

# Social Sarong

The Adaptation and Spread of the Javanese Sarong



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## Abstract

The paper uses the traditional Indonesian sarong as an illustrative example to examine how a single garment has spread around the globe over long centuries and distances. A look back at colonisation and early trade sets the framework for examining the present situation in more detail. Today's globalization and the rise of social media allow for interesting, relevant observations and explain the continued spread, alteration and success of the sarong.

## Preface

With my heritage being Indonesian and my mother's, being Malaysian, the traditional batik<sup>1</sup> sarong has always been something familiar and a comforting piece of material at home. Through my childhood we moved from Bandung, Indonesia to The Bahamas in the Caribbean and then to Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The Sarong was always the ideal attire to wear in these humid and hot climates. My personal connection to the Sarong could not get any closer: for, as soon as I was born in an outback town in Java, I was wrapped in a traditional batik sarong cloth and handed over to my adoptive parents. (Figure 1) My Malaysian mother always wore one around the house and, as an infant, I was carried around in a sarong sling, which hung across my parents chest. (Figure 2 and 3) My European father adopted this easy 'sarong culture' and to this day, still wears one around his Swiss home in Geneva. As rudimentary as this may be, it is but one rough example of the 'Globalization' of the Sarong. My personal interest in this distinctive material object lies not only in its familiarity but also in its long history and in the question of how it managed to spread all over the globe. The Sarong now is used and worn in many different adaptations, variations and alterations by the most different people around the world. Today, clothing trends that are based on - and influenced by - traditional garments, fabrics and patterns are very fashionable and the question of cultural appropriation is a topic of controversial discussion.

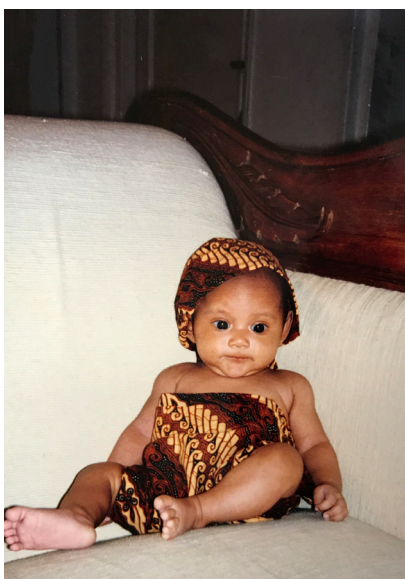


Figure 1  
"Baby with Sarong"



Figure 2  
"Mother in a Sarong"



Figure 3  
"Father with Sarong-sling"

<sup>1</sup> a fabric printed by an Indonesian method of hand-printing textiles by coating with wax the parts not to be dyed; also: the method itself.

## 1. Introduction and Research Question

Today, the term 'Sarong' has become a term used to casually describe a long or short (or a very short) sheath of any sort. This can be seen as the result of globalization, adaptation and dilution. Several other traditional clothing articles, such as the Japanese 'Kimono' and the Indian 'Sari', have also been picked up, deconstructed and reproduced in different cultural and social contexts and for different purposes. The underlying theme of this essay is the spread and adaptation of dress and textile caused by globalization and digitalization. Throughout this essay, the understanding of what had happened in the past will be closely linked to today's adoption and adaptation of traditional garments and clothing styles. Fashion and anthropology theories of Daniel Miller and Georg Simmel, will serve as a supporting tool and provide a framework to best describe and understand this global phenomenon of fashion exchange. The most prominent modern factors, particularly the Sarong's appearance in high fashion, the influence of social media, the leisure lifestyle and the Do-It-Yourself community, will be the final focus of my research when trying to explain the position of the Javanese sarong in today's different geographical and cultural environments.

***Research Question: How has colonization, globalization and social media accelerate the spread of the Javanese sarong over time and across the world? How have other cultures adopted and adapted the sarong? And how does the sarong present itself in today's fashion world.***

In this paper, I will firstly attempt to explain how trade, colonization and migration have impacted the traditional sarong, promoted its worldwide spread, altered its appearance and usage. Secondly, I am going to show how globalization, the internet, digitalization and, in particularly social media, have caused a second and accelerated round of spreading through their widespread effect on fashion trends and styles.

## 2. Theory

To establish an abstract framework and a conceptual foundation for my research, I reviewed existing fashion theory and found the following two writers' work most helpful and suitable.

### 2.1 Daniel Miller

In chapter one, "Why clothing is not Superficial" in Daniel Miller's book "Stuff" (2010) presents us with a fitting academic starting point and basis for this paper. He looks at clothing from a semiotic perspective, which is the study of symbol-making among others, and by reducing objects to images. The western understanding of clothing as a true or false expression of one's inner self does not necessarily reflect other culture's views: "... there is simply no reason on earth why another population should see things in the same way. No reason at all why they should consider our real being to be deep inside and falsity on the outside." (Miller, 2010, p. 17) For instance, in the western view, fashion is seen as the collective following of a trend and, in this sense, somewhat shallower or more frivolous than the inner, intellectualization of the world around him. However, in other cultures, for example in Trinidad, clothing style is transient and an expression of one's individual-

ism, depending on mood and occasion. It emphasises an individual moment or an event and, interestingly enough, often serves as a symbol of the people's liberation from slavery: "Because no one is judging what they have done, nor what they happen to look like originally. We are judging them by their labour, not their birth." (Miller, 2010, p. 21) Based on this observation, clothing is not the reflection of an inherent truth but a cultural construction.

The French Revolution has helped to abolish conventional dress codes and allowed for the presentation of our more authentic inner selves through what we wear: "... the concept of the person, the sense of the self, the experience of being an individual, are radically different at different times and in different places, partly in relation to differences in clothing." (Miller, 2010, p. 40) But the so-called freedom might not really achieve what it pretends to do: "The situation is full of ironic contradictions: freedoms that create anxiety, empowerment that feels oppressive, individualism that leads to conformity." (Miller, 2010, p. 38) What Miller says is clearly reflected in the emotional mechanics of today's social media. By contrast, the Sari ("Pallu"), the traditional dress of Indian women, is seen as an extension of the body, a third hand of the wearer, so to speak. From being the physical embodiment of mother's love: "He learnt to walk holding not my finger, but my pallu." (Miller, 2010, p. 26), to being an instrument for playful erotic contact between men and women "... a man has no idea whether a woman is re-covering herself because of what she does not want him to see, or is pointing out what she does want him to see." (Miller, 2010, p. 27), the pallu depicts the ambiguity as well as the equilibrium between being modest and being erotic. The Indian Sari becomes an educational tool and symbol for learned womanhood, an expression of the different expectations for women's roles in family and society. Taming the fabric and performing social roles go hand in hand: "The sari forces a continued engagement and conversation with its wearer, and a constant pressure to respond to changes in one's surrounding social environment." (Miller, 2010, p. 30)

Going back to the western world and using London as an example, Miller highlights that individual taste and the lack of social norms and criticism (compared to Trinidad and India) lead to constant anxiety regarding the question of what to wear and what not to wear. In Trinidad, clothing represents an opportunity to find out who one is at a particular moment of time, while in India it seems to reflect a constantly shifting appearance in response to each change in circumstances. Lastly, in London, clothing can be a source of anxiety when developing one's individual taste. In this paper, Miller's three different observations of clothing tradition and styles will help me to explore the spread of the traditional Javanese sarong through globalization, the internet and social media.

## 2.2 Georg Simmel

The second useful theory work comes from Georg Simmel, which supports my exploration of the effects of the Internet and social media on this topic. According to him, the phenomenon of fashion is the result of two very human characteristics: the need for 'imitation' and the need for 'segregation'. (Simmel, Fashion, 1904, p. 4) These two traits may seem contradictory, but in a sense, they are also complementary and mutually enhancing. To illustrate this, according to Simmel, the lower social classes try to imitate the upper social class-

es by adopting their fashion style. This, in turn, forces the upper classes to search for new ways of separating themselves from them by looking for new symbols of belonging and, therefore, creating exclusive new fashion trends and styles which is available only to them.. In this sense, fashion is the product of 'social class differences'. (Simmel, Fashion, 1904, p. 5) Of further note is that he claims that fashion would not be produced, in the first place, if society would not have different social classes. He says that: "... Bushmen ...who have developed no class-system, have no fashions whatsoever, - no one has been able to discover among them any interest in changes in apparel and in finery." (Simmel, Fashion, 1904, p. 8) Those who belong to the top layers of society dictate the process of fashion development: "Just as soon as the lower classes begin to copy their style, thereby crossing the line of demarcation (that) the upper classes have drawn and destroying the uniformity of their coherence, the upper classes turn away from this style and adopt a new one, which in turn differentiates them from the masses; and thus, the game goes merrily on." (Simmel, Fashion, 1904, p. 5/6) In other words, as soon as their Fashion is copied and worn by the lower class, they will inevitably create a new fashion so they are always unique and differentiated from the lower class. In this sense, Simmel is a representative of the 'Trickle-Down Fashion Theory' which was created by Herbert Spencer (1888) when trying to explain the creation of fashion and its sociological implications: Fashion can only be something that is not what everyone wears. One group of the society must always must be trying to copy it. Later in this paper, the "trickle theory" will also be used to explain certain effects in the relationship between fashion spread and social media. Equipped with the understanding of the theoretical ground work provided by Miller and Simmel (and Spencer), it is now easier for me to take a closer look at the spread of the Sarong through the ages and geographically.

### **3. The Javanese Sarong and its Migration to Europe**

A Sarong is a garment consisting of a four by five-meter-long piece of fabric typically worn loosely around the body, secured by a tightly twisted fold at the waist or higher, under the arms. It is traditionally worn in South East Asia, the Middle East and parts of Africa, with specific regional variations in look, dimensions and name. (Fair Winds Sarongs, 2015) The Javanese Sarong stands out due to its impressive batik patterns. Within the so-called traditional Sarong-wearing belt of countries, the sarongs are identified by different set of colours and lengths, styles of knotting and motives, always evolving and adapting to temperature and use. Most of these countries are typically hot, humid and damp, making the 'airy', loose fitting cloth a logical choice of dress wear. (Snodgrass, 2014, p. 525) The Sarong is often worn as ceremonial or formal religious garb, as is tradition, or at other times, as everyday attire or deliberately festive. (Ong, 2011, p. 267) Today, the Sarong has grown in popularity and is no longer confined to the initial regions; it has now become part of the global fashion fabric everywhere. "...one thing that all these groups have in common is that most of their dress is wrapped and draped. The Indian sari, the sarong, the veil, and the shawl are all wrapped and draped...The draped and wrapped clothes are seen as timeless, for they are always in style. The wearer gives the fabric its form and identity, which are forever changing and relevant." (Dhamija, 2011, p. 5)

Between the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Java was exposed to many cultural influences coming from all directions. The island was a network trading port for all kinds of goods. In 1602 when the Dutch East Indies Company invaded Java, the local people got strongly exposed to European and Western dress styles and

vice versa. (Dhamija, 2011, p. 322) (Figure 4) “Continual merging and absorption of cultural elements shaped the region over time and changed the textile and dress traditions to accommodate new religions and new political and social structures. Despite the climate, dress conventions changed, and in various cultures, dress particularly for ceremonial occasions, consists of various layers of clothing. Textiles were chiefly produced for daily clothing and ceremonial appeal.” (Ong, 2011, p. 268) The imports of Indian textiles and Chinese silk and porcelain were influencers that changed the appearance of locally produced textiles. Thus, the traditional Indonesian dress slowly changed. The Dutch, Chinese and Indonesians were all unintentionally and indirectly influencing each other in their way of dressing. The Dutch added the more body fitting “sarong kebaya”<sup>2</sup>, which both women and men would wear at home and in public European attire. (Figure 5) Through this whole process, the Sarong entered the world stage of “fashion”. In its original form and in a many different adaptations and variations it became a garment that people started to use and wear in Europe and the rest of the world. “...men who worked on plantations, likewise, would often relax at home attired in a sarong and a collarless, short-sleeved shirt. Dutch women who were migrating to Indonesia were said to procure their sarong in Holland before setting off on the journey.” (Dhamija, 2011, p. 376) This was already a form of leisurewear for the Europeans, as the sarong became more westernized and was slowly adapted to a foreign fashion taste, thus becoming quite a different garment. “Middle and high-class groups of Indonesia found themselves adopting, adapting and rejecting Western dress and the Dutch men and women borrowed and transformed locally produced items.” (Dhamija, 2011, p. 429) Colonization triggered the spread of different cultures coming in and out of Indonesia. Not only were the Indonesians westernized but the Europeans were also adapting to Southeast Asian dress styles. Both were unintentionally trading “exotic” ideas. The Dutch wearing sarongs as a form of nightgown or the Indonesians wearing business pants and shoes in combination with their traditional kebaya tops. It was very much a time of cultural exchanges that many were open to accept.



Figure 4  
“Malay Girls in Traditional Sarongs”



Figure 5  
“Dutch Woman in Sarong Kebaya”

<sup>2</sup> a traditional blouse normally made of sheer material worn with a batik or sarong, by women in South East Asia.

Globalization generally refers to the increasingly global relationships of culture, people, and economic activity. In this case, it is clearly reflected in textile and clothing styles. “For centuries, textiles and clothing styles have been one of the most obvious and poignant indicators of cross-cultural interchange. With the rapid rise of globalization over the past several decades, the spread of fashion across global cultures has mirrored the changes in economy, culture, and daily life that globalization has brought.” (Nagle, 2015) Just as Miller states in his theory, the spread of fashion has also altered and exchanged the meaning and understanding for individuals and social groups around the world.

#### **4. Fashion in the World of Globalization and Social Media**

The globalization of the economy started as early as in the sixteenth century. Colonialization, the African slave trade, the silk road into Asia and sugar and coffee trade with South America are examples for that process. For the past two decades however, the scope and pace of globalization has increased dramatically. The internet, communication technology and social media have completely redefined the functioning of the world economy, redefined culture and the way we live our individual lives. These changes become dramatically visible in fashion production and marketing and in the way we sell, buy, wear and throw away our clothes. Thanks to the internet, social media and globalization, the accessibility of latest fashion trends has increased tremendously. This helps to create an incredibly open and fast moving market, promoting trade across countries and cultures. “An example of the tendency for fashion to signify larger global changes is the 1990’s trend of “Orientalism” in Western fashion. Throughout the late 1980’s and 1990’s, fashion borrowed stylistic influences from Asian traditions.” (Nagle, 2015) This cannot only be seen in the western adaptation of the sarong, but also, for example, in adapted versions of the Japanese Kimono and the Indian Sikh turban.

Due to an outburst of numerous and massive social networks and blogs, every new idea or style is immediately and readily available for everyone around the globe. A small change of individual preferences can quickly become a unique style that is followed by other individuals around the globe thus creating a global trend or global style. “Technology encourages customers to interact with brands. These customer interactions build the brand by increasing awareness, involvement, and engagement; thus, adding to brand recall and stimulating purchases. Tweets, blogs, and social networks like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, and Pinterest offer fashion brands ways to connect with audiences. Though many fashion brands initially believed social networking would weaken the relationship with consumers, social media is now viewed as an opportunity to improve customer relationships and to ultimately capture a larger audience.” (Mohr, 2013, p. 18)

As individuals choose their clothing as an expression of their identity, fashion is increasingly becoming a very interesting force in globalization. Today, fashion is constantly moving, changing and being reinvented and reinterpreted, creating a high demand for newest trends and styles. Consequently, people’s desire to be different and to always flaunt new clothes, creates a high demand for newest trends and styles. Spencer’s theory on the trickle-down effect can be seen reflected here – often times, celebrities (representing the higher class) serve as a source for inspiration and role models in many cases. To this end, social media presents a new way of bonding for people and allows for an exchange of the unique and marvellous cultural designs of each other’s



countries, traditions and culture. This is beautifully shown in that even the famous high-fashion magazine Harper's Bazaar ran an article on how to tie a sarong in four different ways. (Pieri, 2013) (Figure 6) "Word of mouth ("WOM") – interpersonal communication about products and services between consumers – is one of the most influential sources of marketplace information for consumers. When WOM travels on the Internet, it can become viral and most powerful, regardless of whether the information is good or bad." (Mohr, 2013, p. 18) Just like in the colonial days, when marketing happened through storytelling and first-hand viewing, social media has proven to be the new way of spreading news, sentiments and opinions in a 'word of mouth' way. Oral or written recommendation by a satisfied customer to new prospective customers is considered to be the most effective form of promotion.

Globalization and social media have changed the course and pace of clothing trends and styles. In turn, the effects and the impact of globalization has also opened our minds and made us more accepting of foreign aesthetics, styles and fashion from all over the world.

## 5. The Sarong in Global Fashion Today

Today, the sarong comes along in many distinctive variations and covers a wide spectrum of definitions and usages. On one hand, it could be seen and described as a simple wraparound skirt, long or short. In this sense, even a simple beach towel can be tied around the waist like a sarong. On the other hand, we see high-end elaborations and adaptations on the most famous runways around the globe. I am going to use "social media, the do-it-yourself culture and "high fashion versus leisure lifestyle" to describe and explain the expansion of the sarong into today's global fashion. Since there is not enough literature to be found for this purpose, this chapter will, to a large extent, be based on my own visual research, which I will validate through the inclusion of pictorial examples and their sources. Social media connects people and communities on a global scale. For the fashion industry, social media platforms like Instagram, Facebook, YouTube, Tumblr and Pinterest have changed the course of how fashion designs and trends are influenced. A major shift that social media has had on fashion is the fact that "...for decades, a few big names dominated the fashion industry in a very top-down fashion way, but now the average fashion blogger can influence major designers via social media outlets." (Sellers, 2014) Interestingly, the trickle-down effect (Simmel and Spencer) has changed and become a 'trickle-up effect'!

### 5.1 Social Media

Clothing brands can promote their brand and clothes by giving well-known fashion bloggers their products to post and mention on their account. The followers of the fashion bloggers see the photo with the product and set off a chain-reaction of 'likes, shares and comments'. These social media platforms allow the content of people to be shared and liked by people all over the world able to connect using the form #hashtag to create "micro-communities of like-minded friends and strangers who share a particular aesthetic affinity or niche sensibility." (Dhillon, 2015) An example of this is the story of Gabby Epstein (1994), a famous Instagram model with 1.8 Million followers. (Figure 7) She uploaded a photo of herself wearing a sarong-like skirt and



Figure 6  
"Four Ways to Wear a Sarong"



Figure 7  
"Gabby Epstein in City Beach Australia Skirt"

tagged the brand and account of City Beach Australia on the picture. This gained her over 40,000 likes and many more views. Many fashion bloggers are in a position to do this and, as such, they become an invaluable promotion tool for the companies, showing off the brand's products and the lifestyle associated with it. The viewers are emotionally attached to the blogger and a personal relationship is formed.

By being presented on these social media sites, fashion firms blur the distinction between lifestyle and marketing. It allows them to create a more personal way to connect with the consumers and this promotion strategy gains a wider and broader audience. It is a faster way to inform people about the brand and its identity. "With visual storytelling, fashion brands and retailers are now using Instagram as their primary tool to reveal brand personality. One look at a brand's Instagram page should easily provide consumers a glimpse into the brand's culture, lifestyle and products." (Alter, 2016) Social media raises a lot of controversy, one of which is self-presentation on social platforms. "Much of that content is photographs, links, and textual information that social media users post to present an online self. Self-presentation is generally considered to be motivated by a desire to make a favourable impression on others, or an impression that corresponds to one's ideals. As such, self-presentation is centrally involved in impression management and the projection of an online identity." (Herring, 2015, p. 1) This ties in neatly with Miller's statement about the presentation of one's inner self, seen here in a western exemplification. Many girl's social profiles present them in a seductive manner and suggestive dress, like showing cleavage. And the modern interpretation of the Sarong comes in handily as it allows the wearer to vary the degree of exposure in very subtle ways. Promoting one's body in a sexual manner is a growing trend on social media. (Herring, 2015, p. 5) Again, this trend links to Miller's statement about the "erotic" aspect of wearing a Sari. The showing of the skin on social media is a phenomenon that is more often seen than it is seriously discussed. It is a development that many seem to accept without reflection, slowly allowing it to develop into a "unidentified" trend that the Western eye becomes immune to. Through this carefree "use and abuse" of the traditional version, the so-called "social media sarong" completely loses its traditional purpose of covering the body completely. The traditional Javanese sarong is long and covers the legs and breasts. But for

the “social media sarong” the presentation of skin is essential. The overall length or the openings on the sides make the difference. The sarong-like garment has been altered for the purposes of “online” self-presentation or an online alter ego.

In the bigger picture, this is only one example of an overall trend. By doing some visual research on Instagram, I was able to find photos of girls in sarongs or sarong-like skirts. Exposing one’s body and digitally displaying it online is definitely said to attract more attention to oneself. The principle is easy: The more you show, the more attention you will receive. In these photos of girls in sarong-like wear, they almost always show themselves in combination with bikini tops and tanks, in a tropical and/or beach-like setting. The whole leisure and beach lifestyle is a popular trend on Instagram. Young men and women use this phenomenon as a pretext which gives them an opportunity to show off their skin and bodies to a greater public. The sarong on social media has come to be understood in a more casual context/scene and it serves the image that the users want to portray.

## 5.2 Leisure Lifestyle

These three accounts show this exact high-class paradise lifestyle in which the sarong-like skirts is presented. Instagram model and fashion blogger, Janni Deler (1990), with 1.1 Million followers, Gabby Epstein (1994) and model Inka Williams (1999) with 929,000 followers all live a very high-class lifestyle, all posting photos of travelling and wearing different outfits. In this case, the sarong-like skirts are displayed with bikini tops and stomach free tank tops. (Figure 8, 9 and 10) The tropical beach setting with many surrounding bikini photos are presented in their galleries. A lot of their skin is shown, presenting their bodies to the public. I



Figure 8  
“Gabby Epstein on Instagram”



Figure 9  
“Janni Deler on Instagram”



Figure 10  
“Inka Williams on Instagram”

### 5.3 High Fashion

In contrast to the casual, street style of the sarong, high fashion has picked up on traditional and new batik patterns. Fashion designers, Iwan Tirta (1935-2010) and Edward Hutabarat (1958) are two examples of designers who have embraced the traditional Javanese batik patterns in a modern way. Both born in Indonesia, their creations incorporate a local concept and strive to enhance the image of batik-wear as internationally accepted fashion styles. (Figure 11 and 12) This goes back to the trickle-down/trickle-up theory in fashion. One class seizes the opportunity to copy or imitate the fashion coming from another class. Fashion designers like Tirta and Hutabarat took traditional Javanese batik patterns and embellished them into modern cuts, thus creating a good example of the trickle-up theory. Then, these runway looks are brought to an international audience. Through magazines and social media, the looks are disseminated to the public. (Tirta, 2017) The lower class of the fashion world pick it up again and reproduces the general picture in a much cheaper way. This image found on Sassy Sarongs website shows their sales strategy with the heading: “Need some sarong style inspiration? Check out how these celebrities wear their sarongs.” Presenting a collage of images of celebrities at the beach with sarongs on, the cycle goes on and smaller fashion branches are influenced by the high fashion looks and the celebrities’ styles. With the demand for trends, coming from the public, small boutiques and shops start selling cheaper imitations of traditional sarongs with a variety of different prints, ranging from animal prints to tie-dye versions. (One World Sarongs, Date Unknown)



Figure 11  
“Iwan Tirta Dewaraja Collection 2010”



Figure 12  
“Edward Hutabarat Fashion Collection 2014”

## 5.4 Do-It-Yourself

The Do-It-Yourself (DIY) culture fits between the lines of social media and fashion trends. YouTube and Pinterest are social sharing sites where DIY ideas are also shared. Bloggers often create aesthetic DIY content on their own blogs. The DIY community lets the creativity of the mind be shared and communicated in a simple, clever and fast way. In this context, the sarong-skirt has become a trend in itself. The simple technique of how the sarong is tied has led to many different variations and styles. Videos are uploaded onto YouTube on how to tie your sarong in different ways, or how to tie a piece of cloth so that it looks like a sarong. Photos, Illustrations and Blogs explain the step-by-step procedure. The DIY culture has created its own little niche for the modern sarong to expand. DIY trends like this are adaptations, placed into a digitally moving society and available for everyone, globally. There are over 33,000 different videos on YouTube about DIY Sarongs, uploaded from all over the world. They cover all areas: from how to tie and wear sarongs to recycling old sarong material, to make a sarong yourself and to explaining different dyeing techniques. DIY means to make something on your own by copying existing ideas or by creating something, often by thinking outside the box. Upcycling is a suitable word to describe a big part of the DIY activity. Creative sarong wraps have become a trend in their own right, from formal chic to beach and leisure looks, whether the fabric is recycled from a bedsheet or dyeing a cloth yourself. The traditional wrap's length and form is still seen, but now its digitally shared and publically displayed for everyone to learn and see. (Figure 13 and 14)



Figure 13  
"DIY Wrapped Scrap Fabric Skirt"



10 Simple Ways to Tie a Sarong

Figure 14  
"Sarong Tying Tips on Youtube"

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have tried to build a bridge between centuries of time and extended geographic distances by investigating the spread of the traditional sarong into the modern and globalized world. It was my goal to not only describe and document cultural appropriation but to go deeper and understand the social, historic and emotional mechanics behind the spread of fashion trends around the globe. In doing this, have learned that the topic is multifaceted and difficult to cover within the constraints of this paper. Oftentimes, I had to restrict and cut down my research and analytical process – not due to a lack of interest but in order to stay within the confines of my research question. Eventually, I have managed to find valid answers and explanations to my research questions, but every answer has only opened another door for additional and more precise questions. With this in mind, it would be interesting to expand this research sometime in the future and include other traditional Asian garments which have undergone a similar evolution.

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## Photos

- Figure 1 “Baby in Sarong”, private collection Anouk Schaedler
- Figure 2 “Mother in a Sarong”, private collection Anouk Schaedler
- Figure 3 “Father with a Sarong-sling”, private collection Anouk Schaedler
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