

UNVEIL THE DAY OF DISCOURSE ON THE USE OF TRADITIONAL BALINESE CLOTHING FOR ASN IN THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF BALI

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to uncover the form of power relations and the implications of the discourse on the use of traditional Balinese clothing for the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) in the Provincial Government of Bali. The rules on the use of traditional Balinese clothes for the ASN Bali Provincial Government are the implementation of the policy of the Governor of Bali Wayan Koster at the beginning of his leadership period and has been set forth in the Governor Regulation No. 79 of 2018 concerning the Day of the Use of Customary Bali Clothing. The study uses the scientific foundation of Cultural Studies with a qualitative approach. Two theories used in this research are the theory of power and knowledge relations and social practice theory. These two theories are collaboratively used to uncover the power relation forms and the implications of the discourse on the use of traditional Balinese clothes for ASN within the Provincial Government of Bali. The study revealed the form of power relations in the day-to-day discourse on the use of traditional Balinese clothes for ASN in the Provincial Government of Bali, namely governmentality in the form of regulations aimed at making the application of Balinese customary dress rules effective. Another form of power relation is the hegemonic ideology that is by utilizing the myths of Balinese traditional clothing and symbolic power relations using meaningful symbols. The results also revealed that the discourse on the use of Balinese traditional clothing for ASN in the Environment of the Provincial Government of Bali has implications for the representation of social classes marked by the desire of a group of ASN to differentiate themselves by adding accessories to the traditional clothes they wear. Another implication is consumerism among ASNs, where their desire engine is motivated to add custom clothing collections to the office beyond what they actually need. The application of traditional Balinese dress rules for the Bali Provincial Government ASN also gives rise to what is called cultural hybridization.

Keywords: discourse, Balinese traditional clothing, State Civil Apparatus

INTRODUCTION

Bali is one of the regions in Indonesia which is known to have a diversity of traditions and cultures. One of the cultural products that characterizes and identifies the Balinese

people is traditional clothing. In Balinese life, traditional dress is not only used for customary interests, but also worn in the procession of Hindu worship. Given the importance of the meaning of traditional dress for the Balinese, its use is governed by the rules and norms that apply.

In its development, the era of globalization brought extraordinary influence for Bali as a tourism area. The rapid global development has influenced various aspects of people's lives. If this is examined from the point of view of Ritzer and Goodman (2005), it can be said that globalization has changed the direction of imperialism, ie from occupying the area physically changing towards a new style of imperialism, namely economic imperialism and cultural imperialism.

The most visible impact of economic imperialism and cultural imperialism is the full adoption of American culture by society, which Stager (in Atmadja, 2001: 90) is known as Americanization. Spreading the symptoms of Americanization among the eastern people, including the Bali Region, the scope turned out to be quite broad, which includes the issue of food, drinks, cars and lifestyle and the use of clothing is no exception. The use of traditional Balinese clothing was not immune from the effects of globalization. The global era marked by the dynamic development of the fashion world has an impact on how to dress customarily in Bali, especially young people who are easily carried by the current of civilization. With the reason to follow fashion, the use of traditional clothing is no longer following the concept of traditional Balinese dress.

I Gusti Ngurah Agung Aryawan from the Denpasar Hindu Dharma Institute in the national seminar on religion and culture (Semaya II: 2017) conveyed a phenomenon of Balinese traditional clothing worn when attending worship in temples. Teenagers, regardless of their level or social stratification, are competing to display their appearance with a fashionable, trendy, fashionable bandage by emphasizing more beauty, exhibiting materialistic and luxury elements. More than that, they also did not hesitate to show the element of sensuality and put aside the ethics that actually became the substance of *sradha* and devotional service.

The shift in the procedures for the use of traditional Balinese clothing has received attention

Bali Governor Wayan Koster by issuing Governor Regulation No. 79 of 2018 concerning the Day of Use of traditional Balinese clothing. Bali Governor Wayan Koster in his interview with *liputan6.com* said that this regulation was aimed at strengthening Balinese customs, religion,

art, traditions and culture as the vision carried out in his reign was Nangun Sat Kerthi Loka Bali (liputan6.com, 2 October 2018). The regulation on Bali Traditional Dressing Day was officially enacted on October 11, 2018. The enactment of Pergub 79 of 2018 began with the simultaneous declaration which was centered at Penataran Pura Agung Besakih, Karangasem Regency. On the same day, simultaneous declaration was also carried out by the Regency / City Government up to the Village / Kelurahan Office. As from the day of its promulgation, the regulations regarding the day of the use of traditional Balinese clothing also apply to the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) who serve in the environment of the Bali Provincial Government. Since October 11, 2018, every Thursday, Purnama, Tilem and the anniversary of the Province of Bali, ASN Bali Provincial Government uses traditional Balinese clothing to the office.

Observing the above description, the application of Pergub No. 79 of 2018 for ASN in the Provincial Government of Bali is interesting to study from the perspective of Cultural Studies. This discourse is interesting to study because it can be said to be misplaced. The term misplaced was conveyed by Professor of the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Gadjah Mada University Prof. Dr. Irwan Abdullah when giving a public lecture for Udayana University Cultural Studies Students, May 2, 2019. The misplaced concept according to Irwan Abdullah refers to the placement of goods or the use of something that is not in accordance with the rules of use, for example the placement of toilet paper on the dining table. Referring to the explanation, the use of traditional Balinese clothing to the office can be said to be misplaced. Clothing that is usually used for traditional events, in this rule must be subject to ASN on certain days. This article aims to reveal the form of power relations and the implications of the Bali Traditional Clothing Use Discourse for ASN in the Provincial Government of Bali. To elaborate, the researcher formulated two research questions namely: (a) what is the form of power relations in the discourse on the use of traditional Balinese attire for ASN in the Provincial Government of Bali? (b) what are the implications of the discourse on the use of Balinese traditional clothing for ASN in the Provincial Government of Bali?

CONCEPT AND THEORY

In this study there are two concepts that are operationalized, namely power relations and discourse. The power relation is a concept that was coined by Michael Foucault, a French philosopher. In Foucault's view, power is one dimension of relations. Where there is a relationship, there is power (Sutrisno, 2005: 146). Power, according to Foucault, is

everywhere. The will for truth is the same as the will to power. The definition of power according to Foucault is completely different from the understanding understood by most people. In general, power is understood and discussed as a power or influence possessed by a person or institution to impose his will on other parties. Foucault has a different perspective on how to understand power. The way Foucault understands power is very original (Martono, 2006: 81). Associated with this study, the application of Balinese traditional dress rules for ASN in the Provincial Government of Bali is also inseparable from the practice of power relations. Through a number of tactics, maneuvers and strategies that are played by agents in power relations, ASN is invited to be obedient and useful to knowledge about the importance of efforts to restore the custom of Balinese dress.

The concept of discourse intended in this study is an action. Discourse is understood as something that is expressed consciously, controlled, not something that is out of control or expressed outside of consciousness (Eriyanto: 2001). Discourse is not understood as a series of words or propositions in a text, but something that produces something else (an idea, concept or effect). Discourse can be detected because it is systematically an idea, opinion, concept, and outlook on life formed in a particular context so that it affects the way of thinking or acting.

Foucault in Piliang (2004: 223) said that in every discourse there are interrelated relations between discourse expressions, knowledge (knowledge) that underlies it, and power relations that operate behind it. Every discourse is integrated with the power that operates behind it and cannot be separated from the power relations hidden behind it, which are the product of the practice of power. According to Foucault, discourse or thought and thought about people, knowledge and abstract systems of thought which according to him all are inseparable from power relations (Aur, 2005). All discourse that has a pretense of objectivity in science is the discourse of someone who has power (Haryatmoko, 2016: 19).

Based on the description above, the discourse referred to in this study is the rules on the use of traditional Balinese clothing that has been applied to ASN in the Provincial Government of Bali. The day's discourse on the use of Balinese clothing is integrated with the power that operates behind it and cannot be separated from the power relations hidden behind it, which are the product of the practice of power.

To answer the two problem formulations in this study, the author uses two theoretical foundations, namely the theory of power relations and knowledge and social practice theory. Theories of power and knowledge relations were coined by Michel Foucault. In Foucault's

view, knowledge and power have a reciprocal relationship. Implementation of power that will continuously create knowledge entities, and vice versa the administration of knowledge will cause the effect of power (Eriyanto, 2003: 65). Knowledge power theory is applied to reveal the power relations practice in the discourse on the use of traditional Balinese attire for the Bali Provincial Government ASN. This theory is useful for analyzing the power of science through ideological discourse that seeks to be built and perpetuated as a concept that integrates with culture to gain recognition / legality.

Another theory is the theory of social practice created by Pierre Bourdieu. In Bourdieu's view, social practice is the dialectical dynamics between social actors and all who are attached to him formed by habitus with objects outside it (arena). The concept of habitus, capital and the realm is used to formulate the theory into a concept (habitus x capital) + domain = practice (Bourdieu, 1984: 10, in Harker et al, 2005: xii). Habitus and the realm are a key and important set of concepts supported by a number of other ideas such as symbolic power, strategy, power struggles, economy and culture. Habitus is a cognitive structure that mediates between individuals and social reality, in the sense that individuals use the concept of habitus in dealing with social reality (Harker et al, 2005: xviii). The concept of habitus is very clear that it is not a natural inborn nature that complements individual human beings, both psychologically and biologically. Habitus is a result of learning through nurturing, experience and education in a subtle way without realizing it as if it is natural.

This practical theory is relevant to be used to examine the implications of power relations in the day-to-day discourse on the use of traditional Balinese attire for the Bali Provincial Government ASN. Changes that occur in the arena of the use of traditional Balinese dress can not be separated from the role of individuals (habitus) bearers of the policy related to the realm of ties (social space) and capital that can lead to the meaning of the impact of power relations in implementing regulations on the use of traditional Balinese dress.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study was designed as a qualitative study with a postmodernism approach. The location of this research is in the Provincial Government of Bali. Types of qualitative data were collected from primary and secondary data sources through observation, in-depth interviews, and document studies. Informants are determined by selection based on criteria, namely the actors directly involved in the theme under study. The researcher became the main instrument in this study which was assisted by supporting instruments, such as interview

guidelines and data recording devices, both digital cameras and voice recorder applications on cell phones, and laptops for data storage. Data were analyzed through data reduction, data presentation and verification phases. Interpretation of data in depth and presented descriptively-narrative.

DISCUSSION

The rules for using Balinese traditional clothing to work on certain days as stipulated in Pergub No. 79 of 2018 is the first program launched by Wayan Koster who was appointed Governor of Bali by Indonesian President Joko Widodo at the State Palace, 5 September 2018. Balinese traditional clothing as stipulated in the Governor Regulation must be imposed on government institutions, private institutions and educational institutions during working hours every Thursday, Purnama, Tilem, and Provincial Anniversary on August 14. The environment of government institutions and private institutions as referred to in this rule is the entire space used for work activities. Regulations on the use of traditional Balinese clothing to the workplace are massively applied among the Balinese Provincial ASNs. The application of Pergub Number 79 Year 2018 for the Bali Provincial Government ASN is full of the practice of power relations. The forms of power relations are Governmentality, Hegemonic Ideology and Symbolic Power Relations.

The concept of governmentality was raised in Foucault's work, referring to a form of regulation that reaches social order in a population to be the subject of bureaucratic regimes and types of discipline (Barker, 2014: 112). Associated with this study, the relationship between the power of governmentality is reflected in a number of regulations intended to discipline ASN so that they are accustomed to wearing traditional clothing to the office on specified days. The application of the rules of the use of traditional Balinese clothing for the ASN Bali Provincial Government was followed by the issuance of a number of regulations which are derived from Pergub Number 79 Year 2018. The Regional Secretary of the Bali Province Dewa Made Indra as the highest leader in the civil service structure within the Provincial Government of Bali issued Circular Letter Number 2666 Year 2018 About the Use of Balinese Traditional Clothing in the Provincial Government of Bali. The circular dated 29 October 2018 was aimed at disciplining and giving understanding to ASN about the ethics of using Balinese traditional clothes on the day specified in Pergub 79 of 2018. Next on January 17, 2019, Secretary of the Province of Bali Dewa Made Indra re-issued Circular No. 528 Year 2019 Regarding the Ethics of the Use of Balinese Traditional Clothing in the Environment of

the Provincial Government of Bali. The circular addressed to the Head of Regional Apparatuses in the Provincial Government of Bali more specifically regulates custom clothing models and types of fabric that ASN must use when going to the office.

Referring to the power relations of governmentality, a number of regulations which were intensely issued in the early days of the implementation of the Balinese traditional dress are a process of internalisation of power in the social body, in this case the ASN group, as well as a model of disciplinary power that internalizes power within an individual body. Regulations in the social order or in Foucault's terms are called 'policing', in which a population is subject to bureaucratic regimes and types of discipline.

The second form of relations is hegemonic ideology. Hegemony is related to ideology that has coverage beyond all social, cultural, economic fields in a society (Althusser 2010: 51). Systematically the ideology of hegemony forces individuals and society with certain thoughts, certain biases, certain preference systems, where power tends to do hegemony of meaning towards social reality. Individuals and communities are accommodated by their values and ideas with a perspective that has been patterned, structured in terms of the meaning created and desired by power.

According to Koenta Wibisono (1989), if examined carefully there are several elements of ideology, namely: belief, loyalty and myth. The discourse on the use of traditional Balinese clothing that is applied to ASN in the Bali Provincial Government is strongly influenced by myth in its implementation. This myth, among others, is implied in the Governor Regulation 79 of 2018 which states that Balinese traditional clothing is Balinese traditional clothing characterized by Balinese customs used as a form of cultural protection that reflects the nature of politeness, shade, peace and pride for the wearer. The description implies, when wearing traditional Balinese clothing, the wearer will feel peaceful and shady. This was confirmed by the statement of I Nyoman Parta, a senior PDIP politician who participated in giving birth to the issuance of the 79th Governor of 2018. He said that the traditional Balinese attire was elegant and brought a calm atmosphere to anyone who wore it. In addition, Balinese traditional clothing is also metaksu so that it will arouse pride for those who use it. Balinese traditional clothes have many variants so that any fabric can be used, suitable and suitable (interview, 16 August 2019).

The myths contained in every part of Balinese traditional clothing are also used to convince ASN. The Provincial Government of Bali specifically invited practitioners of Balinese cosmetology and fashion Dr. Anak Agung Ayu Ketut Agung to provide understanding to the

ASN in the environment of the Bali Provincial Government about the procedures for customary dress and the meaning contained therein. In his presentation, Agung chose specific parts of Balinese traditional clothing that could be linked to ASN tasks. To the ASNs who attended the socialization activities, Agung stressed that for ASN men, folds of cloth / kamen (wastra) were circular from left to right because men were the dharma holders. That is, an ASN must always hold on to the dharma or good in carrying out the task. Traditional dress for men is also equipped with a handkerchief (kampuh) which means self-control. That is, ASN should be able to control itself so that it is far from commendable actions such as corruption. Next udeng or destar which has the meaning of cricket manah (focusing the mind) which is the source of the five senses. In this case, ASN must be able to control not to do negative things that are against the law (exposure before ASN, January 29, 2019).

The symbolic meaning of Balinese traditional clothing is also used by the Governor of Bali Wayan Koster to discipline ASN. He hoped, by wearing traditional Balinese attire while working, ASN could be more traditional. That is the meaning that must be absorbed by ASN when its body is wrapped in Balinese traditional clothes (speech, 1 April 2019). The use of myth has proven to be able to hegemony the ASN Provincial Government in the use of traditional Balinese clothing. Ni Ketut Rai Minarni (42 years) stated that the meaning contained in the parts of Balinese traditional clothing is indeed very relevant to be applied in carrying out his duties as ASN. As an ASN, he feels reminded to always be guided by dharma (truth), self-control and focus on obligations as an ASN. According to him, the rules on the use of Balinese traditional clothing are very positive because when wearing traditional clothes, he remembers the meanings of the clothes worn (interview, 2 June 2019).

The agents in the power relations also use symbolic capital to make the Balinese governmental ASN circles obedient and useful to the rules of traditional Balinese dress. In Bourdieu's view, symbolic capital is the basis of dominance and legitimacy. Symbolic capital is capital that can be exchanged and carry positions that can generate power, that is, power to represent a legitimate social world or symbolic power. Through the imaging process, the symbol system obtains its abstract power in order to change meaning, herd perspective, and influence the practice of a person or group. Symbols have the power to shape, preserve and change reality (Bourdieu, 1992: 219-225). Symbolic capital also plays a role in establishing power relations in the system and structure of society. The power of this symbol contains magical energy that can make people believe, acknowledge, and submit to the truth created by the symbol system. The power of symbols is able to direct anyone who recognizes,

preserves or changes perceptions to the behavior of a person, group when in contact with reality (Barker, 2014: 115-116).

The discourse on the use of traditional Balinese clothing for ASN in the environment of Bali Provincial Government is inseparable from the use of symbols that are full of meaning. The use of symbols is reflected in the choice of location and the time of the inauguration of the Bali Traditional Clothing Day. The Inauguration Day for the Use of Balinese Traditional Clothing was held on Thursday, October 11, 2018 at Pura Agung Besakih. Pura Agung Besakih is the biggest temple that is supported by all Hindus in Bali. This temple is located in Rendang District, Karangasem Regency. For Balinese Hindus, Pura Besakih is the huluning of the Balinese universe or the 'Island of Bali'. As the huluning of the Balinese universe, Besakih Temple 'by itself' is considered a very sacred place and also very sacred. The position of Besakih Temple as one of the most important shrines in Bali is indeed closely related to the attitudes and behavior of the rulers in Bali to place the Besakih Temple in the constellation of their political ideology (Sancaya, 2011).

The decision to choose Besakih Temple as the location for the inauguration of the Bali Traditional Dress Day is a symbolic power relation. The choice of locations that were full of meaning was a tactic and strategy to attract the sympathy of the community towards the implementation of Pergub Number 79 of 2018. Related to the location of the inauguration of the Bali Traditional Dress Use Day, the Governor of Bali Wayan Koster asked for consideration of Ida Shri Bhagawan Putra Natha Nawa Wangsa Pemayun (58 years). Ida Bhagawan said, Besakih Temple was chosen because of its position as a Mother Temple or Mother Temple which was supported by all Hindus in Bali. Beside that, Besakih Temple is also an upstream which symbolizes purusa (male) and predhana (female), where Balinese traditional clothing is worn by men and women. With the promulgation of the Besakih Temple, this regulation is expected to get the blessing of its application so that it can get support from all components of the Balinese community (interview, 26 August 2019).

In addition to site selection and use of good days, the involvement of leaders from religious and customary institutions in the inauguration activities also reflects the use of symbolic power relations. To note, the inauguration of the Day of the Use of Balinese Traditional Clothing which was centered at the Agung Besakih Temple on October 11, 2011 was led by Deputy Governor of Bali Tjokorda Oka Artha Ardhana Sukawati. The inauguration of the Bali Traditional Dress Day in Besakih Temple was attended by the Chairperson of Bali PHDI, Chairperson of the Main Assembly of Pakraman Village, Jero Suwena Putus Upadesa, Chair

of the Bali DPRD I Nyoman Adi Wiryatama, Chairperson of Commission IV of Bali DPRD I Nyoman Parta, Regional Secretary Dewa Made Indra and head of the Regional Apparatus Organization (OPD) in the Provincial Government of Bali and representatives of community leaders.

The inauguration activity began with the performance of two sacred dances namely Rejang Renteng Dance and Kincang Kincung Baris Dance. After that, Deputy Governor Cok Ace symbolically put the destar on Bendesa Adat Besakih Jero Mangku Widiarta and two community leaders namely Prof. Made Surada and Prof. I Nengah Duija. The use of destar to religious leaders and community leaders marks the start of the implementation of the rules for the Use of Bali Traditional Clothing Day on Thursday, Purnama, Tilem and the Anniversary of the Province of Bali on August 14 each year. The opening ceremony continued with a joint prayer led by Sulinggih. The whole series of inauguration activities ended with the performance of the Rejang Giri Kusuma Dance. The use of religious symbols in the inauguration of the Bali Traditional Clothing Day is intended to make this rule more meaningful. Thus, this regulation is expected to be widely accepted.

The Balinese traditional dress code for ASN in the Bali Provincial Government in its application raises what Bourdieu calls distinction. Bourdieu called the distinction a power strategy. The pattern of dominant class behavior usually distinguishes itself from the petty bourgeois class and the popular class. One way to distinguish yourself from the other two classes is through three structures of consumption, namely food, culture and appearance (Haryatmoko, 2016: 47). Bourdieu gave an example, when schools apply the rules of uniform clothing, students who come from upper social classes state the difference through the brand of shoes, watches, cellphones, vehicles and accessories used. Tastes reveal a system of representation that is peculiar to certain social groups, their position in society and the desire to place themselves in the ladder of power (Bourdieu, 1979).

Representation of social class also occurs among the ASN of the Provincial Government of Bali in line with the enactment of the rules of traditional Balinese dress. It can be seen from the selection of clothing and accessories worn by ASN when wearing custom clothing. The representation of social class is more visible in women's ASN groups. This is because women generally want to look beautiful and attractive and are often positioned as objects of male libido (Atdmaja, 2010: 245). The representation of social class appears to be an effort to distinguish themselves from others when wearing Balinese traditional clothing. For superiors namely kebaya, ASN women from upper social classes differentiate themselves

with additional sequins or mote on the kebaya they wear when going to the office. In addition, they also distinguish themselves with additional accessories such as larger earrings and brooches. The representation of social class was revealed in the statement of Ni Komang Tresia Mila Dewi (30 years) who said that she lacked confidence because she was required to use kebaya from plain cloth and seemed uniform with other female ASNs. Therefore, he modified the kebaya with additional sequins or mote. Thus, kebaya made from plain cloth will look more luxurious and different from the others (interview 12 June 2019). For the installation of sequins or mote, additional costs range from Rp. 80,000 to Rp. 100,000, depending on the pattern and the number of sequins or pieces that are installed. In addition to the addition of variations on the kebaya worn, class representation is also shown by the use of jewelry in the form of brass and subeng.

In Bourdieu's view, social class representation is closely related to consumerism. All social classes are exposed to the plague of consumerism. Consumerism is an act of mindset and the act of someone buying goods not because they need the item, but because the act of buying itself gives satisfaction. In other words, someone who is infected by consumerism always feels that shopping because he needs the item, even at the next moment of reflection, that the person does not need the item. In this postmodern era, the object of consumption is able to determine the prestige, status and social symbols of the wearer. Thus it was stated by Piliang (2011: 145) that the culture of consumerism is a culture of consumption carried out by society today not only based on use value in order to meet basic human needs, but consumption is related to symbolic elements to mark certain social classes, statuses or symbols.

Consumerism among the Bali Provincial Government ASN after the enactment of the day rules for the use of traditional Balinese clothing is shown by the ownership of clothing types such as kebaya, kamen, udeng and kampuh that exceeds the amount they need. The shrewdness of custom clothing manufacturers in issuing new products that adjust to the dress code that applies to ASN has made the desire to shop for clothing among ASN more encouraged. If before the application of this rule, they only buy the completeness of traditional Balinese clothing before the feast or religious ceremony, now they can shop for clothes at any time. Ni Made Sri Dewi (43 years) said, in a month, the use of traditional clothing can be more than six times. There is a feeling of discomfort when using kebaya or kamen, that's all. Therefore, since this regulation was enacted, he has often bought kebaya and kamen so that the amount owned is quite a lot. Moreover, there are just the colors of cloth or the latest

models that have sprung up. To get around expenses, Sri Dewi often installments on fashion sellers who have become her customers (interview, July 16, 2019).

Consumptive behavior in buying custom clothing is also shown by male ASNs with the aim of increasing their dashing appearance. This was revealed in the statement of I Made Sudarma (39 years). According to him, the office must look neat and convincing. Therefore, he also added to the collection of traditional clothing such as shirts, kampuh, udeng and kamen. Because according to him the customary attire worn at the office is slightly different from those used for prayer. The types and motifs of the shirts, as well as the various variations of the udeng also encourage him to continue to add to his clothing collection (interview, 18 July 2019).

Another implication of the rules on the use of traditional Balinese clothing for ASN to the workplace is cultural hybridization. Culture hybridization is a process that occurs after a mixture of two different cultures. Hybridization is a process of parasitism in a system in which an entity is made a living place by other entities, which can destroy the identity and diversity of both, even though it can establish new identities and differences (Piliang, 2008: 368).

If related to this study, the discourse on the use of traditional Balinese clothes for ASN in the environment of the Bali Provincial Government has implications for cultural hybridization. Cultural hybridization is evident in the use of Balinese traditional clothing by ASN Muslim women who wear hijab on a daily basis. Jilbab is an element of Muslim clothing that serves as a cover of the head to the chest. When the day of the use of traditional Balinese clothing, they still wear the hijab because it is a religious obligation. They still choose to wear traditional Balinese attire, even though there is a circular that tolerates the use of clothing from the area of origin. They chose to take part in using traditional Balinese attire as a form of respect and to be easy to adapt in the office environment. Like the statement made by Yayuk Widiya (45 years) who stated that he must respect Balinese culture because he currently served in Bali. He also mentions the term where the earth is trampled there the sky is held. In its use, he and some of his colleagues had a lot to learn from friends from Bali. Fortunately, ready-made clothing such as kebaya and kamen are easily obtained in clothing stores (interview, 1 April 2019).

Paying close attention to Yayuk's statement that says "where the earth is trampled there the sky is held up", the hybridization it does is a type of transculturation. He who includes a minority among ASNs who are predominantly Hindu chose to adapt to the use and habits of superiors, who consider it a better choice for the recipient.

CONCLUSION

The discourse on the use of traditional Balinese attire for the Bali Provincial Government ASN in its application is strongly influenced by the power relations that are played by the agents. Thus, the adherence shown by ASN in the Provincial Government of Bali to the discourse on the use of traditional Balinese clothing does not occur naturally.

Even though the Governor of Bali was involved in the production and distribution of that truth, but the power hidden in the discourse did not belong to the Governor of Bali. That power has been actualized in the disposition, maneuvering, tactics, techniques, and strategies to convey or distribute knowledge that is considered as truth, that the traditional Balinese attire must be preserved because it is a Balinese human identity and all parties, including the Bali Provincial Government ASN, so they must obey and useful in that truth.

The use of Balinese traditional clothing has a number of implications that should be criticized, namely the emergence of social class representation and consumerism among the ASN of the Provincial Government of Bali. This needs attention because the main task of ASN is to provide services to the community.

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