *Ondel-ondel* performance is like an

intangible space, where the costume elements complement each other and interpret the function of the space. The more completed elements are presented in the *Ondel-ondel* performance, the space function will be achieved, and the audience of space dimension spaces about the sacredness will be reached.

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