

Fashionable Traditional Clothing: *pakaian adat* in Bali

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ABSTRACT

It's quite noticeable that Balinese people clothe themselves in 'traditional clothing' most of the time and nearly all over the places around the island. This fieldwork report was first drafted after my second field study in Bali from January to June of 2009. The material used in this article was basically collected from the capital city, Denpasar, and partly collected from the busy textile and clothing market in eastern Bali, Pasar Klungkung.

*In the capitalistic world, the meaning of clothing has been changed. One of them is that by encouraging the growth of fashion, a consumption system of high-velocity turnover and endless, ever-changing variation, capitalist entrepreneurs vastly inflated dress and adornment as a domain for expression through cloth (Schneider and Weiner 1989:4). We see researchers tend to differentiate the 'clothing culture' and 'fashionable clothing'. The former refers to traditional clothing, which is generally characterized by its continuity with the past. (Entwistle 2000:44-45) However, this is problematic to me because the Balinese traditional clothing, *pakaian adat*, definitely contains the characteristics of fashion. During my fieldwork in Bali, I witnessed that Balinese designers worked out lots of custom-made *pakaian adat* and had models wear and show them on stages or catwalks; the modes of *pakaian adat* got renewed constantly on the media and market; the younger generation had their eyes on some stylish boys and girls clad in the most stylish *pakaian adat* on every important occasion.*

*Therefore I assert that *pakaian adat*, generally is translated into 'traditional clothing' in Bali, has been gone through a similar process which was quoted above and has been formed a fashion-type system of consumption. Now, why *pakaian adat* of Bali? This is the core question and the main discussion of this article. I'm trying to stress that the consumption of *pakaian adat* for Balinese is more than consumption of the clothing itself, but the 'fashion symbol' as well. According to the collected material from my field study and my personal experiences of participating special Balinese occasions, I present three reasons about the formation of the 'fashion*

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symbol' in *pakaian adat* consumption in Balinese society. Firstly, it has been formed through the frequent religious rituals of Balinese people. Due to the dense religious holidays of Bali's Hinduism, Balinese people have to wear *pakaian adat* constantly; whereas other societies or cultures use their traditional clothing as simply a tool of representing ethnic identity or just a changeless cultural feature. Secondly, the government has been setting up platforms to massively collect and deliver the fashion symbol of *pakaian adat*, for example, the annual Bali Art Festival has been held since 1978, which is also the biggest traditional clothing/textile competition and exhibition stage supplied by the government over a long period of time. Thirdly, the mass media have been effectively promoting the public discussions about *pakaian adat* as something fashionable, and the widely used terms from the media such as 'modern', 'retro' ...etc, have been indicating the 'symbol of fashion', which meant clearly that their people should show their own personal style and mode and to be trendy through wearing creatively designed *pakaian adat*. Thus, I came to the conclusion: *pakaian adat* in Bali has gained the qualification of being 'fashion' .

Key Words : Bali, clothing, fashion, tradition

INTRODUCTION

If one travels to Bali, he will probably see there are Balinese people wearing their traditional clothing everywhere, no matter in the rural or urban area, and nearly every day. I first conducted my cultural fieldwork in Bali from June to July of 2008, also traveled there as one of around 190,000 foreign visitors during that month. I was interested in the Balinese concept of Art, which I assumed that has contained some historical context since the colonial period. Therefore I was hanging around different venues in Bali Art Festival (*Pesta Kesenian Bali*, PKB for abbreviation), watching various programs & exhibitions including dances, music, drama, handicrafts etc. It was that time I first came across the fashionable design competition for traditional textile and clothing, and started to pay attention to the so-called 'traditional clothing' and 'traditional textile' .

Half a year later I visited Bali again and stayed longer, from January to July in 2009, as a student studying Indonesian at the university. This article was first drafted in Taiwan in the autumn of the year 2009, a little while after my second trip to Bali. For that period of staying in Bali, I spent most of my time in the crowded, busy, and lively capital, Denpasar, in order to get plenty of chances to observe the ordinary lives of Balinese in the most urbanized area, and even to participate in different social events. There I did notice that traditional clothing could be seen on every full moon (*pujurnama*¹), new moon (*TILEM*)

¹ In Bali, people use Indonesian and Balinese languages. In order to differentiate between these two local languages used in this article, I typed italic lower case to represent Indonesian, and italic capital letter as Balinese.

festivals, annual temple celebration (*ODALAN*), Balinese birthday (*OTONAN*) occasions, and various rites of passage, university graduation ceremonies were included as well. When Balinese people prepared ceremonies, or their troupes rehearsed dance and music programs, or people officially performed on the stage, the traditional clothing was usually the only costume option. Besides, some of the staff members working for their government or tourism-related business would put on traditional clothing. Additionally, whenever Balinese people hosted a special gathering to their guests or visitors would dress up themselves in *pakaian adat*. Thus, getting dressed up in *pakaian adat* is definitely a commonly practiced and greatly respected custom in Balinese society. Even though Balinese people, as many other peoples throughout the world, wear common shirts, jeans and dresses while going to school or work, they do dress up themselves in their traditional clothing on numerous important occasions.

The main point of this article is that the consumption of '*pakaian adat*' for Balinese, which got generally translated into 'traditional clothing', is more than consumption of the clothes itself, but the 'fashion symbol' as well. From the material collected during my fieldwork and my personal experiences of participating Balinese cultural activities, I conclude three reasons about the formation of the 'fashion symbol' of *pakaian adat* in Balinese society. Firstly, it has been formed through the frequent rituals practiced by Balinese people. Secondly, the Balinese government has actively set up platforms to massively collect and deliver the 'fashion symbol' of *pakaian adat*. Thirdly, the mass media play the important role to encourage the public to show their own personal style through wearing creatively designed *pakaian adat*. And I believe there could be more reasons, for example the thriving cultural tourism and tourism cultures on this island should be something never get neglected. However, in this field report I would like to temporarily put it aside due to the irrelevance of my personal experiences of participation .

Afterwards, though there were fewer chances for me to re-visit Bali and stay as long as my first and second trip, it was encouraging and exciting enough to sense the resonance when I presented my paper in the international conference "Bali in Global Asia: Between Modernization and Heritage Formation" in Denpasar on July 16-18th, 2012. Among the panel attendance, a western female researcher responded that how annoyed she felt that the new styles of *kebaya*, the top of *pakaian adat* for female, keep coming up every year. A young man from Vietnam who was conducting his research about Indonesian heritage in the meanwhile, came to me with a bright smile and said:

"You know, fashion will change the culture!" During a short visit like that, it was already easy to come across lots of fashion competitions and fashion shows of traditional clothing around the city, and trendy traditional textiles were promoted for the creative colors and patterns (Figure 1). All these clues or signs on the streets illustrated that 'fashion' and 'tradition' are not bipolar concepts or they conflict with each other at all.

Fig. 1: An advertisement at one of the busiest crossroads in the capital city Denpasar was mentioning 'patterns of creative colors'. Photo taken by the author, in July, 2012.



COME INTO QUESTION

Researches about clothing & cloth or traditional clothing & cloth could basically be classified into two categories. One category relates to self and ethnic identity, and the other one relates to the symbolic force of clothing.

Worn or displayed in an emblematic way, cloth can denote variations in age, sex, rank, status, and group affiliation.....Cloth can also communicate the wearer's or user's ideological values and claims.

.....Another characteristic of cloth, which enhances its social and political roles, is how readily its appearance and that of its constituent fibers can evoke ideas of connectedness or tying. Wrapping individuals to protect them from the malevolent forces of their cultural or natural environment..... (Schneider and Weiner 1989:1-2)

About the former category, take some Taiwanese scholars' researches as examples, after realizing the heterogeneity between Qiang (羌) people in different settings and in different eras, Wang Ming-Ke (王明珂) asserts that the traditional clothing of Qiang in China could no longer be the objective cultural trait, but the reflection of their social identity and the system of classification. Clothing, as the extension of the human body, is capable of emphasizing the difference between oneself and others. (Wang 1998:843) Chen Pin-heng (陳品姮)'s fieldwork in highlands of Bolivia revealed that Indian women spend large sums of money to buy *pollera*, the traditional ethnic clothing, even though they couldn't avoid the discrimination and lack of cheerfulness in their daily life. This reflects the autonomy in making choices about their self-image and identity. (Chen 2007:3, 139) Jiang Wen-juan (蔣文鵬) discusses the textile culture of the Truku ethnic group in Taiwan, and concluding that the textile culture has been transformed into a symbol of ethnic culture. It is no longer the privileged knowledge or property that belongs exclusively to women. (Jiang 2000:155)

Regarding the symbolic force of clothing, Chang Hui-zu (張慧筑) discusses the relation between traditional clothing and women's values in the Amis society in Taiwan. She argues that the traditional clothing of Amis people plays an important role in their rites of passage. Wearing different traditional costumes represents a change in social status. Meanwhile, the traditional clothing is produced by women only. Therefore, it carries a special value for women. (Chang 2002:136) From the fieldwork experience in Sumba, Indonesia, Hoskin interprets the procedure of cloth dyeing and its production, arguing that indigo dyeing and the color itself form the important symbolic meaning of women's reproduction. While the ladies 'sing the blues', they are expressing the emotion of conflict and contradiction in women's creation of new life. This creation is a metaphor for different kinds: bodies create new lives, dyeing pots create cloth, and homes create daughters. However, creations are accompanied by loss: new lives leave the bodies, cloth will be traded by men, and daughters will leave their home and be exchanged. (Hoskin 1989:142)

However, Balinese traditional clothing reveals another kind of characteristic besides identity and symbolic force. If we say that the objects of the researchers mentioned above

share some similarities, that would be the characteristic of so-called ‘traditional’, ‘customary’, or ‘inherited’. Again, back to the Mandarin reference as some examples, Li Sha-li (李莎莉) who researches about the aboriginal traditional clothing in Taiwan says:

“Traditional clothing contains the characteristics of traditional art, which could also be called primitive art, ethnic art or tribal art. At the same time, it shows the sense of ethnic identity as well.” (Li 1999:10) On the contrary, the characteristics of ‘not traditional’, ‘not customary’, and ‘not inherited’ seem to be placed at the opposite end. As Yeh Li-chen (葉立誠), the scholar of costume theory says:

Generally the custom of clothing reflects the ‘clothing culture’ in one society or ethnic group, and it is opposite to the ‘fashionable clothing’. ‘Custom’ is inherited from the past which is relatively fixed and stable. Meanwhile ‘fashion’ is the temporary and easily changed social phenomenon. However, both custom and fashion play an influential role in the culture construction in a society. (Yeh 2000:125)

Clearly enough, researchers have noticed and compared these two notions for quite a long time. Polhemus and Proctor (1978) argued in the book *Fashion & anti-fashion: Anthropology of clothing and adornment* that “‘fashion’ is historically an geographically specific to western modernity.” (Entwistle 2000:43) The distinction might have been made quite early:

In his influential analysis, J. C. Flügel (1930) made the distinction between ‘fixed’ and ‘modish’ dress: the latter type predominates in the west.....In contrast to ‘modish’ dress, ‘fixed’ dress is another term for traditional dress, such as the kimono or sari, which is characterized by its continuity with the past..... (Entwistle 2000:44-45)

However, what is problematic to me is the idea of differentiating the ‘clothing culture’ and ‘fashionable clothing’ because the traditional clothing in Bali, *pakaian adat*, absolutely contains the characteristics of fashion. During my fieldwork, I witnessed that Balinese people designed *pakaian adat* and had models wear and show them on stages or catwalks; the modes of *pakaian adat* got renewed constantly on the media and the market; the younger generation had their eyes on the trendiest and most stylish boys and girls on every occasion.

Therefore, I am curious about two questions. First, why does *pakaian adat* in Bali contain fashionable characteristics? Second, what are the reasons and conditions causing this phenomenon?

DRESSING UP

According to the material collected during my fieldwork, I assume three conditions that most likely bring about the fashionable characteristics of *pakaian adat* in Balinese society. First of all, it is the constant and devoted religious practices of Balinese people that make it possible.

Before moving forward, first I should briefly explain what is *pakaian adat*. *Pakaian adat* is generally translates into 'traditional clothing'. However, there are various kinds of traditional clothing in Bali, some are worn on wedding occasions (Figure 2), some are worn for graduation ceremony, some are worn by priests, some are worn by performers and so on. Moreover, there is a kind of *pakaian adat* clad frequently in local people's daily life and used with lesser adornment. For men, it includes headgear (*UDENG*), shirt or jacket in western style, sarong (*kamen* or *sarung*²), and one more piece of textile which is shorter (*saput*) to cover sarong. For women, it includes top (*kebaya*³), waist sash (*selendang*), and sarong (*kamen*). It is comparatively simple, yet in various colors & forms and looks beautiful. It is this kind of most common type of *pakaian adat* (Figure 3) that I would like to talk more in this article.



Fig. 2: The traditional clothing was seen on a wedding occasion. Photo taken by the author in July of 2008.

On March 10th in 2009, my friend and I borrowed two suits of *pakaian adat* from my host family in order to attend a ceremony of *purnama* (full moon) at Pura Jagatnatha where is one of the most important Hindu temples in Denpasar, the capital city of Bali. The maid helped us dress up carefully. We were actually got wrapped tightly in *kamen* and *sarung*. The *kebaya* borrowed from the hostess were made from silk gauze fabric and almost transparent, and the sleeves reached to our wrists. The maid chose the smartest singlets which went well with the *kebaya* for us. The *selendang* were knotted neatly at a 45-degree angle at the front of us.

² *kamen* and *sarung* are both cloth used by Balinese people to wrap the lower body. A *sarung* is a two-meter length of cloth with its ends sewed together to form a tube. A *kamen* is not sewed into a tube like a *sarung*, but a piece of cloth.

³ A kind of long-sleeved jacket that reaches to the hips.



Fig. 3: The most common type of *pakaian adat* in Bali. It is comparatively simple, yet in various colors & forms and looks beautiful. Photo taken by the author, from 2008 to 2009.

The moment when we arrived at Pura Jagatnatha, we were surprised to find that the atmosphere on the site was party-like. Young people were dating and hanging out, while other Balinese were snacking and chatting together outside the temple after devout prayer praying. (Figure 4)



Fig. 4: The party-like situation in front of Pura Jagatnatha. Photo taken by the author, in March of 2009.

Watching these lively & cheerful young Balinese, we soon noticed that their *pakaian adat* were distinctly different from ours, which means ours were more similar to the elder Balinese ladies'. The way that the younger ones wore *kamen* was deliberately to expose their shanks, while generally it is supposed to reach the ankles. Some stylish girls even tilted the edge of *kamen* to make it a decorative slit on the side. The *kebaya* they wore were three-quarter-sleeved, embroidered with delicate flora patterns, formfitting and highlighting the natural curves of their bodies. Looking to ourselves, the *pakaian adat* we wore got dragged along loosely after a couple of hours in activities. Compared to those girls, we were kind of old-fashioned and less attractive. What's more, the young people tended to adorn themselves with elaborate accessories, and they would put on trendy sunglasses during the daytime winning people's attention. People would say '*keren*' to them, which means 'cool' in English. (Figure 5)



Fig. 5: The cool way of wearing *pakaian adat* for the younger generation. Photo taken by Yaza Baka in July of 2009.

Later on, I gradually understood that the way those young people wore *pakaian adat* was a kind of trendy style of wearing at present, and those creative adornments were kind of their little universe to show off and to catch the attention and admiration of their peers.

Due to the upcoming of a succession of religious holidays, accordingly there would be lots of occasions that we needed to wear *pakaian adat*, my friends and I decided to shop for our own, '*keren*' costume. Unexpectedly, we discovered that we got into a huge crowd of shoppers who wanted to buy new and mostly custom-made suits of *pakaian adat*, and the tailors were incredibly busy because of the piles of orders. This phenomenon reflected that *pakaian adat* buying is more than just buying some functional clothes to Balinese people; it carries the essence of fashion consumption as well.

Numerous religious holidays in Bali Hinduism cause the daily phenomenon of *pakaian adat* wearing in Bali, whereas the traditional clothing in other societies or cultures are relatively out of daily life context and just a tool of representing self and ethnic identity, or a changeless cultural trait. That is to say, due to the strong faith in Balinese religious practice, the *pakaian adat* wearing results in a large domestic demand in market, speeds up and stimulates the business of *pakaian adat*.

PKB (BALI ART FESTIVAL)

The second condition that makes the fashionable characteristics of *pakaian adat* in Balinese society dynamic is the exhibition stage which has been offered by the government over a long period of time. PKB was first held in 1978 by the provincial governor, Ida Bagus Mantra. According to the publication *A Quarter of Century of Bali Art Festival (Seperempat Abad Pesta Kesenian Bali)* (Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali 2004), by '*art*', Mantra included every categories in Balinese daily life, such as offerings making, clothings, dances, music, wood carving, architecture...etc. PKB is the most important annual art festival, and clothing has always been one of the most important items among it. Besides annual clothing competitions, there are clothing exhibitions, too, and both of them are all about displaying Balinese *pakaian adat*, for both male and female. In the brochure of 23rd PKB in 2001, the government said they want to encourage the invention and development of Balinese traditional clothing, at the same time remains an identical Balinese chic style. (Figure 6)



Fig. 6: Pictures of the clothing competition from the brochures of PKB in 1995 (left) and 1996 (right).

In my point of view, PKB plays the role of delivering information of fashion symbol of *pakaian adat* to the audience from these two different kinds of stages mentioned above. Moreover, the mass media helps the information to be distributed fast & widely.

In the following account, I am going to explain the clothing competition in 2009. The organizer of PKB, Department of Cultural Affairs of Bali Province, announced the topics of clothing competition of that year about six months before PKB. There would be four contestant groups, classified into two categories: the traditional clothing, and the modern clothing. The former category is actually the *pakaian adat* type, whereas the latter has no regulation for form. But there was one rule that applied to every contestant group: Every participant has to use the traditional handmade ikat, *endek*, as the material. However, regardless of the different topics, the document stated that, “the criterion to score depends on the performance of the model on the stage, the compatibility between the model and his/her clothes, the matching of the various garments, and neatness.”

A week before the competition, I ran into a group of customers in Pasar Klungkung, the largest textile and traditional clothing trading market in Bali. One of them came forward and asked for the latest textile immediately. The owner showed them the newly-made and just brought-back-from-factory material; it had the most original patterns and colors. These customers, included a clothing designer and his clients, were going to attend the clothing competition in PKB in the following week. After choosing satisfying patterns, the designer spent much more time picking out the plain textiles which matched it.

All this information about clothing competition in PKB reveals that this event is highly connected with the local economy. Just as a journalist said, “[PKB]promotes the local art of *pakaian adat*; on the other hand, it becomes a part of the local economy, which very much needs to be inserted with creativity and innovation. Therefore, it needs the government’s support and concern.” (*BisnisBali* 2009.6.17 Page 4) In my opinion, PKB plays the role of collecting the information of trend and fashion on the catwalk, and during the preparation, we can say from the example in Pasar Klungkung, the competition in PKB encourages not only the consumption of *pakaian adat*, but also the production of it. A plus factor is the mass media, *Bali Post* and *BisnisBali*, which help to disseminate the information.

During PKB, *Bali Post* and *BisnisBali* not only reported the clothing competition, but also the exhibition of *pakaian adat*. The Department of Cultural Affairs of Bali Province invited many local entrepreneurs who produce and sell privately to join the exhibition; their products were guaranteed by the government. As a result, the annual exhibition has always been the foremost topic among PKB. Not only is the trading volume is considerable to most citizens but, the displayed products and goods have the highest qualities and are trendy as well.

MEDIA

Finally is the influence of the media. During my fieldwork, I enjoyed doing news-clipping from the piles of old newspapers of my host family. It did not take long to find out

that *Bali Post* is the newspaper which has the most circulation in Bali, more specific to say, it monopolizes the market of local newspaper, and it has a regular style column every Sunday, which often publicizes and aids in discussion of *pakaian adat*, and offers readers suggestions and references. I was soon attracted to it. I think the influence of the mass media effectively encourages citizens to express their personal mode and style through wearing designed *pakaian adat*. The often-used terms in that column such as ‘modern’, ‘retro’ ...etc, indicate the symbol of fashion. In such a society where the *pakaian adat* is lively consumed, the communication and circulation of fashion symbol is extremely important. And we did witness how *Bali Post* acted on it.

Column ‘MODE’ is published on *Bali Post* every Sunday. It is a public column that people can consult the writer about clothing things, and the column host will offer his professional advice. People consult about different kinds of clothing, such as skirts, business suits, and *pakaian adat* as well. Balinese people would like to know how to modify *kebaya* or *kamen* properly to fit their body shape. Following is one of the examples:

Span Gaya

TJOK ABI.
saya Widi, 25 tahun, tinggi 170 cm, berat 59 kg, agak gempal. Saya punya kain batik lebaran sangat klasik. Saya ingin memakai sebagai bawahan, tapi tidak untuk kain panjang. Mohon saran untuk bawahan apa dan padanannya yang cocok apa ya? Terima kasih.

Widi, Singaraja

Di sini saya buat rok panjang span midi. Setengah betis dengan belahan belakang yang agak tinggi (biasa disebut *penclit skirt*) dari bahan batik, untuk padanannya bisa dipakai kebaya polos yang diberi aksesoris bordir dan bentuknya seperti cardigan, tanpa kancing. Kenakan untuk dalamannya tangtop dengan bahan dan warna yang senada dengan kebaya yang dipakai dimasukkan ke dalam rok. Beri hiasan ikat pinggang yang besar seperti tampak pada sketsa ini. Semoga berkenan. Terima kasih.



Rubrik 'Mode' ini terbuka untuk umum. Bagi Anda yang memiliki hobi desain atau punya problem sepadat busana, kirimkan ke Redaksi Bali Post (Jl. Kepundung 67A Denpasar 80232) atau Tjok Abi di Galuh Boutique Jl. Mkn. Yamin VII/19 Renon - Denpasar Telp./ Fax: (0361) 242187 Telp.: (0361) 7891147



RUBRIK
MODE
KEMERDEKAAN

Plate 1: Clip of the column ‘Mode’ on *Bali Post* (Abi 2009).

Q: My name is Widi. I am 25 years old, 170cm in height, and 59kg in weight, which make me a bit sturdy. I have a piece of *batik*, the pattern of which is quite classical. I would like to wear it to cover my lower body, but I don't want it too long. Please tell me how I should wear it and how should I collate with it? Thank you.

A: Here I have drawn a sketch in which the *kamen* is a bit longer, middle tightness...For the top, you can try a plain *kebaya*, which has embroidery on the edge of the sleeves, and has no buttons on the front... Put on a broad loose belt, as shown in my sketch. Hope it helps. (*Bali Post* 2009.5.17 Page 5)

This is just an example among many. To be trendy, to be outstanding, to be '*keren*,' these are the principles of wearing *pakaian adat* for the Balinese young generation. But how? *Bali Post* gives us the possible answers. Through the column 'MODE', *pakaian adat* is discussed publicly as if it were fashion. The column is an example as well. In *Bali Post*, especially during the time of PKB, we can read the articles about the current trend for traditional textile, the outcome of the competition, the critique and analyzation of it, and interviews. On these occasions of fashion shows, competitions, or exhibitions, not only newspaper journalists were there, but also television journalists, photographers.....etc. Therefore I believe that the media plays such an important role because it tries to tell the citizens what to wear and how to wear.

CONCLUSION

Schneider and Weiner mentioned in *Cloth and Human Experience* (1989) that capitalism reordered the meaning of cloth in two interrelated ways. First, altering the process of manufacture caused alienation; that is to say, that capitalism eliminated the opportunity for weavers and dyers to infuse their product with spiritual value and to reflect and pronounce on analogies between reproduction and production. Second, by encouraging the growth of fashion, a consumption system of high-velocity turnover and endless, ever-changing variation, capitalist entrepreneurs vastly inflated dress and adornment as a domain for expression through cloth (Schneider and Weiner 1989:4). I assert that *pakaian adat* in Bali is being through a similar process and is forming a fashion-like system of consumption.

But the question is, why it is possible in Bali? In my opinion, I think it is the continuous and unceasing religious practices in Bali Hinduism that make it possible. As I have mentioned earlier, compared to *pakaian adat* in Bali, the traditional clothing in other societies are relatively out of daily life context and focus on self and ethnic identity displaying. So I'd like to stress that due to the condition of Balinese religious practice, *pakaian adat* in Bali gains the condition of being fashionable. Also, according to the material I collected during my fieldwork, we can see how government and mass media might result in the speedy growth of fashionable *pakaian adat*. That is to say, the government and mass media actually work together and effectively cause *pakaian adat* to be fashionable.

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流行的傳統服飾：以印尼 Bali 島 *pakaian adat* 為例

黃郁倫*

此篇田野報告的草稿完成於 2009 年秋天，所採用之田野材料主要來自於那年的一月至六月間。那次的田野工作，筆者主要在印尼 Bali 省首府 Denpasar 市活動，一部分時間亦在島的東部，一處織布與服飾交易熱絡的市場（Klungkung 市場）進行訪談與觀察。

在 Bali 島，不論是在鄉村或都市，幾乎每天都可見到穿著 *pakaian adat*（一般譯為傳統服飾）的 Bali 島人。資本主義的經濟方式會改變服飾的意義，其中一項改變是，服飾逐漸成爲一種表達工具；資本家透過鼓勵流行時尚的建立——一種快速變動的消費體系，服飾成爲一種個人風格傳達的表達工具。（Schneider and Weiner 1989：4）然而過往研究者傾向區分「傳統服飾」與「流行服飾」，認爲前者是承襲自過往而較爲穩定不變的（Entwistle 2000：44-45），但我卻在田野中看見 Bali 島的 *pakaian adat* 也具備流行服飾的特質——有人設計它、舞臺上展示著它、款式推陳出新、人們快速地消費爲了建立流行時尚……等。

承上，筆者在本文想要論證的是，當代 Bali 島 *pakaian adat* 的消費，展現了當地人對於流行符號的消費；而其中流行符號的生產原因有三：第一，透過 Bali 島人不斷實踐的宗教生活而產生，使它不同於其他社會中，傳統服飾僅著於特殊時日，可能較易成爲一種身分表徵而較少變動。第二，政府長期以來所創造的大型舞臺／伸展臺、節日／慶典、競賽……等，直接將 *pakaian adat* 的流行符號集中傳遞。第三，透過報章等主流媒體的推波助瀾，讓 *pakaian adat* 得以成爲如同流行時尚般地被大眾討論，「現代感」、「復古風」等等辭彙，都指涉著一種攸關流行訊息的符號，有效地鼓勵了民眾透過 *pakaian adat* 去展現個人風格與風采。筆者認爲，Bali 島的 *pakaian adat* 因爲這些條件，而發展出具備流行服飾般特質的現象。

關鍵詞：峇里島（Bali）、服飾、流行、傳統

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