

**A Cultural Analysis of Dressing in Indonesian “Traditional”
Manner Among Faculty Members of
the State University of Jakarta**

Thesis approved by the School of Linguistics and Cultural Studies of the University of Oldenburg in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Dr. phil.) by Yeni Sesnawati born on June 1st, 1981, in Jakarta.

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Abstract

A Cultural Analysis of Dressing in Indonesian “Traditional” Manner Among Faculty Members of the State University of Jakarta

Academic staff of the State University of Jakarta prefer “hybridized” “traditional” clothing, which is seen as both trendy and fashionable. The data for the investigation reported here come from interviews with 25 Professors and Lecturers in the university, and include wardrobe analysis of clothing, accoutrements and other objects, including pictures of garments and family photos. Respondents made use of traditional dress either in original styles, modified or imitated. Some follow fashion, particularly favouring traditional materials, but in new motifs, patterns and colours. This new style of clothing represents Indonesian identity through dress. The wearing of academic uniform based on old patterns and designed specifically for a faculty or department, and the acceptance of similar clothing in the public at large have produced, adapted and intensified a combination of traditional and Muslim clothing, in for example, the hijab.

Keywords: traditional clothing, fashion, Indonesia, university.

Abstrakt

Eine kulturelle Analyse der Kleidung im „traditionellen“ indonesischen Stil unter Mitgliedern der Fakultät der State University of Jakarta

Unter Akademikern der State University of Jakarta sind „hybrisierte“, „traditionelle“ Kleidungsstücke als modische Kleidung im Trend. Die Daten für diese Untersuchung wurden durch Interviews von 25 Lehrenden und Professoren der Universität gewonnen, ergänzt durch die Analyse der Garderobe, die neben Objekten auch Abbildungen von der Nutzung traditioneller und nicht-traditioneller Kleidung, z.B. Familienfotos, einschließt. Die Befragten tragen Traditionelles, entweder im Original, modifiziert oder imitiert. Einige folgen der Mode, insbesondere traditionelles Material mit neuen Motiven, Mustern und Farben ist zurzeit beliebt. Dieser neue Kleidungsstil repräsentiert die indonesische Identität in der Kleidung. Die Nutzung fakultätseigener auf alten Mustern basierender Uniformen und die Akzeptanz ähnlicher Muster in der Öffentlichkeit haben eine Kombination von Tradition und muslimischer Kleidung (z. B. Hijab) hervorgebracht und diese Art der Kleidung adaptiert und gestärkt.

Stichworte: traditionelle Kleidung, mode, Indonesien, Universität.

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I. Introduction

1. Background

'Traditional' items of clothes or material have nowadays become a trend in Indonesia, particularly in Jakarta, and dressing in 'new' forms of Indonesian traditional dress is today increasing rapidly. The influence of other styles blurs boundaries, and thus, new ways of using 'traditional dress' have developed. Choices of clothing are therefore becoming wider across the population, including lecturers and professors who work in the educational sector. Some of them will wear traditional dress for some occasions, namely, teaching, conference, party, ceremony, etc., while the others wear Western-style dress. I assume that traditional dress worn by lecturers and professors nowadays is changing and has become more fashionable and varied in style, colour and design which are seen in their performance.

As defined by Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992), dress is an ensemble of body modifications and supplements. This definition is a comprehensive approach to dress, that encompasses everything related to the body; body decoration; and desecration of the body; includes tattoos, skin coloring, hairstyles, ear piercings, clothing and accessories. Through the social interaction of individuals and their dress, cultural identity, attitudes, values and beliefs are expressed or transmitted (Roach-Higgins & Eicher 1992). The function of clothing according to Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992) is as a modifier of body processes and a medium for communication. Changes in body processes can be interpreted in direct body changes such as ear piercing, interactions in the microphysical environment, and between the body and the macrophysical environment. As a medium for communication, dress can express age, gender, social class, religion, etc. Furthermore, the meaning that a person associates with various external characteristics of clothing is based on their socialization in a particular cultural context as well as on the improvisations that the person makes when applying the meaning of the learned clothing in a particular social situation.

Characteristics of dress convey an individual's identity and their social structure of society. This social structure of society encompasses the belief system, in which plays a role in shaping moral and aesthetic standard that define what is acceptable or what is considered appropriate and inappropriate dress. This, however, differs in each society and even in the small groups in a society (Roach-Higgins and Eicher, 1992).

Another term that is similar to traditional dress is ethnic dress. Ethnic dress is described by Eicher and Sumberg (1995) “as those items, ensemble and modifications of the body that capture the past of the members of a group, the items of tradition that are worn and displayed to signify cultural heritage.” Researchers have argued that ethnicity embodies the idea of group cohesion and has boundaries that can separate in-group members from non-group members. These entities share a common heritage, including language, dress, beliefs, behavior, and general lifestyle. In my opinion, ethnic dress refers more to smaller changes in traditional dress within a region, while traditional dress applies more to a larger area, such as in a province.

According to Hobsbawm (1983), tradition can be invented, which means a set of practices that usually governed by rules that are openly or tacitly accepted, ritualistic or symbolic in nature, and tending to instill certain values and morals of way of behaving through reiteration, which automatically implies continuousness in former times. Hobsbawm's explanation shows that invented tradition occurs in various places and is not a natural practice but rather a practice that is deliberately structured in such a way as to serve a specific purpose and within a certain period of time. The creation of the tradition presupposes a connection or continuity with the past, in the sense that the past is trying to be reinterpreted in the present. The past is reinterpreted to arrange the conditions that are expected in the present and the future. Thus, Indonesian ‘traditional’ dress means in this thesis dress that has become part of Indonesia's cultural heritage and is nationally known as traditional dress in the country.

Globalization

The term globalization is commonly interpreted as the idea that the world is becoming more uniform and standardized, through technological, commercial and cultural synchronization emanating from the West, and therefore, the concept of globalization is usually tied up with that of modernity (Pieterse, 1994). In addition, Kraidy suggests to adopt terms that better describe global or local encounters than the word ‘globalization’ and uses the term ‘glocalization’, which is obtained by telescoping ‘globalization’ and ‘localization’ (Kraidy, 1999).

For example, with the development of the world’s system of information and technology, ways of dressing can be changed, including the changes that occur in traditional dress. Some people may still maintain original forms as the traditional dress and wear this only on certain

occasions, but some others choose to modify traditional dress in accordance with the prevailing fashion.

As traditional dress available today in Indonesia has considerable variety of styles and designs, people can wear it on many occasions, either formal or informal. Alteration of traditional dress in Indonesia is also supported by designers in Jakarta who want to promote wearable yet simple contemporary outfit, not just something ethnic. They launch new collections, marking new trends, expanding and exploring innovative use of fabrics and adding modern touches, which then spread rapidly (see (Niessen & Niessen, 2003)). Traditional dress, therefore, seems to be a trend, that appears to be everywhere and is often be a topic of discussion.

The Change of Dress

The Republic of Indonesia (RI) - or Indonesia - is a country in East Asia, located on the equator and between Asia and Australia continents and the Pacific and Indian Oceans. It is therefore called *Nusantara* (archipelago: in between). Indonesia consists of 17,508 islands and it is the largest archipelago in the world. With a population of more than 265 million people in 2018¹, Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world and the most populous Muslim country in the world, although it is not officially an Islamic state (Vickers, 2013). The form of Indonesian government is a republic, where the House of Representatives and the president are directly elected. Indonesian society consists of various ethnic groups, languages and religions. The Javanese are the largest ethnic group and politically dominant. As a country, Indonesia has a motto: “*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*” or “Unity in Diversity” which is used to describe the unity of the Republic of Indonesia in which a diverse ethnicity, race, religion, regional dress, and language coexist – spread in 33 provinces. Jakarta, the country's capital with a population of over 10 million, is located on the island of Java. The nation's primary language is a form of Malay called Bahasa Indonesia (Vickers, 2013:1).

Indonesian dress is influenced by the changing relationship between indigenous, Muslim, and Western dress (Nordholt, 2013). The development of the clothing industry at the beginning of the 20th century was supported by the modernization in the apparel industry that brought changes in the type of clothing worn on different occasions. This influence by Western countries incorporated elements of wearing clothing in particular styles and situations. For instance, on formal occasions, people started to change their traditional

¹ *Statistical Yearbook of Indonesia 2019*, BPS – Statistics Indonesia, p. 81.

clothes to western-styled clothes. Various sources, especially photos, show that clothing worn by people in the early 20th century appeared in two styles, namely, many types of traditional clothing and Western modern clothing, derived from a style of Western clothes considered to be more advanced in terms of technology. These fulfilled the need for clothes for various occasions, i.e. home or daily clothes, work clothes (including school uniforms), and formal or party clothes. In the Dutch colonial period, rules of dressing on formal occasions were established. Native women wore the *kebaya* and European women wore long dresses or blouses and skirts with a modern design. Native men wore uniforms according to their rank and position, while European men wore suits and ties. As the times changed, Western-styled clothing was both adapted and adopted unchanged by Indonesian people. However, most Indonesian older people were more comfortable with traditional dress, especially when attending special events, whereas the younger people more typically wore Western styles. Since the 1960s, Indonesian designers have shown vast potential and talent, which harmoniously combined traditional dress with Western style designs.² Discussing ‘traditional’ dress, Hansen (2004) states that:

“‘Traditional’ dress was never a cultural ‘heritage issue’ in anthropology but was always a changing practice, remaking itself in interaction with other dress styles, with garments of Western commercial manufacture and the West fashion system. Globalization in the era of hyper communication is creating a new ‘world in dress’, breaking down conventional fashion boundaries. Understanding fashion as a global phenomenon is further supported by shifts in the organization of garment production across the globe as well as by the vast economic significance of garment production in world trade.” (Hansen, 2004:372).

Maynard (2004) also asserts that traditional dress is not a fixed entity but signifies dress codes in which there is a constant incorporation of new ideas. She also supports Taylor’s argument that “there has never been a fully uncontaminated ‘authenticity’ either in peasant or in ‘tribal’ dress” (Taylor, 2002 in Maynard, 2004:8). Therefore, Indonesian ‘traditional’ dress means here dress that became Indonesia's cultural heritage and is nationally known as traditional dress in the country. Examples of Indonesian cultural heritage in dress that can be found in provinces include:

² Ministry of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia. (2009). *Indonesian Women’s Fashion: The Inspiration of New Style*. Trade Research and Development Agency, p. 2.

- *Kebaya*; is a tight fitted blouse tailored tightly to the torso of the woman, with fold-back collarless neck and front opening, long sleeves, made from a type of semi-transparent fabric.
- *Baju Kurung*; refers to knee-length loose-fit long-sleeved blouses worn by women, especially on the island of Sumatra.
- *Sarong*; is a width piece of fabric that is sewn on both ends so it is shaped like a pipe / tube. Sarongs can be made from a variety of materials such as cotton, polyester, or silk. The use of sarongs is very widespread for formal situations such as prayer or wedding ceremony. For informal occasions, people can wear it casually at home.
- *Batik*; is the technique of printing a kind of decoration on fabric using wax as a barrier to the applied color, mostly from Java and also found in other particular parts of Indonesia such as Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Bali, West Nusa Tenggara and Papua.
- *Songket*; can be found in Sumatra, Sulawesi, Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa. It is classified as part of the woven lace group of fabrics, woven by hand with gold and silver yarns and is generally worn on formal occasions. The metallic yarns stand out against the background cloth to create a shimmering effect.
- *Tenun Ikat*; woven tied dyed cloth from many provinces of Indonesia, such as West Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, East and West Nusa Tenggara, South Sulawesi, Maluku, Lampung, Bali, West, Central and East Java.

In the 1990s, globalization and the development of advanced media technology such as the internet, gave easy access to world fashion news and trends designers were helped to create more variety of fashion especially of Western styles, which were considered glamorous and modern in Indonesia³. In developing ideas and characteristics in dress, some Indonesian designers work in Western styles, while others create new ‘traditional’ dress such as the *kebaya* and *batik* with a modern touch and accessories. They enabled a rebirth of Indonesian ‘traditional’ dress among younger people and those who appreciate traditional art. For example, women previously wore the *kebaya*, which was usually combined with *batik kain panjang*⁴, *sarong*, and *songket*. When wearing *kebaya*, it is required that the torso

³ Ibid., p.3.

⁴ *Kain panjang* is an unstitched length of cloth wrapped around the lower half of the body of a woman or man. Normally, the length is 2.25 m and width 1.10 m.

of the women be wrapped with a long piece of cloth called *stagen*. Today, the designs of the *kebaya* are varied greatly, and some women even wear it with denim trousers. Other examples of Indonesian traditional dress are those featuring *batik* technique. After the independence of Indonesia in 1945, *batik* shirts for men were introduced for formal wear, but this did not prove popular, because people tended to wear western clothes such as suit and tie as fashionable clothes. However, since the 2000s Indonesian fashion designers have tried to renew *batik* by incorporating new colours, fabrics, designs, and patterns. As a result today, *batik* has considerable influence in fashion designs for blouses, shirts, dresses, capes, scarves, skirts, ties, etc., not only in formal but also non-formal situations. Moreover, UNESCO recognized *batik* as an intangible world heritage of Indonesia on October 2, 2009⁵, and since then this date is commemorated every year as the *batik* national day in Indonesia. This recognition encourages designers to introduce new approaches to combining elements of Indonesian ‘traditional’ dress with today’s common fashion designs. These changes have led to consumption in a form of creolization where nothing is dominant and nothing is completely traditional, resulting in hybrid forms of clothing. (Maynard, 2004). As Kraidy (1999) states, this condition is inevitable and occurs in daily life.

The influence of foreign culture on the design of Indonesian ‘traditional’ dress has led designers to create a multiplicity of styles to be worn on different occasions and by different wearers. For instance, some women feel comfortable combining ‘traditional’ dress with Western-styled dress, while others cover their head with a veil or headscarf to comply with Muslim custom. A study conducted by Nursyahbani (2012) states that women try to find a ‘right’ Muslim form of dress to allow them to combine a sense of fashion with their religious beliefs that is not only religiously acceptable but also fashionable. However, the essence of the veil as a symbol of Muslim women has now become a fashion. Miller (2005) argues that the warmth and yearning in human relationships, with one’s own inner self and with others, are expressed through aesthetic relationships with things, relationships which are religious in that they fulfil what Durkheim (2001:159) depicted as the requesting yet satisfying impacts of society and custom. Thus, the use of the veil for Muslim women is also related to both social and individual existence in the community, and not only has a conventional meaning, but also a global interpretation, in line with the development of Muslim communal values.

⁵ The epigraph of Batik Indonesia is read at 4th Session of the Intergovernmental Committee on Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in Abu Dhabi, Uni Emirat Arab by means of decision number 4.COM 15 B.

2. Jakarta and the State University of Jakarta

Jakarta

Jakarta, as the capital city of Indonesia, is the most populous city – with 16,084 people per km².⁶ The total land area of Jakarta is 662,33 km² with its chain of islands covering a sea area of 6,977.5 km². Officially, Jakarta is not a city. It is a province with special status as the capital of Indonesia. Jakarta is headed by a governor and divided into several sub-regions with their own administrations. The official name of Jakarta is *Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta* (Special Capital City District of Jakarta), which is abbreviated to DKI Jakarta. The climate of Jakarta is generally warm, with temperatures ranging from 32.7°C - 34°C during the day, and a minimum air temperature range of 23.8°C - 25.4°C at night.

People who live in Jakarta are not only indigenous to this area, but also come from other provinces and have settled in Jakarta. As the center of business, politics, and culture, Jakarta is the preferred site of offices of government institutions, private and foreign companies. With a high rate of economic growth, Jakarta is an urban destination area of various ethnic groups in Indonesia. The natives who live in Jakarta are called the ‘Betawi’ or ‘people of Batavia’⁷. Their ancestors were people living in and around Jakarta and were acknowledged as an ethnic group from around the 18th–19th century. The *Betawi* people are mostly derived from various Southeast-Asian ethnic groups who were brought to or emigrated to Batavia to fulfil labour needs, and also include people originating from other provinces in Indonesia. The Betawi language is mostly based on a dialect of Malay, enhanced by adopted words from Dutch, English, Chinese, and Arabic. Nowadays, people in Jakarta use the Jakarta dialect (*Bahasa Jakarta*) as a street language which is loosely based on the Betawi language. Most *Betawi* today have moved to the suburbs of Jakarta, displaced by new migrants.

Its cosmopolitan nature makes Jakarta a fashion city, a central place where top designers’ collections are produced and sold. Jakarta Fashion Week (JFW) as the driving platform of Indonesian fashion industry was first held in 2008 and presents a variety of programs, such as workshops and talk shows to develop the capacity of designers,

⁶ DKI Jakarta Province in Figures 2023, BPS – Statistics of DKI Jakarta Province, p. 79.

⁷ Batavia is the name of Jakarta during the Dutch colonial period.

competition for models, fashion bloggers and designers, and introduces the works of Indonesian designers to the international market. As a business centre, Jakarta also has a lot of shopping centres. In 2014, the number of malls in Jakarta reached 170 (Kasdiono, 2014). A study conducted by Colliers International (Market Report Q3 2018) states that by 2021 as many as 6 new shopping malls will be built in Jakarta. Indonesian ‘traditional’ dress used to be found in special stores and in particular shopping malls, now it is easy to find in all shopping malls with varying prices. By having a high number of shopping malls within the city limits, people are given an increased choices of all clothing to buy – whether ‘traditional’ dress or international brands.

The State University of Jakarta

After Indonesia's independence, the Indonesian government felt a lack of education personnel at all levels and types of educational institutions. To overcome this problem the government established various teacher education courses. Therefore, in 1950s the government established various institutions to alleviate this problem, spreading across several regions in Indonesia.

The State University of Jakarta was part of the University of Indonesia (*Universitas Indonesia*) as the Faculty of Teaching and Education until early 1964. At the same time, there was also another institute in Jakarta called The Teacher’s Education Institute (*Institut Pendidikan Guru*), which also generated secondary school teachers. Because of this dualism, Sukarno, through a Presidential Decree, merged the institute and faculty, and it became the Institute of Teaching and Education (*Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan – IKIP*) in 1964.

In subsequent developments, IKIP has enlarged its mandate to develop educational and non-educational knowledge in the university field. IKIP Jakarta since August 4, 1999 has become the State University of Jakarta (*Universitas Negeri Jakarta – UNJ*) based on *Keputusan Presiden*⁸ 093/1999 on August 4, 1999, and the inauguration was carried out by the President of the Republic of Indonesia on August 31, 1999 at the State Palace, Jakarta.

There are eight faculties in this university, i.e., Faculty of Education Science, Faculty of Economic, Faculty of Engineering, Faculty of Social Science, Faculty of Languages and

⁸ *Keputusan Presiden* is a regulation made by President.

the Arts, Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Science, Faculty of Sport Science, and Faculty of Psychological Education Science.

Lecturers and Professors

Jakarta has two state universities and numerous private universities. A lecturer is a professional educator and scientist with the tasks of transforming, developing, and disseminating science, technology, and/or the arts through education, research, and community service activities, whereas a professorship is the highest functional position for lecturer who is still teaching in higher education⁹. As Indonesian civil servants (called '*Pegawai Negeri Sipil (PNS)*'), the income of lecturers and professors is set and established in accordance with the class/rank and length of service. Starting in 2007, the Indonesian government improved the welfare of this group of people through a professional allowance in order to improve their performance. The professional allowance is given to lecturers who already have an educator's certificate in appreciation of their professionalism, whilst an honor allowance is granted to a lecturer who has an academic position as a professor. This allowance equals the base salary they receive every month for lecturers and twice this for professor. The increased income of these people has changed their consumption patterns, including clothing. As Winardi (2002) argues, consumption patterns are determined by the level of income; this is because the increased income changes needs and consequently also consumption patterns (Winardi, 2002). Consumption patterns describe the allocation and composition or form of consumption that in general apply to individuals or society. Consumption, according to Yasraf, can be interpreted as a process of objectification, i.e. the process of externalization or internalization of self through objects as a medium (Yasraf, 2004:182). In other words, we understand and conceptualize ourselves and the reality around us through material objects; in a process of creating value in the objects and then giving recognition and internalizing these values. Objects of consumption are influential in the formation and understanding of the concept of self. The fact is that consumption as a system of differentiation, the formation of a status difference system, and a symbol of social prestige is a pattern of consumer society. The consumption patterns that form the focus of this study mean all of the things related to dress that people own which they wear, keep, and maintain in everyday life.

⁹ The definitions are from the Regulation of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia No. 41/2009 about Lecturer and Professor.

In assuming the status of a lecturer, dressing to this status is an act of preparing the body as a subject for the social world, taking on an appropriate, acceptable, and indeed respectable appearance. The decision of how to dress everyday is a routine practice that reflects a set of ideas about what it means to be a lecturer. However, the ways in which individuals engage in this particular occupation are varied and nuanced. Thus, engagement in the act of ‘doing’ dress exists as a negotiation between one’s individual understanding of the self and the expectations of society and/or culture (Goodman, et. al. 2007).

Dressing in ‘traditional’ clothing in the university is a common thing. During their lectures, lecturers and professors sometimes wear *batik* or *sarong* modification, especially, when it comes to a conference or other important events like meetings and ceremonies. Moreover, they usually have a kind of ‘uniform’ which is made from traditional dress or uses ‘traditional’ techniques, namely *batik*, to be worn on certain day or special occasions. For instance, the institution may suggest that all of the people who work at the university, including lecturers and administration staff, wear a *batik* uniform provided by the university once a week, for instance, every Friday. But, in fact, perhaps half or less than a half of these people wear the uniform, while the rest of them wear other *batiks* (not a uniform) or other clothing. In informal situations such as a university party, family gathering, or other event, some of those attending also wear ‘traditional’ dress combined with Western-styled dress; some Muslim women wear this combination along with headscarves in many styles and designs. Traditional dress can easily be found in shopping malls or can also be made by a dressmaker to a specific design or size. People used to combine traditional dress with traditional accessories (necklace, earring, brooch, bracelet, belt), however, original accessories seem to have been replaced by a Westernized style, for instance in jewelry, bag, purse, shoes, etc.

3. State of Research

Fashion exists in many areas of life, not only in the way we dress, but also in many other areas such as food, home furnishings, music, etc. It influences what we wear, eat, how we live and how we see ourselves. Simmel (1905) argues: “*so ist die Mode nichts anderes als eine besondere unter den vielen Lebensformen, durch die man die Tendenz nach sozialer Egalisierung mit der nach individueller Unterschiedenheit und Abwechslung in einem einheitlichen Tun zusammenführt*“ (Simmel, 1995[1905]:11). In other words, when we use the term fashion, we mean a way of behaving or doing something that is accepted and used

by the majority of a group of people at a given point in time, regardless of the size of the group.

Furthermore, Eicher and Roach-Higgins (1992) describe the term dress as ‘a comprehensive term to identify both direct body changes and items added to the body,...’ (Eicher and Roach-Higgins, 1992:15). Dress is therefore a communicative and cultural phenomenon that is used by individuals to construct and communicate oneself, because of its nonverbal ways to produce and exchange meanings and values (Entwistle, 2001). It is also in accordance with Ellwanger’s statement (1991): *„Wertvoll ist Bekleidung, die den Anspruch erfüllen kann, „etwas rüberzubringen“ von den Nutzern, die sich in der Bekleidung darstellen.“* (Ellwanger, 1991: 244).

Dress is a social and cultural necessity for people in everyday life in order to build a image in individuals, which for others, as well as for themselves, is intelligible as a reference to a subjective form. To gain social recognition as a subject, this form is crucial for an individual and should be done in an accepted way (Alkemeyer, et.al., 2013). More specifically, they state that:

“Sie bilden und schaffen sich als Subjekte, indem sie sich in den ›Spielzügen‹ diskursiver und nicht diskursiver Praktiken für andere wie für sich selbst intelligibel machen und als ›mitspielfähig‹ zeigen, d.h. indem sie eine erkennbare und bestimmten normativen Forderungen entsprechende, anerkennbare Form annehmen, die in ihren Bewegungen, Haltungen, Mimiken, Gesten und ›Auftritten‹ zum Ausdruck kommt.“ (Alkemeyer, et.al., 2013:18)

However, their subjective form is not a stable given, because practice is always different and therefore, their appearance depends on occasion and contingency. In order to dress suitably to an occasion, people will attempt to dress appropriately. They have to form a harmony between dressing appropriately and looking and feeling like themselves through the cloth they choose. As Ellwanger (1991) points out:

“Die traditionelle Hierarchisierung der Bekleidung nach gesellschaftlicher Wertigkeit der Gelegenheit ist in Auflösung begriffen. Die strikte Trennung der Bekleidung in Privat- und Öffentlichkeitsbekleidung sowie in Sonntags- und Alltagsbekleidung ist aufgeweicht, die in Arbeits- und Freizeitbekleidung ziemlich durchlöchert, bei bestimmten Arbeitsplätzen und tendenziell bei männlichen sozialen Aufsteigern wird sie allerdings noch beibehalten.“ (Ellwanger, 1991: 243).

A phenomenon that has occurred in the last few years is the change in use of Indonesian traditional dress where some people no longer obey the norms of traditional dress

and wear it simply in both formal and non-formal situations in new styles and designs. The act of dressing, according to Woodward (2007), means that people have to look at wider aspects of social existence, namely, status, gender, and relationships with friends, because this is where personal preferences and social expectations come together. Hansen (2004) also argues that:

“The subjective and social experiences of dress are not always mutually supportive but may contradict one another or collide. Dress readily becomes a flash point of conflicting values, fueling contests in historical encounters, in interactions across class, between genders and generations, and in recent global cultural and economic exchanges.” (Hansen, 2004:372).

In addition, the way we feel and our experience with them depend on how others give values to our crafted appearances (Woodward, 2005 in Kuchler & Miller, 2005). Besides, clothing is as a communicative aspect used as a symbol and a reflection of culture. For example, the place of a person, geographically and socially, could also be identified from the clothes they wear (Ibrahim, 2007:243).

In Bourdieu's concept of Habitus, this is an embodied mental or cognitive structure that people use to face social life. Habitus describes a series of tendencies that encourage people to act and react in certain ways. Habitus is a product of history as a legacy of the past and is influenced by existing structures. Individual habit is acquired through life experience; and individual life experience is gained from the historical results, then internalized in a subject, used to feel, understand, recognize and evaluate the social world. Through this individual pattern, it also produces actions and evaluates them. Habitus is obtained as a result of a subject's position in social life. It will vary, depending on where and how the position of these individuals in social life is at any given time. Thus, a person who is in the same position in society, will likely have similar habits to others in this position. Habitus is formed in a relatively long period and sometimes forgotten in terms of the process. However, it can also be changed in the sense that it can be transferred from one field to another. In other words, Habitus as a legacy of past experience or the product of the internalization of the structure may vary according to the domain in which it is located. For example, in line with the development of information and technology in the world, ways of dressing can be changed, including the changes that occur in traditional dress. Some people may still maintain its original forms as traditional dress, worn only on certain occasions, but some others choose to modify traditional dress in accordance with the prevailing fashion. Individuals who internalize their way of dressing still have spaces of reflection on rational

choices, principles and strategies that are used to filter before the individual actually implements and improvises upon them.

Historically, the wearing of traditional dress had a special meaning – whether pattern or material – of an important value in society. For example, representing stages of human existence such as birth, marriage, or death. As mentioned earlier, traditional dress available today has considerable numbers of styles and designs. People wear them on many occasions, either formal or informal. Traditional dress, therefore, is to be a trend, and not just momentarily fashion, but something that appears everywhere and is often a topic of discussion. Studies on *batik* in the mass media in Jakarta (Shafita, 2009) indicate that people assume that *batik* has changed, that there is a newly differentiated discussion about *batik* compared to previous times. Whereas in the past, *batik* was interpreted as a fabric full of traditional philosophical meaning and a form of ‘culture’, worn – in special patterns, fabrics or tailoring - by the aristocracy. Nowadays, people feel that it is trendy, contemporary, and also unique because Indonesian's cultural value is inscribed in it (Shafita, 2009). This makes *batik* as traditional dress more popular and no longer exclusive; the classification of types of batik that became a marker of social status in the past has started to erode. Furthermore, Shafita explains that the current discussion about *batik* has placed it as a popular mass culture commodity that is widely accessible. The exclusivity of *batik* tends to disappear, and the classification based on the way of its making that was as a marker of social status, although still there, is now increasingly marginalized.

Another study conducted by Huang (2013) states that young women in Bali wear their kebaya which are three-quarter-sleeved, embroidered with delicate flora patterns, formfitting to highlight the natural curves of their bodies. They also adorn themselves with trendy sunglasses to attend a ceremony of *purnama* (full moon). People would say ‘*keren*’ to them, which means ‘cool’ in English. In addition, *sarong* (*kamen* in *Balinese* language) that they wear along with the kebaya shows their lower legs, while generally it is supposed to reach the ankles (Huang, 2013:102). This indicates that modifications on traditional dress have increased significantly. The alteration of traditional dress in Indonesia is also supported by designers in Jakarta who want to promote it as wearable, yet simple, contemporary outfit; not just something ethnic. They launch new collections, marking new trends, expanding and exploring the possibilities of fabrics, adding modern touches, which then spread rapidly.

The ‘new’ traditional dress is related to the theory of ‘invented tradition’. Hobsbawm (1983) describes that, “‘invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practice, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek

to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Hobsbawm, 1983:1). In other words, the new tradition of dress is simply adapted because there are sufficiently large and rapid changes on the demand or the supply side, and the old ones are deliberately neither used nor adapted.

4. Research Design and Methods

This study is aimed to establish the extent and nature of the use of Indonesian ‘traditional’ dress forms that are bought/inherited and worn by lecturers and professors. It is also intended to investigate how they combine the dress with traditional and/or non-traditional items of clothing, and to examine the development of their traditional dress in the last few years. Making modification in traditional dress is a choice to stay up to date while still observing the tradition: it is also of interest to observe religiously connotated dress-items being the object of fashionable adaptations.

The trend to traditional dress can thus be seen as a change in the consumption pattern of the society. Therefore, choices of clothing have widened across the population, including lecturers and professors who work in the educational sector. For some occasions, namely, teaching, conference, party, ceremony, etc., some Indonesians will wear traditional dress while others wear western-styled dress. This thesis assumes that traditional dress as worn by lecturers and professors nowadays is changing and becoming more fashionable with considerable variations of styles and designs which are seen at work. Based on these findings, the research question may be described as: how has the consumption pattern of Indonesian traditional dress of lecturers and professors in Jakarta changed? More specifically, this study is designed to answer the following sub questions. On what occasions do lecturers and professors dress in Indonesian traditional clothing? How and why could education be a factor in dressing in traditional clothing? What modification/alteration have lecturers and professors made to their traditional dress? What is the purpose for some modifications/alterations that have been made? With the widespread use of the headscarf for Muslim women today, how widespread do women combine traditional dress with headscarf? What would be the contemporary traditional elements in in male and female lecturers’ and professors’ dress?

This study is designed as a qualitative case study of consumption patterns of Indonesian traditional dress, focusing on lecturers and professors in the State University of Jakarta. Applying qualitative methods will allow this study to gain insight into the interviewee in his or her own words, providing a rich, descriptive, valuable understanding of the individuals' attitudes, beliefs, motivations, opinions, aspirations, lifestyles, and behaviours. As a case study, it is simply intended to develop an intensive description and analysis of lecturers and professors' consumption patterns. This is in line with typical case studies, which focus on in depth exploration of the act of dressing in Indonesian traditional dress.

The data analysis technique used in qualitative research is grounded theory. Grounded theory is a qualitative research method that uses a set of systematic procedures to inductively develop a theory about a phenomenon. This method starts from a statement that is still vague and finally produces a theory that is collected from various data, which consists of networked concepts and is suitable for providing a description and explanation of the social phenomena examined. Grounded theory was originally developed in the 1960s by sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss whose research results, *Discovery of Grounded Theory*, were published in 1967 (Glaser and Strauss, 2006).

In grounded theory, data collection is carried out using interviews with unstructured questions. An unstructured interview is an interaction between the interviewer and the respondent, where the interviewer only has a plan of questions or a plan of things or context/topic that will be asked. These questions are usually general questions and not a set of specific questions that must be asked with certain words and in a certain order. Data analysis in grounded theory starts from open coding to identify keywords from all the data collected. In open coding, researchers form initial codes of information about the phenomenon being studied by segmenting the information. Within each code, researchers find several traits, characteristics, properties or sub-codes.

This is followed by the stage of concept formation or axial coding with the aim of collecting codes that have the same content which allows data to be grouped into categories that are interconnected and concepts are formed. Additional codes or new ideas may emerge at this stage, but the main goal is to observe and study the pertinence of the initial concept. The researcher must move toward organizing ideas or themes and identifying key concepts in the analysis process (Neuman, 2006). At this stage, researchers ask about causes and consequences, conditions and interactions, strategies, and processes and look for categories or concepts that can be put into a particular group or cluster.

Next is selective coding with the aim of grouping concepts that are formed and then selected as the formation of theories for research problems (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). This is the final stage of coding which includes tracing all the data and codes that have been obtained previously. The procedures given above were used in the formulation of the interviews for this thesis.

Within this approach, the focus is on the individual or group of lecturers and professors, not a representation of the whole population. And therefore, this study will focus in-depth interview on lecturers and professors, particularly in the State University of Jakarta. The reason for choosing lecturers and professors is their academic background, which is of interest in finding out whether education could be a factor in use of Indonesian traditional dress. Another reason for choosing this university is because lecturers and professors who work in state universities have an 'equal' basic income as civil servants, according to government regulation, which may reduce the effects of differences in income on choice of dress.

Data collection techniques in this study are interviews and wardrobe observations. Interviews provide a great amount of information and a rich access to lecturers and professors' knowledge, experiences, perceptions, and discourses about Indonesian traditional dress. Prior to the interview process, lecturers and professors are identified and essential information about them is provided, such as gender, religion, place of origin, ethnicity, possible other occupations, and educational background. These are important, in order to be able to conduct an in-depth analysis of the traditional dress that they own. Subsequently, they were also asked for permission to observe their wardrobe and to record the interview. In order to get a better understanding of how traditional dress is used and why, we need better knowledge of the material framework of everyday dress practices, whether for work, leisure, sports, or social events. Therefore, the observation of the wardrobe was conducted in order to gain more comprehensive information about their consumption pattern of Indonesian traditional dress. According to Cwerner (2001), the meaning of the wardrobe is as the shelter for the various clothes and adornments used on a daily basis, as well as on special occasions. In addition, Hansen's (2000) point of view is that:

"These frames refer not only to the physical walls of the closet, but also to an entire structure of different storage spaces with corresponding criteria for where and what clothes should be kept and how clothes should be moved between them. Maintenance, cleanliness, acquisition, and disposal are parts of that structure, as is the practice of dressing in which garments and accessories are chosen and put together. Wardrobe studies as a method are developed within an understanding of practice where materiality is at the core. The term

practice is here understood as a fundamental unit of social existence.” (Hansen, 2000:102).

The use of interview guides, transcriptions, descriptions and audio recording of the interview in context became parts of the wardrobe study. However, in wardrobe study questions are directly tied to each individual's traditional dress and asked again and again. In this way, the specific conversation with the informants is directed from the general – and therefore often more ideological – to something concrete and related to practice. The wardrobe study is more about narratives of the forms of traditional dress and specific events and is not a conversation about abstract issues and subjects. Therefore, along with the physical presence of traditional dress, the study is intended to remind the informant about specific considerations, experiences, emotions, etc (Klepp and Bjerck, 2012). Furthermore, Klepp and Bjerck state that wardrobe studies use the presence of the object in two ways. First, the presence of clothes – in this case traditional dress – influences the informants' memories and narratives. Secondly, recording, photographing, and even handling the object itself contributes to the researcher's recollection and empathy, and provides opportunities to gain new knowledge.

Pictures of items of traditional and non-traditional clothing as well as the interviewees (for example, pictures from their photo album) were taken to support the analysis data. Knowles and Sweetman (2004) argue that ‘photos can achieve something that methods relying only on speech and writing cannot’. Because information about change in Indonesian traditional dress is the objective in this work with respect to the interviewees (including how they dress, modification/alteration, etc.) now and in the past, analysis of photographic evidence is of great use. Further, Grady (2004) states that ‘pictures are valuable because they encode an enormous amount of information in a single representation’ (Grady, 2004 in Rose, 2007:238). Rose (2007) also suggests that photos are used ‘as evidence to be interpreted’; and this interpretation ‘takes precedence in the researcher's argument’ (Rose, 2007:244).

The consideration of the number of interviews included whether the number of participants would be able to provide information to fulfil the research purpose. By recognizing the diversity of lecturers and professors, and considering time and financial constraints, this study examined 25 cases, consisting of lecturers and professors. As additional information, contact was established to some lecturers and professors, and their

interest gained as interviewees until the target number of 25 was reached. Qualitative data analysis included analysing data resulting from these interviews.

It should be noted that conducting interviews and observation faces some difficulties. The first problem is related to the permission to observe the wardrobe of the interviewees, because that is private for most people; and then making appointments with lecturers and professors within the limited time available. Therefore, the aims of the study were explained and appointments made well in advance. The next problem arose, when they did not show all their traditional dress, namely, the older items, which they perhaps felt ashamed to show, and did not want to take the time to unpack all they had. Because of this, the research focused on traditional dress which was shown and questioning could then be more detailed.

II. Theoretical Framework and Historical Narrative

1. Theoretical Framework

The word 'tradition' is often associated with something related to the past and often continued in the present. The process of creating 'tradition' is remains unclear. Hobsbawm (1983) suggests the concept 'invented tradition' as he argues that 'tradition' is "often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (Hobsbawm, 1983:1).

'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm, 1983:1).

Furthermore, Hobsbawm distinguishes 'tradition' from 'custom'; and 'tradition' from convention or routine. 'Tradition' is a repeated fixed practice and invariable, whereas 'custom' is something that allows change up to the relevant point. However, 'custom' and 'tradition' are tied together, so that changes in 'custom' will eventually affect 'tradition'. As for convention or routine, this is more practical and often does not contain any significant meaning as 'tradition' does (Hobsbawm, 1983:3). In addition, a 'new' tradition can be created in line with the rapid change of society, where a new value in society is adopted and the 'old' tradition does not fit in anymore. Two assumptions are suggested by Hobsbawm:

"[...], firstly that older forms of community and authority structure, and consequently the traditions associated with them, were unadaptable and became rapidly unviable, and secondly that 'new' traditions simply resulted from the inability to use or adapt old ones" (Hobsbawm, 1983:5).

In accordance with this, 'traditional' dress may be roughly interpreted as a dress representing community or identified with a certain cultural behaviour and values. Hansen (2004) states that:

"'Traditional' dress was never a cultural 'heritage issue' in anthropology but was always a changing practice, remaking itself in interaction with other dress styles, with garments of Western commercial manufacture and the West fashion system. Globalization in the era of hyper communication is creating a new 'world in dress', breaking down conventional fashion boundaries." (Hansen, 2004:372).

In this manner, traditional dress is liable to undergo a process of cultural transformation and the styles adopted to be authenticated to the values of a particular culture or group. Maynard (2004) also asserts that traditional dress is not a fixed entity but signifies dress codes in which there is a constant incorporation of new ideas. She also supports Taylor's argument that "there has never been a fully uncontaminated 'authenticity' either in peasant or in 'tribal' dress" (Taylor, 2002 in Maynard, 2004:8).

In the postcolonial theory, Moore-Gilbert (2000) explained that it was born in the second half of the 20th century is often referred to as a deconstructive method of dualist (binary) thinking. The dualist thinking model that is embedded in Western science, especially in the study of Eastern problems (orientalism), always puts the West, colonizers, self, observers, and subjects in a superior position compared to the East. East is colonized, outsider, object, narrated, and so on. Since the beginning of the colonial era, Westerners have felt they are different from Easterners who are seen as irrational, emotional, and less civilized (for example, in politics this is called "Eastern despotic").

Edward Said in his theory of "Orientalism" (Loomba, 1998; Barker, 2008), states that 'The Orient' (easterners) has been represented as the binary opposition of the West and 'the Occident' (westerners). Before Said wrote his work, Frantz Fanon pioneered the criticism of modern colonialism. The area of study Fanon explores is subjective experiences and the effects of domination and colonization. Said's most significant revision of Fanon is to question the 'representation' or effect of colonialism on his colonial subject and the subjective forms that appear there.

Furthermore, Homi K. Bhabha (in Moore-Gilbert, 2000; Loomba, 1998) analyzes the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized; emphasizes the interdependence of the two and constructs about their reciprocal subjectivity. Bhabha introduces the concepts of mimicry and hybridity. Mimicry is caused by the ambivalent relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. This ambivalent attitude is triggered by a love for something as well as hate for it. In this regard, Bhabha uses the term mimicry to describe the characteristics of imitation and camouflage regarding the attitudes, behavior and thoughts of the natives towards the invaders. According to Bhabha, ambivalence can not only be read as a sign of the trauma of the colonial subject, but also reveals that the colonial presence itself is always ambivalent, torn between presenting itself as civilizing and authoritarian with its repeated articulation of difference. In other words, colonial identity was unstable, dubious, and always fragmented (Loomba, 1998). Mimicry is an ambivalent discourse when, on the one hand, it builds similarities, but on the other hand, maintains differences. Mimicry can then be

understood as a process imposed by the colonizer, which those colonized pretended to accept, resulting in what Bhabha calls almost the same, but not entirely the same situation.

The concept of hybridity according to Bhabha is a product of colonial cultural construction, that is willing to share the original identity of the colonizer with the colonized nation as a new cultural identity. Bhabha explained that hybrid is a metaphor to describe the joining of two types of identities which give rise to certain characteristics of each form, while at the same time negating certain characteristics possessed by both. Hybridity begins when the boundaries that exist in a system or culture are flexed so that the clarity and decisiveness of things that can be done or cannot be done are obscured, which ultimately results in a new space or a separate system. This system occurs because of the process of mixing cultures, that can be done through various means, such as interaction, information technology, mass media, tourism, fashion, or various other modern lifestyle instruments. The emergence of various traditions or cultures gives rise to hybridity that is transmitted, sometimes unwillingly, by one individual to another or one group to another.

In postcolonial questions about representation the use of language becomes an important issue in connection with the formation of identity and the construction of subjectivity (Widiastuti, 2014). Stuart Hall (1997) divides the process of representation into two. Firstly, mental representations; namely the concept of something that is in the head (conceptual-abstract map). Secondly, language plays an important role in the process of meaning construction; abstract concepts that are in the head must be translated into common language in order to connect concepts and ideas about something with certain signs and symbols. The first process makes it possible to interpret the world by constructing a set of correspondence chains between something (the case of this thesis, clothing), with a conceptual map system. In the second process, we construct a set of correspondence chains between conceptual maps and language or symbols that represent concepts about something. The relationship between conceptual maps and language is at the heart of the production of meaning through language. The process that links these three elements together is what we call representation (Hall, 1997).

After independence, especially during the Old Order era, the Soekarno government, which was attempting to build a national cultural identity of Indonesia as a newly independent country, decided to adopt the kebaya as a national dress (Taylor in Nordholt, 2013). Traditional culture such as kebaya is has long been one of the media for Indonesian people's resistance to Western culture, which is feared to be the cause of the erosion of Indonesia's indigenous culture. In the New Order era, the Soeharto government used kebaya

as a form of restricting women's freedom through the concept of *ibuism*¹⁰ (Suryakusuma, 2011). The years of *kebaya* was narrowed in function and meaning through the *Dharma Wanita*¹¹ groups with the use of a fix model of *kebaya* at official and state events. Soeharto's wife became a patron for Indonesian women who were wearing *kebaya* (Yuastanti, 2016). On the other hand, the use of *kebaya* as everyday clothes began to be abandoned by women who preferred modern clothes oriented to Western culture. Western clothing became a symbol of modernity for women, especially those living in big cities like Jakarta and synonymous with impractical clothing and reduced freedom of movement.

After the collapse of the New Order, which was marked by a period of reform, the form and function of the *kebaya* underwent changes. With the blowing of the winds of freedom and the euphoria of democracy, the *kebaya* model is increasingly diverse and has gradually lost its standard form, especially among the younger generation. These changes came together with the emergence of designers amplifying the theme of modern *kebaya*. In addition, there is a tendency for the *kebaya* model to become more closed (appropriate) in line with the rise in adherence to Islamic teaching; for example, the new model *kebaya* which is elevated so as not to show cleavage; as well as the emergence of Muslim *kebaya* styles in the form of *kebaya* equivalents and veils that cover tightly all over, including head, neck and chest (Muchlison, interview with Trismaya, 2018). These changes applied for batik, ikat, and other traditional clothing as well.

In Nordholt's point of view, traditional clothing has a tendency to stagnate in women compared to men where the *kebaya* worn by women is a medium for resistance to colonial and post-colonial symbols in a nation looking for identity, while men experience a development that changes to a modern direction, evolved from sarongs to shirts and suits. It can be seen in a daily representation of this in state events that include the code of 'national dress'; so men will wear a batik jacket or shirt while women generally wear a *kebaya* or *baju kurung* with a traditional cloth equivalent for the lower body. It is as if women are trapped in clothes that are labeled "national dress", not being able to move forward, a symbol of

¹⁰ *Ibuism* is an ideology that puts women as unpaid domestic workers in order to support state capitalism. This understanding was created during the New Order government in Indonesia. The state is considered to be able to control society as long as it can control women. Control over women is carried out by trying to define the ideal role of women as mothers and wives.

¹¹ *Dharma Wanita* is an example of how the motherhood ideal of the state is constructed hierarchically. Women in the *Dharma Wanita* institution depend on their husband's position in government, not on the achievements of the women themselves. During the New Order period, such organization was also considered to suppress women with descriptions of the ideal woman. Even after the New Order was formally over, the social construction of New Order style women continues. This is because ideology and culture are still ingrained in the minds of the Indonesian people.

obedience to the narrative of power that governs the dress code of state formal dress (Nordhold, 2013).

The rules in Islam for dressing for a woman are to cover the entire body other than the excluded (face and palm), not to function as decoration, and the cloth must not be too thin and transparent, must be loose or not tight, not to form curves, not perfumed, not resembling men, not resembling the clothes of an infidel woman, not *libas syuhrah* (clothing of popularity), namely clothing worn with the aim of gaining popularity (prestige) in the midst of many people, not wearing expensive clothes to be proud of their dresses and jewellery, or clothing of low value that is used by someone to reveal his divinity with the aim of *riya* (showing off or boasting) (Al-Ghifari, 2003).

However, traditional clothing in Indonesia is mostly without a headscarf, or even if worn, it is a scarf that covers the head without covering the neck. This is how people have lived for ages since before the spread of Islam. When Islam came to Indonesia, the Islamic tradition mixed with the native cultures, because the Imams who spread Islam in Indonesia did not attempt to eliminate the existing tradition at that time; Indonesian people embrace Islam mostly by birth, which means they are Muslim because their parents, grandparent and great grandparent are Muslim, too. It makes them follow Islam just like as their ancestor did, so that older styles of dress have been preserved.

Wearing a headscarf that covered the neck was not as popular in colonial times as it is nowadays. In those days, it was easier to find women wearing loose headscarves that showed part of their hair and it did not cover their neck completely, called *kerudung*. However, adult women in Java mostly wore batik *kain panjang* and kebaya with uncovered hair. Men in royal dress traditionally wore batik *kain panjang* only for lower body and uncovered their torso, but from the middle of 19th century, they wore shirt, bowtie and jacket to cover the torso and wrapped batik *kain panjang* for the lower body.

Indonesian batik originally came from the heritage of the Javanese people, when the people of the land of Java dripped wax to cover the batik cloth using a tool called a *canting*. This batik is what is called written batik. Written batik is indeed the best type of batik, as well as the most expensive, because it is handmade. The manufacturing process takes longer than the others. The work of making written batik is usually done by women because it requires accuracy. It takes a long time to make one batik cloth two meters long, namely: around 30-50 days, depending on the complexity of the design. The more complex the design, the more expensive it will be.

The Chinese influence that came in the 19th century, gave rise to batik, in which the wax coating process uses a stamp with a width of about 1.5 cm, called a canting cap. Similar to the original stamp, only the material is made of copper and the dimensions are bigger, the average size is 20cm X 20cm. In general, printed batik is made by men. With this new technology, in one day the batik craftsmen can produce a lot of batik cloth. In terms of the quality and detail of the motifs, written batik is considered to be far superior to printed batik. However, in terms of price, printed batik is much more affordable (see Oscario, 2014: 552).

With the development of printing technology (screen printing), printed batik was created, made through a manual screen-printing process (such as making banners/t-shirts), or factory machine printing. Because the manufacturing process does not go through a wax coating - which is a characteristic of batik - this printed batik is not recognized as batik but is only referred to as batik-patterned cloth. The process of making printed batik is very large scale and fast with the use of a machine, so the price is very cheap compared to stamped batik and written batik. This should be called "printed batik motif" so as not to be confused with the stamped and written batik, to highlight the motif and that it is mass produced.

Oscario in Nawawi (2018) explains that the large amount of printed batik production, especially imported batik printing, threatens the existence of Indonesian written and stamped batik. According to him, batik printing is an imitation of batik which lacks authenticity and originality which in the eyes of post-modern aesthetics is called pastiche. Ironically, Indonesian people, especially Jakarta, who want to preserve the nation's culture by wearing batik often use printed batik which is often not considered to be batik because their identity and ties of place and origin have faded and printed batik is actually able to give an identity that is, in fact, artificial, by simulating a nationalist image. They are not aware that they are living in a post-modern mirage. The diluted meaning of traditional clothing has become very dominant for the people of Jakarta who only concerned with surface appearance and style and have surrender to mass consumption.

Various kinds of batik motifs which conform with traditional restrictions that are worn by a person will build a sense of belonging in group ties, ethnicity and political identity. (Darmaputri, 2015). However, in the current state of making batik this is often neglected by both the producer and the wearer. The meaning of batik as traditional clothing to show attachment in a group or community, such as uniforms, rank marks and even from which social class the batik wearer comes, is no longer highlighted. So that the use of clothes with batik motifs in everyday life is no longer as complicated as it used to be when batik had obvious cultural meanings and individuals had an understanding of the meaning in batik.

While this tends to be cheap, on the one hand, there is also batik which is expensive for the middle and upper class, and is not restricted to T-shirt. Designers such as Iwan Tirta, Edward Hutabarat, Ghea, etc., modify various batik and use expensive imported materials to make this attractive for the elite. This trend of wearing batik is not necessarily a proof of their love for Indonesia. However, it can also be interpreted that this movement is a reaction to globalization and simply follows postmodern fashion trends. In the end, batik is not only the beauty of the combination and the composition of various decorations but also the play of colors in the cloth wrapped around the human form.

Changes in meaning are seen in traditional batik and contemporary batik. Through traditional batik motifs, motifs are created in accordance with the unwritten rules or regulations applicable at the time, so that they are not free to use and are tied to their use at the time, place and status of ownership (social status or position). Contemporary batik, it has traditional motifs in it, it is more wearable on every occasion because the shape of the clothes and the motifs are not bound by the provisions of batik wearing as in the past. Therefore, contemporary batik cannot be interpreted in the same way as interpreting traditional batik because the values that bind it have changed. Nowadays people can freely show their identity through what they wear. One of them is through the traditional cloth, now often adapted and conveying as its core meaning that the wearer is Indonesian (Darmaputri, 2015). Furthermore, Barnard (2002) states that a person sends a message about himself through fashion and what he wears. The goal that you want to achieve is not to let batik lose its prestige in future generations and be forgotten, and not to lose prestige in our own country as a batik producer.

According to Sarmini (2009), there are three things that characterize state control of its citizens through clothing. First, the state requires its citizens to dress in batik as a formal representation of order and neatness. Batik is used as a characteristic of the national dress that was continued during two leaderships, namely the Old Order and the New Order. They encouraged the appearance of a national costume as a national character, namely batik. Both Soekarno and Suharto leaderships had in common a requirement for Western clothing for men and batik for women. The Western clothing that became the identity of the nation during the Old Order was a formal suit and during the New Order it took the form of a safari suit. Meanwhile, women identity was formed by wearing a kebaya cloth and a long cloth with a batik motif, wrapped tightly as if to prevent fast and comfortable movement for the women. Kebaya and batik fabrics are considered to characterize a non-Western nation and to represent the essence of the nation (Taylor, 2008). A second effect is the commodification

of regional clothing into national clothing. Since the Soekarno era, batik clothing has become a control to oversee citizens and is a garment transmuted into state clothing. A third factor is the emphasis on the use of batik as a uniform, which was especially marked in the Suharto era. The state then presents a simple and almost identical human being, that is, he does not look rich and does not look poor. The easiest way is to simplify clothes in the form of uniform batik, thereby, also constructing a national identity, a power of mobilization and an equality in all actions, thoughts and desires.

Fashion comes because of social needs and wants. In Simmel's article (1957), he discusses how we want fashion, so that we can differentiate from other groups and fit in with our own social group or class. Furthermore, he explained that this duality in a fashion leads to integration, but on the other hand also leads to differentiation and there are imitations performed by community actors. Integration occurs because of imitations of the style of dress made by people or it is driven by the need for conformity within social community. In other words, everybody wants to adopt into society but be individualized from its demands. The generalization tendency is upheld by those who imitate. Imitation is a way for people to pass the responsibility of creativity off. They can fit into the society and social situation without having to worry about making choices. On the other hand, people want to be an individual because to a certain standard, imitation is frowned upon in society. If we did not have this need for social differentiation, then we would have no need for fashion.

Fashion relates to this dualism because it gives people the opportunity to both imitate and differentiate. Fashion has always separated the social classes based off of this struggle to imitate and differentiate. Another dual part of fashion that is essential for its production is the need to unionize and the need for isolation. These two factors can be seen and expressed through the isolation and unionizing of different social, religious, and cultural groups throughout history.

On the other hand, fashion distinguishes a society through style of dress that shows the differentiation of one social group with another. Fashion creates different identities between one group and another, but forms cohesion within a group at the same time. One's style of dress can describe the values of the group to which it belongs. Therefore, fashion can also identify a group that is used as a marker of the characteristics of a group to differentiate it through bodily appearance and can symbolically bind a community (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992).

Fashion is an activity performed by someone in space and time. This activity is something that takes place continuously in the negotiation and guidance of the body to define

and manifest who we are at a given time and place (Kaiser, 2012). In the process, Kaiser explains its relationship with several things, namely, first, by becoming the object of fashion itself in the context of the global economy, and second, simultaneously realizes race, ethnicity, age, class, place, the desire to be able to join a certain group. On the other hand, to show the difference, the ever-changing interaction between freedom and constraint. Subjectivity implies that one has the power to act or articulate what one means and what one wants to become.

In everyday life, many people can spend plenty of time standing in front of the wardrobe, thinking and deciding which items of clothes they should wear today, and considering the many aspects of presenting themselves in public. Woodward (2007) adopts Hegel's theory that "the person only becomes aware that he or she has a self by positing the self as an object" (Woodward, 2007:14). In the practice of getting dressed, one can see items of clothes as an object that will create the wearer as his/herself or, indeed, as someone else. If the desired image has been fulfilled, it means that there is no gap between the wearer and items of clothes (Woodward, 2007:15). Therefore, clothing can convey outward appearance, including the aesthetic dimension of the material and its design; the meaning of clothing as performed by an individual, is an expression and interpretation of the self.

Clothing can have a special meaning through its material or pattern, or emotional feeling attached to it, which makes items of clothes more special. Indonesian traditional dress has a special meaning in patterns, materials, and the way it is worn, for example, representing human existence (birth, marriage, death), gender and social status. Choosing traditional items of clothing would have multiple meanings, as it conveys the message from a particular pattern or material as well as the reason for choosing the outfit.

Woodward (2007) describes how the relationship between women and the clothes they wear is studied through their material tendencies, markers of their social relations, the background in making clothes to their identity. Clothing externalizes themselves and is created by the way they dress. Dress as a medium to enter their social life with more confidence, become an externalization of the wearer's self in society, between wanting to express their identity and on the other hand the desire to conform to society's values.

Woodward also explained that some clothes have even become tools that evoke memories of the wearer. For example, a wedding dress that was once worn becomes a distinctive identity that is not found in other common clothes, or the use of vintage designs from the past forms a life-cycle; a style of dress that is repetitive even though it gets a touch that is adapted to the present and makes the wearer look unique and personal. This is not

different from the research data that the authors get in the field, namely that a person's urge to like traditional clothes can be influenced by personal backgrounds such as the inheritance of traditional cloths from their parents which then raises awareness to keep taking care of these fabrics by wearing them in several event. They feel happy to be able to look unique in their old cloth that has historical value combined with their current appearance.

Wardrobe, as Woodward (2007) defines it, is “both architectural structure which houses clothing and the totality of clothing a person owns” (Woodward, 2007:10). Various items of clothes stored in a wardrobe might follow the ‘rule’ of the wardrobe based on, as an example, colour, the type of clothing, traditional and non-traditional, and so on (Woodward, 2007), which can also indicate which taste and style preferences are present. In the act of getting dressed, one chooses items of clothes not only based on colours or pattern, but considers the occasion, so that one dresses up appropriately. However, sometimes this practice cannot be done in one step; the struggle to wear the ‘right’ outfit involve a lot of consideration.

However, the subject form of this process is not a stable given, because practice is always different and, therefore, the performance depends on occasion and contingency. In order to have suitable dress for an occasion, people will attempt to dress up appropriately. They should create a harmony between dressing appropriately and looking and feeling like themselves through the specific clothing they choose.

2. Historical Narrative

2.1. An Overview of Indonesia

The Republic of Indonesia (RI) or Indonesia is a country in Southeast Asia, which is crossed by the equator and located between the continents of Asia and Australia and between the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean (Vreeland,1975:1). Indonesia, which is also called *Nusantara*, is the largest archipelago in the world that consists of 13,677 islands (Dalton 1980:1). With a population of over 265 million people in 2018¹², Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world. The most populous island is Java with more than 130 million people packed together on its 132,000 square kilometres. Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, has a population of 15 million and it is located on the island of Java. Indonesia is located on equator line and has tropical weather. The length of daylight hours is quite the same throughout the years. The differentiation between the shortest and the longest day is only forty-eight minutes. There are only two seasons in Indonesia, which are the wet season around November to April and the hot season around May to October (Dalton 1980:3).

In the history of Indonesia, Hinduism, Buddhism as well as some kingdoms that were scattered throughout the territory of Indonesia had a strong influence to the ideological, social and political structure, and religious subjects in Indonesia (Vreeland 1975:11). Once Islam came to Indonesia, starting from the 7th century (Ricklefs, 1993), a long process began to enable the implementation of Islam in the daily life of Muslims in Indonesia in which Islam became the dominant religion. In addition, the influences came as well from the traders such as from Chinese, Indian, and Arabian, which also brought Islam and Christian to the archipelago. Indonesia or some parts in Indonesia were colonized by Europe and Asian countries, namely, Portuguese, British, Dutch, and Japan.

However, the Dutch had the biggest impact of any foreign countries on Indonesia because some parts of Indonesia were governed by the Dutch for around 300 years. During that time, the Dutch created the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) and had an interest in the textile trade, particularly batik in Java (Hitchcock 1991:25). At the time of Japanese invasion in 1942, a group of nationalism was evolved and led the struggle for Indonesia independence in 1945 (Vickers 2013:2).

The form of Indonesian government is a republic, where the House of Representatives and the president are directly elected. As a country, Indonesia has a motto: "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" or "Unity in Diversity" which is used to describe the unity of the

¹² Statistical Yearbook of Indonesia 2019, BPS – Statistics Indonesia, p. 81.

Republic of Indonesia in which a diverse ethnicity, race, religion, regional dress, and language coexist – spread in 37 provinces.



Figure 1. The Map of Indonesia. Source: Wikimedia Commons

The names of the provinces:

- | | | | |
|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Aceh | 10. Bangka Belitung | 19. East Nusa Tenggara | 28. Southeast Sulawesi |
| 2. North Sumatra | 11. Banten | 20. West Kalimantan | 29. Gorontalo |
| 3. Riau | 12. Jakarta | 21. Central Kalimantan | 30. North Sulawesi |
| 4. West Sumatra | 13. West Java | 22. South Kalimantan | 31. North Maluku |
| 5. Jambi | 14. Central Java | 23. North Kalimantan | 32. Maluku |
| 6. Bengkulu | 15. Yogyakarta | 24. East Kalimantan | 33. West Papua |
| 7. South Sumatra | 16. East Java | 25. West Sulawesi | 34. Papua |
| 8. Lampung | 17. Bali | 26. South Sulawesi | 35. Central Papua |
| 9. Riau Islands | 18. West Nusa Tenggara | 27. Central Sulawesi | 36. Highland Papua |
| | | | 37. South Papua |

Indonesian society consists of various ethnic groups, which are distinguished by many aspects such as language, custom, location, and religion. Although the number of ethnic groups has never been precisely determined, but there are at least 300 tribal and ethnic groups. Among them, the Javanese are the most dominant and the largest ethnic group and. Indonesia has only one national language, which is a form of Malay called Bahasa Indonesia or Indonesian. In fact, besides the national language, there are also from 250 to over 400 regional spoken languages, some of them not being completely different languages but regional dialects (Vreeland 1975:83-87). Among religions that are recognized in Indonesia, Islam is the largest, with 90 percent of the population, and said to be the largest Islamic population in the world (Vickers 2013:1). However, Indonesia is not an Islamic state and has a great religious tolerance.

2.2. Indonesian Traditional Dress

As mentioned earlier, Indonesia has no less than 300 ethnic groups, which have their own cultural expression including original regional forms of dress. Some materials are wrapped, draped, or tied around the body. The material that is being used or a cloth is not merely a simple material that covers the body, but has its own meaning in societies such as marriage, birth, circumcision, and death, that are considered as the times of change between periods of life. The material or clothing could also indicate a person's rank, marital status or occupation. Even though nowadays people are wearing clothing that is considered as Western-style, regional materials or clothes are still worn on special occasions, especially rites of passage. The text below will discuss some 'traditional' dresses in Indonesia that are well known by people in Indonesia.

The most famous cultural heritage in Indonesia is known as batik. Batik is a technique of wax-resist dyeing that is applied to a fabric. The main batik regions in Indonesia are central Java, south-west Java, and the north coast (Hitchcock 1991:92). Later, it has been developed in other regions such as Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Bali, Nusa Tenggara, and Papua. Hitchcock (1991) argued that the history of the batik technique in Indonesia remains vague. There was no evidence of batik design until the second half of the eighteenth century because imported fabrics became available. Batik tradition is also found in West Africa, China, Japan, Turkestan, and India. On the other hand, Gittinger (1985:16) stated "Batik then appears on a *lontar* palm scroll in 1520 as *tulis*, which has been interpreted by the great batik scholar Rouffaer as a reference to cloth decorated by the wax-resist process. Even today the finest Batik work done entirely by hand is still called *tulis* or 'writing' in Java". Other studies on African fabrics also mentioned the history of batik that it was printed fabric from Indonesia (Indonesian batik), which was produced in the Netherlands, Britain, and other countries and exported to West Africa (Hynes, 2001; Rovine, 2009). Though there is not enough evidence to say that batik is originally from Indonesia, because Indonesia was influenced by many countries, the UNESCO has recognized *batik* as the intangible world heritage of Indonesia on October 2, 2009¹³, and since then every year this date is commemorated as the *batik* national day in Indonesia.

¹³ The epigraph of Batik Indonesia is read at 4th Session of the Intergovernmental Committee on Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in Abu Dhabi, Uni Emirat Arab by means of decision number 4.COM 15 B.

Kain panjang (Fig. 2) or waist cloth is a flat textile that is worn by both man and woman (Hitchcock 1991:46). The length is approximately 250 cm and width 100 cm (Haake 1984:83). People wear *kain panjang* that is wrapped around the hips and the end of the material is formed into pleats in the front or on one side; and *stagen* (Fig. 7), which is usually a stiff and plain colored band, is wrapped around the waist to hold *kain panjang* in place (Gittinger 1985:61). *Sarong* (Fig. 4) is usually used to cover the hips as well. The size is approximately 1 meter broad and 2 meters long, which is sewn together along the shorter edge to form a tube. According to Gittinger (1985), “The *sarong* seems to have been introduced along the north coast of Java and Madura, and there is still much debate about its early distribution elsewhere on Java”. Both man and woman can wear *sarong*, which is considered as more of an informal item of clothing (Haake, 1984:84).

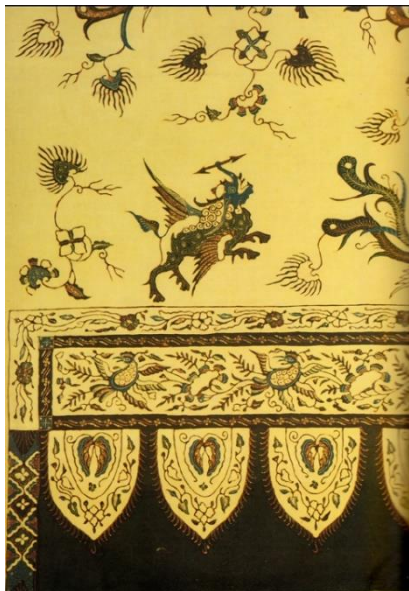


Figure 2. *Kain panjang* (252 x 104 cm).
A north coast Javanese cotton *kain* decorated with batik *tulis* showing Chinese-inspired *lokcan* (combined bird and foliage) and other mythological designs. *Garuda* wings can be seen inside the triangular *tumpal*-style motifs. (Source: Hitchcock 1991:84-85)

The other famous traditional material is *ikat*. The name of *ikat* is from Indonesian word ‘*mengikat*’ which means ‘tie up’. In his book, Hitchcock stated “As is indicated by the Alasantan inscription (AD 939), the art of *ikat* was known in Java from at least the tenth century, though it is not clear which variety of dye technique was used. Both the archaeological and the ethnographic evidence from elsewhere in the archipelago suggest that the warp *ikat* method is the oldest, however, it remains uncertain whether the technique was developed locally or was introduced.” (Hitchcock, 1991:73-74). Before the process of weaving, the yarn should be tied up to make the pattern for the resist-dye method and then go through the process of weaving. There are three kinds of *ikat*, which are warp *ikat*, weft

ikat, and double *ikat*. The warp *ikat* (Fig. 3) is binding the warp yarn; the weft *ikat* is binding the weft yarn, whereas double *ikat* is binding both of the yarns. The warp *ikat* is found mainly in the eastern Indonesian islands of Flores, Sumba, Savu, Roti, Timor, Lembata, and Maluku; weft *ikat* is famous in south Sumatra, East Java and Bali; and double *ikat* is mainly found in Bali and Lombok (Hitchcock 1991: 74-83). *Kain songket* or *songket* (Fig. 4) is also made using the same technique as *ikat* in a form of *sarong*, but to it are added some more decorations using silver or gold yarns, which needs a special skill. *Songket* is closely associated to the Malaysia, and it is well known in Sumatra such as in Riau, Padang, and Palembang¹⁴ (Hitchcock 1991:108). Because the raw materials to make the original *songket* are quite expensive, only the highest-ranking members of society could afford to wear it. Nowadays, there are a lot of imitations of *songket*, which have almost the same impression as the original for a lower price.



Figure 3. Cotton warp *ikat* fabric from Sumba decorated with birds and stylized tree designs. (Source: Hitchcock 1991:75)

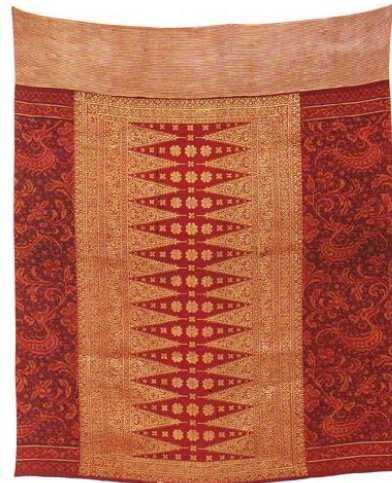


Figure 4. Sarong (*songket*) Bangka, around 1900. The head part of the *sarong* is richly decorated with golden threads, which form two opposing rows of triangles surrounded by a variety of patterned stripes. The remainder of the surface area is decorated with a weft *ikat* pattern. The size: 104x88 cm. (Source: Khan Majlis 1991:77)

Baju kurung (Fig. 5), which is worn by women, is a popular clothing in Indonesia, as well as Malaysia and Brunei. Gittinger describes “The style of the *baju kurung* was probably introduced by Moslem traders. It represents... (a) more evolved tailoring concept; supplementary rectangles of cloth are let into each side seam in the manner of a gore to allow for greater body movement” (Gittinger, 1985: 66-69). The material that is used is usually

¹⁴ Cities in Sumatra.

imported, such as velvet. Women who wear *baju kurung* can be found mainly in West Sumatra, West and South Borneo, Gorontalo (North Celebes), Ujung Pandang (South Celebes), Sangir and Talaud Islands, and Mollucas (Achjadi 1976a in Gittinger 1985:69). *Baju kurung* is traditionally worn over *kain panjang* or *sarong*.



Figure 5. *Baju kurung* (Palembang, South Sumatra)
This is a multicolored silk and gold embroidered green velvet blouse that was part of a dancer's costume. Width at shoulder 138,5 cm and height 94 cm.
(Source: Gittinger 1985:68)

Besides *baju kurung*, *kebaya* (Fig. 6) is also well known and worn by women in Indonesia. Hitchcock (1991:148) states that *kebaya* is a blouse of the Malay women. The shape of *kebaya* is a combination between a jacket and a blouse. In the Dutch colonization, it was worn by the Dutch and Dutch-Indonesian women and became well known in the nineteenth century. Women wore *kebaya* along with *kain panjang* or *sarong* and *stagen* for their daily activities as well as special occasions. The difference was only the quality of material that was being used (Gittinger 1985:61-63).



Figure 6. Woman's costume in Java.

The basic elements of the woman's costume in Java are the same, whether for work or holiday. These are the *kain*; the narrow cloth wrapping for the central torso, the *stagen*; and the blouse called a *kebaya*. This woman is carrying recently harvested rice.

(Source: Gittinger 1985:65)



Figure 7. *Stagen*

Bantul, Yogyakarta.

The size: 259 x 11.5 cm

(Source: Hitchcock 1991:100)

As European modes of tailoring were introduced, the clothing for men was also developed. On formal occasions, men would wear *kain panjang* along with a shirt and jacket called *beskap* (Fig. 8) in Java. The basic style of the *beskap* in Java is the same, which is a short and high-button style (Gittinger 1985:63). On the head, there is a square textile to wrap the head and wear it as a head-cloth or *iket kepala* (Fig. 9). There are many styles in wearing *iket kepala*, depending on the region and the wearer's social status. Until now, *iket kepala* is still worn on special occasion (Khan Majlis 1991:118).



Fig. 8. *Beskap* (jacket) and *iket kepala* (head-cloth)
 A Photograph of a wedding procession in Surakarta, Central Java.
 (Source: Gittinger 1985:66)



Fig. 9. *Iket kepala* (head-cloth)
 Surakarta, Central Java, pre-1930.
 This head-cloth features a number of traditional central Javanese batik motifs, which show Hindu influences. The cream colored center part of this head cloth is surrounded by a *cemukiran* border. The cloth is decorated with *semen* designs and shows flower, leaf shapes, little temple (*candi*), and representations of the mythical snake *naga*.
 (Source: Khan Majlis 1991: 142)

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Javanese fabrics started to use in a variety of items of clothing such as loose-fitting batik trousers, which were worn by Chinese and Dutchmen in Indonesia. For the women, long batik skirts were popular and worn along with European-style blouses and jackets. In the 1960s, batik shirts became popular, and have retained their popularity until now. On formal occasions, men usually wear a long-sleeved batik shirt, whereas short-sleeved batik shirts are worn more on casual or informal occasions (Hitchcock 1991:149).

The raw materials that are used to make textiles are imported for some yarns and dyes, while others are obtained from local tropical plants. Cotton has been the primary Indonesian textile yarn, even though it is probably not originally from Indonesia. However, according to Chinese records, the use of cotton was found in Sumatra in early sixth century AD. In the fifteenth century, when Portuguese arrived in the Indian Ocean, they found a well-established trade in cotton goods. And later, Sulawesi and Timor were known for their cotton goods until the late eighteenth century (Hitchcock 1991:29-30). Nevertheless, in Indonesia today, cotton as a raw material which is to be made into yarn to make fabrics, is imported from the United States, Brazil, and Australia.¹⁵

As for silk, Hitchcock states (1985:34) “China is traditionally regarded as the home of silk, and legendary histories indicate that the Chinese may have developed the art of sericulture as early as 3000 BC. Although this knowledge eventually filtered southwards into Southeast Asia, the Indonesian/Malay word for silk, *sutra*, is of *Sanskritic* origin, indicating that the peoples of the archipelago may have learned about silk through contact with Indians during the early part of the first millennium AD”. Even though silk is not used as widely as cotton, and it is considered as a luxury yarn in Indonesia, some textiles silk is used as the yarn such as in southern Sulawesi. Other yarns, such as gold and silver, are very valuable in Indonesia. These yarns are mostly imported, namely from France and Japan, and are highly appreciated by the craftsmen in Southeast Asia. Some regions in Indonesia, which apply the textiles embellished with gold and silver yarns, are namely, Sumatra, Nias, South Sulawesi, Sumbawa, Bali, and Kalimantan (Hitchcock 1991:40). There are also some synthetic yarns, for instance, rayon, acetate, and polyester that are used as the material to make textiles. Some of these yarns are produced in Java, and some others are imported from other countries. The colors of synthetic yarn are more various and have a long-lasting color in comparison to cotton yarn.

The use of colors in many Indonesian regions is considered important as they may indicate the diversity in social status, occupation, age, and ethnic affiliation. For instance, in Central Java, the colors of indigo blue, brown, cream, and green are regarded as the necessary colors. In East Java, colors play an important role in some rites of passage such as marriage and birth. Whereas, in Bali, the color should determine the age, namely, old men wear blackish color, and the women wear reddish colors (Hitchcock 1991:174).

¹⁵ Zul/Hds. Retrieved July 16, 2015 from <http://finance.detik.com/read/2015/01/06/162711/2795486/1036/ri-ekspor-tekstil-rp-156-triliun-tahun-tapi-bahan-baku-kapas-100-impor>.

Besides the colors that are significant in some regions, a traditional design or pattern of material also portrays the wearer and the meaning behind it. For example, it is to differentiate a social status, particular lineages, and property of a particular family (Gittinger 1985:42, Hitchcock 1991:159). Furthermore, Hitchcock (1991:159) states that in Java Island, there are more than 3,000 batik patterns, which emerge from prehistoric times to date. Every region has its own characteristic of design or pattern and color. As an example, the patterns of textile in Sumatra and Borneo are kind of rectangular and labyrinth, whereas some patterns that are representation of a human figure can be found in Flores, Lembata, Kisar, Sumba, and Tanimbar (Hitchcock 1991:161). An influence of other countries such as China can be found in batik pattern in north coastal Java. “Chinese designs abound in the batik from this area – cloud patterns, phoenix forms, mythological animals, floral shapes, and the swastika symbol of good fortune which appears also in Balinese weft *ikat*.” (Gittinger 1985:49).

Batik and *ikat*, the most famous material in Indonesia, are only part of many other traditional materials that are produced in Indonesia. A design or pattern may be re-formed from the existing design and introduced a new element, which is blend with the original one. Furthermore, the development of tailoring methods and based on practicality, many traditional textiles have been made into items of clothes, for example, shirt, blouse, skirt, trouser, jacket, etc. This has resulted in items of clothes made from traditional textiles are also being worn on other occasions, for which they may not have been intended. However, some people are still wearing traditional textiles, which are sometimes ready-made, during rites of passage. Some sources of the author’s correspondents describe the form of a design or pattern without mentioning its meaning, or the variety available in the same design or pattern, and only describe the meaning for specific designs or patterns. Although, there might be more literature about traditional dress in Indonesia, this thesis concentrates on representative dominant items of clothing mentioned as part of the history of the country.

III. The Background of the Interviewees

The aim of this chapter is to give an impression of the interviewees and how they react to Indonesian traditional items of clothing and their increasing popularity since around 2009. The interviewees background will be explained briefly including age, family status, educational background, and their activities in the university as well as outside the university, if any. In addition, an illustration of their social situation will be given, as well as opinions, attitudes, interest on the subject, and their contextualization of traditional clothing in everyday life.

Two interviewees, Mrs. SY and Mr. AB, provided great assistance in carrying out this research by contacting many lecturers and professors or giving recommendations to this author. The following descriptions of 25 interviewees are divided into 3 groups. Group 1 contains 14 interviewees, who agreed to be interviewed and whose wardrobes were observed. Group 2 consists of 5 interviewees, who were interviewed and sent the pictures of their wardrobes and their contents. Group 3 contains 6 interviewees, who were only interviewed. The reason for some of them not participating in the wardrobe observation was because their houses were too far away from the university, however, others thought that the wardrobe is a private area, so that they objected to any observation.

Table 3.1. The groups of interviewees

Group	Interviewee	Data Obtained
Group 1	14 Interviewees (8 female, 6 male)	Interviews Wardrobe observation
Group 2	5 Interviewees (2 female, 3 male)	Interviews Sending picture of their wardrobes and content
Group 3	6 Interviewees (3 female, 3 male)	Only Interviews

Twelve interviewees out of 25 were interested in traditional dress, and they were very enthusiastic to answer the questions regarding traditional dress and its pertinence to them. On the other hand, 13 interviewees found that traditional dress is important, but expressed less interest in this subject, however, they still answered all the questions well.

Several respondents had different times in carrying out interviews and wardrobe observations due to the limited time that the respondents had. They made time for interviews at the university, then carried out wardrobe observations at different times. There was even

a respondent who was represented by his wife in carrying out wardrobe observation because of his work as a dean so that he himself could not do it. He said that his wife knows better because she is the one who organizes the wardrobe.

Each interviewee describes their point of view of traditional clothing and the integration of traditional and non-traditional items of clothing into their everyday life. Personal questions considered as a private, which interviewees sometimes did not wish to talk about concerned their age and colleagues' or friends' interpretation of their appearance. The translation from Indonesian to English was not always fully precise as the interviewees often spoke an informal language, which is common in such conversation and, in any case, Indonesian and English are structured differently. A table of interviewees is available as an appendix to this thesis (p. 232).

Group 1

Mrs. IM

Mrs. IM was 55 years old at the time of interview, is married and has two daughters. She was born and grew up in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra. In the same province, she completed her bachelor's degree, majoring in English in 1986. Seven years later, she finished her master's degree in Applied Linguistics at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, and got her doctorate in English at the State University of Jakarta in 2005, she now has the title of professor.

Her work experience began in 1986 when she became a civil servant and gave lectures at the State University of Padang, West Sumatra, until 1997. She and her family moved to Jakarta in same year because of her husband's work and she began to lecture at the State University of Jakarta, which she still does. At the time of interview, she had been given an additional duty by the Minister of Education and Culture of Indonesia and was a coordinator for private universities in Jakarta.

Mr. AB helped this author by asking Mrs. IM to participate in this research and allow the observation of her wardrobe. Since she had a tight work schedule, the interview was conducted on different days, first at her office and then at home.

"What I know is that traditional dress is a dress that is worn by a person or a group of people in accordance with the culture they have. For example, because I am part of (the) Minangkabau¹⁶ ethnic group, I wear baju kurung. In certain situations, customary events, mourning, there is a distinct dress that is different from others. That is what I know. Other cultures must have their own traditional dress."¹⁷(Mrs. IM, p. 1)

At first, she resisted answering the question about traditional dress and claimed that she did not know much about traditional styles of dress in Indonesia. Then, as she talked about *baju kurung*, one of the traditional items of clothing from West Sumatra, she asserted that people should not forget the culture they were born into and grew up in wherever they go and should feel proud of it. Of course, if they live in a different region, they also have to respect and appreciate its culture. In this, she refers to herself, having lived in Jakarta for

¹⁶ An ethnicity of indigenous people of West Sumatra, Indonesia.

¹⁷ *"Ya sepengetahuan saya, pakaian tradisional adalah pakaian yang digunakan oleh seseorang atau sekelompok masyarakat ya, yang sesuai dengan latar belakang budayanya. Jadi, misalnya saya, karena saya berasal dari etnis Minangkabau, maka pakaian tradisional saya baju kurung, misalnya. Kalau dalam keadaan apa, momen-momen adat seperti kenduri dan segala macam, ada pakaian khas yang memang beda dipakai baju sehari-hari, atau dalam keadaan berkabung juga demikian ya. Itu yang saya pahami. Sama dengan budaya lain pasti mereka punya pakaian tradisional."*(Mrs. IM, p. 1)

over 20 years; she also likes to wear traditional dress from Jakarta on some occasions. About motifs on *baju kurung* and *songket*, she remarks that there are techniques involved in making them. She does not know precisely what they are or how they are used, but she knows some places in West Sumatra, which sell good traditional items. Talking about *songket*, she was proud that she is able to wear *songket* as well as *kain panjang* nicely and said that she likes to wear it on customary events.

Mrs. IM tries to look simple and formal in wearing clothes and does not like clothes with complicated design. She wishes to give students, through the clothes she wears, the impression that she is a lecturer, which means appropriate clothing. She likes traditional items more than before, since the development and modification of traditional items is now well known, and many people wear them. For example, *ikat* is made into a blazer/jacket, so that she can wear it for work. It looks fashionable, yet she feels she preserves the tradition by wearing it. For batik motifs, she said that she does not understand either the names or their meanings, and buys batik only because of its colour, which she prefers monochromatic and should not have too many colour combinations.

Her colleagues' impression about her clothes is that she likes to wear matching items, including matching her shoes and bags. She has a large collection of shoes and does not remember how many. Sometimes, she fails to remember some new shoes she bought one year ago and never wore, but still buys new pairs of shoes. She was laughing when she told the story and feeling ashamed because she said this is her weakness - that she cannot resist buying new shoes every time she finds a good pair.

About modification of traditional dress, Mrs. IM only partly agrees about the changes in clothing that people make and purchase, because there are some things that cannot be changed. She gave an example of a singer who wore a modified *kebaya* that had very low neckline. She claimed that she might be conservative, but too much modification of traditional dress would reduce its "traditional" impression. Nevertheless, the modification of traditional dress also made people aware of it, so that it is worn more often, which leads to economic improvement in the garment trade. The main point she wants to convey is that the modification of traditional dress for customary events should not be overdone, but for daily outfits such as *ikat* made into a blazer, she finds this very nice.

Wearing traditional dress with a headscarf is not a problem for her; she finds it can still be fashionable. Many women wear headscarves in varied ways, but she does not judge which is better among them. She might not agree with some women who wear headscarves with very tight clothes, but does not mind them. She also feels herself that she does not wear

a headscarf correctly, according to Qur'an, because she does not wear her headscarf covering the chest but wraps it on the neck.

When she was a child, her parents never told her what to wear. Her father was a well-known person in her village, so that many people came to visit him every day. At that time, she learnt how to dress appropriately from watching what her parents and people around her wore. Now that she has her own family with two daughters, she has also never told them what to wear, only to clothe themselves appropriately. She wants them to learn from the way she wears clothing and she is happy to see that her daughters also wear traditional items of clothing on special occasions.

Mrs. IM was, at the time of speaking, a coordinator for private universities in Jakarta for 332 universities.¹⁸ One of her activities was attending the graduation ceremonies of the universities. She said that there is one university (expensive), that she likes to attend because this university always has different concepts in traditional themes every time they hold the event. She explained further that the last time she attended this event, the theme was Dayak. So, everything from A to Z was all about Dayak. The dancing, choir, MC, and greeter were wearing traditional dress from Dayak. They once also adopted the themes from Papua, Batak, and Minang. She said that she was excited every time she got an invitation from them because she could learn something new from different regions. Comparing this graduation ceremony to the State University of Jakarta, where she works, although a lot of people also wear traditional dress, the whole concept is different. Further, she said that it would be nice to have such a concept in order to promote the culture of Indonesia including traditional dress, song, and dance.

In general, the interview was conducted smoothly. She was willing to take a part in this study in spite of her tight schedule and willing to answer all questions, as well as allowing observation of her wardrobes. When the first interview was conducted in her office, she wore a black blouse, trousers, an *ikat* blazer in blue-green, and a green headscarf. It lasted only around 20 minutes because she had a meeting and did not expect the interview would be longer than half an hour. The second interview was held in the afternoon at her house three weeks after the first. She wore a black blouse, grey jacket, black trousers, and a black headscarf. It lasted less than an hour with a break for prayer, because she had to catch a flight in the evening to go on a business trip. The wardrobe observation was thus brief, showing only some items of clothing and part of her storage.

¹⁸ <http://kopertis3.or.id/v5/link-pts/>

Mrs. MP

Mrs. MP was born in 1963 in Jakarta. Her father is originally from Central Java and her mother from West Java. Because her father had to work in Jakarta, her parents have been living there since they got married. Mrs. MP married a lecturer, who works at the different university and they have two children. She lives with her husband, mother and sister-in-law not far from the university, and her children live in another city because of their studies.

She has been a lecturer in the Fashion Study Program in the State University of Jakarta since 1988 and graduated from the same university. At the time of interview, she was head of Home Economics Department of the State University of Jakarta for the second time. In 2010, Mrs. MP finally completed her master's degree at the State University of Jakarta. It took 7 years because she had to take a break from her study due to her position as head of the Home Economics Department.

Mrs. MP was asked directly by this author to participate in this research, but she at first refused and said that her wardrobes were chaotic. Then, Mrs. SY, who is her friend and colleague, 'forced' her to agree and said that she would accompany her. During lunch break, Mrs. MP, Mrs. SY and this author went to Mrs. MP's house and observed her wardrobes. The interview was conducted in her office, after going back to the university. She wore a crème loose blouse, a headscarf of a similar color, and brown trousers.

*"Each traditional dress definitely has a meaning and significance, because they have a motif, color, and forms or designs that are typical of each country or region."*¹⁹ (Mrs. MP, p.24).

Mrs. MP explained what traditional dress means to her. She said dress is important to differentiate one region from another, even though she is not interested in the meaning of the motifs or patterns. Mrs. MP frequently goes to other provinces to work or attend seminars with colleagues. If she has time, she will buy some traditional textiles or items of clothing of the region. Her favourite, which she bought a year ago in Garut, West Java, is a fabric with a batik technique, from which, a dressmaker made a blouse, which she wears for work. It does not matter to her whether the material is written batik, stamped batik, or fabric with

¹⁹ *"Setiap pakaian tradisional pasti memiliki arti dan makna tersendiri kan, karena mereka memiliki motif, warna, maupun model atau desain yang khas dari masing-masing negara maupun daerah."* (Mrs. MP, p.24).

batik motifs, as long as she likes material, colour and pattern, and the price is affordable. Even though she finds that written batik is very attractive, its care is not easy. It needs special laundering and detergents and should be washed by hand. On the other hand, printed batik or fabric with traditional patterns has an intensity of colour which is long lasting, and its care is easier.

At the university, Mrs. MP usually wears blouses made from an original batik technique or printed batik with trousers or skirt. Out of five work days, she could wear it for three and the other two wear a blouse with abstract or flower motifs and trousers or a skirt. On a special occasion at the university, namely, a graduation day, she will wear traditional dress with some modifications or modified traditional clothing she has bought, so that it will look fashionable. She used to get inspiration for making modifications from television and magazines. When she buys clothes or fabric, whether traditional or not, she sometimes gets some advice from colleagues, but mostly she decides which items to buy herself, as well as the design for the clothes. Sometimes, when she wears new clothing, colleagues will praise her about it and ask her to lend them her clothing, so that they can copy the design for their new clothes. She laughed when she said it seems like an unintentional uniform. However, she looked happy that some people do that, which means they pay attention to her appearance and like the clothes she wears.

A challenge in dressing for her is to find different clothes to wear to work every day for a month. If she can meet this challenge, she will make a new target to wear different clothes to work within a period of two months. It does not mean that she has to buy expensive clothes, but rather that particular clothes are fit for the occasion, in design, and colour. She finds that modified traditional items of clothing such as a blouse or shirt made from batik technique are very suitable for work. There is no particular reason why she dresses the way she does, but she always tries to dress appropriately and match the colour in everything she wears, which is monochromatic. Preparing clothes for work is an activity that she always does the night before, so that in the morning she will not be in a hurry.

On the occasion of a wedding, she usually goes with her husband and both of them wear traditional items of clothing, for instance, she will wear a modification of *kebaya* along with *kain panjang* batik or *songket*, and her husband will wear a shirt made from batik technique. There is no exactly similar pattern in their traditional dress (so-called family uniform), but they will always speak to each other the night before to adjust the colour of their dress. Because her husband has less traditional items of clothing than she has, she is usually the one who changes the colour of her dress. She does not like to wear a loose long

dress²⁰ to go to a party or a wedding, because she does not feel confident to wear it. She thinks, her proportions mean that she will look weird if she wears it. On some wedding occasions of close relatives, she and her big family would wear uniforms such as *kebaya* for women. This uniform is only for the upper body, and then for the lower body, she would choose for herself, whether it is *kain panjang* or *songket*. She usually wears this *kebaya* uniform as one-time clothing, and normally then gives it to someone else because she does not like the material. Wearing traditional accessories with traditional clothing is not that important. She wears any accessories such as necklace, brooch, pursue, or shoes that combine with the dress, e.g., in colour. Mrs. MP wears a headscarf and she always wears a simple style. The most important thing in dress for her, is the colour combination, such as contrast or monochromatic. For weddings, she would wear a headscarf, which has a little bit of sequin and a brooch, but mostly she wears a plain headscarf of a colour matching her dress.

She reports that her mother played an important role in the way she dresses, being a dressmaker, she used to make clothes for her and choose some clothes to wear for each occasion. Mrs. MP was very satisfied with her mother's choice, because everything was excellently chosen and looked very stylish. When Mrs. MP wore clothes that did not suit her, her mother would always suggest changes. She finds that her mother's taste in fashion is better than her own. Her late father was an employee of a private company and used to wear uniforms to work. For special or leisure occasion, her mother would choose which clothes her father should wear. Since Mrs. MP got married, she has been living separately from her mother, so that she now decides for herself, what to buy or what design to use for her clothes.

Mrs. MP finds that the development of traditional material or clothes nowadays is very good, not only in design, but also colour and pattern. She gave as an example, some traditional patterns, such as *tenun* or *songket*, which are now printed on fabrics. Her style of dress related to traditional materials or items of clothing has changed as well. Nowadays, she often wears a written or printed batik blouse in various designs and patterns, which around 10 years ago, she thought it was old fashioned because its design was ordinary, e.g., straight sleeve, shanghai collar, and fit into the body. At home, she likes to wear a loose long dress or "*daster*" made from printed batik with traditional motifs instead of pajamas, because the fabric which is made from cotton or linen is very comfortable.

²⁰ A loose long dress or called "*gamis*" is a long dress that is worn by Muslim women and shows no shape of the body.

Every month she has a budget to spend on clothes or textiles, both traditional and non-traditional. She does not have a regular time to go shopping; sometimes twice a month, but more usually, every three months. Each time she acquires one new item of clothing, one old item must be discarded from the wardrobe.

The interview and wardrobe observation were conducted well. She felt ashamed as she showed this author her wardrobes, because she thought them not well organized; however, these wardrobes, in fact, were well organized, and all were observed. Mrs. SY was there during wardrobe observation and sometimes helped Mrs. MP to answer some questions and made the situation less formal with some laughter. After the wardrobe observation, we had lunch at Mrs. MP's house and then went back to the university. The interview was done right afterwards in Mrs. MP's office for about one hour. Because the wardrobe observation was conducted before the interview, there were some questions about items of clothing, in that she wished she could show this author jackets that she rarely wore at that time. Otherwise, she answered all the questions very well and confidently. She does not know much about the meaning of batik motifs and the rule of wearing them but was very happy with the development of batik nowadays resulting in modified batik motifs, and even creating new motifs, which made batik more and more popular.

Mrs. PD

Mrs. PD was born in 1964. She is a mixture of Javanese, Betawi and Batak, is married and has four children. Her husband comes from West Sumatra, so that Mrs. PD is familiar with these four cultures. She completed her bachelor's degree in Mathematics at the State University of Jakarta and became a civil servant a year later in 1991 as a lecturer at the same university. Further, she continued to complete her master's degree in Statistics at Bogor Agricultural University. At the time of interview, she was doing her doctoral program at the State University of Jakarta, which was completed shortly after this interview was conducted.

Mr. AB recommended this author to contact Mrs. PD and asked her to participate in this research. She agreed to do the interview in the afternoon, at her house, after giving a lecture at the university, which was nearby. Mrs. PD and this author met at the university and went to her house together. The interview was conducted at the dining room, in the presence of her daughter. She wore a batik blouse in green and light brown, and a midi light brown skirt. In the corner of the room, there were many books piled up and she told this author about her preparations for the defense of her dissertation and complained a little about how busy she was at that time.

*“Traditional dress is a customary clothing, which characterizes certain regions... in Indonesia, I mean customary in Indonesia.”*²¹ (Mrs. PD, p.55)

Mrs. PD said that she did not know much about traditional dress, but every time there was a moment to wear such dress, she loved wearing it. As the interview began, she told this author about celebration of the 50th wedding anniversary of her parents in law that was in Betawi theme, with traditional clothing and decoration, and showed many photos from this event. All the members of the family wore Betawi traditional dress, which was kebaya and a skirt with *kain panjang* look for women and a shirt, trousers and a small batik wrap covering the hips (similar to a kilt) for men. Further, she said that the kebaya and skirts were made by a dressmaker, but the men's outfits were borrowed from a clothing collection where people can borrow different items of traditional clothing. Unfortunately, Mrs. PD was not in the pictures and she said that she was rarely photographed.

²¹ „Pakaian tradisional ya pakaian adat, gitu, yang mencirikan daerah tertentu... di Indonesia ya, maksudnya adat Indonesia.” (Mrs. PD, p.55)

On the dining table in the room where the interview was conducted, there were some photo albums of her wedding. She showed this author the pictures and told the story of the rites of passage of her wedding, done according to Javanese custom, and lasted for three days. These included *siraman* or being showered using water that was sprinkled with flowers while wearing batik *kain panjang* for the first day. This was a symbol of cleansing before living a married life. On day two was the wedding ceremony and on day three was the celebration.

After marriage, she said that she often wore *baju kurung* to attend weddings or other special occasions along with *kain panjang* or *songket*. Her *baju kurung* was usually made by a dressmaker because when she bought them ready-made, the sizes did not fit her body shape. *Kain panjang* and *songket* are always shared in the family, so she will ask someone to lend her these items if the one in her wardrobe does not match her *baju kurung*.

At work, she receives a new uniform every year in a form of a blouse, and when she does not like a part of the design, she will change it herself. She knows very well which designs look good on her and the basic design she has for her clothing has been not changed for years. A simple look is her choice for daily outfit and she always tries to match her shoes and bags. In the past, she used to wear accessories such as necklace and brooch, but now she does not have any desire to wear these. A colleague once told her that a necklace would make her appearance much better since she looked very pale, but she said that she did not have time to look for and choose these anymore.

Mrs. PD said that it made her happy that Batik is getting more and more famous, because she could have various batik motifs and they were easy to find in stores. Since she did not understand the meaning of batik motifs, she did not pay attention to the modification or alteration of batik motifs, and also whether they were written or stamped batik, as long as she like them and their colours. She said that she did not have many written batik items, because they are expensive and complicated to care for, it being necessary to hand wash them using a certain type of laundry soap.

Mrs. PD answered all the questions enthusiastically, relaxed and with some laughter. She does not know much about traditional clothing, but she is passionate about it, adores batik motifs very much and feels good in wearing the traditional clothing she owns. This was seen when she showed this author some pictures of her wearing different traditional dress. She stores her items of clothing, both traditional and non-traditional in three different rooms and showed this author her items of clothing without any hesitation. The room to store traditional items of clothing was a little bit chaotic but she looked untroubled by this.

However, the interview was somewhat interrupted by her story about her parents in law's 50th wedding anniversary that was celebrated festively, and took a lot of time. She was not in the photos or videos to see how she was dressed.

Mrs. RS

Mrs. RS was 56 years old at the time of interview. She comes from West Sumatra and is married to a husband from the same province. She completed her bachelor's degree in Fashion at the State University of Jakarta and has been a civil servant and working as a lecturer at the Department of Fashion at the same university since 1982.

Mrs. RS was a colleague of this author, so she was asked directly to participate in the research and agreed. The interview was conducted in her house in Bogor, West Java, on a Friday afternoon, when she came from work and was interrupted with sunset prayer. After the interview was finished, we all had dinner together. She wore a batik blouse in mustard, a dark grey skirt, and a headscarf. Her husband joined the interview because he had a great interest in traditional clothing from his hometown and other traditional stuffs from Indonesia and other countries. Their house was full of different types of ceramic vases from many countries and Mrs. RS said that it was he husband's hobby to collect such ceramics.

As the interview started, and the first question about Indonesian traditional dress was asked, Mrs. RS objected to saying, 'traditional clothing' and wanted 'regional clothing' because she found that Indonesian 'traditional' dress is influenced by different cultures which resulted in different regional clothing across the country, so that they were not truly a single traditional clothing. However, she stated that this clothing was very important as to her an Indonesian.

"Because it is an identity of a nation. It's an identity. Therefore, I am the one of those people who disagree about kebaya with... young people²² these days put a trail (on kebaya design). So, I said, be consistent. If (you) want to have a trail, (you) should wear Western dress; it's no problem to have 10 meters of it, but not a kebaya with a train."²³ (Mrs. RS, p. 107)

She said that she had a lot of *baju kurung*, *songket*, *selendang bajaik*, and batik blouses in her possession. These items of clothing were, and are, mostly bought by her

²² Mrs. RS originally said 'children' or '*anak-anak*' in Indonesian, which can also mean young people in this context.

²³ „*Karena itu kan identitas suatu bangsa ya. Termasuk identitas ya. Makanya, Ibu sebenarnya termasuk orang yang anti kebaya dikasih... anak-anak sekarang itu kan dikasih ekor. Makanya, konsisten Ibu bilang. Kalau pengen pakai ekor ya pakai gaun barat aja; mau ekornya 10 meter kan nggak masalah, jangan kebaya dijadikan ekor gitu*“ (Mrs. RS, p. 107)

husband. Mrs. RS has *songket* from two provinces, West and South Sumatra. She said that she prefers the ones from South Sumatra since the colours are brighter and they are lighter compared to those from West Sumatra, because they use less gold thread, which makes garments heavy. Besides *songket*, she showed this author one of her *selendang bajaik* and said that the embroidery on it was similar to a Chinese motif. She really liked all her *selendang bajaik*, so that she could not choose one as her favourite. Further, she said that she has never washed these items because she was afraid the colours would be damaged, so when there was a small dirty spot, she just rubbed it to make it clean. This means that every time she wears these, she has to be extra careful to keep them clean. The same is true with the *songket* that she wears along with *selendang bajaik*. Even though wearing and caring for *selendang bajaik* and *songket* was not easy, they were precious to her and she saw them as art products.

Mrs. RS explained about the batik blouse she wore that day, which was from Madura, East Java, in a local style that had big motifs and bright colours as its characteristic. She stated that she did not know the meaning of batik motifs but could differentiate where they came from. In addition, she has always been fascinated by written batik motifs and said that they were a painting on a cloth. However, in her opinion, stamped batik was not to be considered as having the beauty of art. Then, her husband added that it was important to have some batik *kain panjang* for death in order to cover the body before using *songket* as the last layer. Mrs. RS and her husband did not know exactly what motifs should be used, but they said that not having this cloth would make people pity the deceased and think that the family was bad and not able to take proper care of the body.

Remembering the past, she said she preferred playing basketball to going to ballet school or piano courses in her youth. When she entered college, she wanted to take the Psychology Program but unfortunately, she was not accepted and chose Fashion as the last option in which she was accepted, which made her mother very happy, as she hoped this would make her more feminine. She said it was not easy when it came to practicing sewing because she was left-handed. However, she enjoyed studying this field and adored Indonesian traditional clothing much more as she learnt further.

She admitted that her mother played an important role in the way she dressed and thus became more feminine. Simple yet elegant are the styles of dress she wants to adopt in daily life. Further, she explained that she did not like to wear tight clothing, bright colours, and complicated designs. She has maintained her weight for a long time, and stated that old clothes from 30 years ago still fit her well.

During the interview, her husband was there and helped her to answer some questions related to traditional clothing and, as well, explained customs in West Sumatra passionately. He even took out some items and demonstrated how to wear them. Mrs. RS confidently answered all the questions being asked. When the wardrobes were observed, she explained them and showed this author how she stored her items of clothing, including *songket* that needs extra care. She expressed her gratitude to her husband for buying the items of traditional clothing, so that she found that the correct care for these items was the least that she could do.

Mrs. SA

Mrs. SA was 50 years old at the time of interview. She is married and has three children. She lives in South Jakarta with her husband and two children, and the oldest daughter lives with her husband after getting married in 2012. Mrs. SA is originally from Bandung, West Java, and her husband is from Palembang, South Sumatra. Her mother was a dressmaker and when she was a child, she used to help her mother to finishing clothing her mother had made.

She completed her bachelor's degree at the State University of Jakarta majoring Food and Beverage and continued her master majoring Public Health at University of Indonesia. She has been a civil servant and teaching in Food and Beverage Study Program since 1988.

Mrs. SA was chosen as an interviewee upon recommendation from Mrs. SY, who has been her friend since college. The interview was conducted in her office at the university and another appointment was made to observe her wardrobes at home. Her office was in chaos, with bundles of paper spread all over the room – on the table and floor. She complained that she had a lot to do at the moment, but was willing to participate in this research.

“(Traditional clothing) is clothing in Indonesia. I mean, national dress. For example, traditional dress from... as an example, this is from Padang, baju bodo from Makassar. That's what I know (about) traditional dress.”²⁴ (Mrs. SA, p. 157).

Mrs. SA answered the first question briefly but asserted that it is important this clothing be worn, otherwise it would be forgotten and disappear. She has a lot of traditional lengths of fabric, some of them made into items of clothing and the others are waiting to be made. She can differentiate motifs from many regions, even though does not know their meanings and some of their names.

She said that her husband plays an important role in her style of dress and feels happy when her husband praises her for her appearance. When she was a bit slimmer, she said that she wore a kebaya, which has a length is a little over the hip. It was her favorite item of

²⁴ “Ya pakaian yang ada di Indonesia. Maksudnya yang pakaian nasional. Misalnya tradisional ada daerah... misalnya kan dari Padang ini, dari Makasar misalnya baju bodo. Kalau yang aku tau sih (tentang) pakaian daerah ya.” (Mrs. SA, p. 157).

clothing, because her husband adores her every time she wears it. Unfortunately, she has gained weight, and the item does not fit her anymore.

Mrs. SA likes to go shopping, both for traditional lengths of fabric and items of clothes. She acknowledges that she is a very active consumer, but thinks that as she has her own money, spending on clothes for herself is not a problem at all. Once in a while, her husband says to her that she bought too many clothes and fabrics, but she replies that she did not ask him for money to buy the items. Sometimes, she lies to him that she got the items as a gift or a uniform, so that her husband will not say anything more. She also said that her husband looks into her collections and takes away a traditional length of fabric he likes. She told him that he could not take it because the motif is for women; he did not mind, arguing that its color looks good for men. She stated that it is funny to see how her husband nags her about purchasing clothes, but likes to make items of clothing out of her fabric collection. Mrs. SA once talked to her daughter and asked her to tell her husband to not bother her when she buys new items. Her daughter replied that she (Mrs. SA) purchases and has items made every month, which is too often, but Mrs. SA replied that her daughter often borrows her clothes, so that she should not talk about it that way.

She has three wardrobes on her own and always prepares her clothes the night before, thinking what should go together – blouse, trousers/skirt, and headscarf. Her husband told her that she pays too much attention to her clothes and appearance, and she said that being a woman is different than a man because women have a lot of things to put on. Since she is from West Java and her husband is from South Sumatra, she often wears items of clothing from both provinces on special occasions. However, she knows only some names for them and not their meanings.

When she has a blouse made, she usually uses an ‘ordinary’ design, for instance, long sleeves, front opening with buttons, and hip-length blouse, considering that the fabric is already full of motifs. Mrs. SY, one of her friends, said that her design is very ‘plain’, so Mrs. SA asked her to make one for her, but Mrs. SY just laughed. It seems that she is not confident to have varied designs for her blouses and prefers the simple ones. She has different traditional fabrics from different provinces, which make her feel that they alone are enough to be the highlight of her appearance.

Doing the interview with Mrs. SA was very relaxed. She shared a lot of stories about her clothes with great excitement and a lot of laughter. During the observation, Mrs. SA explained very well and without any hesitation at all, what items she has, from what province, and how she stores them. Although she already has many items of clothing in her

wardrobes, there are some long dresses hanging next to the wardrobe. She used some space between the wardrobe and the wall (ca. 50 cm wide) to hang her long dresses there because of the length of the dresses, and there was not enough place to store them in the wardrobe.

Mrs. SY

Mrs. SY was born in 1964 in Jakarta. Both of her parents come from Jakarta and her father was a sub district head of an area in South Jakarta, where her mother was a dressmaker and a dressmaking instructor of an informal course at their house. In junior high school, Mrs. SY learned how to make dresses through watching her mother and made herself a dress from a magazine using a pattern. Later, she completed her bachelor's degree in Fashion at the State University of Jakarta, where she works now. In 2007 she completed her master's degree at Bogor Agricultural Institute and was head of the Fashion Study Program until 2015.

She is married and has a son who is in a high school in Jakarta. Since 1987 Mrs. SY has been a civil servant and given many lectures about pattern constructions and clothing production management. Mrs. SY has a lot of teaching experience at various fashion institutes in Jakarta. She is also a lecturer at Jakarta Arts Institute and gives some fashion courses. Her parents play an important role in her style of dress. Her father is always well-presented and her mother very fashionable. She is a good adviser about clothes and fashion among her friends. During the fieldwork, she helped this author greatly to get in contact with other lecturers and professors.

*“Traditional clothing is clothing that characterizes the culture of a region or country. In Indonesia, it's kebaya, batik, baju kurung, baju bodo. They are the identity of Indonesia.”*²⁵ (Mrs. SY, p.187)

Mrs. SY described this as the meaning of traditional clothing and considered this as being important wear on formal occasions, such as a wedding. She argued that nowadays traditional clothing, such as *kebaya*, did not have to be worn with *kain panjang*, but with a skirt instead; or that *kain panjang* could be worn along with a blouse. Either way, people will have the impression of traditional clothing. Mrs. SY knows a lot about traditional clothing from Jakarta and she can describe in detail the design, materials used, the meaning of patterns and can name them. She wore traditional dress from Jakarta in 1990s when

²⁵ *“Pakaian tradisional adalah pakaian yang mencirikan kultur daerah atau negara. Kalau Indonesia ya kebaya, batik, baju kurung, baju bodo. Itu ya khas Indonesia.”* (Mrs. SY, p.187).

attending the opening of a fashion exhibition in a museum, but she now prefers to wear modifications of *kebaya*, in which the design is different to the original. Nevertheless, she still keeps one original *kebaya* from Jakarta.

Mrs. SY likes to walk freely, so wearing *kain panjang* that is quite narrow is very challenging for her. Not only is it hard to walk, but also the draped *kain panjang* could become detached if she walks carelessly, so she has made five skirts with a *kain panjang* look. She said that she got a lot of inspiration in modifying clothes from Fashion TV and magazines and claims that it is not that easy to make modifications of traditional material made from batik technique because if this is carelessly done, there will be no impression of elegance. As an example of modified traditional clothing, she has a cardigan made using batik technique and she pairs it with a plain shirt/blouse and culottes/a skirt and wears an ethnic necklace as an accessory. The shirt or blouse is sleeveless because the cardigan already has a long sleeve and the temperature is too hot to wear double long sleeves. Mrs. SY wears a headscarf and finds it a challenge to wear different styles of headscarf like her friends do. She cannot wear this in decorative styles for more than two hours and prefers simplicity.

When invited to a wedding, she will always wear clothes made from traditional material and her husband will try to match the color of her clothes; he even will buy a matching shirt if he does not have one. They do not have a kind of uniform to wear together on such occasions; matching color with her spouse is not that important to her. However, she wore a family uniform in her relatives' wedding ceremony. She made *kebaya* or *baju kurung* and wore *kain panjang* or *songket* and then after the party, she gave this clothing to someone else. If she feels that an item of clothing has been worn too often at weddings, then it is time to buy new material and make clothes.

At the time of the interview, she had just turned 50 years old. She noted that the way she dressed began to change when she was 45. Since then, she has been wearing skirt with a *kain panjang* look or sarong along with a blouse on formal occasions. She believes that it looks more elegant and makes her feel good about herself. On an informal occasion, for example, she will wear a blouse made from batik technique along with a pair of jeans. She likes to wear casual clothes and at the same time give an impression of tradition. She also likes to wear a loose blouse and culottes or a skirt, an outfit in which she can move comfortably yet be fashionable. Mrs. SY often gives advice to her colleagues as well as having an influence on their style of dress. She is known as an expert in fashion and many of her colleagues admire the way she dresses.

Most of her traditional textiles were purchased by her and the rest given as presents by relatives, students, and acquaintances. When on business trips she likes to look for traditional textiles at traditional stores, such as Makassar, Garut, and also in some cities in Kalimantan. On average, she goes to a traditional store, shopping mall, or exhibition to buy new textiles for clothes once in a month. She does not have a specific plan of which material to buy, because if she planned, she would end up buying something else and not find what she is looking for. When going shopping with friends and buying traditional materials, she gets advice from them, but mostly she chooses herself. To stay up to date with the latest fashion, she always pays special attention to the color of the material. She prefers making a dress rather than buying, because she does not feel comfortable if the clothes (even slightly) do not fit to her body, such as the shoulder seam and the length of the sleeves or blouse.

Mrs. SY. always has new ideas for designing clothing for herself and realizes these to improve her mood, because she easily gets bored by wearing the same clothes repeatedly. She will keep some clothes for some time, and wear them again, if she still likes the material and the fabric. Normally, she does not like keeping clothes for a long time and gives clothes that she no longer wears, which are still in a good condition, to relatives and friends, so they can still be of use. She has never recycled clothes, but now she has an idea of doing it with her *kebaya*, although she is still in doubt and feels uneasy about cutting the material.

The interview with Mrs. SY was very pleasant. This author was a student of hers and also a colleague, so we had known each other for quite a long time. During the interview, she showed this author some pictures of when she was in college and reminisced about the way she dressed that was fashionable at that time. She follows fashion and has always been a trendsetter among her friends and colleagues. Wearing modified traditional clothing is a way for her to stay fashionable while preserving tradition.

Mrs. TN

Mrs. TN was 67 years old when the interview was conducted. She is married and has two daughters and one son. She comes from Bandung, West Java, and rents a room with her husband near the university because her house in Bandung is too far away to commute for work. She completed her bachelor's degree in History, in the Indonesia University of Education, and then completed her magister and doctoral program in Education in the State University of Jakarta in 2001, obtaining the title of professor in 2007.

This author was recommended by Mrs. YS to do the interview with Mrs. TN since they are colleagues and friends. Mrs. TN agreed and then made an appointment to do the interview and wardrobe observation, which were conducted on a Saturday in her room. Because her house is in Bandung, she said that some clothing is kept there. She was wearing a red dress and we were sitting at the dining table to do the interview. Her husband came in from a walk short before the interview ended and joined us to have lunch, prepared by Mrs. TN.

Mrs. TN was very nice and friendly that she made this author address her as '*Bunda*' rather than '*Ibu*'²⁶ as if she were her daughter, to be more comfortable and make the situation less formal. Before the interview began, she showed this author her room, which has a bed, and a big customized red wardrobe. The prevailing color in her kitchen is red because she really loves this color. The center of interest of this one room apartment is her big red wardrobe. She said that she had it made and loves it very much.

Since she comes from Bandung, she said that she knows only traditional dress from there, such as kebaya and some popular motifs of *kain panjang*. When she was a child, she remembered girls age 15 years old used to wear kebaya and *kain panjang* every day in the 1950s. From the 1950s to the 1960s, she was used to welcoming guests at weddings wearing kebaya and *kain panjang*, but at that time they tied both ends of kebaya at the front, so they looked chic and fashionable. She continued the story into the 1970s to early 1980s and found that kebaya *encim*²⁷ was very popular, and that women wore it everywhere. In college in Bandung, there was an audition to become 'the queen of kebaya' for female students to show

²⁶ '*Bunda*' and '*Ibu*' can have the same meaning as 'Mother', which how a child addresses her/his mother, but *Ibu* can also mean 'Mam', which is formal mode of address to a woman.

²⁷ Kebaya *encim* is kebaya influenced by Chinese culture in color and motifs; it has a V neck and is embroidered.

their ability to wear *kain panjang* and Mrs. TN proudly said that she was the winner four or five times and showed this author how to wear it. She can also explain the different motifs of *kain panjang* and who they are to be worn by for special occasions. Nowadays, she often wears dresses because it is too tiring for her to wear high heels, which is a good combination with *kain panjang*, and instead, chooses wearing a dress and wedges. When she needs to wear *kain panjang* on certain occasions, she always wears a skirt with a *kain panjang* look.

She attended a personality development program course for three months and she learnt about appearance. Whatever the color of clothes she wears, the important thing is that the bag and shoes that go along with it must have the same color. “[...] *it does not matter what clothing you wear; the important thing is the bag and shoes have to be the same (color). That’s why, if I wear brown shoes, the bag must be brown. It’s a must.*”²⁸ She is very meticulous about what she wants to wear. For work, she has notes for the color of clothing she wants to wear during the week. For instance, she wants to wear purple this week, so her clothing and accessories this week will have purple in different shades. People might find it too much, but she insisted that it makes her happy.

Giving the image of an educated person is very important for Mrs. TN. When she was in college, she wore clothing that showed her skin a lot, such as shorts and tank tops. She said that she did not have a skirt and was a tomboy. After she got married and became a lecturer, she wore clothing that covered her skin more and, starting in 1999, she has been wearing a headscarf. She was voted the most fashionable lecturer in her department for three years in a row, which made her very proud. After getting the title of professor, she now has more income and admitted that her appearance has changed. Her daughters encourage her to enjoy her life as she does not have the expense of paying for her children anymore, so sometimes she buys expensive bags if they match the shoes she has, but not any specific brands. For shoes, she chooses comfort despite the price, such as brands of Hush Puppies and Dr. Kong. Mrs. TN claimed that she does not shop too much and believes that she needs to save money to enjoy her life after retiring from her job. She no longer needs to buy expensive bags and shoes; she said she has enough. She has also changed spiritually and become more pious by wearing somewhat looser dress and claimed that she would not buy any clothing anymore since she had so much already.

An interesting hobby hers is collecting aprons from regions in Indonesia and all over the world. At the time of interview, she had 30 aprons from many countries and 44 aprons

²⁸ „[...] *Nggak masalah baju apa aja, yang penting tas sama sepatu sama. That’s why, Bunda kalau sepatu coklat, harus tas coklat. Harus itu.*” Mrs. TN, p.232.

from Indonesia. Her favorite is the one she bought in San Francisco. Unlike the aprons she bought abroad as finished goods, aprons from Indonesia are made according to her design, so she bought traditional cloth from different regions and had them made into aprons. She made a list of her apron collection but unfortunately all of them are kept in her house in Bandung.

The interview with Mrs. TN was enjoyable. She showed this author almost all of her wardrobe and explained what was kept there, and why. She is a very organized person in terms of her clothing and its accessories. Shoes and bags are kept clean, so every time she wants to use them, they are ready to be worn. Mrs. TN follows fashion in her style, but for traditional dress worn on customary events, she prefers to wear this with minimal modification to preserve the style and show people the original shape. The interview was ended when lunch together began.

Mrs. YS

Mrs. YS was born in 1951 in Bandung, West Java, and moved to another city in West Java, Bogor, in 1976, two years after she got married. She worked as a teacher in various places before becoming a lecturer in the Physics Department at the State University of Jakarta in 1984, and a civil servant in 1987. She has three daughters and two of them work at the same university.

One of her daughters is a colleague of this author; with her recommendation, Mrs. YS made time to do the interview and observation of her wardrobe, although she had a tight schedule and is often on business trips. The house was under renovation, so that the noise could be heard throughout the interview. Mrs. YS lives only with her husband and housemaid, because all of her daughters are married and live with their families.

*“A clothing that has a characteristic. A special (clothing) from a region according to its culture. That’s what I think. I don’t know what it really is.”*²⁹ (Mrs. YS, p.265)

Mrs. YS was not sure when answering the question about her understanding of traditional dress. She said that she did not know much about the names of traditional motifs, but can name some famous batik motifs from her hometown, Bandung, such as *Kumeli* and *Bianyu*, without knowing their meanings. However, she is willing to dress in traditional dress when there is an occasion that suggests wearing such clothing.

Mrs. YS pays a lot of attention to her clothes and appearance. When she was in college, she said that she took a short course as a dressmaker during a semester break. She learned fast and used to make her own clothes of her own design and showed them to her friends, which make her friends willing to have her made clothes for them. She has a lot of ideas when designing clothes, so that her instructor in the dressmaking course was amazed by her pace and creativity. After she got married, she could still find the time to make clothes for her daughters and household linens for her house, for example, curtains and sets of bed sheets. She was laughing when she remembered that recently she found a dress for her daughter that she made a long time ago (around 1986), but she had not finished it yet, since

²⁹ *“Busana yang memiliki ciri kekhususan. Khusus di tempat daerah itu sesuai dengan budayanya. Kalau Ibu sih begitu. Mungkin nggak tahu lah yang sebenarnya apa.”* (Mrs. YS, p.265)

she has become busy. She looked very excited when she explained how she likes to make clothes herself. She said that now she does not have that much time to make her own clothes and finds that it is unfortunate. She stated that she used to have a lot of design ideas for her clothes but did not have money to buy fabrics, and now, she has the money, but does not have time to develop any new design and make the clothes. Therefore, she buys items that are available or has them made in a simple design.

She claimed that she was a bit different to her siblings when it came to clothing; she knew exactly what she was going to wear, and what design, color, and material that fitted her properly. She was thinking of becoming a designer when she was young but does not know why she ended up learning and teaching Physics. Besides making clothing, she also said that she took a make-up course during another semester break in college and worked part time for bridal make-up, although not for long.

Mrs. YS is a perfectionist every time she gets dressed. She will carefully choose a color combination that matches together, but does not draw much attention. For example, she has a green blouse, skirt, bag, shoes, and accessories; even though she can wear all of them at once, she will not do that, because she thinks that people will not think that good. She wants to present an image of herself as dressing appropriately and modestly.

She has a lot of traditional lengths of fabric and was very excited to show what she has. The interview was conducted in the living room, so that she went back and forth, and brought the items out of her room. She said that she was feeling embarrassed showing this author her collection, but the impression shown was she feels proud to have a lot of traditional items, even though she knows no more than from which province she bought them. Unfortunately, there was only one wardrobe that could be observed, which is placed in another room, and not the wardrobe in her bedroom. She believes that her room and wardrobe are a private area not just anybody can look into, but showing items of clothing is not a problem at all.

Mr. CC

Mr. CC was born in 1974 and lived in Sumedang, West Java, until he finished his high school. A year later, he went to study at the State University of Jakarta majoring in Food and Beverages and has been living in this city since then. He became a lecturer at the same university in 2001 and completed his master's degree in Food Science at the National University of Malaysia in 2011. He also works as a freelancer doing cooking demonstrations and a food stylist for advertisement in some print media and television.

He married his college junior, who also works in the same study program, and they have a daughter. This author has known his wife since they were in college and asked her and her husband to participate in this research. However, his wife refused, but supported her husband to be one of the interviewees and helped him during the interview and wardrobe observation.

The interview was conducted in their bedroom and Mr. CC was accompanied by his wife throughout the interview. They live together with their cousins in a family house belong to his wife's family. Mr. CC wore a white T-shirt and trousers, without wearing any footwear. The length of the interview was around one and a half hours and it was relatively informal. In the beginning, his daughter was there and playing a game on a tablet, which caused a little noise and distraction.

When he was asked about traditional clothing, he said that, "... *Each traditional clothing has its characteristic from certain region. But so far, it is worn only for certain occasions. For example, weddings... but not all the time.*"³⁰ (Mr. CC, p.303). He could not answer about the meaning of batik motifs on *kain panjang* from West Java, but could name one of them, which was *sidamukti*. He knew that people should wear it on special occasions, for instance, weddings, a seventh month pregnancy celebration, circumcision, and death, since he saw people wear it in these customary events. He does not himself have any traditional clothing, but claimed that his parents do.

He once had trousers with batik motifs bought in Jakarta in 2005, which he wore for his pre-wedding photoshoot. He said that the quality of the fabric (cotton) was not good and the size of the trousers was a little bit smaller than his size, so that the trousers tore easily, but he still bought them because he liked the color and they were needed for the photoshoot.

³⁰ "... *Pakaian tradisional yang masing-masing punya ciri khas dari setiap-setiap daerahnya. Tapi selama ini yang dipakai ya paling untuk acara-acara tertentu aja. Paling untuk pernikahan, gitu ya kan... tidak setiap waktu.*" (Mr. CC, p.303)

The concept of the photoshoot was black and white in a traditional theme, so that he wore a white long-sleeved shirt called *koko* and the trousers which were white with black batik motifs.

Since he works in the field of Food and Beverage, wearing chefs clothing is a must for him. He does not like to wear the plain clothing that many chefs wear and prefers to have the items made with a touch of traditional to his own design to be more attractive and different from that of his students. Buying items of clothing that fit him is not easy. He is large for an Asian, so that the clothes he buys often have problems in the length of the sleeves (for long sleeves) and the trousers. Therefore, when buying traditional items of clothing, motifs are not important for him, but the size is. However, he prefers buying clothes rather than having them made by a tailor, considering that it is more practical.

Mr. CC has a lot of traditional lengths of fabric from different provinces in Indonesia. He and his wife bought these fabrics when they were on business trips and vacation, and some were gifts from their students. He mentioned which fabric is from which province, even though he does not know the name of the motifs and their meanings. However, he sometimes could not mention the origin of some gifts from the students. He said that sometime ago, he did not have any interest in traditional fabric or items of clothing, but as batik has become fashionable and is worn by a lot of people, he finds that he did not have much choice other than to follow the fashion and wear batik shirts on many occasions. Then, he slowly began to admire the beauty of batik motifs and willingly wore batik shirts more often.

His interest in traditional items of clothing and lengths of fabric was seen during the interview. He took out many of his traditional items and fabrics and mentioned where he had got all of them. Looking into the wardrobe was not a problem at all. He opened the wardrobe and explained how he stores his clothes. During the interview, Mr. CC's wife helped quite often, answering questions about what, how, and where they had obtained, since Mr. CC had sometimes forgotten the details.

Mr. CC is aware of developments in batik and notices that batik is applied on many items of clothing besides shirt and blouse, for instance, T-shirts and blazers. This is not a problem for him as he said that people are free to make new designs that do not relate to the original motifs, or combine traditional and non-traditional items of clothing when wearing them, as long as the combination of colors matches. This shows that Mr. CC likes traditional items of clothing nowadays more than in the past, since there are a lot of variations of the motifs and designs.

Mr. EM

Mr. EM was born in 1967. He is married, and they have two children, a girl and a boy. Both his parents come from the same province, Yogyakarta, but his mother grew up in Jakarta, whereas his father moved to Jakarta when he went to college. His mother is a housewife, and his father was a professor and a lecturer at the State University of Jakarta. Mr. EM completed his bachelor's degree at this university majoring in Education of Civil Engineering in 1995. He became a civil servant and worked as a lecturer in the State University of Jakarta from 2001. Then, in 2006, he finished his master's degree in Technical and Vocational Education in the State University of Yogyakarta.

At the time of interview, he was the Head of the Civil Engineering Department, and with help from Mrs. MP, he was asked and agreed to participate in the interview and wardrobe observation. The interview was conducted in the afternoon in his house in Bekasi, located on the eastern border of Jakarta, after he had finished work at the university. The duration of the interview was around 90 minutes with a short break for sunset prayer.

Mr. EM said that he was very busy at that moment and had to go on business trips to some provinces in the next few days. He is also in charge of bringing his children to school and picking them up every day, since their school is next to the university. Because of that, he often arrives at the university early (around 6:15 a.m.), and has to go back home after his children leave school around 3 p.m. Therefore, he has to manage his teaching and other things at the university during that time.

When Mr. EM was asked about traditional dress, he answered briefly that it “*reflects (he used the word “describes” in Indonesian) the culture of the region*”³¹ (Mr. EM, p.350). He stated that when he was in college, he knew much more about this than now because his girlfriend studied in Cosmetology at the same university, and from her, he got to learn the differentiation of bridal make-up for provinces in Java, as well as their traditional wedding dresses. Now, he cannot remember much about this, but still can differentiate characteristics of batik motifs in Java. The ways of wearing *kain panjang* are also different for women and men, and Mr. EM said that he knows the differences and can wear it himself and he still offers help to his relatives on weddings with putting on *kain panjang*. He looked very proud

³¹ “[...] yang menggambarkan budaya daerah itu.” (Mr. EM, p.350).

of being able to do that. He also said that he does not have any particular taste in fashion. He prefers simple designs for his clothing and buying items to having them made. The important thing is that the material, such as cotton, is comfortable to wear.

He said that Indonesian people should be proud of their traditional dress and is happy because there is a batik national day, when it is suggested people wear batik clothing. Furthermore, there is a rule from the dean that lecturers should wear traditional dress on the graduation days of the students. When talking about batik motifs nowadays, he feels both happy and sorry. One good thing is that many people wear batik clothing on various occasions, formal and informal, but on the other hand, the original motifs might be changed and not worn on the occasions when they should be worn. He explained that some motifs are made only for women and some for men, but sometimes people mix them up and do not wear the right motif for them. Some people, who do not know much about motif, will not bother or notice about this, but others who understand the differences, might think that it is weird and wrong. Mr. EM finds that designers play an important role in this matter. They should understand better about batik motifs and their application on clothing. For example, batik motifs for informal clothing should be newly created and not developed from original ones that should be restricted to formal occasions. It does not mean that original motifs cannot be developed, but there should be limits when developing motifs and where they should be applied.

His style of dress is relatively stable, and he prefers simple but neat. He chooses his everyday clothing based on the order in the wardrobe. For example, if shirts are hung, he will choose them from the left, because newly washed shirts are hung on the right. He claimed that only a few of his colleagues, comment on his appearance when he wears something very different to his normal style. When it comes to the rules in wearing traditional dress, he is conservative, and said everything should stay as it is. Developing new things in order to preserve tradition should be kept within limits, so that young people will be able to learn everything about tradition as it is.

Mr. EM was very talkative during the interview and shared some stories from when he was young. He said that his father used to tell him about '*wayang*'³² characters and stories before he went to bed and this has remained in his memory until now. Unfortunately, he does not do the same thing for his children and claimed that his knowledge about this is not

³² *Wayang* is an Indonesian traditional performing art in the form of shadow puppet shows originating from the island of Java. In *wayang* shows, there are many characters who are often used as examples of both good and bad characters by parents towards their children.

enough to be shared and, anyway, now everything has changed, and the children are more interested in gadgets. He feels sorry about that, but said that there is nothing he can do, since he is busy with his work.

Mr. MN

Mr. MN was 46 years old at the time of interview, is married and has two children. He was born in Semarang, Central Java, and moved to Jakarta after finishing primary school. He has been a civil servant since 2003 and lectures in Fashion at the State University of Jakarta as his main job. He also teaches at Jakarta Institute of Arts, which was his first job before he became a civil servant, but now he only works there a few hours in a week. Occasionally, he also teaches some courses at the Bunka School of Fashion.

Mr. MN completed his bachelor's degree at the Department of Arts at the State University of Jakarta and at the time of interview was completing his magister in Education at the same university. He is one of this author's colleagues and was directly asked to participate in the research. The interview was conducted in his house accompanied by his wife and one of his children. During the interview, his wife helped him to show some clothes and tidied up afterwards.

„[...] Traditional dress for me is a dress traditionally inherited, which is worn by a certain ethnic or region in Indonesia, whether it is Javanese, Sundanese, Batak or Javanese-Malay in general.”³³ (Mr. MN, p.1)

Mr. MN feels bad that as a lecturer of Fashion he does not know much about traditional dress, especially that of his hometown. He said that he was born in Semarang, which is a big city where people wear common clothes and not traditional ones. Furthermore, he left Semarang after he finished primary school and has been living in Jakarta since then. He claimed that people who live near a palace in Java would know customary events and their traditional dress better than others. In spite of not being formally taught this, Mr. MN knows how to speak in Javanese in formal and informal language, because he was taught by his mother how to speak formally to older people, whereas he spoke it in informal way to his friends. People say that there is a batik motif of Semarang, but he said that he has never seen that. Instead, he knows batik motifs from other regions such as Yogyakarta, Solo,

³³ “[...] Pakaian tradisional ya menurut saya pakaian yang secara tradisi dan turun temurun sudah digunakan di etnik tertentu atau daerah tertentu di wilayah Indonesia, entah itu Jawa, Sunda, Batak atau Jawa Melayu-lah secara umum ya.” (Mr. MN, p.1)

Pekalongan, and Cirebon, because they are famous. When he was asked about traditional dress that he wears, he said that it is only batik in a form of a shirt.

For daily activities, Mr. MN stated that he usually wears a batik shirt once a week, mostly on Friday, since there is an unwritten suggestion to wear items in batik, and for Muslim males, there is a congregational prayer every Friday, which gives an additional reason to look different from usual. On special occasions, he may wear a batik shirt, or a common shirt. Every time he attends an occasion, he will see if it is formal or informal and consider which items fit the occasion. He asserted that it should not necessarily be a suit for a formal occasion, but anything that is appropriate for it.

Looking back at his childhood, both of his parents were dressmakers. He and his siblings used to get identical new clothing made by (mostly) their mother. His mother used to tell him to dress appropriately when he left the house. He remembered when they wanted to attend a wedding, he helped his mother to dress in *setagen*, which he found very complicated, because he had to walk around his mother while pulling the *setagen*, so that his mother's torso was wrapped tightly in order to look slim when wearing kebaya and *kain panjang*. In 2006, when he was watching soccer on the television, the shirt the Germany coach wore at that time caught his eyes and he thought it was very cool. The shirt was a body fit, which was still rare in the market at that time, so he could not find that kind of shirt. It was only available in stores where they sell only high-class items, which of course did not fit his budget. Later on, as the items became more fashionable and available everywhere, he finally bought and wore them.

His wife also plays an important role in the way he dresses. He once bought a slim fit shirt size M (the size he usually wears) to wear at the university, but in this case, the size was a little too small for him, and such a close fit that his wife suggested changing his shirt and wearing another one. He felt bad about not being able to wear the shirt he likes and when he works at other places, he will wear it, but not at the university, since he finds it is not appropriate.

Mr. MN always wants to look neat in his appearance, formal and informal. Since he was in college, his friends have said that he was the neatest among his peers. His friends and colleagues (in the former job) used to ask him how they looked and how they should dress nicely. He said that he likes to wear plain shirts with a mandarin collar and a little line of combining colour on the pocket and the opening at the front, but sometimes he gets bored and wants to change his appearance. The same is true in wearing trousers. He has started to wear slim trousers after getting bored with baggy trousers. However, he always pays

attention to his body proportions, so that he can decide whether a style looks good on him or not.

When he was asked about the development of traditional dress, he said that he is happy because traditional and traditional-related items are more and more known and worn by people from different backgrounds and social levels. He does not mind if there is not an original motif applied on the material, as long as people like it and are willing to wear it. He believes that local governments will try to promote the potential of this to improve their traditional dress and stimulate people to wear it and like it.

Mr. MN did not hesitate to agree that the observation of wardrobe be conducted in his room. He was happy because that way he could tidy up his wardrobe and select some clothes that he does not wear anymore to be given to his relatives in his hometown, and finally have some space in his wardrobe. He explained some items that he took out of the wardrobe casually with a lot of laughter. Even though he said that he has a limited budget to buy items of clothing, he always tries to be fashionable as much as he can and be different from others, even if only with slight modification to his shirts or trousers.

Mr. RI

Mr. RI was born in 1963 in Solo, Central Java, is married and has three children. He moved to Jakarta in 1990 because of his work. In 1992, he started to work at the State University of Jakarta. When the interview was conducted, he was the Dean of Faculty of Engineering at the State University of Jakarta and was doing his doctorate program in Education at the same university. He completed his bachelor and master's degree in Mechanical Engineering and completed his doctoral degree in 2016.

This author asked Mr. RI directly to participate in this research, including observing his wardrobe, and he accepted but said that observing wardrobe should be done by his wife since he did not have time and she organizes his clothes and wardrobe, so she must know this better than him. The interview was therefore conducted in his office and the wardrobe was observed six days afterwards, accompanied by his wife. Mr. RI wore a batik shirt (short sleeves) in brown shades and dark trousers, and the interview finished shortly before he went to a mosque for Friday prayer.

*“Traditional dress is a dress that is a characteristic from a region, it becomes a tradition and is used on customary events. [...] It is used to preserve our culture, especially where we were born or our place of origin. We have traditional dress and are proud because it comes from our culture.”*³⁴ (Mr. RI, p.407)

Mr. RI, who has a Java dialect in when speaking Bahasa Indonesian, explained the definition of traditional dress and its meaning for him. He knows that there are certain motifs of traditional dress to wear on certain occasions and claims that he does not know anything further about it, but there is someone from the family who knows more and tells the others which motif to wear. He mentioned only *lurik* and *kawung* as examples of motif names and said that it is not a focus of his interest to know more about traditional dress. For the material used, he stated only that usually people use material from cotton and silk.

In his leadership role as Dean, he made it a rule that administrative staff wear uniform on certain days and provided the material for these employees and lecturers who have

³⁴ *“Pakaian tradisional adalah pakaian yang menjadi ciri khas dari daerah tertentu ya, itu menjadi tradisional dan dia biasanya digunakan untuk keperluan acara-acara tradisi setempat. [...] Untuk melestarikan budaya kami, terutama dimana kami dulu dilahirkan atau asli daerah kami masing-masing. Kami punya pakaian tradisional dan itu menjadi kebanggaan, karena memang dari budaya kita.”* (Mr.RI, p.407).

additional managerial tasks in the faculty. He stated that the faculty has several uniforms, but only one uniform made from stamped batik to wear on Fridays in a form of shirt or blouse. He did not know what motif it was, but the impression of wearing batik uniform is what he wanted to get. The batik uniform was provided every year and discussed between the important persons of the faculty, like vice dean or head administrator, to decide the price, material and motif of the fabric to be bought. On graduation day, twice a year, he suggested that all lecturers in this faculty who attend this event should wear traditional dress. The response was good, and many lecturers seem to be excited about this.

For his daily and special outfits, his wife plays an important role in the choice. He said that his wife knows exactly how many times he has worn the same batik shirt for weddings and she will decide to buy a new one for him. Sometimes, he still wears the old batik shirt since it is still comfortable, but his wife will ask him to change it. On weddings or other special occasions, he and his wife will try to match their appearance, at least in colour. Mr. RI always tries to look neat in appearance, especially at work, with the hope that the way he dresses can be a good role model for his students. He prefers clothes that feel comfortable to wear and his wife will try to make his appearance better by giving suggestions, for instance, he should not wear clothes with over bright colours, since his skin is a little bit dark, and he follows her suggestion.

When they go together to a shopping mall, he prefers to wait in the play-zone with his children while his wife is buying clothes. He often thinks that he still has enough clothes to wear, but his wife thinks they are old and then buys new items, especially if there are sales in stores. There were times when he did not recognize that there was a new shirt in the wardrobe and he still wore the one he used to wear, and his wife would strongly suggest that he changed to the new one she had bought. When he is on a business trip, he often buys traditional cloth for his wife. Also, when he and his family visit their hometown, Solo (Central Java), they usually go to batik stores and buy some materials to be made into items of clothing later.

Mr. RI's father was looked up to by people in the village who respected him and his involvement in events in the village which required to wear traditional dress. So, his father had a complete traditional dress, including *beskap*, *kain panjang*, *blankon* and *keris*. Mr. RI learnt from his father to always wear traditional dress on certain occasions in order to preserve the tradition. When he was at Junior High School, he learnt sewing from his brother and together they were tailors making items of clothing for men and women until he entered

college. He used to make his own clothes but claimed that he already forgotten how to do this.

After batik was officially claimed as Indonesian heritage in 2009 by UNESCO, he found that it became much more famous and the number of people who wear it has increased significantly. He also noticed that batik fabric or items of clothing can be found in many stores in shopping malls and other places, such as hypermarkets, at various prices. Sometimes in a shopping mall, people sell batik materials/items of clothing in the lobby for relatively cheap prices. He claimed that his wife will have a look and buy one or two items for the family.

In spite of the development of traditional dress, where people tend to alter or buy modified traditional dress, Mr. RI found that many people still preserve tradition at customary events. In weddings, he observed that the numbers who wear traditional items of clothing have increased considerably compared to both the 1990s and early 2000s, so that people at least can learn where the traditional items they wear come from in general. He also noticed that a lot of women combine traditional dress and headscarf, which he found beautiful. In the future, he hopes that traditional dress will have better developed styles and attract people to wear it more often. Because his background is mechanical engineering, he thought that it might be better if the traditional way of making written batik that needs at least couple of days should be developed as well, for example, a machine that can replace handwork with the same quality as hand drawing, but be faster and produce more, so that the price will be more affordable.

Mr. RI was enthusiastic as he answered the questions. He did not know much about traditional dress in terms of name and meaning, but he has a great interest in preserving it and its involvement in daily life as well as special occasions, both at work and others. His strong suggestion to wear traditional dress on graduation day was an example that he wants people to know and be familiar with traditional dress. His interest in his wardrobe being examined was such that he ordered a car and driver for this author to go to his house and back to the university. Unfortunately, his photo albums were in storage and could not be accessed, so that there was no documentation of his dress from the past.

Mr. SI

Mr. SI was born in 1966 and grew up in the same city, which is Bogor. He is married and has three children. In 1992, he became a civil servant and is a lecturer in the Educational Management Department, the State University of Jakarta. He completed his doctoral degree in Educational Management in 2009 at the same university. At the time of interview, he was a Vice Rector for Administrative Affairs. Despite his tight schedule, he gave time to participate in this research after being asked by a colleague of this author, who was one of his students.

He has two houses which are located in Depok and Cibinong, both on the southern border of Jakarta. Because he thought that Cibinong is nearer to this author's house, in Bogor, the interview was conducted there. The main house is his other one in Depok, where his family live, so that only Mr. SI, when he has to do his work from the university and a few housekeepers live in Cibinong.

*"I define (traditional clothing) as the types of clothing that come from certain regions, certain ethnicities. When speaking specifically about Indonesia, clothes that come from all regions in Indonesia and are characteristic of the ethnic groups of each region."*³⁵ (Mr. SI, p.442)

Mr. SI answered the question about traditional clothing and explained further that it was not only as a characteristic, but also an instrument, which is a manifestation of the way of life, belief, and philosophy adopted by the people of that area that is reflected through their clothes. He is originally from Bogor, West Java, and one of their traditional items of clothing is *beskap*, which he often sees people wear on formal occasions. He notices that Bogor has developed batik motifs of its own, which are Kujang³⁶, Bogor Palace, deer³⁷, and the *Batutulis* inscription³⁸. Batik shirts with these motifs are in his possession, bought in a shopping mall in Bogor, and he feels proud of these. At the time of interview, Mr. SI wore

³⁵ „Kalau saya mengartikan (pakaian tradisional) jenis-jenis pakaian yang berasal dari daerah tertentu ya, berbagai etnis yang ada. Kalau berbicara spesifik Indonesia, ya pakaian yang berasal dari seluruh daerah di Indonesia yang menjadi ciri khas etnik masing-masing daerah itu.“ (Mr. SI, p.442)

³⁶ Traditional weapon of Bogor.

³⁷ Deer has become one of symbols of Bogor, because hundreds of them live and are preserved in the Bogor Botanical Gardens.

³⁸ A famous inscribed stone in Bogor dating from 1333 (de Casparis, 1975:55).

a silk batik shirt in brown-black-white and trousers in white, which looked very neat. He said that he always wears clothing like this at home on weekends, because when he wants to pray at the mosque or attend a meeting with the neighbours, he does not want to have to change his clothing.

His father is a role model for Mr. SI in terms of appearance. He adores his father greatly, because of his great taste in fashion, even though he was only an ordinary employee. Every time his father leaves the house, he looks very confident in what he wears, and Mr. SI thinks that people respect him more because of that. He remembered that he got his first suit from his father when he was in 4th grade in primary school. He was supposed to give a speech in the school and his father prepared the suit for him so that he would have more confidence.

When he buys clothing or shoes, the quality of the material is important, because he prefers items that can be worn for a long time. He does not have any particular brand of clothing, since almost all of his clothing was made by a tailor. He knows a trader in Jakarta, who sells good quality traditional lengths of fabric at a good price. He said that the price difference can be four to five times when he buys the same quality of fabric from branded stores. He stated that he learned a lot about the material from this trader, so that he knows what materials are being used.

Mr. SI reports that he has a lot of items altered to meet his preference after he buys them, because sometimes he likes the material or motif, but not the design or the cut. For instance, he bought a *thobe*³⁹ in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, during his pilgrimage, and (with a help of a dressmaker) made it shorter to a little bit below the knee and now wears it with *sarong* or trousers. He wears this clothing often when he goes to pray in the mosque near his house. He explained further that he bought another thobe at the same place and had it altered to adjust the length of the sleeves and the overall length; the unused piece was made into a new collar, because he found that the original collar was too tight for him. When he went back another time to the place where he bought it while wearing the altered thobe, the trader recognized that the clothing was bought there, but was amazed by the new design.

When he has an item made by a tailor, he said that he often gets the inspiration from television or magazines. He once saw a news anchor, who he finds a little bit fat, wearing a shirt that fitted him nicely. He looked carefully the design and made his own design inspired by this shirt. Sometimes, people are mistaken and think that he has bought expensive branded clothing, because the clothing looks good on him; he said that people do not know that most

³⁹ Thobe is an ankle-length shirt worn by men throughout the Arabian Peninsula (see Campbell, 2016:24).

of his clothing was made by a tailor to his design. He does not like it if the clothing he wears makes him feel uncomfortable or unconfident. He realizes that he is a bit overweight, and he believes that wearing a common shirt will make his appearance worse, so he often wears batik shirts, which he does not have to tuck in into the trousers, but still look neat. On formal occasions, he also prefers to wear batik instead of a suit, if there is no dress code mentioned.

Mr. SI said that sometimes his students want to give him presents after finishing their projects and he always says that they actually do not have to do that, but sometimes they insist on giving him some clothing. He then tells them in advance that he is very picky about clothing and explains what kind of clothing he likes to have. He knows that people might think that it is impolite to tell the students what presents they should buy, but he thinks if they just buy anything and he does not like it, that would be a waste. He also explains that if it is too much to ask, the students should not give him anything, which is better for him.

The interview was conducted in the living room full of excitement, because Mr. SI has a lot of interest in traditional dress and clothing in general. He answered all the questions confidently and shared stories about some of his items of clothing. Further, he showed this author some pictures of him wearing his favourite batik shirts while giving a formal reception of guests at the university. In all the pictures shown, the outfits he wore were all covering his waist to hide his stomach which made him feel comfortable, and means he notices his own flaws and makes an effort to improve his appearance.

Mr. SO

Mr. SO was born in 1958 in Pacitan, East Java, and is married. He completed his bachelor's degree in Electrical Engineering in Surabaya and Jakarta, then completed his master's degree in the State University of Jakarta in 1996 and a doctoral program in the same university in 2005.

He was asked by Mrs. MP to participate in this research and rejected the request because he did not think he was capable of contributing in this field. After lobbying and explanation of the content of the interview as well as observation of the wardrobe, he agreed to participate, but the observation had to be conducted with only his wife present, because she does all the household chores such as washing and storing clothing that were going to be the subject of questions.

The interview and wardrobe observation were conducted on a Sunday morning in his house. He was wearing a white polo shirt inserted into trousers of a dark color. We were sitting in the living room and there were a lot of books on the floor. His house was a mess because of renovation. This was also the reason why the wardrobe observation could only be done for the storage in their family living room and not the other one in his bedroom. As the questions led to daily practice of dress, he excused himself and left the room, and the interview was continued with his wife.

In daily life, Mr. SO has never paid attention to what he wears because his wife will prepare all he needs, including buying items of clothing, choosing what to wear for every occasion and packing his suitcase whenever he has a business trip. He also claims that he does not know how many clothes he has in the wardrobe. Therefore, the interview was done in two sections, first, Mr. SO answered all the question about knowledge of traditional dress, and second, the interview was done with his wife for the questions about the practice of dress.

The interview was begun with the question about traditional dress and he answered that “[...] *Traditional dress is inherited by the kingdoms that existed in Indonesia. [...]*”⁴⁰ (Mr. SO, p. 472) and asserted that a lot of traditional dress from different regions should be preserved to make it well known to the world. He stated that he knows traditional dress from

⁴⁰ „[...] *Pakaian yang ditradisikan oleh kerajaan-kerajaan yang eksis di Indonesia. [...]*.” Mr. SO, p. 472.

his region, as well as its motifs, and said that it did not mean that he liked these clothes, but he got used to wearing them, since people will wear them on special occasions. For instance, wearing a batik shirt or *beskap* on weddings and other customary events. Otherwise, if he wears a suit, he thinks people will question him for not wearing traditional clothing and he rarely sees people wearing suits on such occasions. Sometimes, he stated that he and his wife wear the same material and colour for their clothing; this idea comes from his wife and she will try to match them. Mr. SO himself does not pay attention to such matters. When he was asked if he has any preference in traditional clothing, he said that he likes parang motif in batik cloth because it looks elegant when he wears it. He also explained that this motif was only for the king, but now, ordinary people can also wear it.

For work, he prefers to wear white shirt, trousers and jacket, sometimes, in addition, a tie for formal occasions. Only on Friday, he wears a batik shirt because he said that it is an obligation to do so; also, whenever he goes abroad for business trips, he always wears batik shirts to show people that he is Indonesian without having to introduce himself. Since he always wears white shirts for work, he does not have any favourite item and his wife said that there is no certain brand he likes because around 80% of his shirts are tailor made. The important thing for him is that the material should not be easily wrinkled. Further, his wife said that the material usually contains 80% cotton and 20% polyester. The same is true for his trousers and jackets and 90% of them are also made by a tailor. There is no particular decoration on his clothing that needs to be made by a dressmaker, but his wife said that his stomach seems a little big, so that having them made improves his appearance.

During the interview with his wife, it was noticeable that she chooses the material, colour and design of clothing for Mr. SO and he does not object to whatever his wife chooses for him. “[...] *I never pay attention to what should I wear, or am interested enough to say, “Oh, I want to wear clothes like that.” No. It is usually my wife, who has that idea. Whatever she buys, I will wear.*”⁴¹ (Mr. SO, p. 478). Beside white, he also wears light blue shirts, but rarely. There is no bright colour because his wife thinks that bright colours are not suitable for work. When she was asked why most of his shirts are plain, she replied that a plain shirt can be worn on many occasions. For instance, she said that sometimes he has to attend formal meetings unexpectedly, and argued that plain shirts are more formal than the ones with motifs.

⁴¹ „[...] *Saya nggak pernah memperhatikan harus berpakaian seperti apa, tertarik seperti apa. „Oh, aku tak pakai pakaian seperti itu.“ Nggak. Jadi biasanya malah istri yang punya itu ya. Kalau ada apa namanya, istri beli atau apa ya, saya pakai aja.*“ (Mr. SO, p. 478).

Mr. SO answered all the questions being asked with enthusiasm. He knows a lot about traditional dress, even though he only wears it on certain occasions, however, he was happy that traditional dress is popular and worn by more people now. As an example, modifications of batik motifs or completely new motifs should be seen as an act to preserve the tradition and wearing these on certain occasions should be encouraged.

Group 2

Mrs. AF

Mrs. AF was born in 1958, is married and has two children. She has been working at the Department of Food and Beverage at the State University of Jakarta since 1982. She is a mixture of ethnic Javanese and Sundanese but was born and grew up in Jakarta. She completed her bachelor's degree in Home Economics at the State University of Jakarta in 1981, then her master's degree in Environment Science at the University of Indonesia in 1995 and completed her doctoral program in the same major in the State University of Jakarta in 2012.

Mrs. AF is a friend of Mrs. SY, who told her that she was participating in this research. Mrs. SY gave this information because she knew that Mrs. AF would be interested in participating in this study as well. Unfortunately, Mrs. AF was busy and did not have time during the time the author was conducting the interviews. After this author was back in Germany, Mrs. AF said that she agreed to do the interview through Skype. The interview was conducted in the late afternoon in Central European Summer Time, which was late in the evening in Jakarta. There was a small technical problem during the interview, but otherwise it went well, and she showed this author the wardrobes and other storages as well as sent a lot of pictures of the wardrobes and their contents.

“Traditional dress is a dress that comes from a region, and is worn, and used hereditarily. [...] Who made this dress is unknown. The original creator is unknown. For example, (we know) a song written by Bimbo⁴². But for traditional dress from Java as an example, blankon, jogjaan⁴³, we do not know who the creator was, but it has been obtained hereditarily. [...]”⁴⁴
(Mrs. AF, p.495)

Mrs. AF answered the first question of what she knows about traditional dress as the interview began. Since she grew up in Javanese and Sundanese culture, she knows popular batik motifs of *kain panjang* and can mention what motif comes from which city; when a motif should be worn and by whom, but she does not know its meaning. She stated that she wears a complete traditional dress only for relatives' weddings because she found that

⁴² Bimbo is a vocal group from Indonesia.

⁴³ Jogjaan is the informal name for a traditional outfit from Yogyakarta.

⁴⁴ *“Pakaian tradisional itu adalah pakaian yang berasal dari daerah setempat yang dipakai, digunakan secara turun-temurun. [...] Dari siapa penciptanya tidak tahu. Pencipta awalnya tuh nggak tahu. Kayak misalnya kalau lagu tuh ada, misalnya karangannya tuh Bimbo, gitu ya. Nah, sementara kalau misalnya pakaian kain Jawa, blankon, jogjaan, itu kita nggak tahu siapa pencipta awalnya, tapi itu adalah sudah dapat turun-temurun.[...]”* (Mrs. AF, p.495)

wearing such dress restrained her movement. She pays much attention to her appearance and does not want to look fat, so that she does not like stiff material, for instance, *songket* because it will make her look fatter.

On one hand, Mrs. AF was happy that there are a lot of modifications to traditional dress that encourage people, especially women, to wear it. On the other hand, she compared Indonesian traditional dress that has a lot of modification, worn on customary events, to the kimono from Japan and sari from India, and that people in Japan and India keep the form of their traditional dress in its original form. She found that Indonesian people like to follow trend and apply it to traditional dress and thought that the original form should be worn on customary events. However, she herself does not like to wear the original form of traditional dress on a wedding and always makes a new design or modifies it. When wearing *kain panjang* on special occasions, her mother used to help her, but now she said that she prefers wearing a skirt with a *kain panjang* look.

Mrs. AF knows exactly what she wants to wear, including material and design applied to the clothing. She will try her best to match the clothing and accessories she wears, even if she has to change her clothing to have the best combination. She does not have any particular brand for clothing since a lot of her clothing is made by a dressmaker, but for footwear, she likes the brands Clarks, Elle, and Bonia. She claims that her feet are large, and those brands of shoe fit her nicely. The type of footwear she likes is wedges with heels 7 or 8 centimeter high. She started to wear a headscarf around 2013, wears a blouse with long sleeves, and maxi skirt or trousers, but she has not changed her style. When she was asked why she started to wear a headscarf, she replied that she just wants to wear it without any specific reason. She stated that she can wear different styles of headscarf every day and without covering her neck, and therefore, she can still wear earrings. The styles are obtained through observing how other women wear their headscarf.

She is proud to be called ‘Miss Matching’ or ‘cool’ by her colleague and friends because she always wears one shade of color for her clothing and accessories, such as necklace, earrings, bracelet, and shoes, but not her bag, because it is so much trouble for her to change bag and leave behind things she needs. She was also aware of what her colleagues have worn and mentioned some colleagues’ styles she likes and does not like.

During the interview with Mrs. AF, the connection via Skype broke up few times because of technical problems. Because it was late in the evening, the clothing she showed was not very clearly pictured in the color or detail. Otherwise, she cooperated well and answered all the questions being asked.

Mrs. SN

Mrs. SN was 49 years old at the time of interview. She was born and grew up in Jakarta but attached to Javanese culture since her mother comes from West Java and her father comes from Central Java. Her husband is also a Javanese and comes from Yogyakarta.

She completed her bachelor's degree at the Department of Biology at the State University of Jakarta and got her master's degree at Bandung Institute of Technology. At the time of interview, she was doing her doctoral program at the Department of Education Management at the State University of Jakarta. Since 1997, she has been a civil servant and works at the Department of Biology at the same university. Besides teaching, she is also busy and has a lot of activities, including helping her husband who worked as the secretary to the Minister of Social Affairs.

Mr. AB introduced this author to Mrs. SN and asked her to participate in this research. She agreed but refused to do the wardrobe observation because her storages were in chaos. Instead, she sent this author some pictures of her wardrobe and its contents. The interview was conducted in the lecturer's room at the Department of Biology, beginning at 10 a.m. for around one and a half hours. Mrs. SN wore a batik dress to a little below the knee and short sleeves. She does not wear a headscarf and part of her hair was tied. Some lecturers entered the room when the interview was almost finished.

*"In my opinion, traditional dress is a dress that has a characteristic of a certain region. That is my opinion, but I don't know if it is right or wrong. So, what I mean is that each region has their own characteristics that is reflected in their dress."*⁴⁵ (Mrs. SN, p.528)

Following this statement, Mrs. SN asserted that traditional dress is very important for her because it differentiates each region in Indonesia. Since she is a Javanese, she is strongly attached to batik and kebaya. Although she said that she did not know all the meanings of batik motifs because there are many of them, she knew which motifs should be worn by whom. She was fascinated by batik motifs when in junior high school because she found that they were unique and had a lot of variations.

There was a sewing lesson in the school, and she made herself items of clothing, for example, a blouse, skirt and dress to be worn to her friend's birthday party. For a complicated design, she removed the stitches of a blouse and copied the pattern. She had a dream of

⁴⁵ „Kalau menurut saya, baju tradisional itu baju yang memiliki ciri kedaerahan tertentu. Kalau menurut saya, tapi saya nggak tahu definisi itu betul atau salah. Jadi artinya bahwa tiap daerah itu punya karakteristik sendiri, punya kekhasan sendiri yang salah satunya dicerminkan lewat pakaian.” (Mrs. SN, p.528)

starting her own boutique since she loved fashion and sewing so much. Unfortunately, she has not been able to find the time to do that. Beside designing and sewing items of clothing, Mrs. SN can wear *kain panjang* with 'wiru'⁴⁶ and was once appointed to be on a jury of wearing *kain panjang*. She learnt to do this as she watched a friend's mother who used to work as a costumier for weddings.

The day before the interview was conducted, Mrs. SN was in Yogyakarta and Solo, Central Java. She said that she had bought eight batik blouses and two *kain panjang* without planning beforehand and had not thought on which occasion she should wear these items. She found that it was not good to act like this, but she could not resist the desire to buy batik items of clothing every time she goes to Yogyakarta or Solo. When she had two choices and asked her husband which one she should take, her husband said to take both of them. She agreed that there are a lot of modifications for items of clothing made from batik technique but preferred to wear a classic version, or few modifications of kebaya and *kain panjang*, on special occasions.

Further, Mrs. SN likes jeans very much and has a lot of them, some not yet worn. She has different types of jeans but often wears the straight cut ones. She said that she can make a blouse, a skirt or a dress, but she cannot make jeans, so that buying jeans is the only option, even though some of them were expensive. With the new items of clothing that piled up in her wardrobe she said that it was hard to find time to sort out her clothes, so the storages were in chaos that meant that she refused the wardrobe observation.

When she was asked about her colleagues' interpretation of her appearance, she was hesitant in answering the question and asked a female colleague, who had just entered the room. Both of them were laughing and Mrs. SN said that she was regarded as normal, the difference being that she did not wear a headscarf as other female colleagues did. She herself liked a neat and simple outfit for work and elegant look for special occasions.

Mrs. SN was very enthusiastic answering all the questions since she likes batik very much, adding more information about how proud she was to be able to make items of clothing from batik cloth and described the designs, as well as shopping for batik items of clothes or having them made by a dressmaker. She mentioned other traditional dress, for instance *songket*, but, since she did not really like it, she did not explain further about this. The interview was ended before the lunch break and the pictures of the wardrobe and its contents she promised were obtained a couple of days afterwards.

⁴⁶ *Wiru* is a technique of folding the edge of the fabric vertically from the hips along to the feet. This needs a special ability to obtain a firm pleat while wearing it.

Mr. AB

At the time of interview, Mr. AB was 51 years old and is married with 4 children. He has been working at the State University of Jakarta since 1988, completed his doctoral degree in Material Physics in Malaysia in 2003 and got the title of professor in 2013. He was the Head of the Physics Department at that time, which forced him to stop his other jobs outside the university in order to be more focused on managing the department.

Mrs. SY helped this author to contact Mr. AB and he was the first interviewee who took part, and, as well, also helped a lot to find and contact other lecturers and professors to participate in this research. The interview was conducted in the lecturer's room at the Department of Physics, where there were also other lecturers speaking with each other, coming in and going out of the room, which caused a certain amount of noise. He was neat in his appearance, wearing a shirt and trousers, without a tie. Mr. AB objected to an active wardrobe observation, considering this to be a private area, but was willing to send some pictures of his storages and described them in detail.

*“For me, traditional dress is a matter of pride – it’s for me. So, every time I go, for example, on business trip, such as East Nusa Tenggara, Lombok, Kalimantan, I have to get their traditional dress as a souvenir.”*⁴⁷(Mr. AB, p.575).

Mr. AB started the interview by answering the question of the understanding of traditional dress through sharing his family history, saying that his family is very close to tradition, namely batik, because they come from Solo, Central Java, although he himself was born in Medan, South Sumatra, because of his father's job. One of his siblings, an older brother, has batik stores in Solo and produces batik at his house. Mr. AB himself also learnt how to 'mbatik' or draw a motif on a fabric and his pride in mentioning this was obvious. He stated that now his brother produces batik items of clothing to supply large and famous batik stores, such as, Batik *Keris*, Batik *Semar*, and *Danar Hadi*, not only written batik, but also printed and stamped batik.

⁴⁷ „Kalau bagi saya, pakaian tradisional itu pakaian kebanggaan, bagi saya ya. Makanya, saya setiap pergi kemana saja, katakanlah, dinas, mau ke NTT, Lombok, Kalimantan, saya harus punya oleh-oleh pakaian tradisional setempat.” (Mr. AB, p.575).

At customary events, for example a wedding, there is an order of use of motifs in wearing batik. When his mother and his family attend a wedding, he, his mother and his children will wear certain motifs that are different for each generation. He understands the order and knows what he should wear. Besides motifs, he also knows what material to use for good batik items of clothing. His big family always has a family uniform of this kind to be worn on such occasions, which is not a problem since his sibling will provide all the batik items they need. Furthermore, his mother also runs a rental store for traditional dress for both children and adults in their hometown. However, Mr. AB does not keep many batik *kain panjang* at his house (only around 4 items) because every time he needs one, he just calls his mother or brother to get what he needs.

When his father was alive, he was very attentive to the detail of his appearance, did not want to wear any batik except written and was very neat in his appearance. The same is true for his mother, she often wears kebaya and batik *kain panjang* and still comments if Mr. AB does not dress properly for an occasion. For example, if he and his mother attended an occasion and Mr. AB wore a printed or stamped batik shirt; his mother would suggest that he changed it to a written batik shirt. So, he is more careful in choosing clothes to wear if his mother attends the same occasion.

Mr. AB also likes *baju melayu* from Malaysia, which is a loose tunic that is worn over trousers with a sarong wrapped at the hips. When he was doing his magister and doctoral degree in Malaysia, he used to wear it on special occasions. He did not buy them but had them made by a tailor with material he bought in Jakarta and wore a sarong bought in Lampung, because he did not like the material they have in Malaysia, so, mixing the cultural outfit of Malaysia with material and a sarong from Indonesia.

As mentioned earlier, he likes to buy traditional items from certain regions when on business trips. He often buys them from small production houses in villages, and not from stores, because he finds the items are unique in motifs and sometimes colour. His next schedule was going to Japan for business trip. He was planning to wear a different batik shirt every day during his stay there. He wanted to introduce batik to new people and show them its beauty, value and comfort as clothing. He usually also buys a lot of sarong before the Ramadan month begins, for instance, from Kalimantan (which is his favourite) and gives sarong to some friends, colleagues, and acquaintances as a gift to welcome Ramadan.

As Head of Physics, he bought new batik shirt uniforms for all lecturers to be worn on special occasions, such as meetings or conferences, but also on workdays. Although wearing this is only a suggestion, usually, all lecturers will wear the uniform and are happy

to have another item of clothing for free. The batik shirt uniforms he got from the university have never been worn because he has disliked the material since the first time he saw it.

When he was asked about his colleagues and friends' impression of his style of dress, he said he looked good, but for himself, he wanted to look fresh and healthy, and therefore, sport is part of his lifestyle. He admitted that his colleague, who is also his friend, influenced him to dress better in term of the design and material used. He usually does not easily change the way he dresses, but he believed the comments were from a person who knows fashion better than he does, so gave it some thought and tried it at home, until finally agreeing that the suggestion was correct. It is important to him that he feels comfortable in wearing clothes.

Mr. AB saw a significant improvement of batik production after UNESCO stated that it is an intangible cultural heritage of Indonesia, and this affected the economic status of his sibling who produces batik. Stamped and printed batik are favoured for the price and the variations of colour⁴⁸ they have. However, there are also people who like written batik because it is original and exclusive. He does not care if traditional motifs are developed or people create completely new motifs, as long as tradition at customary events does not change too much. He said that the world has changed, and people have to adapt to it. However, he still feels the need to teach his children about the culture of their hometown and preserve the batik business in his family for the next generation.

The interview was very productive, and Mr. AB answered the questions calmly and relaxed. He knew a lot about batik motif and meaning, as well as when to wear which motif in customary events. He learnt a lot from his parents and absorbed their influence on how to dress in traditional clothing appropriately. He does not reject new motifs or modification of traditional items but thinks about it rationally and accepts changes within certain limits. His help in contacting other professors and lecturers was truly appreciated because he made it easy to find knowledgeable interviewees.

⁴⁸ Stamped and printed batik mainly use synthetic color, so that they can have more variations of color.

Mr. AN

Mr. AN was 66 years old when the interview was conducted. He is married and comes from East Nusa Tenggara. He completed his bachelor's degree in Civil Engineering in Bandung, West Java in 1976 and started to be a lecturer in the State University of Jakarta in 1978. Then, he completed his master's degree in the State University of Jakarta in 1992 and the doctoral program in the same university in 2002. He got the title of professor in 2006.

This author asked Mr. AN to participate in this research directly and he agreed to do that without wardrobe observation, since his house is far from the university, but was willing to send pictures of his wardrobe and contents. The interview was conducted in the afternoon in his office and he was wearing a batik shirt in brown shades and trousers in black.

Mr. AN knows a lot of weave patterns in fabrics from different areas in East Nusa Tenggara and described some of them but does not know their meanings. He said that ikat for nobility were different than for commoners that a good quality of material was used in this, with a great deal of decorations, which needs special ability in the weaver. However, he could not explain this further. He told the story of his childhood to this author including his experience of making yarn from cotton to help mothers weaving their traditional cloth. “[...] *When I was a child, I was told to make yarn. The yarn was made from cotton. [...]*”⁴⁹ (Mr. AN, p.615). He said that it was common to see children making yarn at that time. However, now it is less common to see children doing this activity, since people tend to buy finished yarn to weave cloth because not so many of them plant cotton anymore. The price of the yarn in stores is affordable and the cloth made from this is lighter than from traditional handmade yarn, but Mr. AN prefers traditional yarn. “*For me, I prefer the original yarn (handmade yarn). We enjoy the (weavers) work directly. This is how our ancestors made, a heritage, and I think it should be preserved, and not be lost. [...]*”⁵⁰ (Mr. AN, p.617).

During the interview, he told this author about his childhood, in which a lot of obstacles stood in the way of his gaining an education. He had to work as a cowherd or cut wood to get money for school fees. He also said that he only had a few items of clothing and

⁴⁹ “[...] *Saya kan pernah waktu masih kecil itu, saya disuruh bikin benangnya. Jadi benang itu kan dari kapas ya. [...]*” (Mr. AN, p.615).

⁵⁰ “*Kalau saya itu, saya lebih senang yang benang asli. Kita kan menikmati hasil karya langsung ya. Bagaimana itu buatan nenek moyang kita itu, warisan itu, dan itu menurut saya harus dipelihara, jangan sampai hilang. [...]*” (Mr. AN, p.617).

they were made from thick material, so that they would last longer. He continued to earn money for his tuition fees and got his job as a lecturer in the Civil Engineering Department at the State University of Jakarta after he completed his bachelor's degree. He stated that he wanted to continue his master's degree in Germany, but because of seniority in the department that older lecturers, who wanted to continue their studies had priority, so he was pushed back and finally lost the chance to do it.

He established a foundation in his hometown to help children from poor families to get a better education and appointed his wife to be the leader. Therefore, they visit their hometown every two or three months. When he visited a village as one of activities in the foundation, he received 'selendang' made using the ikat technique as a present showing that he was respected by the villagers.

"[...] I told my wife to be the leader of this foundation. When I visited a village, I was welcomed by the villagers in a customary event. They were wearing traditional dress, dancing, and came to me and put the 'selendang' here (around the neck), which means it (selendang) belongs to me, they gave it to me. So, I have a lot of selendang... but also a big selimut⁵¹."⁵² (Mr. AN, p.619)

The questions about traditional dress were reminiscent of his youth. In late 1970s, he participated in a television program called 'Nusantara Menyanyi' (Archipelago Sing) with his friends. He proudly said that he wrote a song in his regional language, was playing ukulele and singing, wearing traditional dress, including *selimut*, belt, and hat, but a western shirt⁵³. Besides *selimut*, Mr. AN also wears batik for work, going to church, and for weddings if the weddings are not held in the custom where he comes from. Sometimes, he wears the same material of clothing as his wife to attend a wedding, or in the same color, but sometimes they will also wear non-matching clothing. Mr. AN said that he does not pay attention to this matter. With his dark skin, he believes that a touch of bright colors is better for him, such as a little bit of red in the motif of his shirt, but not too striking, since he thinks that it is not appropriate for work. He rarely wears a suit or jacket unless for special occasions because

⁵¹ *Selimut* is a woven cloth that usually has the size of 4x2,5 meters.

⁵² *"[...] Yayasan ini kan saya suruh istri saya yang ketua. Jadi kalau saya turun ke kampung, kan saya diterima oleh masyarakat, nah pakai cara adat. Pakai pakaian adat, dan mereka menari-nari, trus datang, mereka taro selendang disini (di leher), nah selendang itu kan berarti milik, dikasih selendang. Jadi banyak itu, ada selendang, tapi selimut besar juga ada."* (Mr. AN, p.619).

⁵³ Mr. AN said that a shirt is not part of traditional dress from his region, however, when he appeared in a television program, it would look more appropriate to wear a shirt under *selimut*.

he said it bothers him to hear people saying, “[...] *Oh, he is a professor, so he always wears a jacket. [...]*”⁵⁴ (Mr. AN, p.636). He asserted that it is necessary to eliminate the status gap, so he chooses to dress modestly yet neatly and interacts with students from bachelor to doctoral program.

When he was asked about the number of items of clothing he has, he answered that he does not have that much, and prefers wearing a shirt rather than T-shirt because his appearance will look neater. Further, a shirt has a pocket, which he thinks is very important to keep a pen, a small mobile phone, or money, so that not all of them must be put into trouser pockets. He has a big stomach and used to wear a shirt tucked into trousers, while wearing his trousers a little bit high above the tummy button. His daughter told him not to wear it like that, but he insisted on doing so. After a while he thought that his daughter was right and changed his appearance to wearing a shirt without tucking it into the trousers. He laughed as he remembered that he looked funny with his previous style.

Mr. AN was emotional as he shared a lot of stories of his life during the interview. He had proved that a child from a remote area can be a successful person and help other children in his hometown to have a better education, in order to make a contribution in developing his hometown. In his opinion, the popularity of traditional dress nowadays is increasing rapidly and asserted that it can promote cultures of the regions and develop the country. However, he found that it should not have too much modification, so that people no longer recognize what kind of item of clothing it is or which region it belongs to. Furthermore, he suggested that a leader in a university, as an example, should be creative and set up regular events⁵⁵, where lecturers and students should wear traditional dress in order to preserve this and increase knowledge for people who do not know traditional dress and its motifs from other regions.

⁵⁴ „[...] *Wah, ini profesor, jadi selalu pakai jas. [...]*“ (Mr. AN, p.636).

⁵⁵ Mr. AN means other than graduation day and historical days, such as *Hari Kartini* (Kartini Day), where some people wear traditional dress.

Mr. HP

Mr. HP was born in 1962 in Jakarta and is of Chinese descent. His grandparents were Chinese who emigrated to Indonesia, and their descendants have been living in Jakarta since then. Mr. HP is married to a woman of Chinese descent as well and they have a son and two daughters. His bachelor's degree was completed at the State University of Jakarta. He got a scholarship from the Indonesian government for his master's degree at Bandung Institute of Technology and signed a work contract as a lecturer after he completed his master's study which stipulated that he would work at the Department of Physics at the State University of Jakarta for at least five years starting in 1994. He could have found another job after the contract ended, but continues to work there, and has since become a civil servant.

Mr. AB recommended that Mr. HP participate in this research and contacted Mr. HP himself to suggest the time of the interview, which was conducted in the lecturers' office at the Department of Physics. The interview was on a Friday and began in the morning at 10 o'clock for one hour. Mr. HP was wearing a white plain shirt and black trousers. He claimed that he usually wears batik on Friday as suggested by the university, but the day before he was in Bandung, West Java, and did not prepare any batik shirt. He had not had time to go back home to change clothes and went straight to work.

The situation during the interview was quiet and conducive to concentration, even though there was another lecturer in the room, who was working. Unfortunately, he refused to do the observation of his wardrobe because he said his house is far away from the university. However, he sent this author some pictures of his wardrobe and its contents.

Mr. HP claimed to be '*orang Betawi*' or one of the Betawi people since he was born and grew up in Jakarta, but does not know much about traditional dress in Indonesia. He owns *beskap* and batik shirts and wears this sometimes without knowing any pattern name or its meaning. "[...] *There are some pictures on batik (cloth), motifs, that have meanings. I don't know, I'm only a user.*"⁵⁶ (Mr. HP, p.638).

He often wears a white shirt for work. He said that he is not confident to buy any other colors since his wife once said that his choice was too tacky, so he prefers white shirts

⁵⁶ "[...] *Kalau batik kan juga ada model gambaran apa, motif apa, menyatakan apa. Saya nggak (tahu) sih, saya pemakai aja.*" (Mr. HP, p.638).

or leaves it to his wife to buy clothing for special occasions. For example, on weddings, he noticed that they wore clothing in a similar colour that his wife prepared for them.

Mr. HP did not seem to have any interest in clothing or notice what people wear around him, such as the batik and woven cloth that are popular nowadays. He gave a normative answer that all choices look good. He did not pay any attention to whether there are modifications of traditional dress or if people wear certain motifs on random occasions. In his opinion, it is usually older people who tell their children or grandchildren to wear certain traditional motifs or what traditional dress to wear at customary events. He also mentioned that he does not like to see people wear a batik blouse or shirt with (blue) jeans, unless the colour of the batik blouse or shirt is blue. He himself rarely wears jeans and only has one or two of them. *“Just don’t wear a brown batik (shirt) and blue jeans. It’s weird. Maybe if the batik is also blue, it would be nice to see.”*⁵⁷ (Mr. HP, p.650). Another thing that Mr. HP does not like is wearing shorts. He said that he does not have the confidence to wear such short trousers and go outside the house.

When he was asked how colleagues see his appearance, he stated that they probably think that he only has white shirts to wear. Further, he said while laughing that it does not matter if he has only two pairs of white shirts and trousers, that he can wear them alternately all week. He prefers a simple yet neat style of dress for his appearance and does not think this will be otherwise in the future.

Mr. HP responded to most of the questions asked during the interview with short answers. As mentioned before, he seemed not to have any interest in clothing and wanted the interview to be finished soon. However, he answered all the questions and was willing to send some pictures of his wardrobe and its contents to this author.

⁵⁷ „Ya asal jangan dia pakai batiknya coklat trus ininya, jeansnya biru. Aneh. Mungkin kalau batiknya biru juga kan kayaknya lihatnya enak.” (Mr. HP, p.650)

Group 3

Mrs. MA

Mrs. MA was born in 1960 in Jakarta and has been a civil servant since 1986. First, she was working at the Open University and in 1997 became a lecturer at the State University of Jakarta. In 1984 she completed her bachelor's degree at this university, majoring in Educational Management and her master's degree in 1998. Still at the same university, she completed her doctorate in 2002 and got the title of professor in 2011. She has no other jobs besides working at the university, and says she is already busy enough with teaching, research, and other activities at the university.

With Mr. AB's help in asking Mrs. MA to participate in this research, she was willing to make time and conduct the interview in her office. When she was asked about observing the wardrobe, she hesitated and said that her house was under renovation at that time, so she could not agree to do that. At the time of interview, she wore a long tunic (almost knee-length) in black with a colorful flower-abstract motif on the front along with black trousers and beige headscarf.

*"[...]Traditional dress is a dress that has a characteristic of a region."*⁵⁸ (Mrs. MA, p.660)

Mrs. MA does not know much about traditional dress even though she finds it is important as an identity of a region. Her parents came from West Java and Banten⁵⁹, which have similar traditional dress, such as kebaya, *beskap* and *kain panjang*. She notices a batik motif called *sidomukti*, because people always wear this motif on weddings. On formal and customary events, Mrs. MA likes to wear traditional items of clothing, but will combine them with a non-traditional item, for instance, a blouse and batik *kain panjang* or *songket*, because she still wants to look modern, but in traditional way, unless there is a dress code that says otherwise.

Her fraternal grandfather was the mayor of Batavia (Jakarta) in the Dutch colonial era. Her maternal grandfather was the mayor in Ciamis (West Java). At that time, only people from a noble family could have such positions. Moreover, she also has an additional name in front of her name, called *Raden*, that comes from both her father and mother and is used

⁵⁸ *"[...]Jadi pakaian tradisional tuh pakaian yang punya ciri khas kedaerahan."* (Mrs. MA, p.660).

⁵⁹ Banten was part of West Java, until it has become a province in 2000.

for her and her siblings, both sister and brother. There are a lot of different noble titles for men and women, but in her situation, her father and mother decided on the name '*Raden*', combining the two different regions (and now different provinces) of the parents.

Mrs. MA's father was a soldier, and her mother was a housewife. Her mother was good at making clothes and she made sure that Mrs. MA learned sewing, as well as cooking. Wearing appropriate clothes is one of important things which she learnt from her family. For example, when she was a child, she was not allowed to wear a mini skirt or sleeveless blouse; as teenager, she could not wear tight clothing and trousers or jeans that reach the floor because they would get dirty and keeping them clean would prevent her from praying. Her grandmothers were also very strict about clothing. They used to ask her to change her clothes if they found them inappropriate for her.

When she was in primary and junior high school, she started go on the stage for singing contests and got either the first, second, or third place. Later, when she was in high school, she used to participate in fashion events, walk on the catwalk, and even got the first place sometimes. These fashion events were for both traditional and non-traditional dress. She liked to walk on the catwalk, but her family, especially her father, eventually forbid it. He was afraid of her adopting the lifestyle of people who work in this field. Another activity when she was in high school was a contest of drawing motifs for batik, where she created a batik motif and got the second place. Then, the batik motif was applied on the batik shirt used for school uniform for students of a junior high school. Not only that, she also participated in another contest held by a famous batik store to draw a batik motif and got into the final. She looked very proud as she told the story. She said that her drawing ability is inherited from her father and she got to learn fashion from her mother.

She remembered when she was in college that when she wore batik blouses or skirts, or the same material for a blouse and skirt, her friends teased her that she looked like a sick person with a fever, because batik *kain panjang* can also be used as a blanket. She said that she did not care and found that wearing batik items was cool. Even though she wore batik when she was younger, it was not as often as now since batik is now more famous and people wear it on many occasions. In the past, people wore batik blouse/blouse/*kain panjang* only on formal occasions. However, batik *kain panjang* was also worn as everyday item of clothing for the lower body (certain named motifs or unnamed motifs) by older women.

Mrs. MA is very aware that people around her are watching how she dresses, so that she is very careful choosing items to wear. For her, wearing clothes is, first, to protect her body as the basic need of dressing; second, for decency, to be acceptable in her social

environment and because proper dress is a responsibility as a Muslim that obliges her to dress in a certain way. She used to make her own clothes in the past but claimed that she is now too busy and there are a lot of dressmakers, even though it is hard to find the one who meets her requirements.

During the interview, Mrs. MA stated a couple of times that she does not like tight clothes, especially when women with headscarves wear that kind of clothes, because she finds it is not appropriate at all. With headscarves, women can still be fashionable through various colour combinations, and also when wearing traditional dress. Mrs. MA likes to create her own style of wearing a headscarf which is still modest in her opinion. She never follows the style of her friends or colleagues, instead they are influenced by her. She said that her colleagues and friends find the way she dresses neat and matching. They also said that her body shape is relatively stable, so that everything she wears look good on her. However, she finds that she has gained a lot of weight as she grows older but manages it through wearing a loose blouse that does not show her body shape.

The interview with Mrs. MA was easy to conduct since she was very enthusiastic in answering all the questions being asked. She started by explaining how she stored her items of clothing and how her family influenced her style of dress greatly, which was to wear clothes modestly. She found the present development of batik very good. A lot of batik items can be found everywhere with various prices. She does not care how batik motifs are developed or made into various items of clothing or designs, as long as people have a good impression of batik, which helps to ensure the preservation and development of the tradition. It is also a good opportunity for artisanal batik craftsmen working at home, so that they can produce more cloths and improve their income. Unfortunately, she had to attend a meeting, so that the interview had to end sooner than planned.

Mrs. RA

Mrs. RA was 69 years old at the time of interview and was to retire a couple months afterwards. She comes from Bandung, West Java, and is a widow with three children. She grew up there and completed her bachelor's degree in Chemistry at Indonesia University of Education in the same city. After she got married, she moved to Jakarta because her husband was transferred to this city. She completed her master's degree in Environmental Science at the University of Indonesia and her doctoral program in the same major at the State University of Jakarta.

After she graduated from her bachelor's course, she worked at the Indonesia University of Education for around three years before she moved to Jakarta. In Jakarta, she was assigned, for around ten years, to be a Chemistry teacher at Labschool High School, a school under the auspices of the State University of Jakarta Foundation. Afterwards, she became a lecturer at the Department of Chemistry, State University of Jakarta. In 2011, obtaining the title of professor. She said that she would retire in 2014 as she turned 70 years old.

Mr. AB recommended that this author contact Mrs. RA. When she was asked to participate in this research, she agreed, but without the wardrobe observation because she said that her house was too far from the university. The interview was conducted in her office in the afternoon after she had given a lecture and she was wearing a knee-length plain blouse,

*"Traditional dress is... well, I'm a chemist. So, maybe (I) don't really understand (about this). But traditional dress is maybe obtained from our ancestors. (It's) like... because I'm a Sundanese, so Sundanese traditional clothing is, for example, kebaya, kain and kebaya."*⁶⁰
(Mrs. RA, p.687)

Mrs. RA answered the first question about her understanding of traditional dress doubtfully since she said that she was not an expert and seemed as if she was not interested in this matter. Further, she explained that the Sundanese were believers (in Islam) and that the women wore modest clothes, such as *kebaya*, *kain panjang*, and wore a loose headscarf,

⁶⁰ „Pakaian tradisional itu... ya, saya orang Kimia ya. Jadi mungkin nggak terlalu paham ya. Tapi, pakaian tradisional itu pakaian yang mungkin berasal dari nenek moyang kita dulu lah. Seperti... karena saya orang Sunda, maka pakaian tradisional orang Sunda misalnya kebaya, kain dengan kebaya.” (Mr. RA, p.687)

revealing some of their hair. Even though there are modifications and alteration in traditional dress, she said that Islam often determines how people wear clothes.

Mrs. RA was very comfortable wearing knee-length-blouse, trousers and a headscarf for work. She said that 75% of her blouses were made using batik technique and were bought when she was on business trips in different regions. *“Because my batik blouses are numerous. Maybe around 75% of my clothes (blouses) are batik. Those, like this one, I bought in Lampung. Then, when I was in Surabaya, I bought Surabaya batik. Then in Cirebon, I bought Cirebon batik”*⁶¹ (Mrs. RA, p.693). Having a lot of batik blouses in her possession showed that she found batik patterns attractive and wearing them showed her identity as an Indonesian, even though she did not know much about the meanings of batik motifs.

When she bought clothes together with her friends or colleagues, she said that she did not want any suggestions from anyone, saying that she had her own taste in fashion and decided what looked good in her opinion, for example, colours and designs. Furthermore, she stated that she did not like tight clothing but always kept her ideal weight. Therefore, she can always wear clothes bought or made a long time ago. She would feel bad if she gained weight and could not wear her clothes anymore, so that keeping her weight is important for her, saying this several times during the interview.

Mrs. RA wants to always be neat in appearance because she thinks it is a must for a lecturer. She looked proud when she said that an ex-student praised her for her neat appearance that has not changed for a long time. Further, she has been dressing modestly since she was young and said that she felt doubtful about following fashion because it might not look good on her. In the end, she preferred to dress modestly as she had done so far. After she retired, she said that she would dress more feminine by wearing skirts. She found that the way she dressed at the time of the interview – a blouse, trousers and a headscarf - was a little too casual as a professor of her age but was comfortable for work.

The interview with Mrs. RA was conducted in her office. There was no interruption and it went well. She answered all the questions being asked, even though at some points she was not sure with her answers. In her opinion, wearing batik must not necessarily involve knowing the meaning of the patterns, but if she knew, she would carefully wear this on the right occasions. It was clear that she did not have much interest in fashion but that dressing

⁶¹ „*Karena baju batik saya itu banyak sekali. Mungkin 75% baju saya itu batik. Batiknya itu, seperti ini, saya beli dari Lampung ini. Kemudian waktu ke Surabaya, saya beli batik dari Surabaya. Terus ke Cirebon, saya beli batik Cirebon.*” (Mrs. RA, p.693).

modestly as a Muslima was part of her personality. Added to her age and being a professor, she wanted to make a good impression by wearing clothes properly and being a good role model for the students.

Mrs. ST

Mrs. ST was born in 1959 in Bogor, West Java, and grew up in the same city, attached to Yogyakarta culture. She is married to a man from West Sumatra, which meant that she learned this culture as well. In 1982 she completed her bachelor's degree at the State University of Jakarta. Her magister and doctoral program were completed in 1999 and 2007 at the Department of Environmental Science at the University of Indonesia. Since 1983 she has been working at the Department of Cosmetology at the State University of Jakarta. Besides working as a lecturer, she said that she was a member of a number of organizations that related to business, women and cosmetics, which occupied a lot of her time.

Mrs. ST was a colleague of this author, so she was asked directly to participate in this research and agreed. Unfortunately, she did not allow observation of her wardrobe and said that lack of time prevented that. At the time of interview, she wore a knee-length batik blouse, trousers, and a headscarf. The interview was conducted in the lobby of the Faculty of Engineering, so that there were some lecturers passing by who greeted her or had short conversations with her, which disturbed the interview a little.

Mrs. ST explained that traditional dress is a dress worn hereditarily by a certain ethnic group. She knew that there is meaning in traditional dress, so that there are rules what to wear on what occasions. As mentioned before, Mrs. ST's husband comes from West Sumatra, which is famous for *baju kurung* and *songket* as traditional dress for women. Mrs. ST wore this dress at customary events in her husband's family. She said that she does not have many *songket* in her possession, only three pieces, since these are complicated to care for. When she needed a different color of *songket* to match her *baju kurung*, she would ask her relatives to lend her their *songket* and vice versa. The important thing for her is that she and her husband have matching *songket* to wear at her husband's family events and matching *kain panjang* and *blankon* for her family's events.

Further, she was told to keep seven *kain panjang* at home to be used for customary events such as weddings, deaths, and births, so that she does not trouble other people to find ones. She said, "[...] It is weird if a Javanese does not have *kain* in his/her wardrobe. It

means he/she is not a Javanese. [...]”⁶² (Mrs. ST, p.713). She also found that wearing accessories is also important at Javanese customary events, which will define the social status of the wearers, including earrings, necklace, and *cunduk mentul*⁶³. Beside traditional dress from Yogyakarta and West Sumatra, she also has *baju bodo*⁶⁴ from Makassar, South Sulawesi. She bought this clothing because she likes it, even though she has never worn it.

On the day interview was conducted, she did not have any lectures at the university, but came by to submit a research proposal and did the interview. She was wearing a loose batik blouse in shades brown and red, brown trousers and a crème headscarf, but said that she did not like the way she was dressed. Even though it was common to dress like her at the university, she found that it was too casual and claimed that she did not have time to dress properly. The image of a lecturer is very important for her, so that she always tries to dress formally at the university by wearing a jacket frequently. “(being) a lecturer is a profession, want it or not, in a formal media, a formal forum. I divide it, if I want to go to campus, I wear this. If I want to go to market, (I) wear that. In leisure time, (I) wear this. This is the material. It is in my thoughts. I know because I teach Grooming.”⁶⁵ (Mrs. ST, p. 722). She also mentioned that wearing the right shoes was also important for her appearance. So, wearing sandals or wedges for work was not in her dictionary.

Mrs. ST said that she wants to be seen as a person who has a neat appearance. She likes to have sporty design in her clothes, which will give an impression that she is an active person. Between buying and making clothes, she said that it is inconvenient to have clothes made by a dressmaker. She has never been satisfied every time she has had them made, for instance, the design was changed without any notification, which she did not like. So, she said that if she goes to a shopping centre and finds clothes she likes that fit her, she will buy them at any price. In wearing a headscarf, she prefers to create her own style rather than follow what people wear. She wears a headscarf with a big bun high on the front. People were teasing her saying that it was as high as a tower. She was laughing when she told this author, but this style was becoming popular and many women follow her style.

⁶² „[...] Aneh aja kalau misalnya orang Jawa di lemarinya nggak punya kain. Berarti dia bukan orang Jawa. [...]“ (Mrs. ST, p.713)

⁶³ *Cunduk mentul* is a hair decoration for women that is inserted in the bun.

⁶⁴ *Baju bodo* is a traditional woman’s cloth worn by the Bugis and Makassar people of South Sulawesi with a square form to be worn on the upper body.

⁶⁵ „Dosen tuh menyandang profesi yang mau nggak mau itu sebenarnya media formal, forumnya forum formal. Saya bagi-bagi, kalau misalnya kalau lagi ke kampus, saya pakai baju ini. Kalau lagi saya ke pasar, pakainya ini. Kalau saya santai, pakainya ini. Terus, bahannya ini. Udah ada di otak saya. Saya kan ngajar Grooming masalahnya.” (Mrs. ST, p.722)

The interview with Mrs. ST was conducted casually and she answered all the questions with enthusiasm. She used informal language occasionally because we have known each other for quite a long time. Mrs. ST is very fashionable, but when it comes to customary events, she prefers to wear traditional dress with not much alteration, to preserve tradition.

Mr. BW

Mr. BW was 55 years old at the time of interview, married with three children. He comes from Surabaya, East Java, and has been working at the Department of Machine Engineering at the State University of Jakarta since 1987. He completed his doctoral program in Technology and Vocational Education at the same university and got the title of professor in 2008. Besides teaching, he is also a businessman, who has a private school, a private hospital, and some companies, but did not give any further information about this.

Mrs. SY helped this author in asking Mr. BW to participate in this research, since he was very busy, and it was not easy to make an appointment. The interview was conducted in his office in the afternoon, accompanied by Mr. SY, who had a conversation with Mr. BW before the interview begun, and stayed there until the interview was over. Mr. BW was wearing a soft pink shirt and dark trousers, very neat, and looked fresh. Unfortunately, the wardrobe observation could not be done since Mr. BW did not have time to do that.

“Traditional clothing for me... is clothing that is worn by native people or Indonesian people, for example, for something that is related to custom, worn daily, or is worn to celebrate a cultural day, certain days, and also clothing that is produced by... Indonesian people in accordance with certain regional (custom).”⁶⁶ (Mr. BW, p.733)

Mr. BW does not like to wear complicated traditional dress in original form and prefers batik cloth to be made into a shirt. He does not know any of the meanings of traditional motifs and has no interest in finding out anything about this. The batik shirts he wears are the ones that are in fashion, which have bright colours such as orange, pink, and red. This should not be expensive because he said that he often buys batik cloth or shirts from batik craftsmen around his hometown.

When he was in Junior High School, he stayed with his relatives, and that was far away from his family. Therefore, he had never taken part in any customary event together with his family wearing traditional dress as a uniform, both of which he found it was a good thing. He grew up in East Java, where there are a lot of ‘*Pesantren*’ or ‘*Pondok Pesantren*’,

⁶⁶ *“Pakaian tradisional bagi saya... pakaian yang biasanya digunakan oleh penduduk asli atau penduduk Indonesia, dalam rangka, misalkan yang berkaitan dengan kebiasaan, dipakai sehari-hari, atau dipakai dalam kebiasaan merayakan hari budaya, hari-hari tertentu, dan juga pakaian yang diproduksi oleh ... penduduk khas Indonesia sesuai dengan daerah-daerah tertentu.” (Mr. BW, p.733)*

which means an Islamic boarding school in Indonesian. The pupils were wearing *koko*⁶⁷ shirts, sarong, and shoes to go everywhere in the town, including to shopping centres. This outfit was not only worn by the pupils of the *Pondok Pesantren*, but also by other young men as well as teenagers, and also by Mr. BW himself. He told the story to this author and laughed as he found it was embarrassing to wear such an outfit to a shopping mall.

Mr. BW claimed that he did not spend a lot of money to buy clothing. Every year, he buys fabric for large amounts of money to be made into the pupils' uniforms of the school he owns and usually receives some cloths (non-traditional) from the store as presents and had them made into shirts. Therefore, he said that he never bought non-traditional shirts, but only batik shirts or batik cloth to be made into shirts. However, when he went to London and Paris, he bought some discount shirts from H&M, which had a different and more expensive price compared to the same shirt in H&M in Indonesia.

In wearing clothes, Mr. BW prefers casual and sporty, in bright colours. Formal clothing is worn only if it is needed. That way, he will feel relaxed and enjoy what he does. He avoided wearing expensive clothes, and watches, or driving an expensive car for work because he thinks it is not appropriate to do this as a lecturer, who should have a modest appearance. Further, he said that he does not like to collect clothing and keep it for a long time because he is easily bored with the clothes he owns. Mr. BW is aware of trends in clothing but there are not so many modifications for men's outfits as women's. He also said that he has a different taste in fashion to his wife, who, in his opinion, is old-fashioned. When he made suggestions to his wife about which clothes to choose, she was upset and stayed with her choice. Therefore, he prefers to give suggestions to his daughter, who listens to him and told her to pay more attention to fashion and trend.

Mr. BW answered all the questions enthusiastically and confidently with well-chosen words. He pays a lot of attention to his appearance in order to feel comfortable during his various activities, including deciding what batik motif or colour his shirts should have to lift his mood and motivation. Thus, he can still look fashionable while preserving tradition and feeling good in what he wears, albeit not knowing much about traditional dress. During the interview, Mrs. SY, who stayed in the room and joined the interview, replied to what Mr. BW said a couple of times and made the interview more relaxed with some laughter.

⁶⁷ *Koko* shirts are shirts worn by Muslim men that have long sleeves and low collar, worn especially on important religious holidays, during Ramadan, or for Friday prayer. However, the pupils of *Pondok Pesantren* wear these often, sometimes every day as daily outfit.

Mr. FD

Mr. FD was born in 1958 in Medan, South Sumatra. His parents originally came from West Sumatra, but they moved to Aceh, then South Sumatra, and finally moved to Jakarta when he was seven years old. However, he remains attached to West Sumatran culture.

Since 1985, Mr. FD has been a civil servant and works at the Faculty of Sport Science at the State University of Jakarta, where he has the title of professor. His wife was a colleague of this author and is also a lecturer at the same university. Besides working as a lecturer at the State University of Jakarta, he also had a job at Ministry of Youths and Sports Affairs and National Sports Committee of Indonesia.

This author asked Mr. FD's wife if he was willing and had time to do the interview since she knew his schedule, and he agreed to meet on a Friday afternoon at a food court at the apartment building near the university, where he lives on workdays. He was wearing a denim shirt and jeans and was accompanied by his wife. The interview was less than one hour, after which he went to his house in Bekasi, West Java, for the weekend.

*“Traditional dress is dress of a region congruent with its values, rules, and norms, a form of dress agreed by all.”*⁶⁸ (Mr. FD, p.750)

Mr. FD answered the first question of the interview and explained further that religious value was also included in its culture and embedded in traditional dress. He knows traditional dress from West Sumatra and loves to see people wearing this but does not have any in his possession. He owns some batik shirts but rarely wears them and prefers wearing a shirt or polo shirt and jeans for work. On special occasions, a shirt, trousers and a jacket are his choice of wear.

He prefers casual, simple and neat outfits for work and always follows trends in clothes. When he was asked about his colleagues' interpretation of his outfit he said, laughing, that they called him a dandy. He stated that since he was young, he had paid a great deal of attention to his appearance and being casual and feeling good in what he wears have been his choice for a long time. He claimed that he was a trendsetter among his peers when he was in high school. When his outfit became a trend and his friends started to follow what he wore, he changed it to another style.

⁶⁸ „Pakaian tradisional itu adalah pakaian dimana budaya suatu daerah yang sudah mensepakati nilai-nilai, aturan, norma, dengan konstruk pakaian yang sudah disepakati. [...]” (Mr. FD, p.750)

In a month, he said that he could buy up to ten shirts when he found some style that met his preference. He never made any schedule or budget for this and just bought what he wanted. Further, when asked how many shirts were in his possession, he laughed and answered that he does not know how many, because there are really a lot of them. The same was true when he went abroad on business trips, he bought a lot of shirts and trousers. He has never had any clothing made by a tailor because he said that it is easy to find his size in stores. He likes black and crème for trousers and any motifs or patterns for shirts that are in fashion.

Even though he rarely wears batik shirts, he notices that nowadays many people are wearing batik blouses or shirts, which he finds that it is a good thing. Further he explained that in the past, when people still rarely wore batik items of clothing, they could see the difference between an expensive and a cheap batik. Today, there are a lot of batik motifs in a good quality yet still affordable. He even encouraged people in a seminar to create batik motif for uniforms (in a form of T-shirt or jacket), different for every sport.

The interview was conducted at a food court while eating some food, so that it was a little disturbed with some short breaks. His wife was there all the time and did not interrupt the interview. It was clear that Mr. FD has a significant interest in clothes but not in traditional dress. He was friendly during the interview, sometimes answering with a joke and there was a lot of laughter, which gave the impression of his not being completely serious in the interview. The wardrobe observation could not be done because he said that his house, where he stores most of his clothes, was far from the university and there were not so many items of clothing in his apartment near the university.

Mr. HA

Mr. HA was 56 years old at the time of interview. He comes from Bone, South Sulawesi, and is part of the *Bugis* ethnic group culturally dominant on the island. His wife is a doctor and they have three children, who were studying in the Netherlands and Australia. He completed his bachelor's degree at the State University of Makassar, South Sulawesi, in 1979 and moved to Jakarta in 1986 in order to continue his magister and doctoral programs at the State University of Jakarta, completed in 1990. Then, he got the title of professor in Education at the same university in 2010. He was a UNESCO consultant for the Asia Pacific area and also a presidential advisor for education during the third president's leadership in 1998-1999.

Besides teaching at the State University of Jakarta, he also worked in the field of human rights starting in 1999 until 2000 as a Deputy Minister of Law and Human Rights. In 2001-2010, he got different positions in departments at the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Because of his role and capacity to promote human rights and international peace, he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate from Hartford Seminary, Connecticut, USA, in 2008. He was also the Chairman of the National Commission on Human Rights in the period 2014-2015, and the Commissioner of the National Commission of Human Rights from 2012 until 2017.

Mrs. SY recommended Mr. HA to participate in this research, but this author contacted him directly. Although he was a very busy person, he agreed to do the interview. However, the wardrobe observation could not be done since he did not have time and had to go to Bangkok, Thailand, and New Delhi, India, in the next few days. Mr. HA was wearing a shirt, trousers and a tie. He looked very neat in his appearance and was friendly. The interview with him is the shortest interview of the series, and lasted for around thirty minutes. It was conducted in front of a classroom, before he gave a lecture.

*"[...] So, there are more than 1300 diversities that frame Indonesia, grow on its own traditional values, and that is often symbolized by their clothes. [...]"*⁶⁹ (Mr. HA, p.765)

⁶⁹ *"[...] Jadi, 1300 lebih kebhinekaan yang membingkai Indonesia ini, tumbuh pada nilai-nilai tradisionalnya sendiri, dan itu sering kali disimbolkan dengan pakaiannya sendiri. [...]"* (Mr. HA, p.765)

Mr. HA answered the question about his understanding of traditional clothes. He grew up in a village with a strong culture and felt proud of his hometown, including its traditional dress. He told this author the story of his youth, when he was able to travel around the world, which started because of a contest to write a paper in English. He won and got a scholarship for a student exchange in Singapore. Subsequently he got more chances to travel around the world because of his work and discovered the cultures of different countries. He still occasionally writes articles in newspapers in New York, Australia, and other countries.

His father played important role in his life. He was a farmer, but he encouraged Mr. HA to go to school and have a good education which was rare at that time. The father used to give him an advice in rhyme and he remembered the wise words of his father, which told him that he had to be a good man, whether in a high or low position in life. Mr. HA looked very proud of his father as he reminisced about old times. He is also very proud to be a Buginese. He told this author that there are many great people of this ethnic group who have contributed greatly to the country.

Besides traditional dress from his hometown, which he knows very well and is strongly attached to, he also adores *koteka*⁷⁰, which he learned about and collected. He explained that there are many forms, colours, and motifs of *koteka* that have different meanings and show the wearer's social class.

At home, he prefers to wear a sarong as pajama since he grew up in the environment where people wear it and a sarong is more comfortable to wear. “[...] *I can't be like a Dutchman, who wears a pajama.*”⁷¹ (Mr. HA, p.768). The sarong is worn by Mr. HA not only at home, but also on customary events, when silk is used for its material. He stated that he has a full wardrobe of sarongs that were given as presents when he was a government official.

Most of the time, Mr. HA wears suits and ties for work because he said that he works internationally, where he has to blend into the international community. However, he wears batik shirts on special occasions, for instance, a reception with an ambassador. His wife often nags him about what he wears or tells him what to wear, such as that his tie does not match the suit. Although it is tiring to hear this, he does not complain and said, laughing, that he just needs to be patient with his wife. Mr. HA and his wife were very busy, and he had business trips almost every month, so they have never done the laundry at home. He claimed

⁷⁰ Koteka is a clothing to cover male genitals in some indigenous cultures of Papua Island made from pumpkin skin.

⁷¹ “[...] *Saya tidak bisa ikut-ikutan seperti orang Belanda pakai piyama.*” (Mr. HA, p.768).

that he no longer buys clothing anymore, since he has so many items at home. His style of dress has not changed and will stay the same in the future because he feels comfortable with the way he usually dresses.

Mr. HA took time out of his busy schedule to do the interview, but not all the questions could be asked. It could be seen that he pays a lot of attention to his appearance. He was the only interviewee who wore a tie (sometimes with jacket) to work at the university on normal workdays. In spite of the shortage of time, he answered the questions well, excused himself after around thirty minutes of interview and went to a classroom.

IV. Analysis of the Empirical Material

1. Knowledge of Traditional Dress

This section discusses the perspectives of traditional dress of the interviewees, the meaning of traditional dress to them, and the understanding of the fabrics, motifs and patterns used in everyday life. Most of the interviewees of the research come from Java Island which has 6 provinces; East Java, Central Java, West Java, Yogyakarta, Jakarta, and Banten (see Chapter 3). As a result, the materials and patterns that will be discussed here are mostly from Java Island such as *kain panjang* using batik technique, *kebaya*, and *beskap*. The other traditional dress that will also be discussed here are *baju kurung*, *songket*, and *ikat*.

1.1. Definition of Traditional Dress

A theme that often emerged in the interviews when interviewees were asked about what they see as ‘traditional dress’ was that it has a characteristic which defines country, region, and ethnicity⁷². Some interviewees stated that this dress is hereditary and represents the ancestors of each region (Mr. MN, Mrs. AF, and Mrs. ST). Mrs. RA stated this also, but added that she does not know much about traditional clothing because her educational background is in chemistry, not fashion. Traditional dress is also seen as the result of an agreement on values, rules and norms in a certain region (Mr. FD, p.750). Another interviewee described traditional dress as a symbol of value that has meaning and function in its own cultural system (Mr. HA, p.765). However, it is interesting that one interviewee, Mrs. RS, did not describe it this way and said that Indonesia has no traditional dress. Furthermore, she said that Indonesia has such a large area and was influenced by various cultures, that for instance, on Sumatra Island, the clothes that are worn are all Malay because it is close to the Malay Peninsula; in Java, it is influenced by the old Hindu Kingdom; in Molucca, there was a Portuguese colonial period (Mrs. RS, p.107). Therefore, every region influenced by a different culture has a different regional dress and customs.

As something that inherited from the ancestors in each region, traditional dress becomes valuable and a cultural strength and an asset to be developed (Mr. SO, Mrs. PD).

⁷² 17 interviewees gave the same answer.

For Mr. RI and Mrs. TN, traditional dress is important and should be preserved as incorporating the customs of their areas of origin. Some interviewees (Mrs. AF, Mrs. MA, and Mr. RI) regarded traditional dress as important in the identity of a region/nation, so that one can differentiate where people come from.

Mr. SI and Mr. FD shared the idea that traditional dress plays an important role because of its cultural value. Moreover, Mr. SI explained that traditional dress is as a manifestation of the way of life, beliefs, and philosophy, adopted by people in a certain region. For Mrs. IM, who moved from Sumatera to Jakarta in 1996, the traditional dress and the culture of her hometown are part of her and will not disappear. However, she respects the traditional dress of Jakarta because she has been living there for quite some time and wears it on special occasions. Traditional dress has also a special meaning for Mr. CC and Mr. AB, for its importance in customary event marking the cycle of life such as, birth, *injak tanah*⁷³, a marriage procession, a seven-month-pregnancy procession, and death. However, three interviewees (Mr. MN, Mr. HP, and Mr. BW) said that traditional clothing has no special meaning for them. They wear and consider it as an item of clothing in general.

It can be seen that almost all interviewees stated that traditional dress is very important that has meaning through pattern, color, and design. It is the output of a process of producing meaning in significant way that is common to all regions that have traditional clothing. Furthermore, it means that traditional dress has to be recognized and that there is a 'language' that is spoken through every detail of such dress. The interviewees gave the impression that most of them feel proud of the traditional dress from their region and of wearing it on certain occasions.

1.2. Traditional Elements

Material

The fabrics used for traditional items of clothing are well-known, especially for *kain panjang* and *kebaya*, which use cotton (named *mori*, *paris*, *rubiah* in Indonesian languages), brocade, and velvet. There were different answers as to the fabrics that interviewees own or had owned, but most could respond quickly. **Mrs. TN** explained that from around 1950 until the 1980s, using the right material on a wedding or circumcision ceremony was very important. At that time, woman wore *kebaya* using velvet as the material along with *kain*

⁷³ *Injak tanah* is a customary event when a baby starts to stand and walk.

panjang batik in order to show respect for the host of the party; both host and guest wore velvet as the material for their *kebaya*.

When he was a child (during primary until junior high school), **Mr. AN** contributed in making yarn for *selimut*⁷⁴. Weaving *selimut* was an activity for women and young women⁷⁵. To produce the yarn, they used cotton fiber and asked children, including Mr. AN, to help them to make the yarn using traditional tools. He explained that the meaning of the pattern could only be decoded by the person who made the *selimut*, because it illustrated an experience during the process of weaving it. Nowadays, people weave *selimut* using the yarn that is a factory-made because cotton fiber is rarely available in the market, and if one wants to buy it, is expensive. *Selimut* that uses factory-made yarn is smoother and lighter than the original. Mr. AN is not sure if the production of meaning is still the same today as in the past.

Motif and Pattern

In terms of batik pattern, most of the interviewees know only the name of several famous patterns without their meanings, such as *wahyu temurun*, *sidomukti*, *truntum*, *parang*, and *mega mendung*. On weddings, **Mrs. SN** stated that in Central Java, *wahyu temurun* batik motif is worn by the bride and groom, whereas the parents wear *sidomukti* or *truntum*. Unfortunately, she could not explain the reason. **Mrs. MA** does not know any meaning of batik motifs. However, she likes to wear traditional clothing because she finds that the motifs/patterns are beautiful. The situation is the same for **Mr. RI** as well; he does not know much about pattern and meaning, so he usually gets help in deciding which motifs/patterns to wear on special occasions. **Mrs. AF** does not know the meaning of motifs/patterns either, but she can name some famous motifs, such as *mega mendung*, *truntum* and *parang*, and differentiate the patterns that are from Yogyakarta, Solo, Pekalongan, Cirebon, and Madura. During her childhood, she saw her grandmother drawing a pattern on a material or '*mbatik*'⁷⁶; which was her grandmother's hobby, but she was never taught it. She is interested in its pattern and color, and has a large collection, but not in its manufacture.

⁷⁴ A large woven *ikat* fabric 4 meters long by 2,5 meters wide.

⁷⁵ There was also a rule that a girl of 15 should already be able to make *selimut* to be permitted to marry. As for a boy, he should be able to do gardening.

⁷⁶ Drawing a pattern on a material is called '*mbatik*' by most of Japanese people.

Mr. HA stated that he knows the meaning of the colour of traditional clothing in his hometown in Bugis, South Sulawesi, but gave no further information about it. **Mrs. SY** knows the names of the motifs of *kain panjang* (*pucuk rebung*, *pagi sore*), but said that the pattern of traditional material from Jakarta does not have any meaning.

Batik pattern nowadays has developed significantly. There are many newly created symbolic regional motifs/patterns using batik technique and made into items of clothing, including shirts and blouses. In West Java, particularly in the city of Bogor, **Mr. SI** mentioned that new motifs have been developed, such as a *kujang*⁷⁷, a deer, *Batutulis* inscription⁷⁸, and Bogor royal palace. He appreciated the development of 'Bogor batik' and bought some examples. **Mr. BW** does not know much about batik motifs/patterns and their meaning, which he finds uninteresting, colour being for him, the most important quality in an item of clothing.

Mr. MN comes from Semarang, Central Java, but said he did not know what kind of pattern is typical there. Yet, he knew patterns from another city, Pekalongan, and even the patterns from Cirebon (*mega mendung*), West Java, and Yogyakarta (*parang*). He said they are more famous than the one from his hometown, so that he could remember them easily. Nevertheless, he was unable to explain the meaning of the patterns. The other seven interviewees⁷⁹ stated similarly that they only knew some famous patterns, but not the meaning. However, **Mr. HP** and **Mr. FD** stated that they knew neither the pattern nor its meaning.

Besides having a particular meaning, there is also a rule defining a pattern or material for the wearer regarding his/her social status, age and the occasions on which it should be worn, according to the custom of each region. As stated by **Mrs. SN** and **Mr. SO**, on weddings, the groom and the bride should wear *kain panjang* with batik pattern *wahyu temurun*, with their parents wearing *sidomukti*. Furthermore, **Mr. SO** asserted, "...it is the rule. So, it cannot be ignored. If using a different pattern, it would lead to public questioning".⁸⁰ (**Mr. SO**, p.474). These patterns are Yogyakarta and the rule was established by the Yogyakarta Royalty in 1769.⁸¹ The philosophy of *wahyu temurun* describes the hope that the wearer will get directions, blessing, mercy and abundant grace

⁷⁷ *Kujang* is a traditional weapon of Sundanese.

⁷⁸ *Batutulis* inscription is an ancient inscription of Sunda Kingdom.

⁷⁹ **Mrs. SA.**, **Mrs. YS.**, **Mrs. IM.**, **Mrs. PD.**, **Mrs. MP.**, **Mrs. ST.**, and **Mr. CC.**

⁸⁰ "...itu memang pakem, jadi tidak bisa tidak digunakan. Nanti kalau dipakai yang beda, jadi mengundang pertanyaan publik ya." (**Mr. SO.**, p.474).

⁸¹ Yayasan Harapan Kita. (1997). *Beautiful Indonesia – Batik*. Seri Buku Indonesia Indah Publishing, p.59.

from God, and a hope of achieving success in reaching goals, position or rank⁸². In a marriage, the pattern implies a blessing in household life, harmony and happiness eternally. The meaning of *sidomukti* is similar to *wahyu temurun*; physical and mental happiness and prosperity, a good future, compassion and magnanimity.⁸³ Therefore, *sidomukti* can be worn by both bride and groom. **Mrs. SY** described traditional clothing worn in Jakarta, as batik pattern *pucuk rebung* along with *kebaya none* for teenagers (girl), and batik pattern *pagi sore* along with *kebaya encim* for adult women. She said that this should be worn, but gave no further explanation. **Mr. EM** explained that *parang rusak* should be worn by a single man. He knows the difference in wearing *kain panjang* between a single and married man from the pleat on the front side, so that, by the way they wear *kain panjang*, people can know who is single. In Flores, **Mr. AN** stated that there was a difference in the quality of the material used in woven ikat for a king and noble families, which was gold ornamentation that commoners should not wear.

As mentioned earlier, most of the interviewees define traditional clothing as a characteristic of a certain group of people, which forms part of their identity and, therefore, enables them to be recognized as belonging to a group. Material and pattern as salient parts of traditional elements are acknowledged by some interviewees. The fabric used for traditional textiles/items or clothing is well-known since it (cotton) is in common use in tropical countries like Indonesia. Unlike the material, the meaning of motifs/patterns of traditional textiles/items of clothing can be identified by only a minority of interviewees. The majority know only some popular motifs/patterns and the occasions to wear them, but not the meaning.

Items of clothing using batik technique such as a shirt, blouse and skirt have become popular in recent years. Comfortable to wear and with a variety of patterns and materials, they are worn on many occasions. Some motifs and patterns are newly created and do not have the deeper meaning associated with older clothing but make a wider variety of color available while giving the impression of being traditional yet modern.

⁸² Ibid., p. 69.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 69-70.

2. Items of Clothing

2.1. Possession of Items of Clothing

In this section, the interviewees' possession of items of clothing will be discussed, divided into traditional, modification of traditional textiles/items of clothing, and non-traditional items of clothing⁸⁴. These do not include underwear and socks. Most interviewees have shown this author traditional items and modified traditional items of clothing more than non-traditional ones. Section 2.1.1. will discuss traditional textiles and items of clothes that are still in original traditional style and have no modification or alteration. These range from the most popular traditional textiles, which most of the interviewees have, to the ones that few interviewees have. In the second and third sections (2.1.2 and 2.1.3.), the analysis of modification/alteration of traditional items of clothing and non-traditional items of clothing will be presented.

2.1.1. Traditional Textiles and Items of Clothing

When asked about the traditional materials/items of clothing they have, the interviewees all mentioned batik as the most popular traditional material/item of clothing. Batik technique is applied on a piece of fabric and can be wrapped around the lower body or cut and made it into an item of clothing. Almost all interviewees claim that they have between 2 and more than 30 pieces of batik *kain panjang*. One interviewee has 30 batik sarongs (Mrs. RS) instead of batik *kain panjang* and the four other interviewees do not have any of this (Mr. EM, Mr. AN, Mr. HA, Mr. FD). As mentioned in the previous subchapter, the pattern of batik *kain panjang* has a specific meaning and rules to wear it. The interviewees recognize some motifs they do not know the meaning of, for instance, including *sidomukti*, *truntum*, *parang*. All batik *kain panjang* is from various regions in Java⁸⁵ and Bali Island that are worn on certain special occasions. Some interviewees kept them in the wardrobe because they are too old to be worn often (can tear easily). They are still kept, because they were inherited from parents and/or grandparents (Mrs. SA, Mrs. MA, Mrs. PD,

⁸⁴ The interviewees are divided into three groups (see Chapter 3). The data associated with Group 2 and 3 are solely based on the information given during the interviews and pictures obtained from Group 2, since the wardrobes of these two groups were not observed.

⁸⁵ Yogyakarta, Central Java (Solo, Pekalongan, Jepara), West Java (Cirebon, Garut), East Java (Madura), Jakarta.

and Mrs. ST). However, they often state that some of this material will be made into an item of clothing in the future (Mrs. MA, Mrs. SA, Mrs. SN, Mrs. AF, Mrs. YS, and Mr. CC), which would mostly be blouses and shirts.

On special occasions, such as attending a wedding ceremony and customary events, **Mr. AB** and **Mr. EM** said that wearing a certain *kain panjang* is required. Furthermore, Mr. EM knows very well how to wear it on this occasion. “[...] I am, sometimes, needed to help them wearing *kain (panjang)*. [...] Because there are different ways to wear *kain (panjang)* for men and women. For men, they should still be able to ride a bicycle, it should be like that. As for women, it is not. And there is a trick to do that”.⁸⁶ (Mr. EM, p.352). Three other interviewees, **Mrs. SN**, **Mrs. SY** and **Mr. IM**, can wear *kain panjang* without help in dressing, and they are proud of it. During the interview, Mrs. SY explained how to wear it. She said that one foot should be placed a little ahead of the other foot and then the *kain panjang* is wrapped and pulled until it forms a good shape. The last step is to wrap a *setagen*⁸⁷ around the waist. However, there are different ways to wear batik *kain panjang*, depending on the formality of the occasion. Furthermore, Mrs. SY said; “Yes, I am good (at wearing *kain panjang*), but it only lasts for a short time, being feminine for two or three hours, and then back to be myself again [laugh]”⁸⁸ (Mrs. SY, p.192).



Figure 10. Mrs. SY wore a blouse in *beskap* design and batik *kain panjang* in her graduation day in 1987 (unknown motifs). Source: Mrs. SY



Figure 11. Batik Betawi (Jakarta). Mrs. PD's collections. Source: Sesnawati

⁸⁶ “[...] Saya kadang masih disuruh bantu in makein kain. [...] Karena kan pakai kain laki sama perempuan itu kan beda. Kalau laki tuh kan bisa naik sepeda aja bisa kan, harusnya begitu. Kalau perempuan nggak, gitu. Nah itu kan ada cara, triknya.” (Mr. EM, p.352).

⁸⁷ A *Setagen* is usually a stiff and plain colored band with a measure about 2.59 x 11.5 meters, which wrapped *kain panjang* or *songket* around the waist (see Chapter 2).

⁸⁸ „Oh, jago. cuma sebentar tapi tahannya, feminimnya 2 jam, 3 jam, udahnya balik lagi (tertawa)“ (Mrs. SY, p.192).



Figure 12. Batik *kain panjang* from Solo Palace (Central Java). Unknown motifs. Mrs. SN's collection. Source: Mrs. SN



Figure 13. Batik *kain panjang* Solo (Central Java). Parang motif. Mrs. SA's collection. Source: Sesnawati

The second traditional textile owned by most of the interviewees is a woven *ikat*. There are only five interviewees who do not have woven *ikat* as a traditional textile (Mrs. TN, Mr. EM, Mr. HP, Mr. BW, Mr. FD). Most of the interviewees have this as a sarong (sometimes with a shawl), which is worn by both men and women on the lower body, and as a piece of fabric, which can be draped over the shoulder. Woven *ikat* sarongs and lengths of the material can be remade into an item of clothing, for instance, blouse, shirt, blazer, or skirt. These woven *ikats* are from South Sulawesi (Makassar), East Kalimantan (Samarinda), South Sumatra (Palembang), West Nusa Tenggara (Sumbawa, Lombok), East Nusa Tenggara (South Central Timor Regency), and Bali. Woven *ikat* sarongs and textile lengths are required to be worn on special occasions, such as customary events and relatives' wedding ceremonies. The form of the sarong is like a tube; a person should step into it and hold each side of the tube, and then fold one side over the other; pull it slightly until it fits snugly to the body; finally, the textile at the waist should be secured by a *setagen* or rolled a little (for men).



Figure 14. Woven *ikat* sarong Makassar (South Sulawesi). Mrs. SN's collection. Source: Mrs. SN



Figure 15. Woven *ikat* sarong Kendari (Southeast Sulawesi). Mrs. SN's collection. Source: Mrs. SN



Figure 16. Woven *ikat* sarong Samarinda (East Kalimantan). Mrs. SN's collection.
Source: Mrs. SN



Figure 17. Woven *ikat* textile East Nusa Tenggara. Mr. AN's collection.
Source: Mr. AN

The next traditional textile is *songket*, used as a sarong. Fifteen out of twenty-five interviewees have *songket* from various regions in Indonesia. Most is from West Sumatra (Padang) and South Sumatra (Palembang); the other regions are South Sumatra (Medan), Lampung, and Jambi. The interviewees have between one to around ten pieces of *songket*. However, **Mrs. RS** has more than fifty *songket*; 30 *songket* from Padang and more than 20 *songket* from Palembang. Her husband likes to buy it for her even though some pieces are very pricey. Recently, she prefers Palembang *songket* to that of Padang because its color is brighter, and it is lighter, because less gold yarn is used. On most special occasions, Mrs. RS wears a *baju kurung* or a *kebaya* along with a *songket* sarong. One interviewee, **Mrs. MA** has 5 *songket* sarongs from India and some from Thailand. She likes the color of *songket* from India and considers it as a luxury textile, so that she wears it only for certain occasions. *Songket* is normally sewn in the same form as a sarong, so that the way to wear it is the same as the woven *ikat* sarong mentioned earlier.



Figure 18. *Songket* Palembang, South Sumatra (left) and *songket* Padang, West Sumatra (right). Mrs. SA's collections. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 19. Mrs. RS wears *songket selendang* from Palembang, South Sumatra, over her shoulder.

Source: Sesnawati

Songket is bought as a set with its *selendang*, which is made using the same technique with a measure about 2.15 by 0.79 meters. In figure 19, **Mrs. RS** demonstrates how to wear Palembang *selendang* as a commoner, worn over the shoulder; aristocrats wear it over their head. Another *selendang* from West Sumatra that is also worn over the shoulder and combined with *songket* is called *selendang bajaik*. This textile is made from satin fabric, has a measure of 230 mm x 70 mm, and is decorated with gold yarn and embroidered *pinhead*⁸⁹ stitches. *Selendang bajaik* has intense colours and is worn in contrast with the other items of clothing. It is worn in customary events and traditional wedding ceremonies. Mrs. RS has 30 *selendang bajaik* bought by her husband. Seeing that she has a lot of it and considering its price is quite expensive, Mrs. RS says that it is her husband's hobby to collect traditional textiles, especially from West Sumatra, the region they come from. She showed this author one yellow *selendang bajaik* (Fig. 20) and explained that this one can be combined with *baju kurung* in red, green, or orange. **Mrs. IM** has also 6 *selendang bajaik* (Fig. 21) and **Mrs. PD** has one (Fig. 22) that is worn for relatives' weddings and customary events. Mrs. IM comes from West Sumatra, whereas Mrs. PD's parents come from Jakarta and Central Java (an ethnic mix), but because her husband comes from West Sumatra, she has to wear Sumatran dress on certain occasions.

⁸⁹ A type of embroidery used on *selendang bajaik*.



Figure 20. *Selendang bajaik* (West Sumatra). Mrs. RS' collection. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 21. *Selendang bajaik* (West Sumatra). Mrs. IM's collections. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 22. *Selendang bajaik* (West Sumatra). Mrs. PD's collections. Source: Sesnawati

Tie-dye textile, or called *jumputan* by the interviewees, is another traditional textile that is owned by **Mrs. SN**, **Mrs. YS**, and **Mrs. SY**. Figure 23 shows Mrs. SN's tie-dye textiles from Palembang (South Sumatra) and Banjarmasin (South Kalimantan). Mrs. YS has one from Banjarmasin (Fig. 24); and Mrs. SY said that she has some tie-dye textiles from Kalimantan, but she is not sure how many of them are in storage (Fig. 25). As an item of clothing, tie-dye textile is used in the Yogyakarta Sultanate⁹⁰ as head-cloth, breast-cloth, waistband, and *dodoi*⁹¹. However, a lot of tie-dye textiles are now made into blouses, shirt, dress, and other items of clothing. The interviewees do not have any plan to make these textiles into an item of clothing yet, because they have a lot of other textiles waiting to be sewn.



Figure 23. Tie-dyeing textiles from Palembang, South Sumatra, (left) and from Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, (right). Mrs. SN's collections. Source: Mrs. SN.

⁹⁰ Yogyakarta Sultanate is a Javanese monarchy in Yogyakarta Special Region, Indonesia.

⁹¹ A piece of fabric which is four times bigger than a normal *kain panjang*, which is worn at ceremonial event.



Figure 24. Tie-dyeing textile from Banjarmasin (South Kalimantan). Mrs. YS' collection.
Source: Sesnawati



Figure 25. Tie-dyeing textile from Banjarmasin (South Kalimantan). Mrs. SY's collection.
Source: Sesnawati

The only upper body traditional items of clothing found during wardrobe observation was *surjan* belong to **Mr. EM** (Fig. 26) and **Mr. RI** (Fig. 27). Mr. EM has a *surjan ontrokusuma* made around 2009 for the wedding of his little brother, which was a family uniform. At that time, the family agreed to make a uniform as recollection because it was the last wedding his parents held for their youngest child. On the other side, Mr. RI has a *surjan lurik* bought in Yogyakarta. This *surjan* has never been worn by Mr. RI because the cotton material it was made from is too stiff and not comfortable to wear. His son has once worn it for *Kartini*⁹² day at school, where pupils wear Indonesian traditional clothing to celebrate this day.

⁹² Kartini is a national heroine of Indonesia and known as the pioneer of the revival of indigenous women (Bulbeck, 2009). Her birthday on April 21st is celebrated every year by wearing traditional clothing.



Figure 26. *Surjan Ontrokusuma*.
Mr. EM's collection.
Source: Sesnawati



Figure 27. *Surjan lurik*.
Mr. RI's collection
Source: Sesnawati

The last traditional item of clothing found during the interviews was a head-cloth called *blankon*. A *blankon*⁹³ is a traditional item of Javanese men's clothing that is made using a batik technique and worn on the head as a part of a set of traditional clothing along with *beskap* and *kain panjang*. Mr. RI bought the *blankon* below in Solo (Central Java) around 2008 when he visited his hometown and keeps it as a token to remind him of where he comes from and that he is culturally Javanese.



Figure 28. Mr. RI wears traditional clothing from Central Java.
Source: Mr. RI



Figure 29. *Blankon* from Solo, Central Java.
Mr. RI's collections. Source: Sesnawati

⁹³ *Blankon* is a finished form of *dhestar* (headband), which is made from a piece of cloth (105 x 105 cm) and formed as half a round shape, in accordance with the size of a head, and given something to make it firm (see Chapter 2).

In summary, the results show that almost all interviewees have at least one traditional textile/item of clothing in their possession. One interviewee, **Mr. FD**, is the only one that does not have any traditional textiles but does have items of clothing that have been modified, such as a shirt. Interestingly, the interviewees not only have traditional textiles from their regions, but also from other provinces and Asian countries. There are various reasons why they own those textiles; first, having spouses from different ethnicities has encouraged them to have and wear these on certain occasions; second, as gifts from students, friends or family; third, as souvenirs from travel; and/or simply fascination with the beauty of those traditional textiles. Female interviewees have more traditional textiles compared to male interviewees. Most woven *ikat*, tie-dye textiles, and batik *kain panjang* are waiting to be made into items of clothing in the future. There are only certain traditional textiles, which are considered to be special, that will be worn or kept in their original form.

It is notable that none of the interviewees have one complete set of traditional clothing of a region but have only one or a few items. For example, **Mrs. SN** likes to wear *kebaya* and batik *kain panjang* and has never worn non-traditional items of clothing to attend special occasions. However, her *kebaya* is not in its original form anymore. She applied a new design to this, for instance, she changed its collar design, but the *kebaya* still fits her well. Another interviewee, **Mr. RI** has a *blankon* as a head-cloth, but not a *beskap*⁹⁴. He claims that there are a lot of places where one can rent traditional textiles/items of clothing from many regions in Indonesia as a matching set. From his point of view, this makes it easier to wear one set of traditional clothing, considering the effort and expense of buying/making, caring for and protecting it from damage, and the rare occasions on which people wear complete traditional clothing.

2.1.2. Modification/Alteration of Traditional Items of Clothing

In the previous section, it was shown that interviewees only have traditional items of clothing in a form of sarong, head-cloth, and textiles. Upper body items of clothing such as *baju kurung*, and *surjan* found during wardrobe observation were modified or altered and some made from different material. Batik and woven *ikat* cloth were also made into items of clothing (shirt, blouse, blazer, skirt, or trousers) or often use as a decorative part or an accentuation on items. The most commonly used material for items of clothing was cotton

⁹⁴ A type of shirt that is worn along with *blankon*.

textiles using batik techniques. The interviewees had these textiles made into shirts, blouses, skirts, and trousers or bought these modified items, often mentioned as ‘batik shirt’, ‘batik blouse’, ‘batik skirt’, and ‘batik trousers’.

All male interviewees have batik shirts in their possession, even though some of them do not have meanings in their motifs or patterns and most of them are stamped or printed batik with only some in written batik. **Mr. EM** has a batik shirt with the pattern *mega mending* (Fig. 30), which was one of the uniforms at his department. This item is a printed batik since it is hard to find a written batik as a uniform because handmade painting on a cloth cannot be repeated exactly the same for a large number of items and when used, the price is high. He wears this shirt only occasionally, because of its long sleeves, which make it too warm to be worn, except when there is a special occasion. Figure 31 shows a batik shirt belonging to **Mr. RI** with motif from Betawi (Jakarta), which was a gift from an acquaintance. Although he knows neither the name of the motif nor its meaning, he is proud to have and wear it. Figure 32 shows a batik shirt from Bogor with a picture of a deer as the motif, which is one of the icons of Bogor city. This shirt is in **Mr. SI**’s possession and was bought in a shopping mall in Bogor. He likes batik a lot and is happy that people are now eager to develop batik motifs in each region, just like the craftsmen in Bogor did.



Figure 30. Mega mending pattern, Cirebon (West Java).
Mr. EM’s collection.
Source: Sesnawati



Figure 31. Batik motif of Betawi (Jakarta). Mr. RI’s collection. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 32. Batik motif of Bogor (West Java) Mr. SI’s collection. Source: Sesnawati

Similarly, all female interviewees have batik blouses as well. They had them made or bought them in various designs. Batik blouses are worn for work along with trousers or skirt; in leisure time, they are combined with more casual items such as jeans trousers. **Mrs.**

MP often bought printed batik textiles, and had clothing made by a dressmaker. In Figure 33 are two of her batik blouses which she bought in Semarang (Central Java) and Garut (West Java). Mrs. MP created the designs that are loose with long sleeves, mandarin collar, and length a little above the knee. She combined these blouses with trousers, so that it would cover her hips and wore these blouses for work. Figure 34 shows a batik blouse with pocket accent from **Mrs. SA**, for which the material was bought in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. The blouse has a collar, long sleeves, and its length covers the hips. Mrs. SA wore this blouse for work along with trousers. Both Mrs. MP and Mrs. SA are always excited about having batik cloth because of its motifs or colours and have this made mostly into blouses.



Figure 33. Mrs. MP's collection. The materials were bought in Semarang, Central Java, (left) and in Garut, West Java (right).
Source: Sesnawati



Figure 34. Mrs. SA's collection, with orange accentation on the pockets. The material was bought in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara.
Source: Sesnawati

Mrs. SY is very creative in making new designs out of traditional cloth. The idea of clothing modification often comes from one of her friends, who said that the important concept in modifying clothing is the balanced proportion of the clothes. She has a lot of upper body items made using batik technique, which are batik blouses and garments that hang open by design without any button, which she called 'cardigan' shown in Figure 35. She prefers such cardigans, worn with a plain T-shirt, along with a skirt or culottes and a headscarf. The long sleeves are made slightly shorter, to show the wrists. These cardigans are made using two different batik textiles to make them double-sided, which she can wear alternately. That way she feels good wearing clothes and finds this dress appropriate for work yet fashionable. Some colleagues had made such design using batik cloth as well.

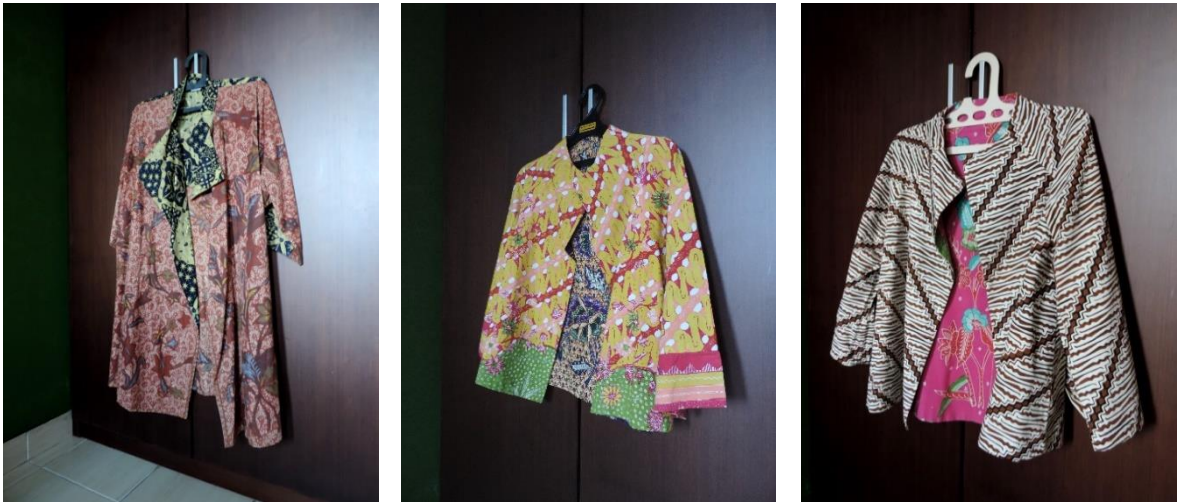


Figure 35. Cardigan made using batik technique. Mrs. SY's collection. Source: Sesnawati

Figure 36 and 37 below show **Mr. SI**'s shirt and **Mrs. SN**'s blouse using ikat technique (also called *jumputan*). Mr. SI bought the material in 2005 in Palembang, South Sumatra, and had it made into a shirt to wear for work. Ikat technique was applied in the front opening and collar, and a little on the body. He also stated that he has another shirt made from the same technique but from different region, which is South Kalimantan, and it is called *Sasirangan* cloth. Unfortunately, the shirt was stored in his other house. Mrs. SN's blouse in Figure 37 is a uniform at the Department of Biology. The material was bought by a colleague in Yogyakarta in 2014 and made into blouses in a collection of designs. Her blouse has a mandarin collar and Chinese frog buttons.



Figure 36. The material was bought in Palembang, South Sumatra. Mr. SI's collection. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 37. The material was bought in Yogyakarta. Mrs. SN's collection. Source: Mrs. SN

Woven ikat textiles were also made as a blazer for **Mr. AN** and **Mrs. YS**. Figure 38 shows a blazer owned by Mr. AN made of woven ikat textile from Flores, East Nusa

Tenggara. He said that people made blazers from woven ikat, so he wanted to have one as well. This is the only blazer he has from woven ikat and he stated that he wears it only occasionally. Figure 39 shows a blazer from Mrs. YS made from Balinese woven ikat textile that was a present from a student, which she really likes and wears for work.



Figure 38. Blazer from woven ikat textile of Flores, East Nusa Tenggara. Mr. AN's collection. Source: Mr. AN.



Figure 39. Blazer from woven ikat textile of Bali. Mrs. YS' collection. Source: Sesnawati

Figure 40 shows the modified kebaya designed by **Mrs. SY** herself. Originally, the form of kebaya is tailored fitting the body, with long sleeves and U or V-shaped collar, worn over *kain panjang*. Mrs. SY modified the design; the U-shaped collar was very wide, but gathered and pinned with a brooch; the sleeves were ruffled and used elastic at the end of the sleeves; the body was adapted to be loose without any darts, using chiffon as the material, so that it fell nicely. When Mrs. SY wore this modified kebaya along with a woven ikat sarong and attended a special occasion together with her colleagues, they loved the new design and had the same design made for them.

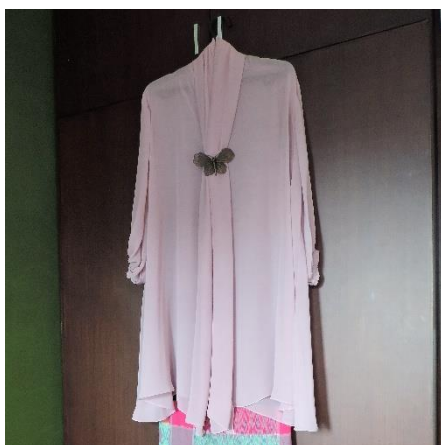


Figure 40. Modified kebaya. Mrs. SY's collection. Source: Sesnawati

Skirts made from batik *kain panjang* are worn by all female interviewees on certain occasions, styled as if they are wearing *kain panjang* wrapped on the lower body. This look enables people to assume that a woman wears wrapped *kain panjang* instead of ‘a skirt’. Most of the female interviewees prefer to wear such skirts as they are more comfortable, practical and avoid difficulty in wearing them (wearing them requires considerable experience to wrap them properly), even though they also felt bad that remaking damaged the textiles, especially the ones inherited from their families. As an example, **Mrs. SA** has a lot of batik *kain panjang* and woven ikat sarongs made into skirts (Fig. 41). She stated that she cannot wear *kain panjang* as it is, unless it is made into a skirt.

Figure 42 is a *songket* belonging to **Mrs. MP**, bought in Padang (West Sumatra) quite some time before the interview, but she had never worn it because she found too heavy and complicated to wear. She had this *songket* made into a skirt some time before the interview was conducted. The process of making this *songket* into a skirt did not require cutting the fabric. She felt bad about cutting it, and only sewed some darts to form a skirt. A cord was sewn at the waistline to tie up the waist since *songket* is heavy. She found that wearing this *songket* was much easier and comfortable after it became a skirt. The same is true for **Mrs. SY**, she has also a *songket* made into skirt without cutting it. Later, the stitches can be undone to restore the original form, which is a sarong.



Figure 41. Batik *kain panjang* (left) and sarong (right) made into skirts. Mrs. SA’s collection. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 42. *Songket* made into a skirt. Mrs. MP’s collection. Source: Sesnawati

Beside skirts made from traditional cloth worn on formal occasions, used as skirt and trousers and worn on informal occasion were also found. **Mrs. SN** said that she bought a batik skirt in Yogyakarta around 2012 to wear at a casual event (Fig. 43). She bought this

skirt at that time, because she only had formal items to wear and the dress code to attend an event was white for upper body and batik skirt or trousers for lower body. She realized that the cut of this skirt did not look good on her, but she did not have any other option. Therefore, she only wore this skirt once and it was stored in the wardrobe afterwards.

Batik trousers belonging to **Mr. RI** were worn for sleep along with a T-shirt (Fig. 44). These trousers were bought in Pekalongan (Central Java) when he and his family were visiting their hometown. His wife, who was there during wardrobe observation, hesitated to show this author the trousers because she said that they were worn out since Mr. RI wore them often. Both Mrs. SN and Mr. RI know neither the name of the motifs nor their meanings and assumed the motifs were created freely by the fabric designer and printed to give the impression of batik cloth.



Figure 43. Batik skirt.
Mrs. SN's collection.
Source: Sesnawati



Figure 44. Batik shorts (left) and trousers (right). Mr.
RI's collection. Source: Sesnawati

Mr. CC had his work outfit combined with batik cloth made by a tailor in 2012 (Fig. 45). This was his idea because he was bored with the plain chef's outfit he owned. At that time, there was an event to demonstrate his cooking skills in his second job. He thought that a combination of batik in his chef's outfit would be nice, since he observed that other chefs had various bright colours for their cooking outfits, but not a combination. He found that it was uncomfortable to have such bright colours for this event, so he realized his own idea and chose batik cloth in brown as a combination on the collar and at the end of the sleeves in a white outfit.



Figure 45. Work outfit. Mr. CC's collection. Source: Mr. CC

All modification/alteration is made in order to preserve tradition but stay fashionable. A traditional motif printed on material and used to make clothing is a good idea according to Mrs. SY, who is not worried about the meaning it may convey. People will wear it more often than before because it has become fashion. Nevertheless, it is important to consider the modification in the light of tradition; it cannot be modified so much that people do not get the impression of tradition from it. The modification of batik shirts and blouses is similarly applied for the uniforms in interviewees departments and also in the university in general (see section 3.4. Uniform).

2.1.3. Non-Traditional Items of Clothing

A lot of interviewees were excited to show their traditional (modified) items of clothing during wardrobe observations and did not have much time to show this author their non-traditional items. However, during the interviews, they explained non-traditional items in their possession such as shirts, blouses, trousers, skirts, blazer, and dress. **Mr. SO** often wears traditional items of clothing on special occasion, but he mostly wears white plain shirts for work. His wife said that he has other colours such as crème, grey, and green, but he rarely wore them. Therefore, his wife prepared light blue to wear alternately with white shirts (Fig. 46). The same is true for **Mr. HP**, who also wears white plain shirts for work most of the time. It is not because he does not like other colours or shirt with patterns, but he does not want to be confused about choosing what shirts to wear every day.



Figure 46. White shirt (left) and light blue shirt (right). Mr. SO's collection.
Source: Sesnawati

In contrast to Mr. SO and Mr. HP who like plain shirts, **Mr. MN** said that he preferred shirts with a highlight or detail in the design. In Figure 47, the sleeves have a white line combination that matches the buttons. In his possession, there were a lot of plain shirts with such designs and shirts with pattern. He stated that he has non-traditional shirts more than batik shirts, five long-sleeved shirts in white, crème, striped blue, striped grey, and striped black. His short-sleeved shirts are around double the number of the long-sleeved shirts. At that time, he had recently bought two pairs of trousers and has had three pairs of trousers made by a tailor. He is picky about trousers, wanting to have the design for his trousers similar to jeans trousers, without pleats. *“Oh, the pleats (on trousers) are so outdated. But a lot of men still wear them today. In the past, there were times men used to wear such (trousers), but I have always been like this (wearing trousers without pleats).”*⁹⁵ (Mr. MN, p.386). Usually, he bought trousers at a certain store, which sold the trousers he liked. The colour of the trousers he wanted to have should be black, brown, blue and grey. The blue and grey were not available as he needed them, so that he had them made by a tailor. However, the tailored trousers were not comfortable to wear, so he planned to give them to his nephew in his hometown.

⁹⁵ *Aduh, jaman bahela kalau rampel itu mah. Tapi bapak-bapak jaman sekarang kan masih pakai terus. Dulu orang ada periode suka juga ya, jadi saya selalu begini (celana tanpa rampel).* (Mr. MN, p.386).



Figure 47. Shirt with white combination on the sleeves (left) and shirt with pattern (right). Mr. MN's collection. Source: Sesnawati

Mr. CC rarely wears shirts inserted into the trousers because he feels uncomfortable that way. He prefers shirts that have a slit on each side, similar to that of batik shirts, and wears the shirt outside the trousers in order to cover his stomach better. His cooking outfit in Figure 48 is a uniform in his department. This uniform was given as a fabric and he had it made by a tailor. Unfortunately, it was uncomfortable to wear since there was some mistakes in the stitching, but he did not want to repair it and instead chose other cooking outfits to wear which were white combined with batik cloth (Fig. 45).



Figure 48. Shirt with slit on the side (left). Work cooking outfit (right). Mr. CC's collection. Source: Sesnawati

At the time of interview, **Mrs. MP** showed this author her favourite non-traditional blouse bought around 2013 in Jakarta (Fig. 49-left). When she bought non-traditional

blouses, she often chose those with abstract or flower motifs. Furthermore, the material was chiffon that was transparent, and she wore long-sleeved fitted T-shirts (literally called *manset baju*⁹⁶). Her batik blouses are worn mostly over trousers, non-traditional blouses are worn mostly over skirts. This is because the length of the blouses she bought are above the hips, so that it is only appropriate in this social community to wear them over skirts. Furthermore, Mrs. MP took out a skirt and proudly said that her daughter bought it for her from Bangkok (Thailand). The skirt was new, and she had not worn it yet. She explained that she would wear it along with a black chiffon blouse for work (Fig. 49-right).



Fig. 49. Chiffon blouse with abstract motif (left), a skirt from Bangkok (Thailand) and a black chiffon blouse (right). Mrs. MP's collection. Source: Sesnawati

Mrs. TN really liked the blouse in Figure 50 that matched her trousers in the same colour and material. She was not sure about material being used and said that spandex was one of the yarns used in the material. She stated that it was very comfortable, soft, and cool when worn, so that it was suitable in the warm temperature in Jakarta. Further, she explained that she was so happy to wear this that she went back to the store where she bought this item to buy another 4 pairs (blouses and trousers) in green, brown, grey, and turquoise.

⁹⁶ *Manset baju* is a plain T-shirt that is fitted to the body and often stretches a little bit, worn by women with headscarves under transparent or short sleeves blouse.



Figure 50. A blouse belonging to Mrs. TN.
Source: Sesnawati

For daily activities at the university, **Mrs. YS** prefers wearing clothes in formal look such as blazers (Fig. 51). She complained that she rarely had a free weekend and was often on business trips. For instance, the next day after the interview, which was a Sunday, she had to go to Bali on a business trip for four days. However, she only wears blazers if the room is equipped with air conditioning, otherwise wearing double items will be too warm and uncomfortable. She explained that she preferred buying neutral colours of blazer, such as grey, black, and navy, so that they would be easy to combine with other items of clothing. At that time, she had newly bought a red blazer, but had not worn it yet because she did not think she had the correct items to wear along with the blazer.



Figure 51. Blazers belonging to Mrs. YS.
Source: Sesnawati

Mrs. TN and **Mrs. SA** more often wore non-traditional rather than traditional items of clothing on special occasion such as weddings when they came as a guest. Mrs. TN said that she liked her dress in Figure 52 very much, which she had made around 2011 for a celebration of her doctorate students' graduation. As she became older, she thought that wearing traditional items of clothing was not necessary, unless on relatives' weddings. Furthermore, this clothing was less expensive compared to traditional items and more practical. In contrast to Mrs. TN, Mrs. SA wore a dress (Fig. 53) frequently because her husband had asked her to wear it. She was not sure what the reason was and assumed that her husband was bored to see that she very often wore kebaya on such occasions. Both the formal dresses in Figures 52 and 53 were made from chiffon with an undergarment underneath sewn together, so that they were not transparent. Chiffon was very popular among female interviewees to be made as items of clothing because they are then light and feel cool when worn.



Figure 52. Dress belonging to Mrs. TN.
Source: Sesnawati



Figure 53. Dress belonging to Mrs. SA.
Source: Sesnawati

Eleven out of thirteen female interviewees wear headscarves and, therefore, they do not wear decorative earrings, unlike Mrs. AF and Mrs. RS, who wear hat-like-headscarves. However, they wear other accessories, non-traditional ones, such as necklaces, brooches and bracelets for work and special occasions. The accessories observed were made from metal, plastic, and stone, worn on both formal and informal occasions. Figure 54 shows the accessories belonging to **Mrs. MP**, which she wore both for work and special occasions. She did not have any favourite places to buy them and bought wherever she found good accessories she liked. She also did not have any budget planned to buy them and claimed that hers were always affordable. Other than that, gold accessories were also worn for

weddings by **Mrs. RS** and **Mrs. SY**. Figure 55 shows Mrs. SY's gold necklaces and bracelets, whereas Mrs. RS said that hers were stored at a bank.



Figure 54. Accessories belonging to Mrs. MP.
Source: Sesnawati



Figure 55. Gold accessories belonging to Mrs. SY.
Source: Sesnawati

2.2. Acquisition and Discarding of Clothing/Material

Acquisition of Clothing/Material

Traditional items of clothing can be acquired not only by buying them, but they can also be inherited or be gifts from family members and/or the university. **Mrs. PD** said that she has never bought traditional items of clothing, i.e. *songket* and batik *kain panjang*⁹⁷, but got them from her family and in-law family. If an item is too old or damaged to be worn, she will tell her mother or aunt and be given other textiles. She also said that she has never really owned these traditional items, but they belong to her extended family including that of her husband. She and anyone in the family can wear them any time they need to, but the items are stored randomly in their wardrobes. For instance, if her mother needs a certain *songket*, she will ask Mrs. PD and other family members if the *songket* is kept in their wardrobes and her mother will take it. On another family event, she and her family will discuss what items they should wear and find out where these items are kept and by whom, and give them to the family members who need to wear them. When Mrs. PD was asked where and how these *songket* and *kain panjang* were obtained, she was not sure whether they are from her grandmother or, grand grandmother. It is thus clear that she and her big family have a close relationship and share traditional items of clothing to wear together. Since these textiles will always be recycled in her extended family. Mrs. PD has never thought of buying *songket* or *kain panjang* and just wears what is available. The original *songket* and *kain panjang* that

⁹⁷ *Kain panjang* is a length of fabrics to be worn as it is and not made into an item of clothing.

she has mentioned are items that are considered expensive and worn only on special occasions, therefore, sharing these items between extended family members is an advantage and reduces the cost of traditional clothing.

In the case of another correspondent, **Mrs. SA** kept three batik *kain panjang* of her mother's after she passed away. She and her two sisters discussed the sharing of these items to be kept as heirlooms. Mrs. SA made a blazer from one of these *kain panjang*, but she said that she feels bad and should have kept the item as it originally was. She also said that she does not want to wear the blazer because she is afraid that the color will fade away. The other two inherited *kain panjang* are also kept in the wardrobe and have never been worn. **Mrs. AF** also keeps around 15 *kain panjang* from her mother and does not want to make items of clothing out of them. These are written batik and she would feel bad if she had to alter them because she considers them as heirlooms. Since the fabrics are really old, she is afraid that they will tear. Similarly, **Mrs. MA** said that her mother had a lot more items of clothing than she herself. After her mother passed away, she inherited around 12 *kain panjang* that she keeps as an heirloom. **Mrs. ST** did not mention exactly how many *kain panjang* she got from her grandmother, but she said there are many of them and she still wears them to the weddings of her family and relatives, even if only for couple of hours for the ceremony, and then changes clothes, because she is afraid that this particular *kain panjang* will tear if she wears it for a long time. **Mrs. SA**, **Mrs. AF**, and **Mrs. MA** have the same situation; they keep *kain panjang* inherited from their mothers as heirlooms and consider them as precious items that they want to keep for a long time. They could make these into items of clothing or wear them on special occasions, but they prefer not to; some they feel able to wear, but only for a short time, so that these items will stay as they are.

Besides inheritances from family members, traditional items of clothing and lengths of fabric were acquired as uniform⁹⁸ from family or relatives (worn on a family's or relatives' wedding) and/or the university as work uniform. The interviewees are given lengths of traditional fabric and sometimes such fabric made into items of clothing⁹⁹, and keep these for themselves; or they get traditional items of clothing in a form of a blouse or shirt. A majority of interviewees¹⁰⁰ also get their traditional items of clothing from relatives' weddings. Some of them keep these items to be worn on other occasions, while others wear

⁹⁸ Further explanation of types of uniform can be found in the section 3.4. Uniform.

⁹⁹ For example, a fabric to be made into kebaya or *baju kurung* and *kain panjang* or *songket* that can be worn as they are or be made into a skirt.

¹⁰⁰ All interviewees, except Mr. SI, Mr. SO, Mr. FD, Mr. HA, and Mr. BW.

them only once, for example, on a wedding, but do not keep them and give them away to others afterwards.

Some interviewees said that they were given traditional lengths of fabrics as presents from their students or colleagues. **Mr. CC** obtained batik *kain panjang* from Cirebon from a student as a token of gratitude and also some other traditional lengths of fabric from other students but does not know for sure which region they come from. **Mrs. YS** obtained traditional items of clothes, namely from Bali and Gorontalo, from her students for the same reason. **Mrs. RA** also got two different sets of traditional matching fabrics from Gorontalo from her students. These sets are intended to be made into matching sets of clothes. She has given one to her daughter-in-law, since she does not like the colour (red) and kept the other one (orange).

Mr. AN has some woven ikat called *selimut* from his hometown that were given to him by people there when he was attending customary events. He also bought some *selimut* at various places in his hometown and had them made into a shirt and a jacket. **Mrs. IM** often gets souvenirs of traditional lengths of fabric from her acquaintances in other cities when she visits them during her business trips. It encourages her to learn more about different traditional fabrics and she now prefers to wear items of clothing made from these fabrics. Another interviewee, **Mr. MN**, got some *kain panjang* from his friends for no particular reason. These *kain panjang* are written batik, which he finds very beautiful and assumes that they are expensive items.

Although a lot of interviewees acquired their traditional items as presents or an inheritance, they also bought them in many places in Jakarta or other cities. For instance, most interviewees will buy traditional items (batik *kain panjang*, *songket*, and woven *ikat*) during their business trips in local stores or from private producers (often households), which may have unique traditional motifs. Thirteen interviewees¹⁰¹ said that they often buy traditional items of clothing during their business trips, which give them the opportunity to find items that they cannot find in Jakarta.

Furthermore, they also buy batik when they visit their hometown (for the interviewees who come from Java), or when they are on vacation. **Mrs. SN** prefers buying batik *kain panjang* or items of clothing in Java instead of Jakarta (in a batik store or a department store) because she finds that the batik motifs in Jakarta are too modern and the colours are inferior to the original ones. She feels that compared to the traditional lengths of

¹⁰¹ Mrs. MP, Mrs. SY, Mrs. YS, Mrs. IM, Mrs. SA, Mr. CC, Mr. RI, Mr. SI, Mrs. AF, Mr. AB, Mrs. MA, Mrs. RA, Mrs. ST.

fabric in Jogjakarta and Solo (capital of the province Centre Java), the price in Jakarta is too expensive for the same quality of material and colour used. However, for daily wear, batik blouses and shirts that are available in stores in Jakarta are still favoured by Mrs. MP, Mrs. AF, and Mr. MN because of the affordable price, and great selection of motifs and colours. For some interviewees, a favoured place to buy traditional items of clothing and lengths of fabrics is at a yearly exhibition in Jakarta called INACRAFT, which provides a vast selection of products from all over Indonesia, including clothing and household goods made from traditional materials. **Mrs. IM** always waits for this event and buys traditional items of clothing such as blouses, from any region she wants. For instance, she bought a blouse made using woven ikat originally from Sumba (East Nusa Tenggara); the price might be a little bit costly, but if she had to go to Sumba only to buy items of clothing, it would have been prohibitively expensive.

Three male interviewees (Mr. HP, Mr. SO, and Mr. RI) claimed that their wives usually buy both traditional and non-traditional items of clothing for them. **Mr. HP** said that if he chooses an item, his wife will say that it does not look good on him and choose another one. Therefore, he thinks it is better to let his wife select them for him. The wives of **Mr. SO** and **Mr. RI** manage their clothes and buy them if needed. Mr. RI states that his wife already knows his preferences in clothing, so that there has never been any problem with the clothing his wife bought for him. Only if he has time, which is very rare, will he and his wife buy clothing together.

The frequency of buying items of clothing is different among interviewees. Most of them have no particular time of year to go shopping; those who do have will buy a lot of fabrics or items of clothing at once. For instance, **Mrs. YS** said that she buys items of clothing and/or fabrics around two to three times a year. Usually, Mrs. YS buys a lot of traditional lengths of fabrics at one time and has them made into items of clothing one by one afterwards. She said that she still has some fabrics that await making up if she has an occasion to attend. When she likes an item, for instance, a blouse, she will buy it and think what goes together with this later. Mrs. YS is very busy with her various academic work but pays a lot of attention to the clothing she wears. Therefore, when she goes shopping, she will make much effort as possible. Similarly, **Mrs. RS** said that she only occasionally buys items of clothing or fabrics, but will sometimes buy large amounts, and avoids impulse buying. She is not the type of person who likes to buy everything she finds that it is good. She is very particular about the material and motifs she wants to buy and the occasion on which the items should be worn.

Mr. EM used to go shopping around three or four times a year, but said he does not do that anymore, since his items of clothing completely fill his and his wife's wardrobe. He also said that he prefers to buy clothing to having it made as he once had a bad experience with a shirt made by a dressmaker. Mr. EM is very easy to please when it comes to choosing an item, as long as its material is comfortable to wear, such as cotton. Buying clothing for him is also more practical compared to having it made. When he goes to a shopping mall and sees a shirt that he likes, he can try it on and buy it immediately. On the contrary, if an item is made by a dressmaker, he has to wait for a while, and the finished shirt can sometimes not be as expected. Mr. SI has the same situation as Mr. EM. He used to go shopping once a month to buy fabrics either for trousers, shirts, or jackets. However, he said that his wardrobe is already full, so that he does not buy fabrics that often anymore. He also stated that quality of fabrics or items of clothing is the most important thing no matter what the brands are, so that the clothing will be durable.

Every two months, **Mr. SO's** wife will provide a new white shirt for him. She said that after two months of wear, it will be discoloured, and she has to continually source new shirts, which are made by a dressmaker in his hometown in Pacitan (East Java) that is more than 700 km away from Jakarta. They have chosen this dressmaker because the cut and quality of sewing are very good. Around two months before Mr. SO will wear the shirt, she stated that she gives the fabric to the dressmaker when they visit their hometown or with the help of friends or family visiting this city, who will give it to the dressmaker. After it is sewn, it will be brought back to Jakarta the same way. In order to avoid a shortage of white shirts, Mr. SO's wife always stocks up on them. Since she knows Mr. SO's preference of clothing well, she manages it efficiently, and he need not worry about his appearance.

The other two interviewees, **Mr. BW** and **Mrs. SY** claimed that they buy items of clothing/fabrics/the lengths of fabric every month. Mr. BW uses this occasion to spend time together with his children in a shopping centre. He said, this is the moment where he can get closer to his children, sharing stories between them, and shopping together. He and his children have the same taste in fashion, but it is not the same as his wife's, so that usually they go without his wife. If they do leave the house together, they will separate in the shopping centre and make a call when they finish their purchases, to go home together. Mr. BW is a very busy person, who has both to manage companies and work at the university. However, he likes to follow fashion and pays a lot of attention to his appearance, which he does together with his children. The same thing is true for Mrs. SY; when asked how often she buys item of clothing she said that on average, she buys items once a month, either a

blouse, trousers, fabrics, or traditional length of fabric. For her, going shopping is a way to overcome work stress, have fun and boost her mood. She can easily get bored with the clothing she has and tries to change her appearance by buying new clothing, mostly on impulse, but emphasizes that the items are not necessarily expensive. However, for special occasions that require wearing traditional dress, purchases will be planned beforehand.

Some interviewees said that they were given traditional lengths of fabrics by spouses, students or colleagues. A female interviewee, **Mrs. SA**, sometimes asks her husband to buy her traditional lengths of fabric when going on business trips to other provinces. She said that visiting some provinces outside Java Island, for instance, Kalimantan and Sumba island, on a business trip is quite rare for her. With help of her husband, she can have traditional length of fabric that she wants. **Mrs. RS** often receives traditional lengths of fabrics from her husband, namely, *selendang bajaik*, *songket* Padang, and *songket* Palembang. Those are expensive items, which her husband bought originally in Padang (capital of the province of West Sumatra) and Palembang (capital of South Sumatra). Mrs. RS said that her husband really likes traditional items of clothing and lengths of fabric, especially from West Sumatra, where they both come from. Furthermore, she mentioned that she feels grateful because she finds they are very beautiful; when there are customary events, she needs not worry about what to wear, since she has a lot of items to choose. Mrs. RS's husband regards traditional dress as an asset that has to be preserved, so that he only buys original clothing which can be kept for a long time with the right care, in case their children would like to wear it in the future.

Mrs. MA said that she often buys on impulse, unless she needs something to wear for an occasion planned ahead. For instance, she buys a blouse and finds trousers that match to it later or has trousers or a skirt made, or she sometimes buys one set of matching fabrics for the upper and lower body. She also claimed that fabrics or items of clothing do not necessarily have to be expensive or in fashion but should be what looks good on her according to her body shape. She mentioned that she had a blouse made by a dressmaker near the university, but it came out to small for her size, even though a previous blouse was good, so, she tried to find another dressmaker and had a blouse made, but the result was not as she expected, so then she had it altered, but there were still some mistakes. Because of this experience, she finds buying items of clothing is more practical than having them made. However, for kebaya, she said that having this made is still the best option, because kebaya has to fit perfectly, but not tightly, to her body. At the time of interview, she was struggling to find another dressmaker. **Mrs. ST** has the same problem as Mrs. MA with tailored

clothing. She had a dress made by a dressmaker, but the finished dress is different to her design, so that she believes purchasing items of clothing is better. When she buys items or traditional lengths of fabric, she said that she does not need anyone to give her suggestions but purchases according to her taste.

A lot of interviewees do not mention how often they go shopping for items of clothing. **Mr. MN** said that he only buys clothing when he really needs something and when he has money for it. On the other hand, **Mrs. SA** will buy items of clothing or fabrics every time there is a chance to do that, to stock them up, not only for her, but also for her husband. When she buys blouses, she said that she prefers the cheaper ones in order to be able to have more compared to buying those that are more expensive. This means that whenever they need new clothing, they have items available or can have items of clothing made from the fabrics. The same thing is true for other interviewees. **Mrs. SN** said that she often buys fabrics or a length of stamped/written batik whenever she has a chance, even though she does not necessarily need them or know yet, what items should be made from these fabrics and on what occasion she should wear them. In **Mrs. MA**'s case, she said that she found some traditional lengths of fabric that she had forgotten about, because there are a lot of them in her possession. Purchasing traditional lengths of fabric is not always because they are needed to be worn or made into items of clothing. The other reasons could be, visiting a place, which they rarely visit, that has certain traditional textiles or secondly, that they like certain characteristics in the textiles (motif/pattern, colour, material, or production techniques).

When the interviewees buy items of clothing, especially the traditional ones, motif is considered as the most important thing for Mrs. RS, Mrs. SN, Mrs. RA, and Mr. SO. Original motifs/patterns are very interesting for them and they feel proud to have them in their possession. These are easier to find in the regions, where good quality can be found for a good price with original or developed motifs, where the original motifs are still recognizable. Whereas modern motifs/patterns are found more in Jakarta, as there are many textile producers, who make their own creations of motif and pattern and importers of textiles and clothing.

Besides pattern and motif, colour is the second most important consideration in purchasing. Dyes made from natural ingredients are the most favoured for batik, because they believe these colours give an elegant impression when worn. Bright colours can be found especially in *songket* (with gold or silver thread) and woven *ikat*. For Mrs. MA and Mr. MN, an affordable price for traditional lengths of fabric and items of clothing is essential

and they believe that there is a good choice of items in a lot of stores. **Mr. CC** asserts that the size of clothes is significant for him, since he often finds shirts that fit his body, but the arms are too short. Whereas for **Mr. EM**, the material used for a shirt should have a good absorbency because of the warm temperature in Jakarta. Each interviewee has their own priority for purchasing items of clothing or traditional lengths of fabric based on their individual preferences and situations and will feel lucky if they can find an item that has a colour and motif they like in their size. However, for a certain design that needs an item to be fitted to the body and for other reasons, there is always the option of having them made.

Mrs. SY stated that her clothes are mostly made by a dressmaker, because she feels happier with such clothing, which can be made according to her desire. She buys fabrics or traditional lengths of fabric anywhere but always follows the trend at the time in colour. Since she can easily get bored when she has worn an item, such as blouse, on special occasions a couple of times, she says that she will then have new ones made. **Mrs. SY** is very creative in designing her new clothes, so that many colleagues and friends notice these and ask her about them, for instance, the fabric, the design, and where she had it made. This is also true for **Mr. SI**, in that he said that he prefers to have his clothes made and feels a fulfilment in designing his own items of clothing. He claimed that he did make errors while designing new clothes but does not feel this is a problem and can learn new things every time there is a mistake in his design. Because he has a lot of experience with fabrics and clothes, he mentioned that many colleagues ask him for suggestions.

Mrs. PD is too lazy to go to a shopping mall, so that when she and her colleagues have a uniform made, she will buy some fabrics from the same source and have two or three blouses made by the dressmaker who is responsible to make the uniform. She will have the same design for all the blouses as the uniform because, as she says, she has no immediate new idea and cannot be bothered to think of one. Occasionally, she will have the same design for two or three blouses with different fabrics. She said that she just has to combine them with skirts or trousers and finds that people will not pay attention on the design of her blouse. **Mrs. PD** chooses a very simple way of clothing herself without needing much time and effort; paying more attention to wearing clothes neatly and appropriately.

Body proportion is a main issue for **Mrs. YS**, she said that she has more clothes that were made by a dressmaker than bought, because she finds that her stomach is quite big, so that the design of the clothes can be according her body proportion, especially for *kebaya* and *baju kurung*, and will fit her nicely.

For Mrs. IM, Mrs. AF, Mrs. TN, and Mrs. SN, buying blouses and blazers is cheaper, but they always have *baju kurung* and *kebaya* made to their personal designs, so that they fit properly, and such a fit is very hard to find in stores. **Mrs. AF** mentioned that she has her *kebaya* made by a dressmaker at a boutique in Jakarta and claimed that the cost for having this made is very expensive. However, she is very satisfied with the finished *kebaya* that fits her figure perfectly. The other four male interviewees, Mr. CC, Mr. EM, Mr. RI and Mr. FD, agreed that they have more purchased clothing than tailored, and claim this is practical. For special occasions, namely, weddings and customary events, they usually plan the clothing they are going to wear, and if they feel that they need new clothing, they will either buy these or have clothes made. Having *kebaya* and *baju kurung* made by a dressmaker is very common for the reason mentioned above, and because these items are worn on special occasions, they pay more attention to appearance; whereas clothes for work or leisure time, with various designs, are easier to find in many places.

Discarding Clothing

There are several reasons why the interviewees discard their clothing, both traditional and non-traditional. Five interviewees, Mrs. MP, Mrs. AF, Mr. AB, Mr. BW, and Mr. RI, said that when they do not want to wear items anymore, they discard them; this can be because of colour, material, design, and cut. For instance, **Mrs. MP** explained that she bought a blouse with a bright colour. At first, she saw it as a nice colour and bought it, but when she tried it at home, she found that the colour was too bright for her and decided not to wear it and gave it to someone. They try to avoid feeling uncomfortable while wearing clothes, because this can make them feel a lack of confidence. Some interviewees, Mrs. MP, Mrs. SY, Mrs. SA, Mr. CC, and Mr. BW, claimed that they discard clothes which have become uninteresting, and buy or have new items made. **Mrs. SY** mentioned that when she gets bored and wants to boost her mood, she will change her style and discard old clothing; also, when a lot of colleagues copy the design of her clothing, she will give such item to other people and find new ones. These interviewees pay a lot of attention to their appearance and like to follow the current trend, either in colour or motif and pattern.

Mrs. IM, Mrs. SA, Mr. MN, Mr. HP, and Mr. BW stated that the size of clothing, which does not fit them anymore, is a reason to discard it. **Mrs. IM** feels bad about clothes that do not fit and said, “[...], *first, they are neglected. Second, it can be the smell in the wardrobe. It would be better if someone wore it. Sometimes my children, sometimes my nieces when they come, say, ‘Aunt, can I have this?’ ‘You can take it.’ I feel glad.*” (Mrs.

IM, p. 17).¹⁰² **Mrs. IM** believes that if she gives away clothes that do not fit her anymore, she will be happier than if she keeps them in a pile in her wardrobe. Further, she does not have much time to sort out unworn clothes, so when her relatives come and find something interesting to wear, she feels fortunate. Discarding clothing because of small size is also true for **Mr. CC**. He said that he has a shirt made from a sarong from Padang (capital of the province West Sumatra), but there was a mistake and the finished shirt was too small for him, so that he could not wear it and he gave it to his nephew. It does not matter to him to give away the new shirt, because if he keeps it, he will not wear it. Clothes that have been worn for a while will be discoloured, and this is also the reason for Mrs. SA, Mr. CC, and Mr. HP to discard their clothes. They agreed that when the clothes are still in good condition, they will give them to other people. Otherwise, they will use them as cleaning rags.

Items of clothing that some interviewees¹⁰³ mentioned as discarded are family wedding uniforms. They claimed that the materials, most of the time, are not comfortable¹⁰⁴ to wear and the designs are not their style. However, when the material and the design are good, Mrs. RS and Mrs. IM said that they will keep them. Receiving this kind of uniform is an honour given to an important person in the wedding; wearing these is a ‘must’ in order to respect the host. Therefore, even though they do not like the uniform, they will still wear it and discard these items afterwards.

When **Mrs. SN** was asked about discarding clothes, she was unsure and said that she is too lazy to sort out her clothing, since there is so much, and claimed that she does not have time. She usually wears family uniform on weddings only once and then gives it to other people. However, once in a while, she will store it in a box to give later to her younger sister or other people. She mentioned that she rarely does this because her weight is relatively stable and that she still can wear items of clothing from ten years ago.

Ramadan is the month when Mrs. SY, Mrs. IM, Mrs. RA, Mr. SI, and Mr. AB sort out their clothing and ask their relatives, if they want to take their clothing. If there is still some left, Mr. SI will give these to his chauffeur and poor neighbours; Mr. AB to office boys at his department; and Mrs. RA to her housemaid and ask her to give the clothing to other people. **Mr. EM** said that he also discards his clothing once in a year, but not necessarily in

¹⁰² “[...], karena kan yang pertama, nggak keurus. Yang kedua, di lemari itu, bau apek aja kan. Padahal itu jauh lebih bermakna dipakai orang kan. Ya kadang-kadang anak-anak suka, kadang-kadang ponakan saya kalau datang, ‘Tante ini dong?’, ‘Ambil aja udah’, gitu kan. Saya malah senang.” (Mrs. IM, p. 17).

¹⁰³ Mrs. SN, Mrs. SY, Mrs. RS, Mrs. IM.

¹⁰⁴ Usually, the materials will be bought in a large sum, and to fit in the budget, the host buys medium or low quality of material, which causes less comfort when worn.

Ramadan and prefers to give it directly to people he knows around him. **Mrs. AF** claimed that she gives unworn clothing to other people around two or three times a year, but not in Ramadhan, because she said that she has no time to sort out the clothes and feels uneasy giving second-hand items of clothing to other people in this important month.

On the other hand, **Mr. BW** and **Mr. MN** have no certain time and sort out the clothes and do this only if they need to or if they have time. Mr. BW will give the clothing to his housemaid to give to people in her hometown. Mr. MN said that he had sorted out his clothing just before the wardrobe observation was conducted. He tidied up and sorted out his clothing and found some shirts to be given to his relatives. He finds that it is good to have had this wardrobe observation, which made him do that, because he feels bad if clothes are just folded in the wardrobe without being worn and sorting out clothes has made some space in his wardrobe. Sorting out the clothes can be troublesome if there are too many and there is not enough time to do it. However, at a certain point, for instance, in Ramadan, doing good deeds, including giving food and clothes to impoverished people, is significantly important, so that some interviewees do this every year.

The interviewees can have many rituals in discarding their clothing. **Mrs. MP**, **Mrs. ST**, and **Mr. RI** will put the clothes in a carton(s) or a basket in their room or sometimes another room (Mr. RI) for a while, before they give them to their relatives or an orphanage (Mrs. MP). **Mrs. SY** and **Mrs. YS** will store discarded clothing in a suitcase and when relatives come visiting, they will offer the clothes to them to be taken away. **Mrs. SA** always puts them in a big plastic bag and stores them in a room to give to relatives, friends, or charity, when there is a chance. For **Mrs. IM**, when she or her friends, who come from the same hometown, want to visit, Mrs. IM will sort the clothes from the wardrobe right away and give them to her friends to give it to people there. The same thing is true for **Mr. SO**, he brings the clothes to his hometown, but he said that nowadays people are less interested than before, because there are a lot of cheap clothes that they can buy now, so that only people who really need the clothes, would be very glad to have them. **Mr. AN** also brings the clothes to his hometown and does not give them for free, but sells them for very cheap price, because he believes that people will appreciate the clothing a little more, if they get this with a little effort. Spontaneous discarding clothing is what Mr. HP and Mr. FD do. **Mr. FD** said that if he finds his wardrobe has no space more, he will spontaneously take some clothes out and give them to other people. **Mr. HP** stated that he sorted out some clothes immediately when there was a flood somewhere in Jakarta and gave them as a charity. However, when there

are only one or two items of clothing, he said that he will give these to his housemaid or chauffeur.

Mrs. AF has another way of discarding of clothing. She said that she sorts out the clothing and finds that there are clothes that are suitable for her housemaid and there are some that are not such as blazers¹⁰⁵, and claimed that she prefers to give the blazers to women who work as employees. If the housemaid takes some clothes, Mrs. AF insists that they should be worn by her and not just kept in the wardrobe. After offering clothing to her housemaid, the remaining clothing, household linens, and cloth bags of hers, her husband, and her children will be put in cartons (separated by type), with shoes lined up next to them, and all put in front of her house. Her neighbours know this activity which is repeated around two to three times a year. They seem excited to have items from Mrs. AF, because she said that all of them will be gone in less than three hours.

In Indonesia, there is no defined place to throw away old clothing, unlike in some other countries, and there is no second-hand market, where interviewees can sell their own clothes. Therefore, they will always give the clothes to other people directly or through an intermediary. The order of giving is to family and relatives, friends, colleagues, housemaid/chauffeur, and then other people or charity. All clothing given away is wearable; if too shabby, it will be used as cleaning rags or thrown out in the garbage.

2.3. Keeping and Caring of Clothing

Keeping Clothing and Accessories

In Jakarta, there is no significant change of seasons (see Chapter 2) in contrast to countries that have four seasons. The temperatures are stable all year around at 29 to 36 degrees Celsius during the day and rarely drop below 20 degrees Celsius at night. This situation enables people to keep and wear the same kind of items of clothing through the year. However, there are interviewees who believe in discarding clothing for various reasons and others who wear clothing until it falls apart.

Three interviewees, Mrs. PD, Mrs. RS, and Mrs. MA have kept their items of clothing (blouses, batik blouses, traditional clothing) for more than 10 years. **Mrs. PD** said that she still keeps a handwoven cloth called *ulos*¹⁰⁶ from Batak, North Sumatra, which she has had

¹⁰⁵ It is a common thing in Indonesia that a housemaid would never wear a blazer.

¹⁰⁶ *Ulos* is a traditional clothing from South Sumatra to mark social status of the wearer and uses in the rites of passage from births, weddings, and deaths.

for more than 25 years (Fig. 56). This *ulos* is stored in the wardrobe and is rarely worn. Further, she still keeps her *songket* (Fig. 56) that was a marriage a present from her husband's family.



Figure 56. *Ulos* from Batak, South Sumatra (left) and *songket* from Padang, West Sumatra (right). Mrs. PD's collection. Source: Sesnawati

Mrs. RS said that she has never had significant change in her weight, so that she still keeps and wears her blouses for years and even has a blouse from 30 years ago that still fits her. She likes classic design for her blouses, so that she can keep them for a long time. Mrs. MA stated that she still has *baju kurung* from Padang and a blouse with handmade embroidery called *kerawang* from Gorontalo, which has been in her possession for almost 30 years. They do not fit her anymore, since she has gained some weight. However, she still keeps them because they remind her of her youth and the blouse was made by an expensive dressmaker, and she is continually amazed by the beauty of the clothing, the cut, and the sewing technique.

Mrs. AF, who is very careful in storing her accessories, said that she still wears shoes that she bought over 10 years ago (Fig. 57); keeping a leather bag that was bought in 1979 and a leather document folder bought in 1980 (Fig. 58), when she was in college.



Figure 57. Mrs. AF's shoe collection, some are over 10 years old. Source: Mr. AF.



Figure 58. Mrs. AF's bag collection. Left, bought in 1979 and right, bought in 1980. Source: Mr. AF.

She also stated that she never discards other accessories such as necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and brooches, and keeps them organized in her room. In Figure 59, there is a small gold brooch (on the very top of the picture) she bought in 1975, a triangle black brooch (left) she bought in 1995, and the other brooches and necklaces she bought from around 2008 to 2013.



Figure 59. Mrs. AF's accessories. Source: Mr. AF.

Another interviewee, **Mrs. TN**, said that she used to keep her clothing around five years and then gave items away to people in need, but now, it is more flexible, which means every time relatives or neighbours¹⁰⁷ need some clothes or there is a natural disaster, she will give away her clothes. Two interviewees, **Mrs. SA** and **Mr. BW**, claimed that they keep their clothing around one to two years because they often have new clothing, which makes their wardrobe full, so that they cannot keep clothing for too long. The other eleven interviewees¹⁰⁸ did not mention how long they kept their clothing but said that when they do

¹⁰⁷ To neighbors that she considered living below the poverty line.

¹⁰⁸ Mrs. MP, Mrs. SY, Mrs. YS, Mrs. RA, Mrs. ST, Mr. CC, Mr. EM, Mr. MN, Mr. SI, Mr. SO, and Mr. AB.

not like an item, they discard it right away. On the other hand, when they like an item, they keep it for a long time.

Traditional items of clothing such as, *songket*, *ikat*, and batik *kain panjang*, are kept for a long time because these items are not related to the size of the wearers. These items were often obtained from their parents or grandparents and will be given later to their children. The reasons other items of clothing are still kept are because they still fit, or there are memories attached to the items. The interviewees who like to follow fashion do not keep their clothes for a long time, since they will obtain some new ones within a relatively short period of time.

Caring for Clothing

Taking care of items of clothing can be challenging for some interviewees. Items made in the batik technique, for example, should be washed by hand using a special liquid made from '*lerak*'¹⁰⁹ which costs extra time and effort. Otherwise, they can be cleaned by a cleaners which necessitates additional costs. Eight interviewees¹¹⁰ wash their batik items by hand at home using *lerak*, either themselves or ask their housemaids to do that. **Mrs. MA** often sends her batik items to a cleaners, so that her housemaid can do other chores at home. The other three interviewees (Mrs. PD, Mrs. RA, and Mr. SO) wash their batik items at home, but use different cleaning agents because *lerak* is not easy to find in Jakarta. For example, **Mrs. PD** uses a shower soap, **Mrs. RS** uses a shampoo, and **Mr. SO** uses a patent fluid detergent. These cleaning agents work well on batik items and do not damage the material or reduce color. Among other interviewees, **Mrs. SA** prefers not to wash her and her husband's batik items, work and special outfits in the washing machine and uses a common hand washing detergent; **Mrs. AF** washes almost all of her clothes (except clothing worn in the house) by hand using a shower soap. Avoiding the use of washing machines prevents damage to clothing.

The other option to keep clothing clean is to use a cleaning service, especially for special or expensive items of clothing that many people cannot wash at home, even though this means additional costs. All interviewees have some clothing sent to cleaners, for

¹⁰⁹ *Lerak* is a fruit widely grown in Indonesia that looks similar to walnuts. This fruit can be used as a natural washing agent because it contains saponins that can produce foam, and is antimicrobial, and gentle on sensitive skin. To produce liquid detergent, the *lerak* fruit is peeled and then boiled for 3-4 hours, then cooled for 1 day and then filtered. The results of this filter process are left in an open state to remove gas. Fragrant oil seeds can be added to this liquid detergent which is then ready to use (Jumi, et.al., 2021).

¹¹⁰ Mrs. MP, Mrs. RS, Mrs. SN, Mrs. MA, Mr. CC, Mr. EM, Mr. RI, Mr. BW.

example, dry-clean-only clothing, expensive clothing, such as items made from silk and wool, suits, blazers, and traditional items, including *sarong* (woven ikat), *kebaya*, *baju kurung*, and batik items of clothing. **Mrs. YS** asserts that her special and expensive clothing must be washed by a cleaners since she had an unfortunately experience, when her housemaid once irreparably damaged some of her clothing. Another interviewee, **Mr. HA**, sends all of his and his wife's clothing to a cleaners because he and his wife are too busy to wash them at home.

As mentioned before, the interviewees wash their special, expensive, and even work clothing by hand or use a cleaners, so that what remains is items worn at home which are machine washed at home (Mrs. SA, Mrs. SN, Mrs. MA, Mr. SI, and Mr. SO). However, almost all interviewees machine washed their daily work outfits, informal and house clothing because they find these clothes do not need any special treatment.

Mrs. RS has never washed *selendang bajaik*. She is afraid of damaging these and the cleaners, which she usually uses, does not know how to wash it either. Consequently, she has to be extra careful every time she wears *selendang bajaik*.

Besides washing, traditional items of clothing such as *songket* need particular attention to keep them in good condition. Mrs. RS explained that every three months she has to take her *songket* out of the wardrobe, unroll and dry them for a short time under the sun, roll them again and cover them with plastic afterwards. She does the job happily because of the beauty and value of these *songket*, caring for them is only a small effort to ensure they are always in good condition, and can be worn for a long time, and in the future, by her daughters. **Mrs. SA** does not do the same with her *songket*; after she has worn *songket*, she will hang it for three days, roll it and replace it in its carton, to be opened only when she wants to wear it again. The other two interviewees, **Mrs. SY** and **Mrs. MP**, feel bad because they store their *songket* by folding instead of rolling them. In this manner, the *songket* will be left with traces of folding and not look good when they are worn. However, they continue to keep them that way, since they are too lazy to roll them.



Figure 60. Mrs. RS' *songket* collection, stored by rolling them. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 61. Mrs. SA's *songket* collection, stored by rolling them. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 62. Mrs. MP's *songket*, stored by folding it. Source: Sesnawati

Mrs. AF cares for her batik *kain panjang* and batik skirts with a *kain panjang* look similarly to Mrs. RS's care of her *songket*. Every two months, a clean batik *kain panjang* should be dried under the sun for short time, covered with thin white paper, rolled with a mothball, tied with a cord, and finally covered with plastic. **Mrs. AF** and **Mrs. RS** are the interviewees who best care for their traditional items of clothing.

The interviewees are very aware of how they should wash their clothing based on the fabrics in order to make them last longer. The male interviewees do not hand wash clothing themselves, but they get some help from their wives or housemaids; only some of the female interviewees wash clothing themselves, instead of their housemaids. Thorough care for *songket* and batik *kain panjang* as Mrs. RS and Mrs. AF do is not easy because of the extra time and effort required, especially if there is no one to help.

2.4. Storage

The storage system interviewees adopt for clothing depends on how they characterize the clothes, such as traditional and non-traditional items; which clothes are better placed in the main wardrobe; which should be hanged or folded, and which should be discarded soon. In storing clothes, there is a tendency to create a kind of rating scale and apply a hierarchy that determines the value of clothes in the storage. This step is influenced by what is available in the wardrobe, or other clothing storage, especially by what kind of traditional and non-traditional clothing they have in their possession. The clothing inventory shows a whole spectrum of possibility of ensemble and compiling of individual outfits.

An observation of the clothing collection should first get a rough overview of what is available and how interviewees systematize their clothing storage. Clothing storage shows how important a role clothes play in the lives of the interviewees, not only as a storage, but because this is also pivotally positioned in the practices of dressing. While one is dressing, the wardrobe provides a range of potential clothes and clothing assemblages.

Mr. CC keeps his clothes in a single wardrobe together with his wife. The wardrobe is placed inside their bedroom. Mr. CC is the one of the interviewees, who has the smallest storage space. His traditional shirts, which are mainly made from batik technique, are folded and stored on the left side of the wardrobe. Next to the batik shirts, there are non-traditional shirts, which are also folded. The reason why he folds the shirts is because there is not enough space to hang them in the wardrobe. Therefore, he hangs only selected shirts based on the material/fabric with the clothes that he and his wife consider expensive. For instance, silk shirts need to be hanged, while cotton shirts can be folded. In general, most folded shirts are short sleeve shirts. On the right side of the wardrobe, there are four shelves that they use together. His T-shirts are stored on the first shelf and trousers are on the lowest shelf; whilst his wife's headscarves and other items of clothing are on the second and third shelves. Outside the wardrobe, there are some clothes that are hung on the wall covered with a plastic bag. Those are the traditional clothes that they just picked up from a dry cleaner. The clothes must remain outside because of lack of space in the wardrobe. Some other clothes covered with plastic bags are also hung in the wardrobe to stay clean and fragrant. Under the clothes hanging in the wardrobe, there are some paper bags, which contain items of clothing that are no longer worn, and some lengths of traditional fabrics made in the batik technique. They are planning to give them to a dressmaker to make some shirts and blouses.



Figure 63. Mr. CC, in front of his wardrobe, holds his favorite shirt which is in the batik technique.
Source: Sesnawati.



Figure 64. Shoes and sandals belonging to Mr. CC.
Source: Sesnawati.

Figure 64 shows shoes and sandals belonging to Mr. CC, which he wears for work, leisure, and special events. On the first shelf are shoes worn on formal occasion such as wedding parties, conferences, and other formal events. Shoes that are on the second and third shelf are worn mainly for work. He wears sandals only if he takes a walk around his house or goes to a nearby supermarket.

Mr. MN keeps his clothing in a two-door-wardrobe which is used to store hanged clothing in one section and folded clothing in the other. All of his shirts and jackets are hanged, whereas trousers are folded and placed on the lowest shelf in the wardrobe. He arranges his hung shirts starting with batik shirts long sleeves to short sleeves, *koko*, and finally common shirts (from long sleeves to short sleeves). The space for hanging clothing looks full and he said that if he buys new shirts, he will discard some old shirts to make space for the new ones. If only he had another wardrobe to store them, he would hang his trousers. Bags are stored in the wardrobe under the hanging clothing. Folded items of clothing beside trousers and including pullovers are on the first shelf, t-shirts on the second self, sarongs and underwear on the third shelf (Fig. 66).



Figure 65. Mr. MN's wardrobe showing hung shirts. Source: Sesnawati

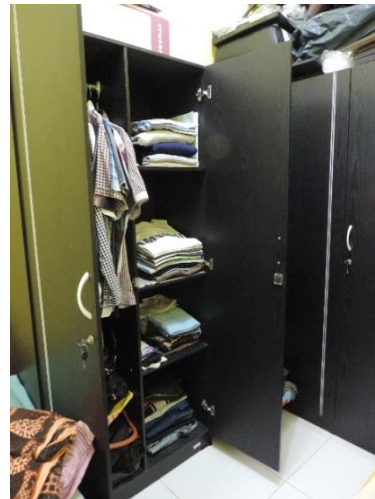


Figure 66. Mr. MN's folded clothing. Source: Sesnawati

Mrs. SY has various clothing storages placed in several rooms. The big wardrobe, which she and her husband use together, stands in the bedroom. Her clothes occupy around two-thirds of this wardrobe, the upper part of which is used to store household linens.



Figure 67. Mrs. SY's wardrobe in her bedroom. Source: Sesnawati

Figure 68 shows a part of her wardrobe where items for her husband are stored on the first rail from the middle to the right; the rest of the clothes belong to her. Mrs. SY's clothes are mostly loose blouses and cardigans made from both traditional and non-traditional textiles. Items of clothing, such as dresses, *kebaya*, kaftans, and cloaks are hung in the next wardrobe section, and trousers are folded and stored on the upper shelf (Fig. 69). Furthermore, on one side of the wardrobe, there is a mirror installed on the wardrobe door, so Mrs. SY can examine her outfit directly, which is a significant issue for her, as her mood plays an important role in which clothes she should wear today.

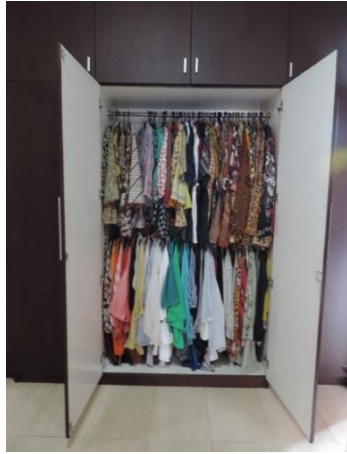


Figure 68. Blouses made from traditional and non-traditional fabrics.
Source: Sesnawati



Figure 69. Dresses made from traditional and non-traditional material.
Source: Sesnawati

T-shirts are folded and stored in the very left side of the wardrobe and those are worn for leisure time and at home (Fig. 70). Clutch bags of clothing for weddings and other special occasions are kept in the commode in her bedroom (Fig. 71).



Figure 70. T-shirt for leisure time. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 71. Clutch bags for wedding and special occasion. Source: Sesnawati

Another clothing storage in Mrs. SY's bedroom is a small cupboard, for headscarves and traditional materials which are planned to be sewn (Fig. 72). Although she has to bend over or sit down to take them out, she finds that it does not matter. She stores her skirts in her son's bedroom, because there is no more space in her wardrobe (Fig. 73).



Figure 72. Headscarves is on the left and traditional fabrics is on the right. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 73. Skirts are stored in her son's wardrobe. Source: Sesnawati

Some traditional materials such as *kain panjang* and *sarong* are stored in a box and it is placed in another room (Fig. 74). Because these items are worn only on a special occasion, she finds that it is better to be placed outside her bedroom, so that she can spare some space there. In front of her bedroom, there is a stand for hanging jackets, which she uses to store some bags of clothing for work to make it easy to grasp (Fig 75).



Figure 74. Traditional materials are stored a box. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 75. A stand to hang bags for work. Source: Sesnawati

Mrs. SY likes to wear accessories, especially ethnic necklaces and brooches. She hangs the necklaces on a clothes horse and puts brooches in boxes (Fig. 76 and 77). This is not a proper way to store necklaces, but she finds it convenient, even though it looks disorganized. On weddings and special occasions, she wears a gold bracelet and necklace. Mrs. SY wears wedges shoes or slippers for most occasions because she feels more confident wearing them compared to flat shoes; the choice of colors is rather neutral (Fig. 78).

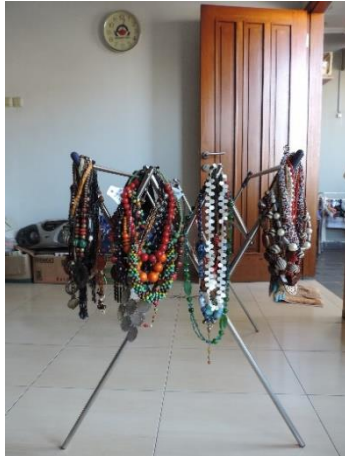


Figure 76. Necklaces. Source: Sesnawati

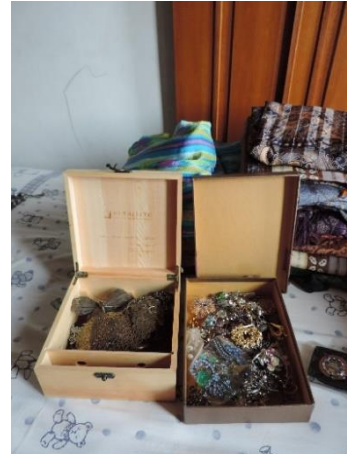


Figure 77. Brooches. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 78. Wedges shoes and slippers. Source: Mrs. SY

Mrs. MP stores her and her husband's clothing in three wardrobes; one large and two smaller, which are in their bedroom and the other one being near the bathroom outside the bedroom. The first big wardrobe has three panels, in which two are used to hang her blouses and her husband's shirts made from traditional fabrics and stores traditional textiles on the upper shelf and hung clothes below (Fig. 79); the other panel is used to store her prayer clothes, T-shirts, skirts, and bags for work and casual wear (Fig. 80). In this wardrobe, her husband stores his shirts which amount to only one-third of the hung clothes. A few white clothes and traditional textiles are wrapped in plastic bags to keep them clean. Figure 81 shows the second wardrobe in the bedroom used to hang her non-traditional blouses (left) and her husband's shirts (right); t-shirts are stored on the upper shelf, while empty cloth bags are under the hung clothes.



Figure 79. Mrs. MP's wardrobe for traditional items of clothing. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 80. Mrs. MP stores her prayer clothes, t-shirts, skirts, and bags. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 81. Mrs. MP's wardrobe for non-traditional items of clothing. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 82. Mrs. MP's accessories. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 83. Mrs. MP's storage for informal and house clothing. Source: Sesnawati

In front of the wardrobe of non-traditional items stands a commode to store Mrs. MP's accessories, for example necklaces and brooches made from stone, wood, and metal (Fig. 82). She is not satisfied about how she keeps her accessories because she finds that they are in chaos and wants to have a better means of storage to keep these in order. Outside her bedroom, in front of the bathroom, stands a wardrobe to keep her and her husband's informal and house clothing, underwear, and towels, all of them folded (Fig. 83). This wardrobe is near the bathroom to make it easier to get clothing whenever she takes a shower. She felt embarrassed when she showed this author her wardrobes, thinking that they are in chaos, even though this was not so. Her storage traditional and non-traditional items of clothing, as well as informal clothing, is arranged in order to make daily dressing easier.

Mrs. SA's wardrobes are in her old bedroom which is now occupied by her mother-in-law who comes once in a month. In this room, she has three wardrobes; one big wardrobe has three panels and the others have two panels. The big wardrobe stores traditional items of

clothing which occupy two panels with hung clothes and an upper shelf, for instance, *kebaya*, blouses made in the *batik* technique and from woven *ikat*, skirt made from woven *ikat* and *batik*, *sarongs*, *songket*, and *kain panjang* (Fig. 84 and 85). Blouses stored here are for work, but rarely worn because they are old and a little faded. In the right panel, she stores her headscarves, skirts, trousers, and house dresses (Fig. 84). On top of the wardrobe, she stores two *songket* from Palembang rolled in cartons (Fig. 85). Near a dressing table stands a wardrobe where she keeps her *kebaya* decorated with embroidery and a few batik blouses (Fig. 86).



Figure 84. Mrs. SA's wardrobes.
Source: Sesnawati



Figure 85. Mrs. SA holds her favorite *kebaya*.
Source: Sesnawati



Figure 86. Mrs. SA's wardrobe near the dressing table.
Source: Sesnawati

Figure 87 shows the third wardrobe she has in this room that keeps some *kebaya*, blouses for work (made from chiffon, in the batik technique and woven *ikat*), which are considered new and hung in one panel. Above the panel, there is a shelf where she keeps her documents. The other panel has 4 shelves storing her handbags for special occasions, t-shirts, skirts, and underwear. She stores her long dresses outside the wardrobe since there is no more space inside and the length of the dresses does not fit into the wardrobe (Fig. 88).



Figure 87. Mrs. SA's wardrobe for keeping new blouses. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 88. Long dresses are stored outside Mrs. SA's wardrobe. Source: Sesnawati

Mrs. PD keeps a four-panel-wardrobe in her and her husband’s bedroom for daily clothes. This wardrobe is mainly used to store her clothes, including her dresses (some made in the batik technique), batik blouses, tunics, and skirts, which are hung in two panels on the left (Fig. 89). The other two panels on the right store her and her husband’s t-shirts and underwear, her non-traditional blouses, and scarves (Fig. 90). Figure 91 shows a wardrobe placed in a laundry room, which keeps some of her traditional clothing, for instance, *kebaya*, *baju kurung*, skirts made from *kain panjang* or *songket*, and *selendang*. Skirts and *selendang*, usually in the same motif and colour, are hung together on a clothes hanger, and a matching blouse or *baju kurung* on top of them. In other words, she keeps each set of traditional clothing on a clothes hanger.



Figure 89. Mrs. PD showing her dresses, tunics, and skirts. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 90. Mrs. PD showing folded clothes and non-traditional blouses. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 91. Mrs. PD showing a wardrobe to keep some of her traditional clothing. Source: Sesnawati

In another room downstairs, Mrs. PD stores the other traditional textiles and items of clothing in two wardrobes (Fig. 92); the wardrobe on the right is used to store her husband’s traditional clothing and the wardrobe on the left is used to store her traditional textiles and items of clothing. However, she said that some of her husband’s batik shirts are stored in her wardrobe because there is not enough space in her husband’s wardrobe. In this wardrobe, she keeps some of her *kebaya* and *baju kurung*; *kain panjang*, woven *ikat* as lengths of fabric; *selendang*, and *selendang bajaik* are stored on the shelf above (Fig. 93). *Songket*, which is rolled and kept in a carton, is stored on top of the wardrobe. Mrs. PD keeps her clothes in three wardrobes and classifies them based on the frequency of wear and as traditional and non-traditional clothing. Her wardrobe in the bedroom is used for daily clothes; the wardrobe in the laundry room stores traditional clothing that has been recently laundered; whereas the other wardrobe downstairs is used to store traditional clothing that is rarely worn.



Figure 92. Mrs. PD showing other traditional textiles and items of clothing in the left wardrobe. Source: Sesnawati

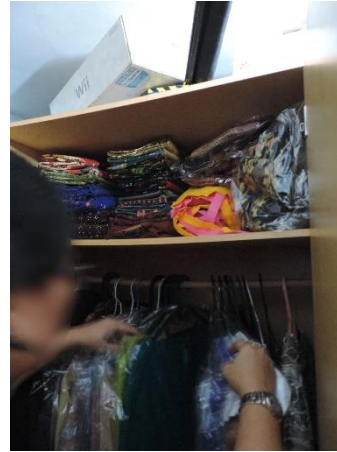


Figure 93. Mrs. PD's traditional textiles are stored on the shelf above. Source: Sesnawati

Mrs. TN has a big fitted wardrobe that was made at her request to fit into her rented single room (Fig. 94). Figure 95 shows her and her husband's hanging clothes, arranged by type (jackets, shirts, blouses, and dresses), and also by traditional and non-traditional material used; from the right to the left, her husband's jackets (non-traditional material), batik shirts, *koko*, and then, her jackets (non-traditional), batik jackets, batik blouses, and dresses. Under the hanging clothes, there are some folded traditional textiles and accessories stored in a small container and boxes. A big mirror is attached on the wardrobe door to check her appearance before she leaves the house. Figure 96 shows two panels of her wardrobe storing folded clothes, including her husband's t-shirts and trousers, her t-shirts, headscarves, house dresses, handbags, and some documents.



Figure 94. Mrs. TN and her husband's wardrobe. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 95. Mrs. TN showing her dresses and blouses hanging in the wardrobe. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 96. Mr. EM shows his shirts, trousers and suits. Source: Sesnawati

Next to the wardrobe, there is a shelf to store her shoes and wedges in boxes (Fig. 97). Each box has a name of a brand and colour of the shoes sorted alphabetically, so that is easier for her to find shoes she has chosen to wear. Across the shoe storage, she keeps her bags in three transparent hanging storages. This kind of storage does not require much space and keeps the bags neat and dust free (Fig. 98).



Figure 97. Mrs. TN's shoe storage.
Source: Sesnawati



Figure 98. Mrs. TN's bag storage.
Source: Sesnawati

Mrs. IM's main wardrobe is in her and her husband's bedroom. Figure 99 shows the wardrobe where she keeps her clothes, both traditional and non-traditional, in the wardrobe in a random order, for instance, blouses, blazers, *baju kurung*, and *kebaya*, which are covered in plastic bags. Under the hanging clothes, there are some of her handbags and others are stored on the left; these handbags are kept in dust bags. The upper shelf of the wardrobe is used to keep house linens. Figure 100 shows Mrs. IM's folded items of clothes, including sarongs, jeans, trousers, and house dresses. On the corner of the bedroom, she keeps her headscarves using two storages hanging on the wall; one is covered in a plastic bag, while the other is not, because it stores the headscarves that she often wears (Fig. 101). Furthermore, unlike most interviewees, she does not separate the headscarves with motifs from those that are plain.



Figure 99. Mrs. IM showing her clothes hung in the wardrobe.
Source: Sesnawati



Figure 100. Mrs. IM showing her folded clothes and some of her bags. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 101. Mrs. IM's headscarf storage.
Source: Sesnawati

Outside the bedroom, there is another wardrobe, in which one panel keeps some of her blouses, blazers, and *kebaya*, both traditional and non-traditional, and almost all are covered in plastic bags (Fig. 102). The other partly open panels of this wardrobe are used to keep her documents. Figure 103 shows shelves of shoe boxes mostly belonging to Mrs. IM, with a small number belonging to her family. She keeps the shoes inside their cartons and shelves them unsystematically. There is no specific way in which Mrs. IM organizes her clothing, bags and shoes as long as there is enough space to store all of them. When she runs out of space, she gives items away.



Figure 102. Mrs. IM's clothing storage outside the bedroom. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 103. Mrs. IM's shoe storage.
Source: Sesnawati

Mrs. RS keeps her traditional and non-traditional clothing separately. When her wardrobe was observed, she was willing to show this author only the storage for her traditional textiles and items of clothing. Figure 104 shows the first wardrobe, used to store her batik blouses, all of them are hung. The second wardrobe (Fig. 105) is used to store her *kebaya* and *baju kurung*. They are covered in plastic bags from the laundry where they were

washed and worn only on special occasions. The shelf on the bottom right is used to store her house linens. The third wardrobe is used to store items of clothing that are rarely worn, also covered in plastic bags, with house linens on the shelf above (Fig. 106). These three wardrobes are placed upstairs, while the fourth wardrobe, in her and her husband's bedroom downstairs, is used to store her *batik kain panjang* (Fig. 107). Mrs. RS has a large number of traditional lengths of fabric and items of clothing and she stores them very carefully and systematically, so that she knows exactly where she keeps an item and can easily find whatever she needs.



Figure 104. Mrs. RS' wardrobe for batik blouses. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 105. Mrs. RS' kebaya and baju kurung. Source: Sesnawati

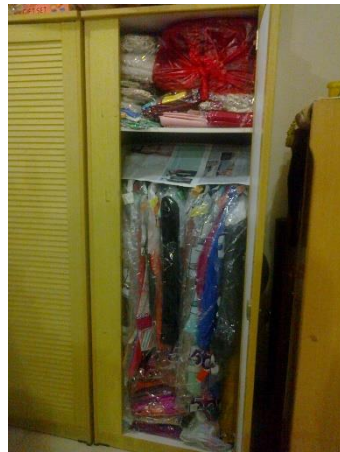


Figure 106. Mrs. RS' traditional items of clothing that are rarely worn. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 107. Mrs. RS' batik kain panjang. Source: Sesnawati

Mrs. YS stores her items of clothing for work and special occasions in different wardrobes. Figure 108 shows her wardrobe to store items for special occasions, for instance *kebaya* and *baju kurung*, that is placed in her and her husband's bedroom; some necklaces

are hung inside the wardrobe door. This author was not allowed to enter the room, so that the picture was taken by Mrs. YS herself. When the housemaid has finished ironing the clothes, they remain in the laundry room and Mrs. YS puts them in the wardrobe herself. The other wardrobe, used to store both traditional and non-traditional items for work, is placed in a different room (Fig. 109). She stores house linens on the shelf above the hanging clothes and on top of the wardrobe, as well as suitcases. She was very excited when taking out items of clothing and bringing them to the living room where interview was conducted, but she felt uneasy about a complete observation of her wardrobes, so that only part of one wardrobe could be observed.

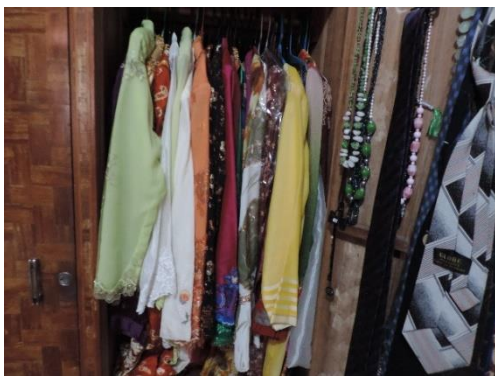


Figure 108. Mrs. YS' wardrobe for special occasions. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 109. Mrs. YS' wardrobe for her work outfits. Source: Sesnawati.

Mr. EM's wardrobe is in his and his wife's bedroom. He keeps batik shirts and common shirts separately. Figure 110 shows his batik and *koko* shirts hung in the wardrobe, whereas t-shirts, sarongs, and trousers are folded under the hanging clothes. His non-traditional shirts and trousers for both work and special occasions hang on the first level in the wardrobe shown in Figure 111. On the second level, there are his shirts, suits and his wife's blouses that are rarely worn. Some of them have been covered in plastic bags after laundry. He found at that time that he had too many shirts and the wardrobe looked so full, that he was planning to take out some shirts and give them to his family or other people.



Figure 110. Mr. EM shows batik shirts, *koko*, sarong, t-shirts and trousers. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 111. Mr. EM shows his shirts, trousers and suits. Source: Sesnawati

Mr. RI's wardrobe is in his and his wife's bedroom. The wardrobe has mirrors on all four doors. His shirts, suits, and his wife's clothing are hung randomly, occupying two panels on the left; on the shelf above, he keeps his traditional textiles, for example, batik *kain panjang* and woven *ikat*, of which some are planned to be made into clothing (Fig. 112). The hanging clothes space is already full, so that he selects items to be hung based on the material, namely, silk. His batik shirts, made from cotton, are folded and stored in the next panel and worn only once or twice a week; other folded items are sarongs, trousers, and t-shirts (Fig. 113). Mr. RI wants to re-organize his clothes in this wardrobe and make a little space, especially for the hanging clothes, to avoid his wife doing ironing every time he wants to wear a shirt without any wrinkle on it.



Figure 112. Mr. RI's shirts and traditional textiles. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 113. Mr. RI's folded items of clothing. Source: Sesnawati

Mr. SO has two wardrobes to keep both his traditional and non-traditional items of clothing. Figure 114 shows his wardrobe for blazers and batik shirts. This wardrobe is placed in the family living room and used only for hanging clothes. The other wardrobe to keep his non-traditional items of clothing, including shirts (mostly in white), suits, trousers, t-shirts, shorts, and some traditional textiles is in his and his wife's bedroom. All of his shirts, suits

and trousers are hung, whereas t-shirt, shorts, sportswear and traditional textiles are folded. T-shirts worn at home and for leisure time are kept separately. Everything about Mr. SO's clothing, its storage, and what he wears is arranged by his wife. Unfortunately, observation of the wardrobe in their bedroom was not allowed by Mr. SO's wife for personal reasons.



Figure 114. Mr. SO's wardrobe for batik shirts and jackets.
Source: Sesnawati

Wardrobe observation of **Mr. SI** was conducted in his second house, where he mostly does his university work. Figure 115 shows how he stores some of his shirts made in the batik technique. This wardrobe still has a lot of space, because his main wardrobe is in his first house, so that most of his traditional and non-traditional items of clothing are stored there. However, he said that most of his clothes are hung, including shirts, suits and trousers, which are stored separated into traditional and non-traditional items. Items such as t-shirts, sarongs, and traditional textiles (*kain panjang* and woven *ikat*) are folded.



Figure 115. Mr. SI's wardrobe. Source: Sesnawati

The next five interviewees' wardrobes were not observed because of personal reasons. Instead, they described their wardrobes and storage systems and sent the pictures to this author.

Mrs. AF is a meticulous person when it comes to storing her belongings, including items of clothing and accessories. She has one wardrobe in her and her husband's bedroom and another one in a different room. Figure 116 shows the wardrobe in the bedroom storing her hanging clothes, both traditional and non-traditional, for work and special occasions, including blouses, blazers, and dresses, everything covered in plastic bags. She divides the items by the colour of the clothes, for example, if she wants to wear yellow, she looks at this colour range and decides whether to wear batik blouse, woven *ikat* blouse/blazer, or non-traditional blouse. Two shelves above the hanging clothes store her husband's clothes. On top of the wardrobe (Fig. 117), there is another space to store her handbags and document bags covered by dustbags. Figure 118 shows Mrs. AF's wardrobe for her folded clothes, including *kebaya*, the lengths of traditional fabrics, skirts, trousers, informal and house clothing in one panel. The other two panels store her husband's items of clothing. When she has five new items, the old items in the wardrobe will be removed and given to other people; but if she still likes them, she will store them in plastic bags in a box, and after some time if she wants to wear them again, she puts them back in the wardrobe.



Figure 116. Mrs. AF's hanging clothes. Source: Mrs. AF



Figure 117. Mrs. AF's storage for her handbags. Source: Mrs. AF



Figure 118. Mrs. AF's folded clothes. Source: Mrs. AF

Mrs. AF's plain and motif headscarves, as well as knitted hats are kept in three drawers shown from Figures 119 to 121. She stores by rolling and tying them in order to save space, since she has a large number of headscarves and knitted hats. However, she does not iron the headscarves when she wants to wear them, even though there will be wrinkles on them.



Figure 119. Mrs. AF's plain headscarves. Source: Mrs. AF



Figure 120. Mrs. AF's motif headscarves. Source: Mrs. AF



Figure 121. Mrs. AF's knitted hats. Source: Mrs. AF

Mrs. AF's written batik *kain panjang* are stored in a box by laying a covering paper on top, rolling, tying and covering them in plastics; she says that this means that the colour will fade less (Fig. 122). For her accessories, Mrs. AF stores necklaces and bracelets on jewellery holders, while brooches and earrings are in two glass boxes next to them (Fig. 123). She keeps her accessories neatly, so that it will not be hard to find a small brooch she wants to wear on an occasion. Mrs. AF's shoe storages are divided into daily (Fig. 124) and special occasions (Fig. 125). Sandals and shoes worn daily are stored in closed shelves, whereas for special occasions, they are kept in their boxes and stored on the shelves.



Figure 122. Mrs. AF's storage for her kebaya. Source: Mrs. AF

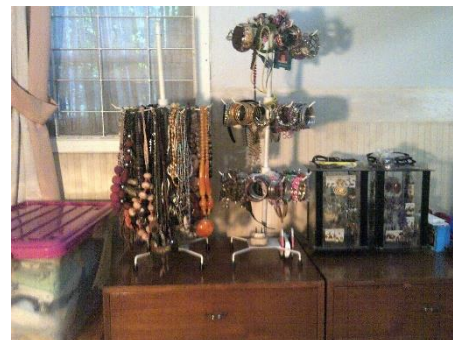


Figure 123. Mrs. AF's storage for her accessories. Source: Mrs. AF



Figure 124. Mrs. AF's daily use shoe storage. Source: Mrs. AF



Figure 125. Mrs. AF's shoe storage for special occasions. Source: Mrs. AF

Mrs. SN's storages are all in her and her husband's bedroom. She has a four-panel-wardrobe to store her and her husband's items of clothing. Two panels in the middle (Fig.

126) store their hanging items, mostly covered in plastic bags, both traditional and non-traditional. Figure 127 shows a drawer on the left panel of the wardrobe storing her scarves in batik and tie dye technique. Items of clothing that have been washed are hung on a clothes-stand before ironing (Fig. 128). Mrs. SN said that her storages are very crowded, but she is too lazy to sort out her clothes and re-arrange her wardrobe, which she finds is very time consuming. She does not have any particular way to store her clothes and does not really care about it, because the important thing for her is that her and her husband's clothes are in the same places, since she prepares the clothes for her husband every day.



Figure 126. Mrs. SN's hanging clothes. Source: Mrs. SN



Figure 127. Mrs. SN's scarves. Source: Mrs. SN



Figure 128. Mrs. SN's storage for washed clothes before ironing. Source: Mrs. SN

Mr. HP's wardrobe stands in his and his wife's bedroom and has four panels. His clothes are stored in two of these, one each for folded clothes (Fig. 129) and hanging clothes (Fig. 130). Folded items of clothing include underwear, informal and house clothing (t-shirts, trousers, sportswear, and sarongs). Hanging clothes are divided into two levels; the upper-level stores shirts and jackets, whereas the lower-level stores trousers. Since he only has around five batik t-shirts, he keeps them together with the other shirts. His ties are hung inside both wardrobe doors. Mr. HP's wardrobe is arranged neatly, and he only keeps his currently worn items of clothing, so that when he buys new items, some old items must be taken out, and either given to other people, to a charity or thrown out.



Figure 129. Mr. HP's folded clothes.
Source: Mr. HP



Figure 130. Mr. HP's hanging clothes.
Source: Mr. HP

Mr. AB has two wardrobes to store his and his wife's items of clothing. The first wardrobe is placed in their bedroom upstairs, and has two panels with sliding doors, providing hanging space to store his shirts and suits; sarongs and the lengths of traditional fabrics are folded and stored under the hanging spaces (Fig. 131). The shirts he keeps here are batik, long sleeved shirts, new shirts, and shirts that are considered expensive. His items of clothing occupy around three-quarters of this wardrobe. Since there is not enough space to keep the other wardrobe in his bedroom, he has placed this wardrobe in the bedroom of one of their children downstairs. It has two panels; one is hanging space and the other is for folded items. In this wardrobe, his clothes occupy only one-third of the wardrobe and the rest is used to store his wife's clothes. Some of his shirts are folded and stored here because there is no more space to hang shirts. Folded shirts are the shirts that he wears more often compared to hanging shirts which are worn mostly on special occasions. Because his active wardrobe is not in his bedroom, dressing takes more effort.



Figure 131. One of Mr. AB's wardrobes.
Source: Mr. AB

Mr. AN keeps his traditional and non-traditional items of clothing in the same wardrobe which has two shelves and a hanging space below. Traditional length of fabrics, t-shirts, and trousers are folded and stored on the shelves; both traditional and non-traditional jackets and shirts are hung together below without any classification between them (Fig. 132).



Figure 132. Mr. AN's wardrobe. Source: Mr. AN

The next six interviewees explained how they store their clothing and gave partial descriptions of their wardrobes during the interviews. **Mrs. MA** keeps her traditional and non-traditional items of clothing separately and hangs almost of her clothes, for example blouses, trousers, and headscarves. One set of a blouse, skirt and *selendang* is hung together on a clothes hanger. Folded items are traditional lengths of fabrics, house clothing and underwear. Separation of storages between traditional and non-traditional items is important for her, to find the right item to wear easily. **Mrs. RA** stores her clothes in two wardrobes; the first contains her formal and work outfits, including *kebaya*, blouses, jackets, suits (jacket and maxi skirt), skirts, and trousers; the second wardrobe is used for informal and house clothing. Batik blouses, blazers, suits, trousers, skirts and some *kebaya* are hung, whereas house clothing, *kain panjang*, some *kebaya*, and rarely worn items of clothes are folded. *Songket* is folded and hung together with its matching blouse/*baju kurung* on a clothes hanger. Some of her clothes are hung in the laundry room, since there is not enough space to store them in her wardrobe. Mrs. RA does not classify her clothes based on traditional and non-traditional items, but on the occasion on which the clothes will be worn. She also does not pay much attention to storage of items that need special care such as *songket* which should be rolled instead of folded. **Mrs. ST** has three wardrobes in her and her husband's bedroom to store her clothes, separated from the wardrobe of her husband who has one. Hanging items of clothing are blazers and clothes made from material that cannot be folded,

such as silk and chiffon. Folded items are blouses made from cotton, t-shirts, shorts, and the lengths of traditional fabrics. Unworn items are kept in a carton in the bedroom, ready to be given to other people or to a charity any time.

Mr. BW has his own wardrobe and it is placed in the room next to his and his wife's bedroom. He explained that trousers and some shirts are folded, whereas some expensive shirts are hung. When he was asked further questions about the storage system of his wardrobe, he could not answer, because his wife is the one who manages his wardrobe. **Mr. FD** keeps his clothes in two wardrobes without any separation between traditional and non-traditional items of clothing. Suits are hung and the other items such as shirts and trousers are folded. Since the housemaid puts them in the wardrobe after being washed, he does not really mind how she stores the clothes and he does not want to be perceived as nagging her. However, when he wants to wear a shirt for a formal occasion, he will ask the housemaid to iron it before he wears it. **Mr. HA** said he has a wardrobe full of traditional clothing from different region in Indonesia. He does not know exactly how the items of clothing are stored, since his wife does the job.

All the interviewees have closed wardrobes of various sizes to store their items of clothing. Two of them, Mrs. SA and Mrs. SN, have extra hanging spaces to store their clothes outside their wardrobes; for Mrs. SA because she does not have any space to store her dresses; for Mrs. SN because the clothes are not ironed yet. The main wardrobes of interviewees are placed mostly in their bedrooms; the second and further wardrobes are placed in another room, which can be their child's bedroom, family living room, laundry room, corridor, or somewhere near their bathrooms; Mrs. SA is the only one who does not have any wardrobe in her bedroom, and has to walk downstairs from her bedroom to dress. The main or only wardrobe stores most clothes currently worn.

Storage in wardrobes is based on the type of items of clothing such as shirts, blouses, trousers, skirts, and so on. Furthermore, the classification used includes, for instance, clothing made from traditional and non-traditional textiles (for most of interviewees), new and old items of clothing (Mrs. SA and Mr. AB), color (Mrs. AF), and clothing for formal and informal occasion (Mrs. RA). Regardless of the size of the wardrobe, they manage to organize their clothes systematically for convenience in dressing. It is essential to sort and store clothing systematically, so that it is visible and easy to reach, particularly for everyday use. This system indicates whether the particular clothes are the active part of ensembles or only favorite or valuable items. Another consideration is that the storage is easy to open and close with no major effort required to access items.

3. The Practice of Dressing

3.1. Getting Dressed: What Should I Wear Today?

During the evening, as usual, **Mrs. YS** starts to prepare clothes she wants to wear for work the next day. Her house is quite far from the university, and she has to leave for work around 6.30 a.m. and arrive before the lecture begins at 8 a.m. Getting dressed early in the morning sometimes takes more time than she thinks. Therefore, the night before a workday is a perfect time to prepare her clothes. She cares a lot about her outfit so that preparing clothes also means that she irons clothing again before she wears it, i.e., a blouse, trousers or skirt, and headscarf. Once, when she was in a hurry and ready to go, she accidentally spilled a glass of milk on her clothes. She was very stressed out and had to start over again to iron the clothes she wanted to wear. She arrived at work late. In order to have an appearance, as perfect as she has planned, she takes a lot of effort to achieve this.



Figure 133. Mrs. YS in her work outfit. On the left side is an example of her daily outfit; and on the right side, she is in a seminar, where she delivers a presentation. Source: Mrs. YS

Mrs. YS asserts that matching colour in her outfit is really important. In Figure 133 (left), she wears a blouse and skirt using the same material, which I assume is jersey, with an abstract motif and a plain edging at the end of the sleeves and blouse, with a headscarf. The colour combinations are pink and purple, which are matching hues. She wears a neutral, colour black for her shoes and brown for her bag. As for the necklace, she wears white to accent her appearance. In the right-hand picture, she wears a blouse and skirt using batik technique and colour combinations of black and gold, along with a headscarf in cream. This

outfit is a neutral combination, and black, as a neutral colour, can be combined with any colour, in this case, gold. She also wears a gold brooch just below her headscarf as an accent. Mrs. YS emphasizes the word ‘matching (colour)’ a couple of times during the interview, which means that she really wants to create her appearance through the choice of colour. Once, she wore a headscarf with a dark purple colour and one of her colleagues said to her, “*Hey, why does your outfit not match (the colour)?*”¹¹¹ (Mrs. YS, p.297). She knew that the colour of the headscarf was a little bit dark compared with other items of clothes and had hesitated to wear it when she was getting dressed.

Based on this experience, especially since she became a professor, Mrs. YS pays much attention to how to choose items of clothes and dress carefully. She also is anxious about being overdressed, when thinking of wearing the same shades of colour from top to toe, including bag and shoes. “*For example, one set of clothes (in the same colour), I have shoes in purple. [...] But I feel a little bit afraid. Afraid of... being overdressed, overdressed, afraid of being overdressed.*”¹¹² (Mrs. YS, p.300). Beside the colour combination, wearing items of clothes that fit, but loose rather than tight is very important for Mrs. YS, so that she is appropriately covered. To have a particular look that fits into her social life, Mrs. YS learns from other’s feedback about her appearance and uses it as an idea for her outfit, to obtain a particular look she would like to have, to feel presentable.

Whilst Mrs. YS prepares her work outfit a night before, **Mrs. SY**, on the other hand, chooses her clothes for work standing before her wardrobe and decides what should she wear on that day according to her mood at that time. She takes out some items of clothes (blouse, trousers or skirt, headscarf) and considers if they go together and then wears them. Sometimes she can choose a ‘perfect’ outfit instantly; otherwise, she tries twice or more before she decides which item of clothes to wear. Even though her headscarf is folded and stored in a small cupboard, which makes it a little wrinkled, she does not bother to iron it or the other items of clothing. She does not wear any variation of headscarf, even on a special occasion such as wedding party. She would like to look different, but after putting a lot of effort into choosing headscarves, they never meet her expectation, so she always wears the same simple style of headscarf.

¹¹¹ “*Eh, itu kenapa baju ngga matching gitu.*” (Mrs. YS, p.297).

¹¹² “*Misalkan baju, ini satu set, sepatu agak ungu punya. [...] Tapi sesaat saya rada takut juga, gitu. Takut apa ya... ya kadang kelebihan, berlebihan, gitu, takut berlebihan.*” (Mrs. YS, p.300).



Figure 134. Mrs. SY (the third from the right) and Mrs. MP (the second from the right) in their daily work outfit. Source: Mrs. SY

As shown in Figure 134, Mrs. SY wears a high neck T-shirt and a half-circle skirt in the same colour (green). To get the formal look, she wears a jacket made from stamped batik in brown and broken white colour. Her headscarf is also in broken white and her wedges are in brown. To complement her appearance, she wears a watch in green, which matches her skirt's colour. “[...] *Not so many blouses, more cardigans (jackets). Because it looks more formal for work. Beneath, (I) wear (a) shirt or t-shirt, wearing this (jacket), and (a) necklace as a complement.*”¹¹³ (Mrs. SY, p.195). Wearing three pieces of clothes is quite warm for the weather in Jakarta. Therefore, she told me that she wears a sleeveless T-shirt beneath a loose jacket to make it comfortable. Turquoise-green as an earth colour is combined with another earth colour, brown, to make a cool colour combination.

As for **Mrs. MP**, she wears a loose blouse with an abstract motif in black and red colour combined with a red headscarf, black half-circle skirt, and black-crème wedges. She wears an ethnic stone necklace with a little red colour and a classic watch. Her colour combination is a ‘safe’ choice, which is black (neutral) and red. Both of them wear a simple headscarf and similar work outfits for their daily activities in the university. “*At campus, I like (to wear) batik (blouse). Most of my work clothes are batik; it is around 50 percent.*

¹¹³ “[...] *Blus ngga banyak, tapi cardigan (jaket) lebih banyak. Karena kan lebih kesan resmi kan kalau buat kerja, dalemnya pakai kemeja atau pakai kaos, tinggal pakai ini (jaket), tambahin kalung deh.*” (Mrs. SY, p.195).

Batik (blouse) can be combined with trousers or skirt, mostly with trousers. And a skirt is combined with chiffon (blouse), normal blouses."¹¹⁴ (Mrs. MP, p.27).

This combination of work outfit is worn by some other lecturers as well. Another combination that is common wear in the university would be a long sleeve hip-length blouse of modest design, trousers or culottes and headscarf (for those who wear headscarf). These combinations are considered appropriate and accepted in the university.

Deciding on which outfit to wear could have various complexities. **Mrs. TN** arranges her outfits for a week based on the colour. For instance, if this week she wants to wear anything in purple, then, she will wear the colour purple in a blouse today and skirt or trousers on another day. The important thing is that there is purple in her clothes every day in this week. She makes very detailed notes for her outfit, so that the purple blouse she wears on Tuesday, for example, it will not be worn again on Friday as she gives a lecture for the same students on both these days. On Friday, she will wear the colour purple in a skirt or trousers. Although it sounds a little complicated, dressing like this makes her feel good. In the case of Mrs. MP, she wears different items of clothes (blouses, jacket), for work combined differently, every day for a month. She tries to arrange her clothing based on the occasion, material, design, and colour in order to optimize her appearance. Now that she has managed to do this successfully, she would like to challenge herself by trying to wear different clothes every day for two months.

Mr. SI starts the week by wearing a formal outfit on Monday, which is a white shirt, suit and tie (if needed), and then slowly changes it into a brighter colour from Tuesday to Friday. "*So, (you) won't find me wearing white on Friday, it won't be.*"¹¹⁵ (Mr. SI, p.450). He cannot tell why he does such a thing, but the impression I have is that he likes to wear a bright colour, such as a batik shirt in light green with white trousers. Choosing a bright colour for his outfit, especially on Thursday and Friday, would improve his mood and bring passion to his work.

When the interviewees were asked what is important for them in choosing items of clothes to be worn, most of them answered the same, which is to get the feeling of comfort from both material and design. The material for an item of clothes, especially for the upper body, is cotton as the main choice, for its absorbency, considering the warm weather in

¹¹⁴ "*Di kampus saya suka, senang dengan batik. Jadi batik itu mayoritas dari baju kerja; itu ya hampir 50 persen adalah batik. Batik itu bisa di-stel-kan dengan celana maupun rok. Tapi seringnya pakai celana kalau batik. Kalau rok paduannya sifon, gitu, blus-blus biasa.*" (Mrs. MP, p. 27).

¹¹⁵ "*Jadi, (anda) ngga pernah menemukan saya pakai baju di Jumat tuh putih, ngga ada itu.*" (Mr. SI, p.450).

Jakarta. Additionally, for the male interviewees, a short sleeve shirt is worn for daily work activities. Many of the interviewees choose batik shirts/blouses for their work outfit as this offers comfort because of the material (cotton) and gives the impression of formality at the same time. They wear items of clothes made using batik technique more often than a common shirt/blouse (3 times or more in a week), as well as a jacket and blazer using the *ikat* technique (Mrs. MP, Mrs. SY, Mrs. SA, Mrs. IM), which is combined with trousers or skirt.

Mrs. PD has the same design for some of her batik blouses, but with different motifs and colours. She believes that people will not pay much attention to that as long as she combines them with different skirts or trousers, shoes and bag.

Seven other interviewees wear batik around once or twice a week, especially on Friday and perhaps more often if there is a special occasion (welcoming guests, a conference, or a meeting). On Friday, there is an unwritten rule, suggesting that batik clothes be worn, and some interviewees wear batik only on this day. If there were an official suggestion to wear batik more often than only on Friday, Mr. MN and Mr. AN would be glad to do this.

The other six male interviewees hardly ever wear batik shirts for work. They prefer wearing a 'common' shirt (and tie and/or blazer). Two of them (**Mr. SO** and **Mr. HP**) usually wear a white shirt for work. They are not willing to wear different designs of shirt or different colour. It is very practical to wear a white shirt, which can be combined with any colour of trousers. In this case, the interviewees wear only dark colours, such as black, brown, blue navy, etc. This outfit is very simple yet gives an impression of formality. They do not need to think about the colour combination or even choose which colour of shirt they should wear.

Wearing an item of clothes made using batik or *ikat* technique for work shows that the wearer has a sense of responsibility for preserving traditional techniques/motifs through their appearance. As batik and *ikat* are currently in fashion, they can have various designs, colours, and motifs (as developments of its original motifs) and stay fashionable at the same time. Since batik is popular, it is very easy to find it and it has a wide range of price. Apart from written batik, stamped and printed batik are affordable for middle class people. As mentioned before, a formal look is attached to batik shirts/blouses, as long as their trousers/skirts are not leisure wear.

Sometimes during or after work hours, they have to wear a different outfit that is more appropriate for the occasion. For example, **Mr. FD** likes to wear a short sleeve shirt/polo shirt along with jeans when he gives a lecture, but later in the same day, he may

have another appointment and needs to wear a formal outfit. He prepares by having a wardrobe in his car. “[...] *Always prepare it, because (my) car is a ‘walking house’ for me. [...]*”¹¹⁶ (Mr. FD, p.762). In his car, there are four suits, five formal jackets, casual jacket, eight pairs of shoes (formal and non-formal), etc. The other eight interviewees¹¹⁷ keep clothes in their car as well (suit and batik shirt/blouse). Besides storing clothes in the car, seven interviewees keep some formal items of clothes in their offices. In the case of **Mr. SI**, he once wore the wrong dress code for a celebration of the university’s anniversary. Instead of wearing a traditional item of clothing (batik shirt), he wore a suit with a tie. However, it was not a problem at all, because he always keeps batik in his office and changed clothes before the event begun. Sometimes, a formal occasion might come up unexpectedly. Therefore, being prepared by having items at clothes at the office or in the car is very convenient. For a scheduled occasion, such as a formal meeting or formal celebration, some interviewees bring an outfit to the office if needed, while others can go back home and change, because their houses are close to the university (Mrs. MP, Mrs. PD, Mr. CC, Mr. MN). Wearing different outfits on the same day would seem like too much work, but on the other hand, being dressed appropriately is considered essential to have an optimal appearance in a particular situation.

Some interviewees state that their outfit can/will be worn for both work outfit and on a formal/special occasion. For example, **Mr. CC** explains that his batik is worn for both work and wedding outfits (Figure 135). He argues that although a wedding party is a rare occasion, it is a waste of money just to have the clothing for it stored in the wardrobe, so he wears clothes fit for a wedding almost every day. Furthermore, he said, “*Because it [is] still appropriate(s) for work. This is what happens (at the university), [I get asked], ‘Do you want to go to a wedding party, Mr. CC? [laugh]. [...]’*”¹¹⁸ A colleague of his teased him for being overdressed as a work outfit.

¹¹⁶ “*Selalu sedia, karena mobil itu rumah berjalan buat saya.*” (Mr. FD, p.762)

¹¹⁷ Mr. EM, Mr. AB, Mr. AN, Mr. SI, Mrs. RS, Mrs. YS, Mrs. AF, Mrs. ST.

¹¹⁸ “*Ya itu kan, karena kan masih cocok juga buat kerja ya kan. Ini kan ketika sampe dikantor kan gini, ‘Mau kondangan, Mr. CC? (tertawa). [...]’*” (Mr. CC, p.332).



Figure 135. Mr. CC and his wife on a wedding. Source: Mr. CC

However, this does not bother him at all. He claimed that there will always be someone who will comment on the way you dress. The feeling good wearing a batik shirt is the important thing for him. Mr. CC's case shows that one can be able to confidently determine the outfit one wants to wear, as long as one feels the outfit fits the occasion regardless people's opinion.

Based on the answer of the interviewees, dressing for weddings could be divided into two categories, which are dressing up for relatives' weddings or customary events and being a 'normal' guest. For relatives' weddings and customary events, people will dress in a traditional look, even though there could be modification/alteration to their traditional items of clothes. For female interviewees, their traditional items of clothes would be a *kebaya* and *batik kain panjang*, a *kebaya* and *songket/ikat*, or a *baju kurung* and *songket*. For male interviewees, it should be a *beskap* and *kain batik*, or a *batik shirt* (long sleeves) and trousers. These traditional items of clothes could be prepared by their relatives as a kind of uniform, similar in material, and motifs, or they could wear their own traditional item of clothes. For instance, **Mrs. PD** attended a relative's wedding ceremony, and on this occasion, she and her family wore a set of traditional items of clothes prepared by her relatives (Figure 136). These were rented and were fitted a few days before the wedding day.



Figure 136. Mrs. PD and her family on a wedding. Source: Mrs. PD

Relatives are part of the host group, which holds the event, responsible for welcoming guests. Therefore, wearing traditional clothing is obligatory in this situation, even if one does not like it. As an example, **Mrs. AF** does not like to wear *kain batik* as part of uniforms of the host because it constraints her body movements. However, she will still wear it. “Yes, if I get the (traditional) uniform. It’s forced [laugh].”¹¹⁹ (Mrs. AF, p.497).

If they are invited as a guest, some of them would wear traditional items of clothing or mix both traditional and non-traditional items in the same material as the married couple (Fig. 137) or similar colour, whilst others would wear completely different colour or non-traditional items with their spouses. For instance, female interviewees will wear a *batik* blouse and *batik kain panjang/skirt*, a blouse and *batik kain panjang/songket/skirt*, or a dress. Male interviewees will wear a *batik* shirt (long sleeves) and trousers or suit. Wearing original *batik kain panjang/songket* requires a special skill to wear it properly. Three interviewees state that they can wear it properly and are proud of it. *Batik kain panjang* is preferable compared to *songket*, even *songket* from Padang (West Sumatra), in which a lot of gold yarns are used. This makes *songket* too heavy to be worn often and quite stiff. Some of the female interviewees also claim that they like *songket* from Palembang (South Sumatra) much more, because it does not use as much gold, is lighter, and the colours are brighter.

¹¹⁹ “Iya, kalau dapet seragam. Ya terpaksa [tertawa]” (Mrs. AF, p.497)



Figure 137. 'Couple uniform' of Mrs. TN and her husband made from oriented batik.
Source: Sesnawati

Most of the female interviewees wear *batik kain panjang/songket* in a form of a skirt with the look of original batik *kain panjang*. In other words, they make it into a skirt in order to be more practical in wearing it, but still can get the traditional look. This kind of modification is part of the development influenced by the changes in social environment, which lead people to live their lives more practically. For instance, batik *kain panjang/songket* is now often worn as a skirt rather than wrap, which is time consuming.

All of the interviewees agree that traditional items of clothing should be worn on occasions, such as weddings or when custom requires it in ceremonial events. Besides weddings, other events also require traditional dress, namely, choosing a native regional leader, when a baby starts to walk, circumcision, seventh-month pregnancy, etc.

In the university, wearing traditional items of clothes on graduation day is common, and this has been required in the last few years at the Faculty of Technology. The lecturers attending a graduation ceremony should wear traditional items of clothes. Even though there is no such regulation in other faculties, many of the lecturers will do this as well. Wearing traditional items of clothes on those occasions shows that everything that related to the changing of the stages of life is considered something sacred.

Furthermore, a lot of lecturers, especially university officers, will wear traditional items of clothes at the opening ceremony, *dies natalis* (anniversary) of the university. For example, batik shirt, batik blouse, and trousers or skirt, or blouse and skirt with batik or *ikat* motif. For the opening and closing of a conference, its committee will mostly wear batik shirt/blouses. As mentioned before, wearing traditional items of clothes is important at every stage of life. However, on a celebration day that is not custom-related, wearing traditional

items of clothes still indicates a feeling of pride and helps preserve such items of clothing from going out of use.

It is a challenge to be able to wear comfortable clothes, which means to “look and feel right” (Woodward, 2007) on every occasion. At the moment of getting dressed, one can feel constrained to wear a particular item of clothing or its combination in order to create one’s self-image. On the other hand, one can also be independent and choose an outfit which simply claims, ‘this is me’ (Mrs. SY, Mrs. AF, Mrs. TN, and Mrs. SN). The feel of the material, its touch or shape on the body plays an important role in comfort, as well as being practical, because body movements should not be impeded. The judgment of others can cause anxiety and make it harder to choose an outfit which fits social expectations and allows self-expression as a unique individual.

Getting dressed for different occasions shows that wearing traditional items of clothes is a main choice for most of the interviewees in terms of material and formal look required for most occasions. Whether it is an obligation or not, most of the interviewees wear traditional material in various designs of items of clothes more often than around 10-20 years ago.

3.2. The Style of Dress of Lecturer and Professor

It is interesting that the interviewees have replied similarly to the question of what style of dress a lecturer and professor should adopt. Mrs. MP argues, “*Lecturers are public figures. That is why a lecturer should give a good example, a good model, and it is very different with other professions. The point is to be polite, not excessive (in dressing).*”¹²⁰ Mrs. PD, Mrs. IM, Mrs. TN, Mr. ST and Mr. HA assume that being dignified is a significant point as well. Similarly, **Mrs. MA** said that lecturers and professors should dress tastefully. In her opinion, if lecturers dress up properly and neatly, the students will follow them. They should show self-respect through the dress they wear, and others will respect them in return.

Being a professor and lecturer means that they often stand in front of the class and are the centre of attention while teaching. Therefore, **Mrs. RS** assumes that they should dress neatly and formally. She argues that being an educator is not easy because all facets of their lives are assessed. If a person chooses this profession, he/she should be ready to be a role

¹²⁰ “*Kalau dosen itu kan memang suatu figur dari masyarakat. Maka seorang dosen itu harus memberikan contoh, teladan yang baik ya, tentunya sangat berbeda dengan profesi lain. Intinya tadi itu sopan ya, tidak berlebihan.*” (Mrs. MP, p.34)

model. Some other lecturers and professors (Mr. CC, Mr. MN, Mr. EM, Mr. AN, Mrs. YS, Mrs. RA) also agree that they are a role model for their students. Hence, they find that dressing neatly is very important. In order to be a good role model, they have to show it through their dress, the way they talk, and overall behaviour.

Mr. SO points out that, “[...] *In Indonesia, for example, wearing a T-shirt is not... not advisable for work outfit. Even though in China (for example) the T-shirt is a favorite item of clothes for their activities, but it is not for us to wear as a work outfit. We have kind of... kind of tradition that is used to assess... the understanding of value, value of... culture, politeness. They are strongly attached (in daily life) in Indonesia, in Java it is called ‘toto kromo’ (good manners). So, it is about appropriate and not appropriate, decent and not decent.*”¹²¹ For instance, wearing jeans in a work outfit is not decent. As educated people, **Mr. AB** believes that lecturers should already know which item of clothes is decent for them. According to **Mrs. ST**, it is necessary to wear a formal outfit from top to toe while at work. She would wear a blazer when she is with her students. In that way, people can recognize immediately that she is the lecturer.

Another point of view from **Mr. SI** is as follows, “*In my opinion, a lecturer should not be ‘conventional’, they should be fashionable, too. They do have professional responsibility, but I think in the aspect of dressing, they should be fashionable, that is my opinion. Not just because of the aspect of intelligence as the priority, so they do not become outmoded. [...] The self-confidence should be increased, but I do not like people with too much self-respect, either. Just be reasonable, natural, so it is decent. [...]*”¹²² He states that being fashionable includes the educational aspect as well, such as choosing the right items of clothes on a certain occasion.

When I asked about the rules for work outfits, many of the interviewees needed a little time to think and try to remember if there is a rule or not. However, Mrs. IM, Mrs. AF, Mr. SI, Mr. HP, Mr. AN, Mr. BW, and Mr. FD argue that there is only an unwritten rule on how to dress as a lecturer and professor. Further, **Mrs. IM** states that there are only general

¹²¹ “[...] *Jadi kalau di Indonesia misalnya pakai kaos itu tidak...tidak dianjurkan untuk dipakai ngajar. Walaupun di Cina kaos itu pakaian favorit untuk kegiatan, ya sebaiknya kalau ngajar nggak pakai kaos ya. Ya jadi kita punya...semacam tradisi yang dipakai untuk menilai...pemahaman nilai, nilai...kultur, sopan santun. Itu kan melekat kalau di Indonesia, istilah Jawa-nya itu toto kromo. Jadi pantas dan tidak pantas, layak dan tidak layak. [...]*” (SO. p.476).

¹²² “*Mestinya dosen itu jangan konvensional ya, kalau menurut saya, gitu kan, dia harus modis juga, gitu. Bahwa dia tanggung jawab profesional, iya, tapi saya pikir dari aspek berpakaian dan sebagainya, dia harus modis kok, menurut saya gitu ya. Ya jangan lah trus kemudian mentang-mentang aspek kecerdasan yang diutamakan trus artinya jadi kuno, gitu. [...] Paling tidak self-confident akan tambah juga, meski juga saya nggak suka dengan orang yang terlalu jaim, gitu ya. Yang wajar aja, alamiah, jadi pantes, gitu.*” (SI. p.456).

ethics about how to dress, make conversation and so on, and she learned these from people around her. Mr. AN, Mr. BW, and Mrs. RA believe that it is a kind of popular knowledge/ethic code that a lecturer as an educated person should dress neatly and properly. Moreover, Mr. SO said, *“It is an ethic that should come from the person him/herself. It should not be forced. As educated people, lecturers should know it. It is in line with the knowledge that they have, (they) should understand, which is our identity, which is the identity of others. They should understand it. [...]”*¹²³ Mrs. MA gives an example that if a lecturer or professor wears mini/short items of clothes, there will be complaints from the students. However, as long as the dress is acceptable, Mrs. AF believes they can choose any items of clothes they like.

Referring to the style of dress of a lecturer and professor previously mentioned, it is seen that recognizing them in public is quite challenging. There is no prototype of a lecturer or a professor. Mr. SO is often mistaken for being a businessman if he is wearing a tie. Many of the interviewees cannot recognize a lecturer or professor in public, but can differentiate between educated and non-educated people, including in dress, gesture, and the way they talk.

Nevertheless, Mrs. MP claims that there is a way to recognize academics through dress, especially the colour. In her opinion, a lecturer or professor would use a monochromatic or neutral colour combination. If they wear a combination of contrasting colour, it should be not more than two colours. For example, one colour brighter and the other darker. Still, an overall view is needed to recognize them.

To sum up, one must think and act correctly in order to fit into their society. In this case, clothes play an important role in how they are perceived, whether the clothing that one wears is accepted or not. Hollander (1993) states that there is a picture of a particular style, which is embedded in the mind and becomes a standard or criteria for people to choose items of clothes to wear on certain occasions. In this sense, one is probably trying to dress so that the others will like it, as clothing they themselves prefer. Therefore, they will look similar to the others. The normative assumption about appropriate dress as a lecturer is, in short, that, although no specific rule was prescribed, they had adopted “conventional” lecturer wear.

¹²³ *“Itu etika yang harus dibawa sendiri sebetulnya. Tidak usah diharuskan. Seharusnya orang se-intelek dosen itu harus sudah tahu. Sejalan dengan perkembangan ilmu yang dimiliki, tentu sudah harus paham, mana yang identitas diri mana yang identitas bangsa lain. Itu harus sudah paham. [...]”* (SO. p.477)

3.3. Changing Styles of Dress

3.3.1. An Image of a Group of Colleagues and Friends

Mrs. MP and **Mrs. SY** have been friends since college and still are now. They spend a lot of time together and are often buying fabric or clothes together. Sometimes, Mrs. MP asks Mrs. SY's opinion about items of clothing she wants to buy, but she reports that she mostly decided herself. Mrs. SY claimed that her opinion is often asked by her friends or colleagues and many of them are influenced by her, for instance, Mrs. MP, Mrs. AF, Mrs. SA and Mr. AB. For her, she usually does not ask for another opinion if she is going to buy or have an item of clothing made, except if the fabric is expensive. Then, she will ask one particular colleague, who, in her opinion has good taste, for a suggestion.



Figure 138. Mrs. SY (second from left) and Mrs. MP (in the middle) in 1987.
Source: Mrs. SY



Figure 139. Mrs. SY (on the left) and Mrs. MP (second from right) in 2014.
Source: Sesnawati

Figure 138 shows the picture of Mrs. SY and Mrs. MP around 1987 in a fashion show event held by the Fashion Study Program. In this picture, they were in their 20s and it was their early in their careers as lecturers. They wore similar outfits (blouses and skirts) made to wear at this event. Figure 139 shows the situation almost 30 years later, where Mrs. SY and Mrs. MP were in their early 50s. The outfits are what they wear daily in the university. Mrs. SY wears a white blouse, a skirt, and a headscarf; adding a silver bracelet matching her blouse and her red necklace matching her watch. Mrs. MP wears a black long sleeve T-Shirt and trousers, and a green blazer matching her headscarf. She also wears a necklace and a watch. The change in their style of dress from these two figures is the fact that they now wear a headscarf. Mrs. MP started to wear a headscarf around 1999 for religious reasons,

wanting to cover her head and body properly. She does not find that changing her style was difficult because she used to wear a long sleeves blouse, so she just had to wear a maxi skirt or trousers and a headscarf. Mrs. SY started to wear a headscarf in 2002 and said that it is easier for her now because she does not have to struggle with her hair anymore. She did not have any problem in changing her style in the university, but at that time, she also had another job in a fashion institute where many colleagues are non-Muslim. She therefore asked them for permission to wear a headscarf and this was allowed as long as she stayed fashionable. Later, they found Mrs. SY's style of dress better than before.

Mrs. SY said that her style is now more elegant compared to 5-10 years ago, when she used to wear a fitted blouse and trousers and some accessories. As she gets older, she wears more maxi skirts or culottes and loose blouses. She claimed that she was the first person to wear a maxi skirt for work among her colleagues, around 2004. When many lecturers started to wear skirts, she changed to culottes. Mrs. SN has similar reasons for changing her style; considering her age, Mrs. SN wears a blouse, which reaches below the hips. She tries to dress appropriate to her age. Furthermore, she often gives suggestions to her colleagues, for example, she sketches a design for a blouse and together with the colleague, they involve a dressmaker and explains the design as well as how to apply it to the fabric.

Mrs. MP said that she does not really know what style she has now, “[...] *ten years ago, people said that I had classic-elegant style, but now, let's say, it's unidentified, because it is sometimes classic-elegant, sometimes... but definitely not sexy [...]*”¹²⁴(Mrs. MP, p.44). She often wears a loose blouse, because she gained some weight and found that wearing a blouse that shaped her body does not look good on her. Therefore, most of her blouses do not have any darts, or if they have, they are not tight. She emphasized that both in the past and present, the clothes that she wears have all been decent and appropriate. Mrs. TN thinks her style of dress has not changed in the last five years, but changed in 1999, when she started to wear a headscarf. Previously, she used to wear mini dresses and high heels, and then changed to wearing a headscarf. After she got her doctoral degree in 2001 and was appointed as professor in 2007, she found that she should dress more appropriately in order to set a good example as an educated person.

¹²⁴ “[...] *kalau 10 tahun yang lalu mungkin orang menjuluki saya tuh klasik elegan, tapi sekarang sudah, istilahnya 'amburadul', karena kadang-kadang klasik elegan, kadang-kadang / kalau seksi engga ya. [...]*” (Mrs. MP, p.44).

Mrs. AF used to wear a dress or skirt with a split (a little over knee) and a deep V-neck blouse. When she started wearing a headscarf in 2013, she wore long sleeve blouses and maxi skirts or trousers. Asked why she changed her style, she said that there is no specific reason; she just wants to dress this way. Further, she explains that she wears headscarves with variations and stays fashionable. Mrs. SA was influenced a lot by her friends in college and spent considerable sums of money to buy clothes. She likes to ask friends or colleagues for suggestions before buying or designing items of clothing. In 1994, she changed her style of dress and also started to wear a headscarf. Previously, on weddings she used to wear a sleeveless dress along with a scarf, but then changed to *kebaya* and *kain panjang* (or skirt with 'kain panjang' look) or *songket*. In the last four years, her husband has insisted, probably for reasons of fashion, that she wears a long dress most of the time. He has not made his reasons explicit, yet she still follows his advice, because she believes that it will look good on her.

When she was in college, **Mrs. YS** took a dressmaking course, because she liked to design and sew her own clothes and then show them to her friends. It made her friends want to have clothes with the same design as her and she offered to make clothing for them. Another interviewee, Mr. SI, often makes suggestions to his colleagues about the design and material for a shirt or trousers. When he was in college, he helped his friends to choose and buy material to make shirts.

Following the latest fashion is important to **Mr. MN** as a Fashion lecturer. Nevertheless, it does not mean that it forces him to change his style, which is simple yet neat. If it looks good on him, he will wear it. For example, he wore baggy pants when it was popular, and then changed it into slim pants because baggy pants were no longer in fashion. **Mr. CC** changed his style to be neater since he got married in 2005, because his wife always comments if she finds that his appearance is not good enough.

When **Mrs. MA** was young, she used to wear clothes in bright colours and followed fashion. She took a picture of a blouse in a display window or a magazine and made it into an item of clothing. In high school in early 1980s, she even participated in fashion shows wearing batik. In the last ten years, she claimed that there had been no significant change in her style. She likes to wear a loose blouse and trousers and can wear the same style for a long time. In the last few years, she has preferred wearing blouses in brown. **Mr. RI** used to follow fashion when he was single, for instance, wearing bell bottoms, baggy and slim pants. However, now he does not have time to think about fashion and style, and wears anything his wife has prepared for him.

Mrs. RA does not change her style and said that a new trend or style is not important to her, but what is important is wearing clothes that are appropriate and comfortable. Mrs. PD, Mrs. RS, Mrs. YS, and Mr. SI have not changed their styles either and said they will not change in the future. They feel comfortable with the style they currently have, which is simple yet elegant, for example, with traditional material currently popular in Indonesia (*batik, ikat*); they will use the fabric for their clothing and design it in their style.

In the next five to ten years, most of the lecturers and professors said that they will not significantly change their style of dress. However, some lecturers will follow the latest fashion (Mrs. MP, Mr. SY, Mr. MN). Two other professors, Mrs. TN and Mrs. RA, will wear more religiously connotated items of clothing, which are feminine in their look, namely, loose dress like *abaya*, and skirts as a mark of self-respect themselves and said this looks more decent at their age.

The style of dress of the lecturers and professors has changed for several reasons. First, because they have started to wear headscarves, which means they should wear long items of clothing (blouse, skirt, trousers or dress). As mentioned in the previous section, the wearing of headscarves has been increasing since the 1990s. With the development of Muslim fashion, which provides various styles of dress, female Muslims will still be able to wear any outfit including a headscarf and look fashionable in their styles. Secondly, they changed their style, because of change in their figures, which made them feel uncomfortable in their previous style. Thirdly, because of age; they consider that a style, which is decent and appropriate to their age, is necessary. Lastly, the possession of an academic title entails a change in style to set a good example as an educated person.

3.3.2. *The Role of the Family*

Growing up in a family, parents influence many aspects in our lives, including styles of dress. **Mrs. MP** said that her mother played an important role in choosing her clothes and when she was a child, her mother used to make clothes for her. She claimed that her mother's taste in fashion is better than hers. She therefore liked it when her mother chose which clothes she should wear and enjoyed getting her mother's comments on her style of dress. She felt much better after she followed her mother's suggestions. Since she has been married and lived separately from her mother, she frequently visits her mother and sometimes her mother will still give her some suggestions on her dress. **Mrs. SY** was influenced by her mother as well. She has the impression that her mother is very fashionable and adores her

style very much. Her father always dresses neatly. Her parents, therefore, inspire her to develop her style of dress.



Figure 140. Mrs. SY and her parents on her graduation day in 1986.
Source: Mrs. SY

When I asked **Mrs. RS** about her parents' influence on her, she said that her mother was a very meticulous person, especially about clothes and overall appearance. Her mother used to wake and dress early each morning no matter whether she was going out somewhere or staying at home. Mrs. RS, on the other hand, did not pay much attention to clothes when she was young, and her mother used to give her suggestions to change the way she dressed. After she enrolled as a student in a Fashion Department, her mother was very happy and supported her study.

Mrs. TN said that her parents used to dress properly. Her mother was a teacher of Dutch at a Dutch School¹²⁵ in Bandung. She always used to wear batik *kain panjang* and looked very elegant and neat. During the interview, it could be seen from her recollections that Mrs. TN admired her mother greatly. **Mrs. YS**'s mother used to wear *kebaya* and batik *kain panjang*, whether she was staying at home or going out. Nevertheless, she said that her mother did not influence her in the way she dresses. In the case of **Mrs. IM**, it was her daughters who influence her a lot. When they are buying clothes together or when she dresses up, her daughters always give her suggestions about colour and design. On the other hand, **Mrs. SA** was influenced greatly by her husband. Especially for family events, her husband

¹²⁵ *Hoogere Burgerschool te Bandoeng*, Bandung, West Java.

suggests which outfit she should wear, whether traditional or non-traditional. Although her parents dressed well, and her mother was a dressmaker, she reported that they did not influence her style of dress.

Mrs. MA's father was a soldier and was very strict about the clothes that she wore. Dress is important, and one thing she still remembers until now is not to wear clothing that is too tight. Not only her father, her grandmothers were also extremely strict about the clothes she wore. She said that she had to change if her grandmother found that her clothing was not decent; the rule of dressing decently and appropriately was stricter when she was a teenager. When asked if it was a religious matter, she said that it was not about belief, but a custom in her family. She claimed that she comes from a noble family. In the Dutch East Indies, her grandfather (from her mother) was a regent in Ciamis, West Java. Therefore, wearing proper and appropriate clothing is 'an unwritten rule' in the family. Furthermore, Mrs. MA said that her husband prefers her to wear black, white, green, light green, turquoise, or orange, because these colours suit her. She now has a lot of clothes in brown and she received negative comments that she looks gloomy in brown. In addition, she usually asks her husband about the design of an item of clothes yet to be made.

Mrs. RA's parents used to wear socially proper clothes. Her father would tell her to wear something better if her clothes were too short or tight. He said that the important thing in dressing is to dress politely. She bears the word in mind when choosing her dress, especially now that she is married and has children, in order to be a good example to them. **Mr. EM** said that his parents suggested that he should not wear jeans and sneakers for formal occasions. Now, his wife is the one who takes care of his clothes, buying them and choosing which should be worn for work and which as formal outfits.



Figure 141. Mrs. EM (centre) and his parents. Source: Mr. EM

Mr. SI was influenced by his father, who used to dress fashionably but properly. He adores his father, because even though his father did not have a high level of education, he still knows how to be well-dressed. He thinks, people respect his father, in part because of his appearance. His father told him that he should dress decently and appropriately to build his self-respect.



Figure 142. Mrs. SI (left) and his father.
Source: Mr. SI



Figure 143. Mrs. SI in 2010. Source: Mr. SI

Some of the interviewees said that there was no influence from their parents. However, since they have got married, their spouses play an important role in their appearance. **Mr. CC**'s wife helps him to choose items of clothing to buy, which should not always be black (his favourite colour) and suggests trying another colour that will look good on him. **Mr. RI** and **Mr. SO**'s wives take care of all their needs in dressing for work and formal occasions.

Mr. AB's mother is quite strict about wearing traditional items of clothes, especially batik. She insists that Mr. AB wear original motif written batik on weddings or formal occasions, and not modern batik motifs. His father is also very selective in choosing items of clothes using batik technique. He wants only items of clothing (shirt or *kain panjang*) made using written batik. **Mr. MN**'s parents were dressmakers and said that he should wear decent and neat clothes every time he leaves the house.

Since he was a child, **Mr. AN** has lived separately with his parents, and therefore, claimed that there is no influence from his parents. Instead, his children are the ones that make suggestions about his appearance, such as wearing a batik shirt which is not tucked into his trousers. At first, he did not accept their ideas, but then realized that his children were correct and afterwards followed their suggestions. Another interviewee, **Mr. HP**, said

that he does not like to wear shorts if he leaves the house. When he thought about it, he realized that his father had not done this either and can see his father's influence in this.

Most of the interviewees have said that they are not influenced by their friends or colleagues. However, most of them agreed that parents have played an important role in the development of their style of dress, especially their mothers. Some important words mentioned very often are about wearing decent and appropriate items of clothing. Besides parents, spouses could also influence their style and frequently choose their clothes. For some male interviewees' wives take care of everything concerning their dress, including buying/making and preparing the clothes every morning, which means that they entrust their entire appearance to their wives.

3.4. Uniform

In the State University of Jakarta, Indonesia, there is a 'work uniform'¹²⁶ worn by lecturers and professors. It has some aspects similar to corporate fashion, which are uniformity and being fashionable, but although it is not an obligation for lecturers and professors to wear it, many departments at the university have adopted it. The uniform usually has the same material, colour and motif; but it could have a different design for each lecturer. It could be provided either by a department or the university. If it is made for the lecturers in a department, the head of the department would gather the lecturers and discuss the project together; starting from purchasing the material, choosing a design and making it into an item of clothes by choosing a dressmaker, who can be one dressmaker (the cost is usually paid by the department), or lecturers are allowed to choose their own at their own cost. If the uniform is provided by the university, the lecturers will not be involved in the process of material selection, or design and production of the uniform. Some dressmakers will take the body measurement of the lecturers before making the uniforms.

Although lecturers and professors are not obliged to wear uniform, many departments at the university have arranged this for themselves. There are neither written rules about what material they should use, nor detailed rules for the design. It is a joint decision within a department or university, so that not all of the departments at the State University of Jakarta have a uniform. However, the informal rules about how to dress appropriately are important

¹²⁶ 'Work uniform' in this text means the uniform that is worn as a work outfit at the university. In the previous sub-chapter, I have discussed a family uniform that is worn for a party or feast which involved their spouse. The word 'uniform' (means *seragam* in *Bahasa Indonesia*) here refers to the term that is used by the lecturers in Jakarta.

for academics. There is also no rule about when they should wear a uniform, but it could be at the suggestion of the head of department or the lecturers. For instance, once a department has decided to have a uniform, the lecturers are willing to wear it if this is requested by the head of department on a certain occasion. They are not forced to wear it. Instead, wearing a uniform is left voluntary.

3.4.1. Self-Expression in Uniformity

Material and Design

Academic uniforms could be in various forms, namely, shirt/blouse, blazer, jacket and sportswear. However, shirt/blouse is the most common item of clothing for a uniform. Cotton fabric is popular, because on average, the temperatures in Jakarta are always high and therefore, it is very comfortable to wear cotton for a shirt/blouse. In most cases, the materials used are still ‘traditional’ such as those using the batik technique (stamped or printed batik¹²⁷), *ikat* technique, or others considered to make a traditional impression. The availability of a particular traditional material is sometimes too restricted to provide the uniforms for all lecturers in a department. Therefore, a material similar in the colour and motif to the one chosen is used. During the purchasing of the material, the fashion trends of the motif and the colour, as well as the price are considered. The purchasing of the material could be anywhere such as in a region where a certain batik motif is popular, or at special stores in Jakarta.

A common thought about uniform is that there should be unity in dress, but not always in fashion, so that uniform is also connected with innovation and variety. After a department provides the material, they can decide, if they want the same design for all lecturers or prefer individual designs for each. A design that will be adopted by all will be discussed in a meeting. If an individual design is the choice, then each lecturer can decide freely for themselves. They could choose a classic design of a blouse/shirt, follow a style that is popular at the time, or make their own design. On the other hand, the design as well as the material for a uniform that is provided by the university will be decided by the members of the presidium. All the lecturers have to accept it whether they like it or not.

¹²⁷ Regarding the high cost of production, the lecturers will not use written batik for their uniforms.

Wearing a Uniform

According to Craik (2005), wearing a uniform will allow other people to recognize which groups one belongs to. For example, occupational categories, ethnic groups, relatives and so on. Interestingly, the uniform at the State University of Jakarta is not always worn at any certain time and within all groups. In fact, the uniform is free to be worn anytime a lecturer wants to. On workdays, if there is no special event, there will not be any suggestion to wear a uniform from the head of a department. Nevertheless, the lecturer can wear the uniform and consider it as an ordinary item of clothes. They can wear it on workdays or even in their leisure time if they wish. If the uniform is worn as a 'normal' item of clothes, it cannot then identify the wearer's status or the group they are part of.

However, on certain occasion such as welcoming guests, they will be informed by the head of the department which uniform should be worn, so that all the lecturers wear the same uniform. Lecturers in a department who do not like a particular uniform (the colour or the design) still wear it when they are asked to, uniformity always comes first. They could also talk to each other and decide to wear a particular uniform on a certain occasion without being asked to. At a regular meeting in their department, they could wear the uniform, but not necessarily all wear the same one, and are free to choose any uniform they like (**Mr. CC**). **Mr. HP**, a lecturer in the Department of Physics, was asked if the lecturers are willing to wear the uniform and answered that it is not a problem; they feel happy because they get new clothes for free.

A uniform is not accepted by all lecturers. In a few cases, they would refuse to wear it and choose another item of clothes to wear. An interviewee, **Mr. BW**, said that a uniform is kind of burden for him and he cannot express himself through such clothing. However, **Mr. AB** explained that there is no punishment if one wears no uniform and he can still participate in formal occasions.

3.4.2. The Number of Uniforms

The uniform at the State University of Jakarta is uniform that can be replaced every year, once in two years, or every time the lecturers in a department are willing to, but old uniforms can still be worn, so that a number of uniforms different in motif and colour can be seen in a department. There is no department, which bought and made a uniform using the same material and/or design every year.

Mrs. PD, a lecturer in the Department of Mathematics, has some work uniforms, replaced every year for six years in the same design using different cloth applied with stamped batik. The material was bought and made it into a blouse or shirt by a dressmaker provided by the department and the design of the blouse/shirt is decided in her department. Usually, they get material for the lower body as well, and they could make it into skirts or trousers. If Mrs. PD does not like a detail of the blouse, she will alter it herself. If, for example, she found that the length of the blouse was a bit too long for her, then, she made it shorter. Mrs. PD claims that she and her colleagues like to wear uniforms. Even before batik blouse/shirt became popular, they had blazers as their uniform. At the time of the interviews, the Department of Mathematics was preparing the material for the upcoming uniform, which was again going to use a traditional material. They were discussing whether to use batik or *ikat*.



Figure 144. Wearing a blouse uniform with printed batik - Department of Mathematics. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 145. Blouse uniform with printed batik - Department of Mathematics. Source: Sesnawati

Similarly, the Department of Food and Beverage has uniforms as well. **Mr. CC**, **Mrs. SA** and some of their colleagues bought material using batik technique during their business trip in Java Island and then had it made into a blouse or shirt by a dressmaker, provided by the department. They have weekly meetings and, therefore, the suggestion was that the lecturers wear a particular uniform to these meetings. On the other weekdays, a lot of lecturers wear one of the uniforms they like, even though it is not obligatory to wear any of it. Beside a blouse and shirt as uniforms, they also have a grey cooking uniform. Mr. CC believes that uniformity brings a sense of togetherness in their department. Up to the time the interviews were conducted, he had five batik shirts as a uniform.

At the Department of Biology, **Mrs. SN** said that they have blouse/shirt uniform made from material using stamped batik and material with *ikat* motif, bought in Jogjakarta and Pekalongan (Central Java). Despite the fact that Mrs. SN does not like to wear a uniform, she would wear it if asked on a certain occasion. As illustrated in Figs. 146 – 149, the uniforms take the form of blouses. The lecturers can decide the design themselves and combine it with a skirt or trousers, and headscarf (if they wear one). It is also p to the lecturers whether they choose neutral or monochromatic colours. As we can see in the pictures, there are also some lecturers who do not wear any uniform, but can still participate formally.



Figure 146. Blouse with stamped batik (Pekalongan, Central Java). Source: Mrs. SN



Figure 147. Department of Biology – an event of Guest Lecture and Tracer Study. Source: Mrs. SN



Figure 148. Blouse with stamped batik (Yogyakarta). Source: Mrs. SN



Figure 149. Department of Biology. Source: Mrs. SN

Unlike the other departments, the Department of Physics provides uniform for the lecturers by buying batik shirts (Fig. 150) in a store in Jakarta. **Mr. AB**, the Head of the Department of Physics, said that it was better to buy ready-made batik shirts because individually tailored shirts were often not finished on time. Therefore, some lecturers wore ‘old’ batik shirts, while others wore the new ones. Sometimes, it could be decided together, whether a uniform should be bought or tailored individually based on the situation.



Figure 150. Shirt with printed batik, Department of Physics. Source: Mr. AB

The Department of Civil Engineering, for instance, has decided on the individually tailored uniform shown in Fig. 152, whilst the year before they bought ready-made batik shirts/blouses (Fig. 151). The material for the uniform in Figure 9 was bought in Cirebon, West Java, during a meeting they had there. This was not planned, but some lecturers who were attending the meeting were going to buy batik material, which is popular in the region, for themselves and decided to buy enough extra material for the new uniform as well, after discussing which material was to be bought. After the material was bought, lengths were given to the lecturers to be sewn. The department did not provide a dressmaker, and the lecturers could design the blouse/shirt according their taste.



Figure 151. Shirt with printed batik, Department of Civil Engineering. Source: Sesnawati



Figure 152. Shirt with printed batik, Department of Civil Engineering. Source: Sesnawati

Some departments, however, do not have any uniform, as for instance, the Department of English. Whereas in the Department of Sport, they do not use batik as a uniform, but have sportswear plus shirts and blazers as uniform instead. When I conducted

the interviews with **Mrs. SY**, the Head of Department of Fashion, and **Mrs. MP**, a lecturer in the same department, and asked about the availability of a uniform, both of them gave the same answer that the lecturers did not want to have one. On the other hand, **Mrs. RS** and **Mr. MN**, who are also lecturers in this department, argue that a uniform for the department is important, especially when they are going abroad for business trips and would like to have one. They match the colour of the outfit as their ‘uniform’ on certain occasions, as a dress code, for instance, in shades of pink or orange. Later, at the annual meeting of the Department of Fashion, the topic of the uniform was brought up for discussion and they decided to have a uniform in the form of blouse/shirt using material with *ikat* motif. However, because the materials were not available in large amounts (one-piece of material is adequate for three normal size blouses), they arranged that the uniform would be in the same ‘*ikat*’ theme, while the colour and motif are different for every two or three lecturers.

Beside the uniform in some departments, there is a university uniform as well, i.e. batik shirt/blouse. It was issued in the year 2009 and was made by a dressmaker provided by the university. Unfortunately, most of the interviewees do not wear it for various reasons. Mr. CC, Mr. SI, Mrs. SY, and Mrs. SN said that they do not like the material, motif and color; whilst Mr. EM does not like it because it has long sleeves, which is not comfortable for work. Mrs. MA received the blouse, but then complained about it to the dressmaker because it did not fit her, and it was taken back to be fixed. However, the blouse has never been returned and she is not interested in pursuing this further.



Figure 153. University’s uniform. Source: Sesnawati

‘Uniform’ as a work outfit at the State University of Jakarta is neither a formal uniform nor corporate fashion, because it is neither obligatory nor a corporate design. In other words, this uniform is an ‘in-between’; it is more casual, with a lot of variety and innovation in design, but the impression of the unity is still shown. There are some guidelines, but the uniform is implemented flexibly. The work uniform has two functions, which are as a uniform and as an item of clothes. It is a uniform if it is worn together with other colleagues on a certain occasion; and otherwise, an ordinary item of clothes.

Fashion trends are taken into account while planning a uniform. Traditional material has been favoured until now with material, colour, price and informal or formal use being part of the process. Even though some departments are free to choose their own design, the informal rules of dressing appropriately as educated people still play an important role. The use of material which fits tradition means that lecturers innovate within tradition and revitalize it.

A new uniform is introduced in each department at various intervals, it could be once in two years, once in a year, or could be more than once in a year if they are willing to (e.g. for special occasion such as a conference). Regardless how many uniforms are made, it is unlikely that the material and/or the design would be the same as before. Some lecturers could want to have the same design as before, but the material, i.e. the motif and colour, would be different. The use of uniform asks a department to dress similarly for certain occasions, but differences in design and combination can be individually chosen. However, providing a uniform depends on the willingness of its head to allocate money for this. This is to be recommended, if it could improve the atmosphere in the work place as well as the sense of togetherness among the lecturers, as was clear when talking to some of respondents, especially Mr. CC, Mr. AB, Mr. EM, Mr. HP, Mrs. SN, Mrs. TN, and Mrs. PD

V. Discussion

1. The Practice of Dressing: Pattern of Outfit

The majority of the interviewees indicate that traditional dress has a characteristic which defines country, region, and ethnicity. Because of its cultural value, it should be preserved as incorporating customs of their area of origin, so that one can differentiate where people come from. They also emphasized the importance of acceptable appearance, in terms of what society expects with regard to the way a person should conduct himself/herself in social locations, both formal and informal, such as at customary events, weddings, work, conference, leisure time, and at home. The interviewees generally viewed traditional dress in terms of appropriateness and respectability. Furthermore, it functions as a signifier of respect in customary events marking the cycle of life such as, birth, *injak tanah*¹²⁸, a marriage procession, a seven-month-pregnancy procession, and death. The significance and particularity of type of dress is linked to societal norms or customs, for instance, wearing *kebaya* and *kain panjang* for women, and *beskap* for men would be expected at weddings of relatives in Java. These statements demonstrated, and still demonstrate what the society considers appropriate and acceptable behaviour with regard to dress in general and traditional dress. Although the expectations are not written as statutes or law, society defines what is acceptable.

What makes these forms of traditional dress different on various occasions are the patterns and materials being used and their significance. For customary events, there are certain motifs to wear, such as *sidomukti* and *truntum* (see Glossary, p. 232). Specific motifs are strictly for use only on certain occasions, though only a few of the interviewees know details about these, they still maintain that this is the case. These motifs can reflect both individual and social status, such as aristocratic or ordinary, coupled with hope and expectation for the future (at stage of life celebration/ceremony). However, knowledge of this is slowly disappearing among the interviewees; very few can provide detail. For the material, mostly on formal occasions, traditional items from silk or a good quality of cotton are worn, whereas on informal occasions, cotton is used as material.

For the designs, some interviewees prefer classic design, for example *kebaya* or *baju kurung* (see Chapter 2), whereas the others make a lot of modification either on sleeves,

¹²⁸ *Injak tanah* is a customary event when a baby starts to stand and walk.

collar, or body. Items for the lower part of the body such as *kain panjang*, *songket* and *ikat*, are mostly made into skirts with the look, when worn of, the original ones. This is because not everybody is able to wear *kain panjang*, *songket/ikat* which is often found to be complicated, restricting of movement, and hard to wear it for a long time with the items staying in shape.

Traditional elements that attract attention from interviewees are motif, colour and material. For example, there are a considerable number of batik motifs that have meaning and are for wear on certain occasions. A cloth may have several different motifs, consisting of main motif and added subsidiary motifs. These motifs can be developed from the original form or combined with other (new) motifs, creating a new constellation which remains traditional in inspiration. How far this can be modified is not clear, since the interviewees do not know much about the original motif itself. Some interviewees do not care how radically motifs are modified as long as there is an impression of tradition.¹²⁹

Traditional dyes are made from natural ingredients that will produce a natural colour spectrum, such as black, reddish and brownish colour. A lot of interviewees still prefer these colours for their traditional clothing. However, there are now various chemical colours available that are interesting for some interviewees because they are considered fashionable or at least, they can follow colour trends at the time, while still wearing traditional clothing. They also enable a wider choice of colour than natural dyes and do not fade.

The wearing of traditional items of clothing on various occasions (except customary events) is usually voluntary. At customary events, most people would wear traditional clothing, whether in classic or modified design, and sometimes must wear certain motifs. The interviewees will happily wear this because they feel that these are sacred moments and would not dream of dressing otherwise. There is no compulsion from society if some people do not wear traditional items of clothing. However, there may be some social disapproval for a breach of dress code on memorial and customary events.

When there is a suggestion to wear traditional items, that, for example at a meeting at work, lecturers should wear batik items/uniforms, a lot of interviewees will feel uneasy if they do not follow the suggestion. However, there is no punishment, even though there might be comments from colleagues. In leisure time, many of the interviewees wear items of clothing from batik or ikat since they are more and more popular these days. They consider that cotton, the material being used, is comfortable, and the motifs are fascinating. Whereas

¹²⁹ See Chapter 4 – 1.2. Traditional Elements.

at home, some female interviewees prefer loose dress made using batik technique called 'daster', while others wear T-shirt and pants.

Friday is a work day, but it is special, because of Friday prayer, obligatory for Muslim males around noon¹³⁰. Friday prayer is conducted at noon at a mosque, so before having lunch, Muslim male interviewees will go to a mosque in the university and pray together. On this day, many Muslim male interviewees will dress up a little, for instance, wearing a nice batik shirt or *koko*. Some of them also said that Friday is a batik day, which means they should wear batik shirt/blouse for work, even though there is no written rule regarding this matter and a lot of them wear this or items of clothing made from *ikat* such as blouse and blazer.

Such rules in a group, both written and unwritten, are developed to guide and regulate how to dress acceptably, which are enforced among members. An individual follows this rule as a basis for how to dress for the purpose of being socially acceptable in the group. Rule in wearing clothes for lecturers and professors at work is outlined in the Lecturer's Code of Ethics of the State University of Jakarta, even though not written specifically in Article 12 (7) and Article 15 (8) of codes of ethics, this, in general means wearing clothes appropriately.

Article 12¹³¹:

(7) Modest, neat and appropriate in appearance.

Article 15:

(8) Modest in wearing clothes and polite in behaviour

In the Article 12, modest is mentioned as the rule for wearing clothes but does not necessarily involve wearing headscarves for women. Through the observation, as well as being a part of this society, this author assumes that wearing modest clothing means, for example, for women, blouse with sleeves (long or a little above elbow), trousers or skirt (long or a little under the knee, and dress with sleeves and length as mentioned above. All these items should be of loose fit and never tight. Men should wear shirt and trousers, with

¹³⁰ There is no prohibition for Muslim women to participate in Friday prayer, but mosques are usually full of men and there is often not enough place for women, who should have a separate room or area, to pray. Thus, Muslim women do not go to a mosque for Friday prayer and instead, do the regular noon prayer in a room at the building where they work.

¹³¹ Pasal 12: (7) Berpenampilan sederhana, rapi dan sopan; Article 15: (8) Sopan dalam berpakaian dan bertingkah laku

or without jacket and tie, wearing jeans and T-shirt is generally not allowed at the university. However, an interviewee (Mr. FD) from the Sport Faculty said that in his department, wearing jeans is not a problem as long as a polo shirt is worn, but not a T-shirt. Neat is also mentioned in Article 12 which means the clothing should be ironed and not wrinkled, since the material used is often made from cotton. Appropriate in appearance means that an item of clothing should reveal a minimum of skin, for instance, a long sleeves blouse with deep neckline will not be accepted.

Modest is also written in to Article 15, with the same meaning as in Article 12; polite in behaviour means being aware of and respecting the feelings of other people, using polite language, and showing respect to senior or older lecturers. The other codes of ethics related to clothing are written in the article 20, number 10 and 17:

Article 20¹³²:

(10) Always try to be a role model for students

(17) Always strive to be a good example for students

These two points from Article 20 basically have the same meaning, with emphasis on being a good person who can be a role model for students. The expectation of a teacher in Indonesia is that he/she should pay attention to their appearance and behaviour in front of their students. In this way, social respect from society for teachers as educated people with good manners will be maintained.

This lecturer's code of ethics was issued in December 2015, sometime after the research was conducted. However, this code of ethics and the lecturers' understanding of wearing clothes are no different, which means that the interviewees already understood how dress is accepted in the social environment and already common knowledge among them. Two interviewees were involved in drawing up this rule, Mrs. IM and Mrs. AF. During the interview, this author asked Mrs. IM if there is any written rule for wearing clothes at the university, but she did not answer clearly and just said she believed that there is one. Mrs. AF was also doubtful if she had seen such a rule at the university, but certain that there was one for teachers. *“There is (a rule) for wearing clothes for teacher. There is one (for them). The dress ethics were included in the code of ethics for (a) teacher. But for lecturers, I do*

¹³² Pasal 20: (10) Selalu berusaha untuk menjadi panutan (role model) bagi mahasiswa; (17) Selalu berusaha untuk menjadi teladan bagi mahasiswa.

*not think I have ever read that. [...]*¹³³ (Mrs. AF, p.507). Further, both of them were confident that the lecturers know already how to dress appropriately at work. Subsequently, both Mrs. IM and Mrs. AF were involved in the written formalization which is the present code of ethics. This author does not know of any written predecessor to this code and assumes there was none.

Culturally acceptable characteristics of dress are regarded by the interviewees as simplicity, comfortable fit of garments and non-revealing cut in clothing. Conformity to this expectation is a necessary pre-condition for respect for self, family and the socio-cultural values. Accordingly, deviation from these expectations is regarded as culturally unacceptable.

The code of ethics also contains sanctions for those who break the rules, Article 28, lists moral, academic, and administrative sanctions. First, moral sanction includes a statement of apology, regretting the bad behaviour written in a letter, including a statement of acceptance of punishment according to the misbehaviour. Second, academic sanctions include the prohibition from teaching and other academic related work for a certain time. Third, administrative sanctions include delaying of one year's salary increase, delaying of promotion for one year, demotion and loss of title, honourable dismissal as civil servant, and dishonourable dismissal as civil servant. To ensure rules of dress and style are obeyed, lecturers will remind each other, for example, senior lecturers to junior lecturers, or between colleagues and friends, of what is appropriate. In other words, social control will remain, if one of them dresses out of the rule.

Without necessarily knowing that there are rules in wearing clothing, the interviewees know what outfit is accepted in the society in accordance with occasion since they are part of the society. In addition, the way of dressing that is accepted by this group cannot be separated from their religious guidance. Almost all of the interviewees are Muslims, (even though not all of the female interviewees wear headscarves), so that they will wear clothes more or less according to Islam, which means not wearing tight and mini clothes. Besides religion as a standard of dress, their role as a teacher is considered important. Standing in front of students as representatives of educated people, they feel the need to wear appropriate dress, as they think they should be role models for their students and encourage them to wear clothing appropriately.

¹³³ *"Kalau yang ada itu adalah pakaian model guru. Kalau itu memang iya ada. Dibuat waktu itu di kode etik guru termasuk ada etika berbusana guru tuh ada. Cuma kalau dosen kayaknya aku ngga pernah baca. [...]"* (Mrs. AF, p.507)

2. Appropriate Clothing: The Values of Clothing

Indonesian society has been marked by a proliferation of relatively separate indigenous groups of diverse cultural codes and form of dress. With decolonization attempts were made to create a uniform national identity both under the Sukarno democracy and the Suharto dictatorship. These both influenced dress code in a fashion which can be seen indirectly in responses of the interviewees in this work. During Suharto's leadership, called 'New Order' or '*Orde Baru*' to characterize his regime, he introduced wearing uniforms for civil servants that would lead to unity and uniformity and make social control easier, which was considered beneficial to the government. Smith-Hefner (2007) stated that "Indonesian school children and all government employees wear standard uniforms of a designated color, style, and fabric." (Smith-Hefner 2007:397). Uniforms are still worn up until today, especially for civil servants at government offices as well as teachers who work at public primary, junior and high schools. Lecturers and professors at universities have more 'freedom' in wearing their uniforms, which are not strictly limited to one design and color and are more of a suggestion than an obligation.

In the New Order regime, there were rarely women who wore headscarves, which were considered as having a negative impact on an ongoing development program intended to encourage the physical development of the country rather than religion or morality among the population (Smith-Hefner, 2007). The decline of the moral values of the community as a result of this was to generate reactions among some young people who began actively exploring, implementing and disseminating religious values. However, in 1982, written rules¹³⁴ were introduced compelling students to wear uniform at public schools. It was not expected that girls should wear headscarves and the law stated that no pupil could differ from the dress code, so that either no girl wore a headscarf at school or all did. In other words, girls went to nonreligious state schools and could not wear any headscarves. At this time, it was also rare to find Muslim women who worked as civil servants wearing headscarves, including lecturers. Wearing a headscarf was no longer regarded as an individual's religious choice but seen as a rebellion that could threaten the security of the state.

¹³⁴ Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia, No. 052/C/Kep/D.82 about the guidelines for school uniforms.

Some Muslims reacted because they were continuously being discredited by the Suharto regime and, throughout the 1990s, conducted demonstrations against government regulations that discriminated against veiling women. These reactions caused the government to re-think and loosen the pressure on the Muslims. Therefore, on February 16, 1991, the Minister of Education and Culture established SK.No.100 / C / Kep / D / 1991, which essentially outlined that schoolgirls were allowed to wear clothes based on their beliefs.

When I was in high school in 1996, I decided to wear a headscarf by myself, without intimidation from other people. It gave me an increased sense of safety and I thought I could protect my dignity as a woman. At that time, Suharto was still the president, and there were not so many women who wore headscarves. Unfortunately, my father did not agree to my plan. He said, “just wear modest fashion, that would be better”. He also said, “it would be hard to find a job if you wear a headscarf.” And it was at that time. I remember, my mother said that I should obey him, otherwise I wouldn’t get my allowance anymore. So, I decided on not wearing a headscarf. After the fall of Suharto in 1998 and I enrolled as a student in 1999, I finally could wear a headscarf, since I could earn some money. My father was still angry, he didn’t talk to me for weeks, but by then many women were also wearing headscarves, it had become more fashionable, and a headscarf was no longer a problem in finding a job.

After Suharto announced his resignation in 1998 because of the demands and demonstrations by thousands of university students, the number of Muslim women who wear headscarves has continuously grown. In 2010, there was a group of Muslim women in Jakarta who established ‘*Hijabers Community*’ as a community for young Muslim women wearing headscarves in fashionable styles (Shafita, 2009). This has become a trigger to encourage women to wear headscarves and show people that wearing these can also be fashionable, including combining them with traditional items of clothing. All of the interviewees stated that there is no problem in combining traditional clothing and headscarf. They believed it as a form of religious obedience, while preserving traditional clothing at the same time. The styles of headscarves the female interviewees’ wear do not have any particular name. They wear them according their preference, for instance, covering the head, neck and chest, covering the head and wrapping it on the neck, or a kind of hat and adding a scarf covering the head and partly the neck. Even though how to wear headscarf is written

in the Koran (*Al-Ahzab* [33:59] and *An-Nuur* [24:31])¹³⁵, some of the female interviewees do not comply completely, but enough to identify them as Muslim. There are a lot of interpretations about the obligation to wear headscarf for women. Some say that it is a form of piety that declares the obedience to God and a commitment to be a good Muslima, while others find that it is enough to wear clothes appropriately without wearing a headscarf. Usually, Indonesian women wear a headscarf because they want to do so, or their families ask them to wear it. Almost all of the female interviewees wore headscarves, giving different reasons, such as getting older or obtaining a certain degree in the university. It is clear they feel that wearing a headscarf (Brenner, 1996) means that the way they dress will improve significantly.

The clothes a person wears can describe the values of the group he/she is part of. A unifying value in the group interviewed for this thesis is the desired idea of how the group should be seen as educated people, as lecturers and professors. While group norms are ideas in the minds of group members about what should and should not be done based on specific circumstances (Mills, 1967), a group plays a role in individuals applying values through prevailing norms in groups, such as dress norms.

Group norms encourage the emergence of demands for normative roles in group members. The normative role consists of a set of ideas about what behavior a person must exhibit in a group. If a group has strong social cohesion or bonding, consensus and support for group norms will be stronger and homogeneous. In the context of dress, group norms can be the basis for how individuals dress according to what is considered right in a group with the aim of being socially acceptable. Terry and Hogg (in Cooper, Kelly & Weaver, 2004) explained that if group identity is prominent, feelings and actions are directed by the group's basic and norms rather than personal factors. When someone sees him/herself as part of a group, group norms will have more influence on the formation of their behavior than individualist choice. In other words, the group plays a role in instilling value towards the

¹³⁵ *Al-Ahzab* (33:59): "O Prophet, tell your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers to bring down over themselves [part] of their outer garments. That is more suitable that they will be known and not be abused. And ever is Allah Forgiving and Merciful."

An-Nuur (24:31): "And tell the believing women to reduce [some] of their vision and guard their private parts and not expose their adornment except that which [necessarily] appears thereof and to wrap [a portion of] their headcovers over their chests and not expose their adornment except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands' fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers, their brothers' sons, their sisters' sons, their women, that which their right hands possess, or those male attendants having no physical desire, or children who are not yet aware of the private aspects of women. And let them not stamp their feet to make known what they conceal of their adornment. And turn to Allah in repentance, all of you, O believers, that you might succeed."

individual through the norms that apply in the group and forms the meaning of the individual behaviour that is "supposed".

In their ways of wearing clothing, the interviewees in this thesis have different styles according to their preferences; some are fashionable, some prefer classic style. In spite of their different styles of dress, they prefer wearing clothes that reveal less skin and are neat, even though they are not sure if there is a written rule about wearing clothing or not. For example, men wear Western-style shirts or batik shirts and trousers, sometimes with jacket and tie; women wear blouses and skirts or trousers, sometimes with jacket. Women, who do not wear headscarves, will wear blouses with (at least) elbow-length-sleeves and knee-length-skirts or trousers.

Wearing items of traditional clothing can be modified (or buying modified items) to adjust their preference and made more appropriate. For example, kebaya is made less tight than the original form, but it is fitted to the body or otherwise very loose to hide the curve of the body. The female interviewees who wear headscarves made this change in wearing kebaya considering they will combine the items with headscarves. Other items made from traditional material such as blouse and skirt were also made based on this consideration, which means a blouse has long sleeves and a skirt is long enough to cover the legs without any slit.

To ensure adherence to the norms of dress styles, the group members will remind each other if an individual style of dress is not in accordance with the prevailing norms. Therefore, the existence of the group ensures social control and changes in dress methods are motivated by adjustments to existing group norms. As an example, Mr. MN will not wear jeans trousers for work because other lecturers will comment on this because it is considered inappropriate clothing for work. The same is true for Mrs. SN who really likes to wear jeans in her leisure time. But if she works on campus, the dress method will be different, namely wearing a skirt or trousers.

In this study, appropriate clothing is very dominated by religion factors, which were often mentioned by (mostly women) interviewees. The main ideas embodied in modern style appearance among the lecturers interviewed have been made a set of codes of conduct in dress based on and adapted to the teachings and beliefs of the religion, which, in this case is Islam. It is important to understand that the definition of modest fashion is how to dress modestly and not provocatively, to avoid being used as an object of sexual attention. The main characteristic of the modest wear is clothing that covers most parts of the body, with pieces that obscure the silhouette and curves of the body, especially for women. This

modesty concept can be said to have been born from a social construction that regulates how a person must dress in order to be 'accepted' in a community. Therefore, it can be said that wearing appropriate clothing as worn by lecturers and professors is not only interpreted as part of religion, but also constructed as a status symbol that represents educated people. It is not only an obligation or a spiritual need, but has evolved into a lifestyle choice, or more precisely the choice in everyday appearance. The group norms as lecturers encourage the emergence of their normative responsibilities to maintain a simple manner of dressing at work.

All of the female interviewees have batik blouses that they wore as work clothes. These blouses are worn not only at certain times, but can be worn whenever they want. In addition, batik blouses are also often used as uniforms in many departments. This uniform also applies to men in the department which is made in the form of a shirt. Wearing uniforms as work clothes, is a matter of pride for most interviewees. Some lecturers don't like the idea of using uniforms because they don't want to look the same as other people. Therefore, they got some ideas buying woven fabrics that don't have the same colour and motif, but still have the same theme, namely "ikat". In the use of batik and woven fabrics for work clothes and uniforms, most of them are not original but printed with various designs. This is because printed clothes are cheaper, have many colour variations, and tend to be easier to maintain.

It is different for clothing that is worn on special occasion. There were several female interviewees who wore traditional batik and original *songket* as clothing for the lower body, and written batik shirts for male interviewees. Although the use of batik *kain panjang* and *songket* requires extra effort, or even help from others, they are still proud to own and use these traditional clothing. For female interviewees who find it difficult to wear this traditional clothing, the cloth can be modified into a skirt with the same look when using batik *kain panjang* or *songket*. This is considered very practical in view of the difficulty in wearing and the limitations of movement while wearing the traditional clothing. For male interviewees, trousers are mostly the clothes they wear for special occasions, sometimes with the addition of a *songket* on top of trousers. Apart from trousers, batik *kain panjang* are also worn by male interviewees wrapped on the lower body for traditional events.

The image as a lecturer and professor is really important since well-dressed is part of the overall performance. To be recognized as a lecturer and professor is not easy, but when the image is formed, people can differentiate educated and non-educated people. It means, only educated people wear clothes appropriately, decent, and neatly in public.

3. Subjectivation: Balancing Bricolages of Outfit

People make conclusions about who we are partly through what we wear. Our social class, attitude, political affiliation, glamor or elegance, our taste in style and maybe even our creativity will be questioned in part from the way we dress, which will affect people's thoughts and opinion about us. Identity is no longer talking about 'who we really are', but more about 'as who and what we want ourselves to be recognized'.

Fashion is a marker of lifestyle changes in one period, which cannot be separated from the development of history as lived through human culture, and increasingly rapid technological progress. Fashion is understood through what is displayed as a factually visible image, material used, time and place of manufacture, its social use, and so on, and can differ with gender, age, social class, occupation, and race. This difference can produce and encourage different connotations for words or images, and, with them, modes of dress. Items of clothing, as parts of fashion, become a medium or channel that is used to express something to others with the intention of encouraging a change in that person.

A group uses fashion as a communicative and cultural phenomenon to construct, communicate and cement its identity, because fashion is a nonverbal means of production and exchange of meanings and values. Fashion as a communicative and functional aspect of life is not just a work of art; fashion is also used as a symbol to read a person's status and a materialized reflection of the culture that brought it about. But not only that, the wearer sends a message about himself/herself through fashion and the clothes he/she wears. Based on everyday experience, clothing is chosen according to what will be done on that day, a person's mood, who they will meet and so on.

Wearing clothes, besides the values that we want to be promoted or communicated through what is displayed, is also a form of individualistic expression. Fashion and clothing are ways that individuals use to distinguish themselves as subjects and express some of their uniqueness (Kaiser, 2012). In Indonesia, choosing to wear traditional clothing is a means of expressing both a personal uniqueness and that of Indonesian society.

Traditional material that has been popular and become fashion has changed in its use. The elements of traditional are used and/or modified by the interviewees to stay in fashion. Some female interviewees include elements of fashion in traditional clothing with the hope that they can be in line with the times, showing clearly that there is no old-fashioned stigma in wearing traditional clothes, and traditional clothing will not be abandoned.

An interviewee, Mrs. IM, is not of *Betawis*¹³⁶ descent, but because she has lived in Jakarta for quite some time, there has been a cultural mix, where she reported wearing clothes that were not from her native area, with the aim being better accepted by the people in Jakarta and indicating that she is part of the community of Jakarta and, at least in part a *Betawis* who respects the local traditions and dress. The same is true for other interviewees who are not native to Jakarta. This group considers the importance of self-recognition in the place, where they live now.

The use of modified traditional clothing serves as a medium that carries and represents certain meanings, which are to be conveyed. In other words, people can represent their thoughts, feelings, and actions that can be understood in certain social contexts through their modes of dress (Hall, 1997). This has altered the value assigned to traditional dress, for example, today's *songket* are not only used to carry out traditional ceremonies, but also on other occasions such as graduation, welcoming guests, inauguration or other non-customary events. In the past, *songket* could only be bought by rich people because of its high price, but now there are many *songket* imitations available in the markets and even the form of skirts. The traditional manufacturing process of *songket* takes quite a long time, but now, with the advances in technology, fabrics and production techniques, *songket* imitations are easy to obtain, less expensive than the original and often sold in the form of a skirt, making this clothing easier to wear and affordable. However, the beauty of the art in the original hand-woven fabrics is, sadly, not reproduced in modern production methods and can no longer be enjoyed by the wearer. However, the presence and ready availability of various types of clothing in all price classes, using traditional fabrics made for people in all social classes, has received a tremendous response from the female interviewees. In this sense, many traditional motifs have been replaced with a variety of new motifs and, as well, changes in colour can also occur due to market demand.

This alteration/modification is preferred by female interviewees considering comfort and practicality in accordance with the demands of social roles that they must fulfil in certain situations, for instance at work, which encourage them to modify or alter their traditional clothing, including buying and having clothing made. The altered or modified traditional clothes they wear are used as a 'sign of negotiation' for them to be seen by others. They become symbolic objects as a result of a negotiation process.

¹³⁶ Betawis or Betawi people (sometimes called Jakarta people) are an ethnic group from Jakarta.

Beside traditional items of clothing that has become popular, headscarf as part of Muslim fashion is now not just clothing that follows the teachings of Islam but has become one of the fashion trends for urban communities. The contextualization of the understanding of headscarf in Indonesia seems to show a style of veiling and dressing which tends to be more diverse compared to Middle Eastern countries. There are a variety of veiling styles ranging from veil headscarves, long headscarves, to trendy or fashionable headscarves. Headscarf fashion itself is a style of veiling and dressed in Muslims that is attached to fashion elements that prioritize aesthetic and up to date elements as found in the general fashion style. The appearance of the trendy or fashionable headscarf offers an Islamic character but is still modern. Therefore, this plays a role in the popularity of headscarves in Indonesia because it changes the perception of the Indonesian people towards headscarves, which previously symbolized religious fundamentalism, now the headscarves are seen as positive as a symbol of modernity without particularly affirming religious affiliation.

This phenomenon shows that religion is no longer interpreted as mere religion, but that a mix of religion with tradition has been able to become a trend incorporated into the fabric of urban society, especially in Jakarta. Wearing modified traditional clothing is no longer solely an indication of either fulfilment of customary rules or of strict adherence to Islam but is worn as a sign of its popularity and functionality for the wearer.

The symbol of women's Muslim styles of dress in this case, namely a headscarf in combination with traditional dress, is not a very fundamentalist symbol of Muslim adherence, because the nuances that are displayed are not purely Islamic but are in harmony with local culture in Indonesia. For example, the clothes do not obey the entire Muslim dress code (at least for most female Indonesian Muslims), which would mean not showing body curves or using striking colour. Many female interviewees still practice only one rule in Muslim dress, namely wearing a headscarf, so that the Muslim fashion concept that has developed in Indonesia, which is represented in traditional clothing, is only close to scripture in this one matter and, even then, not very close as headscarves are often very colourful.

Modification and combination of traditional clothing with Islamic culture is a form of offering consumerist lifestyles in the packaging of the sacredness of local traditions and religious faith. The presence of this new form of traditional clothing shifts the meaning of the dress by highlighting a contemporary style that explores the beauty of Indonesian tradition and culture with modern interpretations, which reconstruct tradition and form a new

approach to clothing styles that have their roots in tradition but are simpler, to make them suitable for everyday wear¹³⁷.

This concept marks a compromise as well as a modification of two cultures in dress, namely the local culture in Indonesia, and Islam as the religion adopted by the majority of Indonesians. Within the concept of a local culture that follows Islamic rules, this modified traditional dress tries to represent both Islamic culture and tradition, in a collaboration and representing a new Indonesian subject. Through new modification and styles of dress, this is expressed in traditional clothing, the religious meaning of which has become more and more popular.

How interviewees interpreted their actions in consuming both cultures (Indonesian tradition and Islam) are a subject formation or an attempt to obtain a more certain and wished-for identity. However, it is not an identity that its wearers assume to denote belonging to a small group of people; its wearers want it to be adopted and recognized by others. In a disparate nation of the size of Indonesia, there is clearly a need for identity and cohesion, felt by every government since independence. The use of traditional dress can enhance national unity and identify differentiate its wearers from other countries and be a legitimation of their cultural identity. It will help instil a pride in identity with, and signal expression of identity with a particular ethnic group, both at community and national level. Furthermore, this clothing that still adheres to the rules of local culture but does not deviate from the rules of cover-up in the Muslim dress code, is utilized by female interviewees, who wear headscarves, and feel able to wear traditional clothes which are pre-Islamic or non-Islamic in origin, but can sufficiently fulfil the Islamic rules their wearers adhere to. They mark themselves as subjects by this modification of traditional clothing combined with a headscarf as the Indonesian Muslim identity.

There are three significant things to become lecturers and professors, which are traditional clothing, fashion, and religion. This is how they subjectivate themselves. Their subject positions, such as age, ethnicity, sexuality, place, etc., are influenced. For example, this author can see it obviously with female interviewees. As they getting older, they are more pious. They want to be closer to God by wearing headscarves and their clothes are not showing their curves that much. Another female interviewee changed the way they wearing clothes to be more appropriate after they got the title of professor. It is very important for them that people see them and said, “Oh, of course, she is a professor”.

¹³⁷ Formal wearing of garments that are traditionally styled and sewn requires considerable care and dressing can be seriously time-consuming.

The interviewees wear traditional items, either original, modified, or imitation, in order to get the impression of traditional and that they preserve the tradition. Some of them follow fashion, such as what traditional material in fashion at the moment, the colour, new motifs and so on. Finally, they want to be a role model and influence their students and people around them to wear clothes appropriately and preserve tradition.

VI. Conclusion

By analyzing changing consumption pattern of Indonesian traditional dress of lecturers and professors in the State University of Jakarta, this dissertation has shown how knowledge of traditional dress, fashion, and religion can form their individual existence through the clothing they wear. The in-depth interview was conducted with 25 interviewees and accompanied by 14 wardrobe observations. In order to gain a better analysis of past event, where traditional clothing was worn, some interviewees have shown their photo album and allowed this author to take some pictures of the old photos.

The interviewees consider traditional dress as an important thing and most of them have the same understanding of the definition of traditional dress, which is the output of a process of producing meaning in significant ways that aim to represent all regions that have traditional clothing. The elements of the traditional dress are 'language' to convey meaning that they want to be seen/recognized as part of a group. Even though most of them are not sure about the meaning of the traditional motifs, but at least they know when to wear such motif on what occasion. Further, they also know that a lot of motifs have been created due to the popularity of batik since 2009, when UNESCO recognized *batik* as an intangible world heritage of Indonesia.

If in the past traditional fabrics were filled with philosophical meanings, differentiating between the nobility and ordinary people, as well as tools for uniformity related to government interests, traditional fabrics are now trendy but also unique because they represent cultural heritage values and carry unique Indonesian cultural identities in them. However, although there are some interviewees who see traditional fabrics as cultural products related to ancestral values, what is more dominant now is the attraction of contemporary traditional fabrics which are considered modern in keeping up with the times, fashionable, and no longer in any way old-fashioned. This makes traditional clothing more popular and no longer exclusive, so that the classification of types of motifs that are markers of social status identity in clothing also begins to erode.

After Indonesia's independence, Sukarno as the first president of Indonesia, set an example for men by wearing modern-style (western) shirts and trousers as a symbol of progress and freedom from colonialism, a statement that the Indonesian nation was independent and equal with other nations. The uniqueness of men's dress at this time is found in "*peci*" (the cap) worn by Soekarno combined with the clothes as a symbol of Muslim

men in Indonesia. Meanwhile, women still maintained traditional clothing styles in kebaya and long cloth without headscarf.

In Suharto's leadership (1967 – 1998), there were several changes in the way of dressing that applied the use of uniforms in dressing as a principle of equality. This uniform had to be worn by people who worked in offices, especially civil servants and in schools with certain rules set, such as the length of the batik shirt/blouse, the number of buttons, as well as the design which is fairly rigid (long/short sleeves, wearing darts at the waist so that the blouse fit to the body). During the Suharto era, the regime was also against the use of religious symbols such as wearing a headscarf, which was considered to undermine this equality. For religious-based schools, such as *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school), all pupils (girl) are required to wear a headscarf as part of their uniform. However, the number of *Pesantren* at that time was still limited and the wearing of headscarves in public places was still very rare. Even if women wore headscarves, they wore them while still showing a little hair and the neck.

Traditional clothing, such as batik, was (and of course still is) also used as a material for making uniforms. The batik used slowly shifted from written batik and stamped batik to printed batik due to increasing consumer demand for affordable clothing. Batik uniforms had to be worn, especially for civil servants. Although this uniform was seen as simple and old-fashioned, it had still to be worn at the appointed time and groups received various sanctions (different in each group) for violating these rules.

The use of kebaya and *kain panjang* on special occasions was still augmented by adding a scarf draped over the shoulder as a complement to the use of kebaya and *kain panjang*. These items of clothing to be worn on formal occasions. While the women wore kebaya and *kain panjang*, the men wore batik shirt with the same motif as *kain panjang* combined with plain trousers. As daily clothing, kebaya had begun to be abandoned by women who preferred modern clothing oriented towards Western culture, so that in the Suharto era, Western clothing became a symbol of modernity for women, especially those who lived in big cities, such as Jakarta. Further, wearing kebaya was considered impractical because of reduced freedom of movement.

After Suharto stepped down in 1998, the use of uniforms gradually loosened up, being not as strict as before, with, for example, a more diverse design without applying certain definite rules agreed upon and observed by all members of the group. The use of materials for uniforms still mostly uses batik cloth, especially printed and stamped batik. The use of headscarves for women is slowly expanding. They are now allowed to wear

headscarves in daily activities such as going to school, work, and special occasions. In other words, the freedom to dress is increasingly felt by the community.

The development of new forms based on traditional items of clothing is growing rapidly with the support of designers who create fashionable apparel. The techniques used are starting to shift by relying on technology, used to improve comfort in wearing the clothing, and enhancing economic value, so that it can be afforded by the wider community. For example, printed batik slowly began to be found with a variety of more varied motifs, whether directly derived from old motifs or radically newly created new motifs. Another factor that is attractive is the use of more diverse colors, and the creation and following of color trends at certain times. Thus, modern batik has become both more fashionable and easier to maintain than original batik styles. The concept of batik clothing is characterized as one of the tools of modernity, and its presence is always parallel to the values of morality. Batik already has various variations that are expected to be an option when deciding what kind of clothing to wear.

The same is true for *songket*. The original *songket* making technique is very complicated and time-consuming. This, and the cost of material make the price quite expensive and the *songket* which is fairly heavy, gives the wearer a sense of discomfort when used for a couple of hours. This makes users think twice about buying and using *songket*. The availability of printed *songket*, provides a new option for women to wear *songket* with better comfort. Printed *songket* is lighter, the motifs and colors are very varied. To make it easier for women to wear *songket* and batik cloth, many manufacturers now sell them in the form of skirts with the look of the original batik cloth or *songket*.

With the increasingly widespread influence of Islam, which emphasizes a duty to dress according to Islamic teachings, there is an increased choice for consumers who opt to wear these clothes. Muslim designers can now be found who present and market creative ideas combining traditional clothing and fashion that refers to the provisions of Islam. For example, making a more closed kebaya (not exposing the chest), a silhouette that is fit but not tight, a longer kebaya, using batik or *songket* cloth, and a veil.

With so many modifications to traditional clothing available, the interviewees did not have complete traditional clothing (from head to toe) but only a few separate items. Most of them have clothes that have been modified, for example in the collar, sleeves, and length of the clothes. Meanwhile, the traditional items of clothing they mostly have are batik, ikat, and *songket*. Various modifications to traditional fabrics, such as being made into coats or capes, are very interesting to wear, it is just that the temperature conditions in many areas in

Indonesia do not allow people to wear these types of clothing. The climate plays a role in this case. Using modifications to traditional clothing is intended to maintain tradition but still be fashionable.

Lecturers and professors try to preserve traditional forms of clothing by using them in various activities on campus and off campus. In large events, there is usually a dress code, namely wearing regional clothes. However, this is recommended and not obligatory, those who do not wear clothes according to the dress code, will not be penalized. In addition, after the reform era, there was no prohibition on wearing headscarves as a religious symbol, so many female lecturers wore headscarves as part of their attire. However, the use of caps for men is still rare except at prayer times.

In the future, traditional clothing will have more variations. The original technique of making traditional cloth, which uses handcraft, will slowly be increasingly difficult to find and be replaced by cloth made using printing technology. However, certain people who like art will of course still retain/obtain the original traditional materials. Some people don't have these to just wear, and pride in ownership is certainly the main point. Due to the difficulty and the inconvenience in its use, this original type of traditional cloth will of course be used only at certain times.

Motifs with philosophical meanings are no longer an obstacle in wearing traditional clothes. However, these meanings are slowly being ignored and designers/producers focus on making people want to wear traditional items of clothing because of look and fit. Likewise with modifications to the kebaya, for example, by changing the silhouette to become looser, but the collar that is the hallmark of the kebaya is maintained so that everyone who sees the modification of this kebaya still gets the impression that this is a kebaya. The color should follow the trend at certain moment as well in order to stay in fashion.

The combination of wearing traditional clothing in new styles allows a large spectrum of variation. An example would be, wearing batik blouse with trousers for work or with a pair of jeans for leisure time. It is clear that Indonesian choice of clothing in some respects post-national, because they will buy items of clothing which are clearly international, but at the same time, will mix and match with Indonesian regional items. In this case national and post-national combine. The interviewees themselves have an expression of their being in clothing which is Indonesia in a fashionable way. This new clothing style has its own impetus and development, which is driven freely by people's choices and new designs available. It is also clear that these choices do contain the wish for

unique Indonesian identity in clothing. This however is fluid and not imposed, emphasizing a freedom in Indonesian society, which denotes a complete decolonization.

The use of uniform in the university is still important but has found more freedom, lecturers and professors can have uniform in different design (according to the preference of the wearers) but using the same fabric. Enthusiasm in using a batik blouse or shirt is still quite high, so the use of batik uniforms is warmly welcomed by lecturers and professors. For departments that do not agree with the concept of uniform, they can provide a theme, for example, woven ikat, but with different motifs, colors, and designs for each small group within a department.

Traditional dress means and will mean a changing dress style driven by designers, which is in continuous organic transition. It is not a tradition in forced by any lead or command, but sometimes it is the case that a certain new direction becomes popular fast, while another may take longer to establish, or fail. This organic transition is an active and fluid process which is the core of the fashion changes. It causes changes which will, slowly or rapidly have influence in accumulation of tradition but it is not a self-orientalization in that sense, although used for the identity-forming of a disparate nation, but rather a development of new clothing styles (patterns and color combinations) from a previous clothing tradition in an organic fashion, which is no way fixed or prescribed. Indonesian dress and society are still work in progress and it contain various tensions between tradition, internationalism, nationalism, religion, and also a tension between what women are supposed to wear as good Muslims and what they, to some extent, do not wear.

The use of follow up interviews suggested by grounded theory would have clearly been of great advantage to this work including the possible extension of the interviews to students in the Fashion Design Department of the university. This would have given indications of future developments in fashion in Indonesia and of the influence of market processes on fashion. However, this author was working at a distance of thousands of kilometers from both colleagues and students in a timezone which made communication problematic and with people underpressure of work. This could be therefore not be realized and in this sense the thesis is not as complete as could be wished and follow up work should be undertaken. Hopefully future studies using Grounded Theory could be focused on a specific traditional dress or material, for example ikat or sarong, that have gained more popularity than before.

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Appendix

Interview Guide

How does the consumption pattern of Indonesian traditional dress of lecturers and professors in Jakarta change?

- Has your style of dress changed over the years? (If yes: Why do you think it has? What were the reasons / influences?) Do you have any pictures? Have you perceived a general change in clothing consumption over the years? (If yes: Could you describe in which way? Does it concern the use of traditional items, too?)
- Do you wear traditional clothing when you work at the university? Do you wear traditional clothing more or less nowadays based on the place, the occasion, etc.?

On what occasions do lecturers and professors dress in Indonesian traditional clothing?

- What do you see as 'traditional dress'? What does it mean to you? What are the specifics of it? What materials, patterns are being used? What do they mean? Which items of clothes are they used for?
- Do you personally wear traditional clothes? What types of items do you have in your possession yourself? How many?
- Then for each item: What are the most.... clothing for you? Why did you buy it (or made it)? When / where / on what occasion did you buy it? Did anybody consult you on buying it? Did they say anything to influence your decision? [If yes, what was it?]. Do you usually make a plan to buy or it just happens while you are in the shopping mall?
- What occasions do you wear them on? Which particular item do you think suits which occasion? Why do you think so? What is the significance? Do your friends / family / colleagues wear the same or different on those occasions? Do you speak to each other before you dress up to synchronise your appearance?
- Do you have a uniform made from traditional material? How many, what kind of, and on what occasion you wear them (e.g. at work, kind of special events)?
- Have you dressed in different outfits (related to traditional dress) during the day on special occasions (e.g. from work to a party)? Do you wear it also at home?
- How do you think colleague interpret about your outfit? What do you yourself want to express?

- Which traditional / modern clothing that you never wear? Why, how it looks like?

What would be the traditional elements in contemporary in male and female lecturers' and professors' dress?

- Do you think that people in your profession have a distinct style of dress? Do you perceive specific codes or influences? Would you recognize a lecturer / professor by their dress? (If yes: How do you do that?) What role do traditional items of clothes play in that? When are they worn? Can you mention a particular occasion which was striking?

What modification/alteration have lecturers and professors made to their traditional dress?

What is the purpose for some modifications/alterations that have been made?

- Did you observe the change/modification of traditional clothing that people look today (in the magazine, television, on the street) and ask someone to give you advice how should you modify your traditional clothing? How is the style and the design?
- Do you modify your items of clothing to suit an occasion or to suit your taste? Do you modify traditional clothing in particular? What is the intended purpose of the modification? Do you do this yourself? Does anybody do it for you? Do your colleagues do this to? Can you give examples?

With the widespread use of the headscarf for Muslim women today, how is the combination of traditional dress with headscarf for women?

- Do you wear a headscarf or other item of clothing which is religiously significant? How do you wear it / combine it with other items (traditional / modern)? What is the significance? Is there a fashionable aspect to this? Do your friends / family / colleagues do the same / similar? Have you noticed any change in this way of consumption?

How and why could education be a factor in dressing in traditional clothing?

- How did you develop your style of dress? Did your family / mother / father play an important role in that? How about at school / university? Was there any explicit mention of clothing or dress which influenced you? Did the pupils / students / colleagues influence each other?



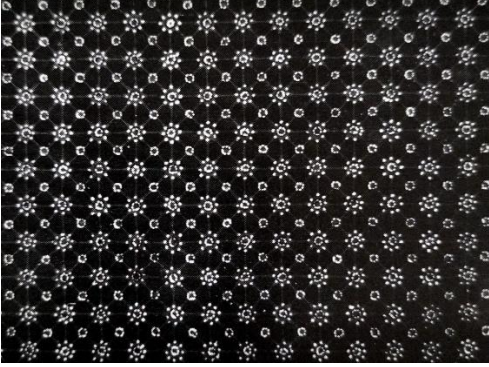
Table of Interviewees




No	Interviewee	Age	Department
Group 1			
1	Mrs. IM	55	English
2	Mrs. MP	51	Fashion Design
3	Mrs. PD	50	Mathematics
4	Mrs. RS	56	Fashion Design
5	Mrs. SA	50	Food and Beverage
6	Mrs. SY	50	Fashion Design
7	Mrs. TN	67	History
8	Mrs. YS	63	Physics
9	Mr. CC	40	Food and Beverage
10	Mr. EM	47	Civil Engineering
11	Mr. MN	46	Fashion Design
12	Mr. RI	51	Mechanical Engineering
13	Mr. SI	48	Educational Management
14	Mr. SO	56	Electrical Engineering
Group 2			
1	Mrs. AF	56	Food and Beverage
2	Mrs. SN	49	Biology
3	Mr. AB	51	Physics
4	Mr. AN	66	Civil Engineering
5	Mr. HP	52	Physics
Group 3			
1	Mrs. MA	54	Educational Management
2	Mrs. RA	69	Chemistry
3	Mrs. ST	55	Cosmetology
4	Mr. BW	55	Mechanical Engineering
5	Mr. FD	56	Sport Science
6	Mr. HA	56	Education


Glossary

Terms	Meaning
<i>Baju kurung</i> (p.32)	knee-length loose-fit long-sleeved blouses worn by women, especially on the island of Sumatra
<i>Beskap</i> (34)	Traditional upper cloth for men from Central Java (Solo).
<i>Blankon</i> (p.119, Fig. 29)	a finished form of <i>dhestar</i> (headband), which is made from a piece of cloth (105 x 105 cm) and formed as half a round shape, in accordance with the size of a head, and given something to make it firm
<i>Ikat</i> (p.31, Fig.3)	a woven tied dyed cloth from many provinces of Indonesia, such as West Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, East and West Nusa Tenggara, South Sulawesi, Maluku, Lampung, Bali, West, Central and East Java
<i>Kain panjang</i> (p. 113, Fig. 10; p. 114, Fig. 12 – 13)	an unstitched length of cloth wrapped around the lower half of the body of a woman or man. Normally, the length is 2.25 m and width 1.10 m
<i>Kebaya</i> (p.33)	a tight fitted blouse tailored tightly to the torso of the woman, with fold-back collarless neck and front opening, long sleeves, made from a type of semi-transparent fabric

Terms	Meaning
<i>Sarong</i> (p. 114, Fig. 14-15)	a width piece of fabric that is sewn on both ends so it is shaped like a pipe/tube. Sarongs can be made from a variety of materials such as cotton, polyester, or silk. The use of sarongs is very widespread for formal situations such as prayer or wedding ceremony. For informal occasions, people can wear it casually at home
<i>Selendang</i> (p.116)	similar with that of <i>kain panjang</i> and has different sizes. It can be produced together (the same motif) with <i>kain panjang</i> or <i>songket</i> , worn over the shoulder or the head (partly in Sumatra island)
<i>Selendang bajaik</i> (p. 117, Fig. 20-22)	<i>selendang</i> from West Sumatra, made from satin fabric, has a measure of 230 mm x 70 mm, and is decorated with gold yarn and embroidered pinhead (a certain type of embroidery) stitches
<i>Setagen</i> (p.33)	a stiff and plain colored band with a measure about 2.59 x 11.5 meters, which wrapped <i>kain panjang</i> or <i>songket</i> around the waist
<i>Songket</i> (p. 31, Fig. 4))	Songket can be found in Sumatra, Sulawesi, Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa. It is classified as part of the woven lace group of fabrics, woven by hand with gold and silver yarns and is generally worn on formal occasions. The metallic yarns stand out against the background cloth to create a shimmering effect.

Terms	Meaning
<p data-bbox="240 253 459 286"><i>Wahyu Tumurun</i></p> 	<p data-bbox="874 253 1391 562">The flying crown pattern which is the main motif of <i>Wahyu Tumurun</i> symbolizes glory. The philosophy describes the hope that the wearer will receive guidance, blessings, grace, and abundant grace from God Almighty.</p>
<p data-bbox="240 645 373 678"><i>Sidomukti</i></p> 	<p data-bbox="874 645 1391 842">This <i>Sidomukti</i> motif is commonly used by brides in the hope of a happy, wealthy, and prosperous married life, as well as bringing good luck.</p>
<p data-bbox="240 1178 355 1211"><i>Truntum</i></p> 	<p data-bbox="874 1178 1391 1700">Truntum is taken from the Javanese "taruntum" which means to grow back or blossom again. The Truntum batik motif is a symbol of sincere, unconditional, eternal love and the longer it grows, the shabbier it feels. Because of its meaning, the Truntum patterned cloth is usually worn by the parents of the bride and groom on the wedding day.</p>

Terms	Meaning
<p>Parang Rusak</p>  <p>The image shows a batik motif called 'Parang Rusak'. It features a black background with white, vertical, elongated, slightly curved shapes that resemble a damaged or jagged parang (a traditional Indonesian dagger). The shapes are arranged in a dense, repeating pattern.</p>	<p>The Parang motif is interpreted as a symbol of growth and strength. Therefore, in the past time this motif could only be used by nobles. (Haake, 1984)</p>
<p>Mega mendung</p>  <p>The image shows a batik motif called 'Mega mendung'. It features a red background with dark blue, swirling, cloud-like shapes that resemble a storm or heavy rain. The shapes are arranged in a dense, repeating pattern.</p>	<p>Mega mendung has the meaning that every human being must suppress emotions and anger under any conditions. Cloudy weather describes the mood of a person who remains "cool" (cold) even though he is angry. This is in line with the cloudy weather which brings a cool atmosphere.</p>
<p>Pagi sore</p>  <p>The image shows a batik motif called 'Pagi sore'. It features a yellow background with a complex pattern of diagonal lines, flowers, and other motifs. The colors are primarily yellow, orange, and brown.</p>	<p>Pagi sore cloth has two different motifs. During the colonial period, the difficulties of life made batik craftsmen make this cloth as a form of savings. With one piece of cloth, women can wear this kain with different motifs. The implicit meaning of this cloth is that one can be creative in all situations.</p>

Terms	Meaning
<p data-bbox="236 250 331 282">Lasem</p> 	<p data-bbox="874 250 1391 672">The first famous motif of Lasem batik is the Bird Hong motif. The motif, also known as the phoenix, is the Fenghuang in Chinese mythology. Beautifully shaped like a peacock with charming wings that have five main philosophies such as loyalty, honesty, politeness, justice, and generosity.</p>