

The Construction of Indonesian Images at the World Exposition Case Study: 1988 World Expo Brisbane

Indah Tjahjawan¹, Setiawan Sabana², Priyanto S.³

¹ Study Program of Fine Arts and Design of the Bandung Institute of Technology
Email: indahtja@gmail.com

² Study Program of Fine Arts and Design of the Bandung Institute of Technology
Email: setiawansabana@yahoo.com

³ Study Program of Fine Arts and Design of the Bandung Institute of Technology
Email: pris23@yahoo.com

Abstract

Many countries in the world have utilized and made use of the World Exposition as a reliable media to pass on their own specific country image through pavilions which represent parts of their culture, symbols and state governance. Indonesia has been one of those countries that during the Soeharto administration (1966-1998) had always participated in the World Exposition. How the Soeharto administration construct the image of 'being Indonesia' through its pavilions in the World Exposition becomes the question of this research. This research which used data taken from photographs, newspapers, magazines, websites, and some books intends to do a mapping of the pattern of construction of 'being Indonesia' carried out by the Soeharto administration making use of the pavilions at the World Exposition where Indonesia participated since 1970 to 1993, focusing on the world expo 1988 in Brisbane. This is done by comprehensively identifying all the pavilions and relate them with the meaning and value of the political and cultural ideology and the government policy which are all based on the will of Soeharto as the administration leading figure who has such big influence on the construction of 'being Indonesia'. This research unveils that the pattern of the construction of 'being Indonesia' is closely related to the discourse of Soeharto administration which is implemented in Indonesia's Five-Year Development Plan (REPELITA). In this respect, the selection of the best cultural models is regarded as having the capacity to represent the discourse.

Keywords: construction, image, Indonesia, World Exposition

Background

World Expo is one of the largest events of non-commercial exhibition in the world. World Expo was first started by Britain/England which organized the first international exhibition called ‘The Great Exhibition’ at Hyde Park, London in 1851. The official organizer of the World Expo is an agency that determines the frequency and quality of such international-class exhibition is Bureau International d’Expositions¹. At present World Expo is an interesting phenomenon as it includes important events emerging from the political and cultural climate of the participating countries relating to the issues of equal relation, taste, consumer behaviour and perception of each country on its past and future. Together all the participating countries of the World Expo showcase their national identity. (Bloembergen, 2006:14)

Indonesia used this World Expo event to represent its existence through the nation’s symbols, culture and organization, since the participation as part of the colony territory of the Dutch government through the pavilion built by the Dutch East Indies government until Indonesia got its independence, starting from its presence in New York World's Fair, United States in 1964-1965 up until the 2012 World Expo Yueso, South Korea.

The following is a matrix of the participation of Indonesia in World Expo (Tjahjawulan, 2011):

Table 1. Indonesia’s Participation in World Expo 1964-2012

NO	TIME	CITY	NAME OF EXPO	THEME OF WORLD EXPO	THEME OF PAVILION	DIMENSION (M2)
1	Apr 1964- Oct 1965	New York, USA	New York World’s Fair	<i>Man’s Achievement on a Shrinking Globe in Expanding Universe</i>	<i>To Build the World Anew</i>	12.000

¹ BIE was established by a Diplomatic International Conference of the exhibition’s participating countries conducted in Paris on 22 November 1928, and attended by 26 participating countries which were automatically becoming the first members of the BIE, they are among others: (1) Australia; (2) Austria; (3) Belgium; (4) Brazil; (5) Canada; (6) Colombia; (7) Cuba; (8) Denmark; (9) Perancis; (10) Jerman; (11) Yunani; (12) Guatemala; (13) Inggris; (14) Italia; (15) Jepang; (16) Maroko; (17) Belanda; (18) Peru; (19) Polandia; (20) Portugal; (21) Rumania; (22) Rusia; (23) Spanyol; (24) Swedia; (25) Swiss; dan (26) Tunisia. Now, BIE had 156 members included Indonesia. (www.bie-paris.org).

2	Mar-Sep 1970	Osaka, Japan	Expo'70	<i>Progress and Harmony for Mankind</i>	<i>Unity In Diversity</i>	2.000
3	Mar-Sep 1985	Tsukuba, Japan	1985 World's Fair	<i>Dwellings and Surroundings – Science and Technology for Man at Home</i>	-	987
4	May-Oct 1986	Vancouver, Canada	Expo'86	<i>Transportation and Communication</i>	<i>A Nation Of 13.000 Islands</i>	1.600
5	Apr-Oct 1988	Brisbane, Australia	Expo'88	<i>Leisure in the Age of Technology</i>	<i>Nation's Cultural Uniqueness</i>	715
6	Apr-Oct 1992	Seville, Spain	Expo'92	<i>The Era of Discovery</i>	<i>Technology, Trade and Tourism</i>	410
7	Aug-Nov 1993	Taejon (Daejeon), Korea	Expo'93	<i>The Challenge of a New Road of Development</i>	-	-
8	Jun-Oct 2000	Hannover , Germany	Expo'2000	<i>Humankind, Nature, Technology</i>	<i>Earth rhythms from the world's largest group of islands</i>	900
9	Mar-Sept 2005	Aichi, Japan	Expo'2005	<i>Nature's Wisdom</i>	<i>People and Nature in Harmony</i>	500
10	Jun-Sept 2008	Zaragoza Spain	Expo'2008	<i>Reassessment of Tradition, Culture, Art and Identity Related to Water</i>	<i>A Magical Journey Through Time</i>	227
11	May-Sept 2010	Shanghai	Expo 2010	<i>Better City, Better Life</i>	<i>Indonesia is a Bio diverse City</i>	2400
12	May-Sept 2012	Yoesu	Expo 2012	<i>The Living Ocean and Coast</i>	<i>Discovering the Greatest Passage Through Indonesia Waterland</i>	618

During the Soeharto administration (New Order), Indonesia participated quite frequently at the World Expo; starting from the Osaka, Japan Expo in 1970, Tsukuba, Japan Expo in 1985, Vancouver, Canada Expo in 1986, Brisbane-Australia Expo in 1988, Seville, Spain Expo in 1992 and the last one the Daejon, South Korea Expo in 1993. The answer for this frequent participation is probably to be found in the fact that Indonesia enjoyed political stability and speedy economic growth during the New Order era which was supported by substantial foreign capital inflow coming from Western capitalist states along with Japan through monetary agency such as

IGGI, IMF and World Bank². The funding was to push the Indonesia's economic growth since the 1970s.

This research only focuses on the pavilion of Indonesia at 1988 World Expo in Brisbane, Queensland, Australia. The focus of this research is on Indonesia's participation at this World Expo as the economic situation of the New Order government has increased remarkably in all sectors such as agriculture, manufacture, export trading and transportation. In 1988 what was planned by President Soeharto during the First Five-Year Development Plan, were all achieved which was Indonesia became a food self-sufficient country in 1986 (Susanto, 2003: 201-204). However, after 1982, revenue coming from oil and gas sector fell and pushed the Government of Indonesia to put more attention to international tourism issue and produce a range of strategic policies³ relating to tourism development and improvement.

It turns out that tourism sector has become a promising industry. When the world's oil stock supply was so affluent and made oil price fell and was not able anymore to become the main source of income, the government developed local industry and manufacture to encourage non-oil and gas export, including tourism industry which finally became one of the major sources of foreign exchange, especially Bali as the biggest contributor. (Ricklefs, 2005:610).

History shows that power will always attempt to construct culture according to their discourse and desire using diverse methods, both voluntarily and repressively. According to Irwan Abdullah, the meaning of a cultural symbol is determined by the structure of power relation. A culture, therefore, is inseparable

² Soeharto re-established the relation with the Western world, which was brought to an end by Soekarno, to find fundings for the state's economic recovery. Starting in 1966 with the formation of IGGI whose members consist of International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (IBRD), and big industrial countries, which later will play an important role in formulating New Order economic policy which was set up in a program called Five-Year development Plan (Repelita) aiming at reaching the take-off state in 25 years and its main objective is to attain the condition of rice self production (Picard, 2006: 61).

³ In 1983 President Soeharto stated that tourism must be promoted intensively, from the seventh to third as the biggest source of foreign exchange (Picard, 2006:77-78).

from the space where it is constructed and maintained, preserved or even changed (2006:4).

World Expo is a strategic event used by the government to promote Indonesia, other than that there is also political and interest considerations to disclose Indonesia's positioning. Whereas pavilion is a media to describe the image of Indonesia which often emerges partially in the form of traditional buildings, culture diversity in the form of dances, traditional music and traditional crafts such as the making of Kris, carving and weaving and so forth, which directly showcase the culture of Indonesia. This research aims to understand how the principles and strategies of Soeharto during his administration were constructed to become the image of Indonesia, particularly through the pavilion at 1988 World Expo.

Discussion and Analysis

World Expo 1988 organized on 30 April until 30 October was built on the south side of the Brisbane River (South Banks) on an area of 40 hectares. The 1988 World Expo involving 80 participating pavilions, included 36 international participants one of which is Indonesia, 14 governments of state union and federal states and 34 big companies, had up to 18 million visitors, twice as many from the initial estimate which was only 7.8 million visitors (www.expomuseum.com). This World Expo has for its theme 'Leisure in the Age of Technology' with sub-themes that can be selected and translated according to the character and objective to achieve by every Expo participant: (1) *leisure the Universal Pastime; Culture and Entertainment, Sport and Recreation, Tourism and Travel*; (2) *technology – Creating and Created for Leisure*; (3) *Leisure and technology – The Future Together ; Impact On Society, Impact On Environment, and Future Relationship Between Leisure and Technology*. Since the theme is so specific, by BIE, the World Expo 1988 was classified as the *Recognized Exposition or Specialized Expositions*.

Generally speaking, the objective of World Expo formulated by BIE is to bring about multicultural atmosphere through displaying diverse elements of culture, food, performances, harmonious friendship in order to shape the spirit of holiday all

the time for all people. Carnival with colourful costumes was held on daily-base, works of fine arts such as statue and installation which can be found at almost every corner of the venue. The 1988 World Expo is not a trade exhibition nor an exhibition intended to construct an image of particular state, but it is a special exhibition that offer opportunities to each and every individual to display his/her success owing to his/her hard work. (Carrol, 1989: 41-52)

With the President Instruction No. 4, 1987 stating that World Expo 1988 in Brisbane is a vehicle to showcase the activities and achievements of the New Order in national development, including the cultural affluence of the Indonesian nation, Soeharto ensured Indonesia's participation at the 1988 World Expo in Brisbane, and appointed the Minister of Tourism, Post and Telecommunication as the man in charge for this big work. As project leader was the Director General for Tourism, Joop Ave, who was assisted by a number of Advisors ((State Minister and Head of the National Development Planning Agency, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Finance and Minister of Research and Technology), and acting as the Head of the Executive Committee for Indonesia's participation in the 1988 World Expo in Brisbane, Australia, was the Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia in Canberra and Consulate General in Sydney.

In line with the theme of the World Expo 1988 'Leisure in the Age of Technology', the participation of Indonesia's Pavilion was to introduce and display the progress of Indonesia's development in fostering and develop the aspects of culture, sports, recreational, natural wealth, life styel, and environment which are supported by the technology of transportation, communication and services that guarantee security, comfort, safety and diversity and satisfaction of the tourists, especially in tourism activities. With a budget of 2.4 billion rupiah taken from the state budget and one-year preparation, all parties involved in this event must work fast and efficient with the best results. Joop Ave said (Depparpostel, 1988): "*...We want the best you can offer with the lowest budget possible.. We haven't got enough money to run the show but we will find them...*"

The pavilion of Indonesia was placed in a module construction which was one of many modules built by the host (Australia) with 1,000 square meters wide

which was modified according to the selected theme by adding decorations to the module construction. This construction took a form of ward with prefabricated roof and wall, steel frame, concrete floor of 800 square meters and ceiling of 6 meter-high. For the entire work starting from the planning, construction and program it required some 4.4 billion rupiah. The Head for the Planning and Construction of the Pavilion of Indonesia was A.D.D. Leimena assisted by the Consultant for Exhibition Materials Planning – S.J.H. Damais and Heidi Marbangun, PR Consultant – Haris Thayeb, Interior Consultant – Rina and Ety (Armecon Agra), Graphic Display Consultant – Wagiono (PT Grapik Grapos Indonesia) and Audio Visual Consultant – Youk Tanzil (PT Yasawiryatama).

The module building which was prepared by the organizer took a very massive form with closed walls. The construction was modified by getting rid of the roof and wall at the corner. The walls were changed by glass to create opening that would reveal the inside part of the pavilion. At the higher part of this corner a model of Toradja House was stationed. A statue of Garuda Wisnu Bali was set at the front of the pavilion to welcome the guests whereas a big stone Balinese guard statue was placed toward the exit door to say goodbye to the guests and at the same time adorned the pavilion's backyard.

The theme of '*Leisure in The Age of Technology*', had six zones in which every zone had its own theme, they are: Zone 1 (one) took the theme of '*We Are Many We Are One*', covering: (1) informational posters, photo panel and picture panels on the people, land, flag, state symbols, Pancasila principle, traditional house, various ethnic groups, flora and fauna, and tourism village in Indonesia; (2) arrangement of objects like masks, Balinese traditional statues like Garuda Wisnu, Borobudur mock-up, Barong and Rangde from Bali. The ceiling was decorated with panels of traditional paintings of Kamasan, Bali, made based on the following theme: (1) describing the Fauna and *Taru* of Indonesia, created by Manku Mura; (2) describing eight gods of the Balinese Hindu belief, and the influence of the gods to the people's daily life activities created by I Made Yasana. Every painting theme was turned into 9 panel of 18-meter long; (3) Map of Indonesia created by Priyanto S. And Wagiono S collaborating with Balinese traditional painters – still in Kamasan

Bali style with dimension of 3.5 x 8meters

Zone 2 (two) used the theme of '*Treasure Of Indonesia*', covering: (1) the replica of the original size of the Borobudur Stupa; (2) replica of the archaeological artefact such as *Cakra, Sangka, Beliung*; (3) cultural object like weapons such as Balinese Kris, trident, spear, Javanese Kris; (4) arrangement of ritual objects, like fabrics with special cultural and ritual meaning (Ulos Batak, Cinde, and Toraja Ikat Woven for funeral rituals) and Rendak Mask used for ritual in Bali.

Zone 3 (three) used the theme of '*Art And Leisure*', displaying; (1) dance performances, unique traditional sports and demonstration fo arts and crafts works such as the making of batik, silver artworks, and the making of ulap doyo woven fabric of Kalimantan; (2) the arrangement of the replica of traditional ethnic clothing like a couple of mannequin wearing Yogyakarta style clothing complete with bed, custom clothing from East Nusa Tenggara, West Sumatera, South Sumatera and South Sulawesi and also modern batik by Iwan Tirta; (3) audio visual that showed custom ceremony and a range of dances from many regions.

Zone 4 (four) had '*Rice field Theatre*' as its theme and with the decoration theme of rural atmosphere taking the shape of typical Balinese layered ricefield, display of artistic objects like statues of frogs and stork as well as banana trees as produced by Balinese craft industry, also rice ornamental plant and grass carpet. This zone presented: (1) multimedia performances using slides with 36 projectors; (2) 12 minute performances of diverse regions in Indonesia (18 times per day).

Zone 5 (five), uses '*Indonesia Today*' as its theme; providing information on Indonesia today depicted in photographs capturing the achievement of the development in Indonesia through: (1) photo mosaic panels describing the development of transportation and communication and photo mosaic panel on the achievement of the New Order in terms of the development in general, complete with the stand keepers who were always ready to provide information the guests need; (2) arrangement of objects such as handicrafts, rubber and animal skin products; (3) computer set which provide information on Indonesia. The achievements of the national development were represented by photo mosaix panels, informational

posters and display of major commodity expoert such as CN 235, Palapa B1 Satellite, Garuda Indonesia fleet, Post and Telecommunication, fertilizer factory, steel factory, plywood factory.

Zone 6 (six) has '*Come to Indonesia*' for its theme covering; (1) counter selling Indonesia's crafts and on the Independence Day they sold Indonesian cuisine like satay and fried rice; (2) the map of Indonesia-Australia on Balinese traditional painting. The painting depicts a witty scene of Australian tourism in Bali. This painting was created by Manku Mura; (3) free posters, stickers and brochures.

The year of 1988 was the New Order's period, where tourism brought in the biggest revenue ever in the form of foreign exchange after the oil booming had passed. Culture is considered potential to become the nations's asset. The government discourse referring to the Five-Year Development Plan IV (1984/85-1988/89) has for its objective: (1) improve standard of living, intelligence and welfare of all the people toward more fair and evenly distributed; (2) build strong foundation for the next stage of development. Other than that, the Government still held on the continuation of the Development Trilogy, which are the evenly distributed development and its results toward the manifestation of social justice for the entire population, high economic grosth and healthy and dynamic national stability. The implementation of the Eight Equity Lines: (1) Equal distribution of basic needs of the population, especially food, clothing and housing; (2) Equal opportunities to get education and health services; (3) Equal distribution of income; (4) Equal distribution for job opportunities; (5) Equal distribution for business opportunies; (6) Equal distribution to participate in development; (7) Equal distribution of development in the entire nation; (8) Equal distribution to get fair justice (www.bappenas.go.id).

Particularly for the tourism sector, the government has its discourse which was stated in the Five-year Development Plan IV, which is (1) tourism development that will be improved to allow the creation of more job and business opportunities, increasing foreign exchange and introducing the nature and culture of Indonesia, by maintaining national culture and identity and preservation of the environment; (2) cultivation and promotion of domestic tourism will be improved in order to more

introducing the nature and national culture in order to foster the love for the homeland and to grow the soul, spirit and values of 1945, besides to expand job opportunities. In the framework of tourism development, there should be more specific measures and arrangements based on integrated policies (www.bappenas.go.id).

The 1988 World Expo World became the media of the Government of Indonesia to construct its ideology. And this ideology can be accepted through a constructed condition. According to Althusser (Sutrisno, 2004:14) in the postcolonial era, the hegemony of modern capitalist State can be shaped through the State apparatus: (1) repressive state apparatus, such as the military and police; and (2) ideological state apparatus such as schools, media, religions and political system. Ideological apparatus play an important role in creating subject which is conditioned to accept the existing system and values.

Based on Althusser's thinking, it shows that ideology which is conveyed through pavilion is an idea relating to the political belief or certain doctrine of a society or state, for example the ideology of communism, socialism, capitalism, Pancasila and so forth. Despite the fact that ideology can also be found in the expressions in mass media conveyed by groups in the society or an institution not affiliating with political beliefs, which are easy for us to find in various mass media, including among others the forms we are fully aware of like stamps, shop windows, sticker on bumpers of cars, t-shirts, and even restaurant menu, they all have the ability to pass on messages that serve the interest of some groups and not the interest of other groups (Lull, 1997:5).

The organisation of exhibition and museum is also part of the attempt to express ideology; and it's the same case with pavilion media in an exhibition. Media is usable to disseminate/spread ideas and thoughts to the community at large and then they would be understood and strongly believed by the community. In Lull's view, ideology is all the thoughts that are organized; it can be values, orientation and the tendency to complement each other to create the perspective of ideas. Lull's view shows that the subject of ideology is an active person; a person who uses his/her ideology to make sense of the reality (Lull, 1997). So, ideology is a believe that is

held true by an individual or particular group without the ability to be critical anymore and accept all the thoughts as something that is supposed to be done, and it will be manifest into actions and behaviours.

The following is a diagram that describes how government's discourse is translated into concepts and visualization:

Diagram 1. Construction process from discourse to image construction

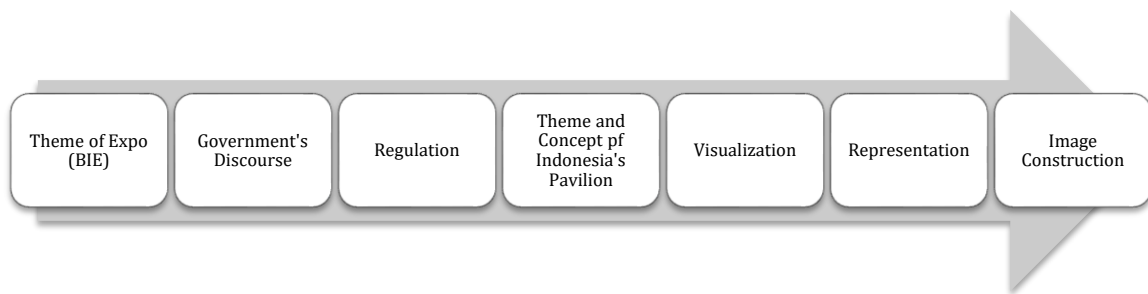
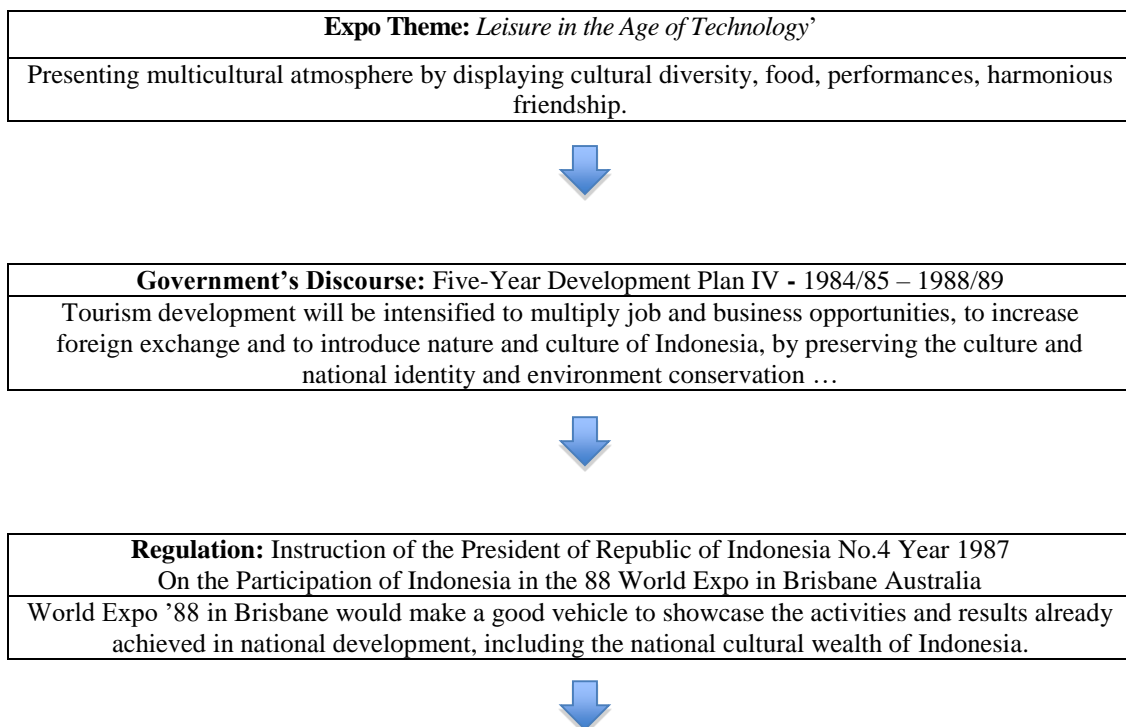


Diagram 2. Description of the construction process starting from discourse to image construction



Theme and Concept of the Pavilion of Indonesia: *Nation's Cultural Uniqueness*

Indonesia's pavilion is to introduce and display the progress of the development of Indonesia in fostering and developing the aspects of culture, sports, recreations, natural wealth, life style, and environment supported by transportation technology, communication and services which guarantee the security, comfort, safety, diversity, and satisfaction of tourists, particularly in tourism activities.



Visualization : Pavilion Architecture and Exhibition Display						
Architecture	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6
	<i>We Are Many We Are One</i>	<i>Treasure Of Indonesia</i>	<i>Art And Leisure</i>	<i>Rice field Theatre</i>	<i>Indonesia Today</i>	<i>Come to Indonesia</i>
Module construction of modified Toraja House, Statue of Garuda Wisnu Bali, and Balinese guard (giant) statue.	Traditional Bali-style painting (Kamasan) of flora and fauna and the community life in Indonesia	Historical artefacts, replica of Borobudur Stupa in original size.	Artifacts of handicrafts, dances, demonstration of the making of handicraft from some regions in Indonesia along with its custom.	Audio visual performances, performances of regional dances and musics, interior depicting the Ubud, Bali rural landscape	Panels of information on the achievements of Indonesian development in the form of photo mosaic, diorama, replica of technological achievements, natural produce	Traditional Balinese painting (Kamasan) on Indonesia-Australia, shop and restaurant



Representation : Pavilion's Architecture and Exhibition Display						
Architecture	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6
Past cultural uniqueness can become the capital of today's development	Cultural uniqueness and diversity	Past high culture, still well preserved up to now	The affluence of nature, flora and fauna and custom	The familiarity and closeness of culture to nature	National development progress	Hospitality and friendship



Construction of Image

Progress, modernity, prosperity and welfare of Indonesia and the past cultural greatness

When we once again mull over the selected objects to be displayed in all the zones, we can see that almost all zones are dominated by cultural objects taken from

Bali. Right from the point of entrance, visitors were greeted by a statue of Garuda Wisnu. And then at Zone 1 the visitors would find exhibition of Garuda Wisnu statue, *barong*, *rangde* and big size painting panels of flora, fauna with Balinese style (Kamasan); Zone 2 exhibited '*rendak*' mask and *adati* fabrics commonly used for rituals in Bali; Zone 3 showed dance performances from Bali, and demonstrating how to make Balinese carved handicrafts; Zone 4 appeared with an interior of rural atmosphere theme, layered ricefields typically Bali (Ubud), typical Balinese village handicrafts featuring frogs, storks and banana tree; Zone 6, the map of Indonesia-Australia in the form of traditional Bali painting, depicting witty scenes of Australian tourists in Bali. In this zone visitors would receive souvenirs of promotional poster of the Pavilion of Indonesia, which depicted Toraja House as the backdrop of the dancers from many places in Indonesia (Jakarta, Sumatera, West Java, Bali) with the focal point Balinese dancer, as she was placed in the middle and higher than the other dancers and with stronger color compared to the Toraja House at the backdrop. The whole poster did not describe Indonesia, but it was more to represent Bali as the center of traditional culture of Indonesia. The last thing at the exit door, before leaving the pavilion of Indonesia, the visitors would see a couple of stone guard statue from Bali.

Whilst when we once again examine it, the theme of Indonesia's pavilion would be 'Nation's Cultural Uniqueness'. It seems that Bali has become a culture that represents the uniqueness of a nation's culture (the culture of Indonesia), and Bali has become the national identity – identity of Indonesia. On the whole the construction of the image of Indonesia means 'Progress, modernity, prosperity and welfare of Indonesia and the Indonesia's cultural greatness from the past, especially Bali' – 'Indonesia' is 'Bali'.

The most obvious model of the national cultural concept which was formulated by the government and considered as having the identity of Indonesia or "being Indonesia" is the Miniature Park of Indonesia (Taman Mini Indonesia Indah). The government-shaped of "being Indonesia" concept took the form of a number of symbols that characterized every ethnic group that has shaped Indonesia and was placed close to one another; they were put side by side (27 provinces at that time),

despite only a number of ethnic groups that are represented and become the representative of the provincial culture (see Picard, 2006:259-262). Consequently, from this provincial representative (Bali) it was then turned into the representative of the national identity.

However, Bali being the national identity is not something not fabricated. This can be found in its history that the outline -- stated in the first Five-Year Development Plan on tourism policy – followed the line recommended by foreign consultant who considered the greatest asset was the image of Bali as ‘paradise’ (concept left behind by the colonial era), recommended that Bali was to be the display room for Indonesia and international tourism development should be focused on that matter. Bali could serve as the model for the tourism planning of other regions in Indonesia (Picard, 2006: 61).

Conclusion

The concept of ‘Nation’s Cultural Uniqueness’ in its relation to the Expo in Brisbane which was ‘Specialized Expositions’ with very specific theme ‘Leisure in age of technology’, can easily be represented in the right programs and arrangements, bearing in mind that Indonesian culture is so rich and diverse. However, it seems that the government still put the emphasis on the construction of a national image that has to be done with the results of development, not only as an arena to exchange culture and friendship, or to describe the nation’s tourism potential. In such context, it is comprehensible if we see the construction process (diagram 1-2) from government discourse which always made an effort to display the results of the development in all aspects, which was supported by the President Instruction on Indonesia as vehicle in order to showcase the accomplishments of the New Order in its national development, including the cultural wealth of Indonesia.

Through 1988 World Expo, the government made a construction that Indonesia (at that period) was Indonesia with its uniqueness and wealth, has cultural greatness in the past and ensure development toward progress, modernity, prosperity and welfare. However, taking into consideration the construction process and the

results of the display based on the concept ‘Nation’s Cultural Uniqueness’ which represented ‘Indonesia’ as “Bali”, shows that the ideology of ‘pembangunanisme’ of Soeharto at that time was focused on tourism. This policy resulted in the fact that it was not the national identity of Indonesia which is constructed, but the identity of national tourism. Ironically, the construction of the image of Bali as the national (Indonesia) national tourism cultural identity was in fact not genuinely shaped by the Soeharto administration but because of the intervention of foreign consultant which means other nation.

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