

The architectural representation of the Netherlands Indies and Indonesian pavilions in international expositions, 1931–2015

Harry Kurniawan 

Department of Architecture and Planning, Faculty of Engineering, Universitas Gadjah Mada Jl. Grafika 2, Yogyakarta



ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p><i>Article history:</i> Received January 29, 2025 Received in revised form Oct. 14, 2025 Accepted October 20, 2024 Available online December 01, 2025</p> <p><i>Keywords:</i> Construction Permanent housing Post-eruption Semeru Mountain Temporary housing</p> <p>Corresponding author: Harry Kurniawan Department of Architecture and Planning, Faculty of Engineering, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia Email: harry@ugm.ac.id ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6038-8527</p>	<p><i>The Netherlands-Indies/Indonesian pavilions for international expositions are interesting and important to be studied because, as they were limited in number, they can tell the story of Indonesia's point of view, situation, progress, and vision over time. Moreover, considering the huge diversity of ethnicities and cultures, the pavilions can be taken as a lesson on how Indonesia sees diversity and represents it in a 'small' building. This study aims to comprehend the meaning of the pavilions' architecture and how they were constructed by discussing collected images and texts about those pavilions. The research objects are pavilions from three exhibitions during the Netherlands-Indies period and four from the Indonesian period. This qualitative comparative study uses content analysis from literary and visual sources in their context. It was found that the architectural image of the pavilions played an important role in responding to the expo theme, displaying diversity and identity, and giving a narration about Indonesia.</i></p>

Introduction

Architecture and international expositions have demonstrated a reciprocal relationship since the first international exposition held in London in 1851. Hitchcock Jr. (1936); Mattie (1998); Jackson (2008), for instance, described how these expositions both generated and provided a stage for architecture, while architecture itself transformed the exposition into a visual and physical experience. Foreign nations viewed exposition architecture even in its simplest form as a medium for introducing their country to the world. When foreign participants of the *Exposition Universelle de 1878* were invited to construct entranceways to their exhibits in the central courtyard of the *Palais de l'Industrie*, they responded by creating façades that expressed the national and aesthetic characteristics of each country (Jackson 2008). In more complete

architectural compositions, this attitude was exemplified by the series of foreign national buildings along the Seine River part of the *Rue de Nations* zone at *L'Exposition de Paris 1900* which projected the distinctive national characteristics of each participant. In more recent expositions, a nation's identity or character has appeared through a more individualized and formal architectural image, making the nation's identity visually discernible (Kultermann 2007).

Indonesia, a vast nation renowned for its rich and diverse cultural and natural heritage as well as its long history, is among those countries that have consistently articulated their national identity through their participation in international expositions. Moreover, the discourse of national identity within the history of Indonesian architecture has been a continuous subject of discussion. Several scholars have elaborated on this concept, as seen in the works of

Sudradjat (1991); Kusno (2000). Accordingly, this research aims to explore the meaning of diversity and identity and to reveal both the representative image of identity and the possible modes through which it can be expressed.

Indonesian pavilions in international expositions 1931 Paris Colonial World Fair (PCWF)

As explained by S. E. le Docteur Fock in *Fédération Française des Anciens Coloniaux* (ed.), 1931: 271, the intention of the 1931 PCWF participation was “to show what we have achieved not only in terms of culture, industry, and trade, but also in social terms and in the instruction for the greater good of the natives, and then to see everything that other colonial powers have done in the interest of their people.” The pavilion, designed by W. J. G. Zweedijk and P. A. J. Moojen, occupied a 6,000-square-meter site as a complex of buildings organized around the concept of an *alun-alun* (Javanese city square), where the main pavilion stood on the left and the opposite side was enclosed by smaller structures and Balinese-style walls. The pavilion was conceived as a single building designed in a European architectural style but adorned with Indonesian motifs an idea proposed by Professor J. C. van Eerde, Director of the Department of Ethnography at the Colonial Institute, during a preparatory committee meeting on 15 September 1927 (Bloembergen 2006). The main pavilion measured 110 meters in width and was easily recognizable by its two 50-meter-high Balinese *Meru* (temple towers), rising at each end of an innovative interpretation of a Minangkabau-style roof.

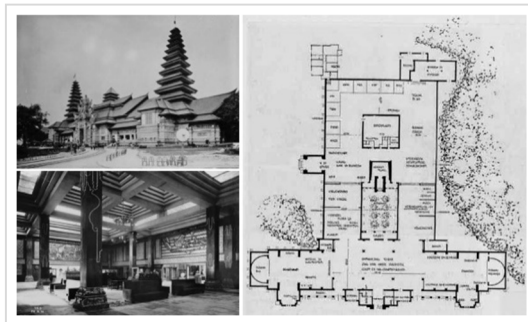


Figure 1. 1931 Pavilion photos and plan
Source: the KITLV Digital Image Library, No. 111420;
Floor Plan from *De ingenieur*, No.27/3 Juli 1931

1937 Nagoya Pan-Pacific Peace Exposition (NPPPE)

Japan regarded the exposition as an important means of fostering friendship and promoting peace and cultural exchange among Pacific nations, which had become the center of international activity after World War I. This purpose underpinned the 1937 NPPPE. The Netherlands-Indies was invited and decided to participate by constructing a pavilion designed by Robert Deppe, who had previously served as pavilion architect for Batavia's 1936 *Pasar Gambir Annual Fair*. Deppe designed a rectangular structure composed of two attached elements inspired by indigenous houses of worship. A building derived from a historic Javanese temple was attached to the left side, while on the right, a replica of a Balinese *Kori Gate* was incorporated into the façade.

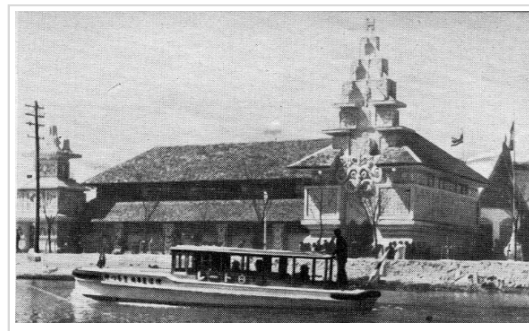


Figure 2. 1937 Pavilion photo
Source: *De' Orient*, No.21/22 Mei 1937

1939 Golden Gate International Exposition (GGIE)

The principal reason for the Netherlands-Indies' participation in the 1939 GGIE was to remind visitors of the Dutch's long-established presence in the Netherlands-Indies (Shanken 2014). Once again, Robert Deppe was selected as the pavilion architect. The rectangular structure occupied 7,100 square feet, measuring 120 feet in length and 60 feet in width, and was distinguished by its 50-foot-high tower modeled on the Hindu *Candi Penataran* near Blitar, East Java, which rose prominently above a podium adorned with intricate bas-reliefs copied from the Borobudur temple. The main and side entrances were positioned beneath the tower and opened into an atrium. Above the atrium, in the tower room, a 7.40-meter-high light shaft allowed visitors to view four murals, each measuring 9 x 2.70 meters, symbolizing commerce, industry, art, and

agriculture painted by the Indies artist Mr. Ch. Sayers.

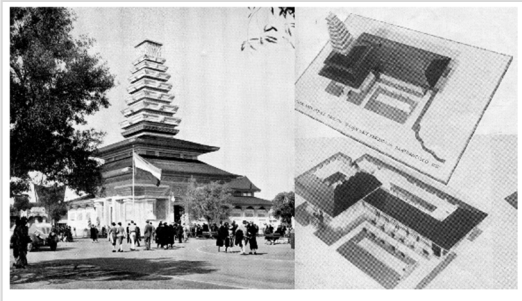


Figure 3. 1939 Pavilion photos and model
Source: *The Netherlands Indies*, vol. VII, No.2; *De'Orient*, No.3/23 July 1938

1964 New York World's Fair (NYWF)

Indonesia's participation in the 1964 NYWF was represented by a pavilion designed by Soedarsono, built under the theme "*To Build the World Anew*" (Kurniawan 2019). The pavilion served as a showcase and testament that Indonesia was neither a backward country nor one on the verge of collapse or chaos, as claimed by neo-colonialist, colonialist, and imperialist nations. Instead, it sought to advance the goals of world peace, promote mutual international understanding, and foster harmonious global relations (Sukarno 1964; *New York World's Fair 1964–1965 Corporation 1963*).



Figure 4. 1964 Pavilion photo
Source: New York Public Library: New York World's Fair 1964-1965 Corporation Collection

The pavilion's architecture was characterized by a circular main structure symbolizing a way of life, a rich and dynamic culture, abundant natural resources, Indonesia's contributions to global trade, and its potential for tourism development.

1970 Osaka World Exposition (OWE)

In this exposition, Indonesia sought to embody the nation's motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* ("Unity in Diversity"), by presenting the life of the nation, its positive efforts toward economic development and modernization, its ongoing preservation and promotion of cultural traditions and arts, and its aspiration to build an orderly, peaceful, and prosperous world (Commemorative Association for the Japan World Exposition 1972; Atmadi [ed.] 1970). The pavilion, designed by Robi Sularto, was inspired by the *stupa* of Borobudur Temple and the terraced rice fields of Java. In its realized form, this inspiration was translated into six truncated pyramid-like structures encircling a central dance stage, set upon terraced platforms with a pool from which water flowed gently down the slopes representing Indonesian paddy fields and giving the impression of a floating pavilion. The overall composition aimed to express a serene and welcoming atmosphere, tranquility through human-scaled spaces, and a profound psychological experience for visitors.

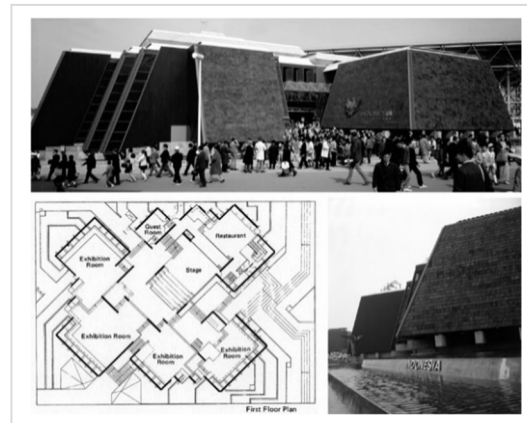


Figure 5. 1970 Pavilion photos and plan
Source: Osaka 70 Memorial Park's collection; Commemorative association for the Japan world exposition 1970

2010 Shanghai World Exposition (SWE)

The 2010 SWE invited participants to present models of urban living that harmonized with sustainable natural and human development. Responding to this theme, Indonesia presented "*Indonesia is Biodiverse City*" to highlight its deep reservoir of wisdom in designing prosperous multicultural urban habitats for the future founded on sustainable and graceful coexistence with nature (Pangestu [ed.] 2011). Designed by Budi Lim Architects, the pavilion was inspired by the

stilted house, a typology shared across the Indonesian archipelago. The design featured a four-story open structure with a 20-meter-high atrium-like entrance and a 600-meter ramp that flowed continuously between indoor and outdoor spaces. The extensive use of bamboo for structural, flooring, wall, ceiling, and decorative elements reflected indigenous wisdom: taking the most suitable materials from nature without exploiting the land, and showcasing the refined craftsmanship of the Indonesian people.

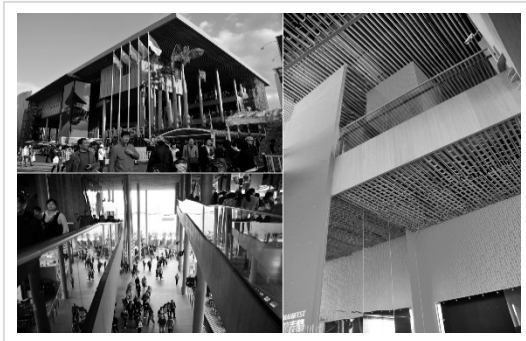


Figure 6. 2010 Pavilion photos
Source: PT. Budi Lim Architect

2015 Milan World Exposition (MWE)

Indonesia's participation in the 2015 MWE was its first initiative organized and prepared by a private consortium. The pavilion, occupying a 1,100-square-meter site, was designed by a team of architects comprising Miranti Gumayana, Rubi Roesli, and Dani Hermawan. According to Dani Hermawan (interview, 9 September 2015; [Pareanom 2016](#)), Didi Petet the initiator of Indonesia's participation explained that the aim was to present a contemporary image of Indonesia: modern yet strongly rooted in national identity. Consequently, the architects chose not to replicate any particular traditional house form. Instead, they studied the Indonesian way of life in response to the exposition theme and drew inspiration from the *bubu* a traditional bamboo or rattan fish trap and the *lumbung* a storage structure for rice and agricultural produce. These vernacular elements were reinterpreted in a modern architectural language. The architects abstracted the *bubu* and *lumbung* not by form, but through their materiality (bamboo or rattan), local craftsmanship (weaving), and semi-open spatial expression. The final structure was a building enveloped in panels of woven synthetic rattan.



Figure 7. 2015 Pavilion photo
Source: [Dani Hermawan 2015](#)

Methods

This study employs a comparative and qualitative research approach utilizing content analysis techniques to generate replicable and valid inferences from literary and pictorial evidence within their respective contexts ([Krippendorff 2004](#); [Kostof 1985](#)). Pictorial evidence including maps, photographs, and construction drawings of Indonesian pavilions provides concrete information regarding their physical forms, while literary evidence offers descriptive accounts that enrich the understanding of these architectural objects. The comparative framework of this study analyzes and discusses several selected pavilions as the research objects.

The process of selecting research objects began by determining the scope of the study, spanning the period from Dutch colonization to contemporary Indonesia, as both share a similar geographical and cultural continuum. Pavilion selection was guided by two primary considerations: first, the pavilion must have been commissioned and built by the government; and second, it must have been designed by a local architect. The first criterion "own pavilion" was adopted because it provides the greatest degree of creative freedom to fulfill the purpose of architecture: to impose order on specific aspects of the environment, including physical control, functional structure, social milieu, and cultural symbolism ([Norberg-Schulz 1963](#)). This autonomy is particularly crucial in determining how a nation presents itself architecturally. The second criterion, involving "local" architects those born and/or professionally active in the Netherlands-Indies or Indonesia during the

respective period was based on the assumption that they possessed adequate cultural understanding and social insight to draw upon Indonesian traditions and values in their design work. Seven pavilions met these criteria and were selected as the research objects: the 1931 PCWF, 1937 NPPPE, 1939 GGIE, 1964 NYWF, 1970 Osaka World Expo (OWE), 2010 SWE, and 2015 MWE. The second stage of the research involved the collection of primary data through extensive archival investigation in libraries and national archives, as well as consultations with expo, governmental, and institutional online repositories, and architectural offices.

Results and discussion

Ideas of representation

The discussion seeks to elucidate the relationship between architectural imagery, exposition themes, pavilion themes, and the objectives of participation, as summarized in [table 1](#).

The architectural images of the 1931, 1937, and 1939 pavilions reflect compositions that combined traditional architectural elements within monumental structures. Features such as the Balinese *Kori* Gate, traditional roof forms, and Javanese temple references appeared recurrently. The resulting architectural imagery presented grand, richly ornamented buildings that integrated numerous traditional components (see [figures 1, 2, and 3](#)). The underlying narrative sought to emphasize the Netherlands' presence in the Netherlands-Indies and the progress it claimed to have achieved in the colony. In pursuing this objective, Dutch architects attempted to revive the grandeur of both European and indigenous cultural heritages, creating an image of a "wealthy" and "civilized" nation through a synthesis of monumental European proportions and traditional motifs. This architectural representation functioned as a projection of a positive image simultaneously glorifying the Netherlands as the "motherland" and the Netherlands-Indies as a prosperous colony within the global colonial hierarchy. It provides a vivid architectural manifestation of the notion that "the Dutch thought of the colony as 'our Indies,' inhabited by a huge variety of peoples fused into one as 'Natives'" ([Taylor 2003](#)).

In contrast, Indonesia's post-independence participation was marked by distinct objectives and imagery. The 1964 pavilion conveyed a message of Indonesia's position and ideology concerning world peace an issue of growing importance in the era following the decolonization wave and amidst the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. This message was embedded in the pavilion's site selection, form, and symbolic roof crown. President Sukarno personally selected the site, situated equidistant between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. pavilions, to emphasize Indonesia's neutrality. The roof crown symbolized *Pancasila* the Five Principles on which the Republic of Indonesia is founded proposed by Sukarno as an alternative ideology for achieving a peaceful world ([Sukarno 1960](#)). The circular form of the pavilion reinforced the same statement of neutrality. Traditional architectural references were present but detached from the main structure, abstracted into simplified forms. This style was termed "ultra-modern" a phrase cited from [Hamilton Wright Organization \(1964: 1\)](#) and employed by Sukarno, as reflected in his speech ([Sukarno 1960: 290](#)), to express liberation from colonial influence and to symbolize the fresh and optimistic identity of a new Indonesia.

The 1970 pavilion presented a large, tranquil, and enigmatic architectural form that emphasized spiritual and cultural achievements rather than material, scientific, or technological progress ([Atmadi \[ed.\] 1970](#)). This pavilion embodied Indonesia's proposal for addressing the challenges of human development. The 2010 pavilion, under the theme of biodiversity and sustainable urban living, showcased Indonesia's environmental wisdom and multicultural richness as a contribution to the global discourse on livable cities. Its architectural expression took the form of an open, stilted bamboo structure devoid of solid walls or doors an embodiment of transparency and harmony with nature. Similarly, the 2015 pavilion adopted a semi-open composition featuring woven rattan panels inspired by the *bubu* (traditional fish trap) and *lumbung* (rice granary), both indigenous symbols of communal food sustainability. Through these architectural expressions, Indonesia once again shared its cultural wisdom as a potential solution to global challenges. Although the architectural imagery of the 1970, 2010, and 2015 pavilions cannot be directly associated with specific traditional architectures found in Indonesia, they

nevertheless convey the essence of traditional aesthetics through abstraction and simplification.

Collectively, the pavilions from 1964 to 2015 reflected Indonesia's rich cultural and natural

heritage as a resource for addressing global issues (see table 1, column 4), a theme consistently expressed through their architectural representation.

Table 1. Information about pavilions

Expo name (1)	Expo/fair theme (2)	Pavilion theme (3)	Objective (4)	Architectural image (5)
1931 PCWF	Colonization	-	Introducing the Netherlands-Indies as the largest Dutch colony and demonstrating the goals and progress of Western civilization in the colonies	Collection of traditional architectures attached to a grand scale building
1937 NPPIE	Peace on Pan-Pacific Area	-	-	
1939 GGIE	Pageant of The Pacific	-	Reminder of the Netherlands' long presence in the Netherlands-Indies	
1964 NYWF	Peace Through Understanding	To Build the World a New	Sending an Indonesian vision and solution for world peace	Modern circular building in Balinese yard
1970 OWE	Human Progress into Harmony	Unity in Diversity	Introducing Indonesia and its aspiration to build an orderly, peaceful, and prosperous world	Six cut pyramids floating on the water
2010 SWE	Better City, Better Life	Biodiverse City	Highlighting the Indonesian wisdom in designing prosperous multicultural urban habitats based on sustainable graceful living with nature	Open Stilted Bamboo House
2015 MWE	Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life	Stage of The World	Presenting Indonesian wisdom in maritime and agricultural practices	Semi-open construction covered by rattan panels

Narration through the Precinct and Its relationship to the main pavilion

The story of Indonesia can be conveyed through the spatial and symbolic relationship between the precinct and the main pavilion. Out of the seven pavilions examined, five were designed as integrated compositions combining both the main pavilion and its surrounding precinct. The only exceptions were the 1937 and 1939 pavilions, which lacked a designated precinct area.

The precinct of the 1931 pavilion was conceived as a repetition of dominant traditional Balinese architectural elements featured in the

main pavilion. It comprised two primary structures a secondary pavilion functioning as a dance theater and a Balinese-style gate and fence that visually and spatially unified the entire complex. Within the larger exhibition site, this ensemble stood behind an expansive landscaped park dotted with several traditional houses. Such spatial repetition of traditional forms reinforced the architectural image established by the main pavilion. In this composition, the relationship between the precinct and the main pavilion served to *reaffirm* the intended narrative of representation.

The 1964 pavilion, referred to as the *Pavilion of Past and Present* (Hamilton Wright Organization 1964), explicitly expressed a duality between tradition and modernity. The precinct was designed in a traditional idiom, while the main pavilion embodied an ultra-modern form. Architectural documentation clarified that the traditional components guided visitors into an “Indonesian atmosphere” before leading them toward the modern pavilion (New York World’s Fair 1964–1965 Corporation 1963; Hamilton Wright Organization, 1964). This design strategy narrated a coherent story of Indonesia’s progress from its cultural roots toward a modern and harmonious society. The interplay between the precinct and the main pavilion thus created a complete architectural narration of Indonesia’s participation in the exposition. The 1970 pavilion adopted a different approach to the precinct’s traditional reference. Although its design could not be directly traced to any specific vernacular prototype, the precinct maintained an abstracted connection with the main pavilion. It consisted of

terraced grounds and a shallow pool where water gently cascaded down the slopes, evoking the image of Indonesian rice terraces. The pool surrounding the pavilion created the visual impression of a *floating structure*, reminiscent of traditional huts situated among rice fields and used by farmers for rest. While both the pavilion and the precinct were abstract in form, the task of visually articulating Indonesian identity was delegated to the sculptures installed around the precinct most notably, a Garuda statue executed in Balinese style. Consequently, the relationship between the precinct and the pavilion in 1970 also achieved a unified narrative through the integration of symbolic and spatial elements. A similar intention to employ the precinct as a narrative complement to the main pavilion was evident in the 2010 and 2015 pavilions, where both architectural and thematic coherence were achieved through the interplay between open, organic forms and symbolic references to Indonesian cultural values.

Table 2. Characteristics of pavilions

No	Pavilion	1931 PCWF	1937 NPPPE	1939 GGIE	1964 NYWF	1970 OWE	2010 SWE	2015 MWE
A. CONTEXT								
A.1. Precinct								
1	Form	<i>Alun-alun</i> with traditional houses	X	X	Lotus-filled Pond with a <i>meru</i> tower	rice field with terraced irrigation	Trees and bamboo garden	Small green grass & plants
2	Reference	Java	X	X	Bali	Java	All regions	All regions
A.2. Site border								
1	Form	Solid Clay Brick Fence	X	X	White beam – clay brick column	X	Bamboo poles and greenery	X
2	Reference	Bali	X	X	Modern form of Balinese gate	X	All regions	X
A.3. Site gate		<i>Candi Bentar</i>	X	X	<i>Candi Bentar</i>	X	X	X
A.4. Main Pavilion Plot		Front corner	Whole site	Whole site	Center	Whole site	Whole site	Whole site
A.5. Approach to Main Pavilion		Directly from street	Directly from street	Directly from street	Through gate and precinct	Through precinct	Through precinct	Through small precinct
B. MAIN PAVILION								
B.1. Basic Description								
1	Program	Exhibition space	Exhibition space	Exhibition space	Exhibition, restaurant, stage	Exhibition, restaurant, gift shop, stage	Exhibition, restaurant, Stage	Exhibition, restaurant,
2	Floor	One	One	One	Two	One + mezzanine	Four	One

3	Floor Plan	B shape (two inner courts)	C shape	L shape	circle	Intersected boxes with hole	Rectangle	intersected ovals
4	Structure	Wood	Wood	Wood	Steel	Steel	Steel	Steel
B.2. Pavilion Form								
1	Form	Box	Box	Box	Crowned cylinder	Cut pyramids	Open box	Semi-open structure
2	Space	Big hall	Hall	Hall and atrium	Big halls	Atriums	Atrium, rooms corridor	Small hall
3	Reference	European building	European building	European building	Symbol of neutrality	Stupa of Borobudur Java	Stilted house in all regions	Traditional fishing & food storage in all regions
B.3. Pavilion Elements								
B.3.1. Main Entrance								
1	Form	<i>Kori Gate</i>	<i>Kori Gate</i>	Decorated door	Opening	Opening	Atrium	Opening
2	Location	Center of front facade	One side of building's	Under the tower	Center of front facade	Center of pavilion	First-floor open space	Center of front facade
3	Reference	Bali	Bali	Bali	Not specific	Not specific	Stilted House	Not specific
B.3.2. Wall								
1	Form	Bas-relief, clay brick & ornament	Bas-relief	Bas-relief & Paras stone	Glass	<i>Lauan</i> plywood sheet single	Bamboo	Bamboo woven panels
2	Reference	Java & Bali	Java & Bali	Borobudur-Java & Bali	Modern Architecture	Kalimantan & Sumatra	All regions	All regions
B.3.3. Roof (R.)								
1	Form	Storied roof	Hip roof	Hip roof	Umbrella-fluted roof	Horizontal roof	Horizontal roof	Horizontal roof
2	Reference	Minangkabau	Java/Bali	Bali	All regions	Modern	Modern	Modern
B.3.4. Roof Cover								
1	Form	<i>sirap</i>	<i>sirap</i>	<i>sirap</i>	Sandwich type deck	Woven roof deck & acrylate boards	Aluminum sandwich panel	Flat roof covered with turf
2	Reference	Kalimantan	Kalimantan	Kalimantan	Modern material	Modern	Modern	Modern
Special Feature								
1	Form	Two Meru towers	Replica of Temple	Replica of Temple	Five-petal flower roof crown	Traditional style sculptures	Bamboo for all elements	Rattan panel as facade
2	Location	On corners of roof	On corner of pavilion	On top of podium' roof	On top of the roof	Precinct	All places	Surrounding the facade
3	Reference	Bali	Java	Java	Symbol of Pancasila	Bali	All regions	All regions

In 2010, the architects incorporated local craftsmanship to work extensively with bamboo, which was used as the primary material for the floor, as well as for the amphitheater's benches, stage, and fencing elements. The design was complemented by the planting of palm trees and various tropical fruit species in small garden plots surrounding the structure. This landscaping effort produced a spatial and atmospheric replica of the authentic context of a traditional stilted house,

thereby reinforcing the pavilion's thematic grounding in indigenous living environments.

In the 2015 pavilion, a small green precinct was introduced around the main building. Its design included provisions for a miniature rice field, symbolically completing the pavilion's narrative on food and energy sustainability, and visually linking the architectural form with the thematic focus of ecological balance and communal life.

Conclusions

The architectural imagery of all the pavilions discussed in this study demonstrates a consistent responsiveness to the exposition themes, the issue of cultural diversity, and the quest for national identity. Each pavilion integrated Indonesian ideology and philosophy of life, along with traditional elements and modern expressions, to fulfill its representational role and construct a distinct architectural image. The design of each precinct served as a spatial and symbolic complement to the pavilion, together forming a comprehensive narrative about Indonesia and its participation in the international expositions. Despite these shared intentions, the architectural images of the pavilions from the Netherlands-Indies and post-independence Indonesia periods exhibit clear distinctions. These differences were shaped by the political climate and anthropological ideologies of their respective eras. During the colonial Netherlands-Indies period, architecture emerged as a confluence of two contrasting cultures, deliberately stratified by the Dutch according to perceived social hierarchies. Consequently, Western modernist expression and indigenous authenticity coexisted within rigid boundaries, reflecting the duality imposed by colonial ideology. In contrast, independent Indonesia embraced indigenous authenticity as an instrument of self-reflection and national expression, granting architects greater freedom to reinterpret tradition. This liberation fostered a more fluid and diverse synthesis between modern and vernacular elements, producing an architectural image that is simultaneously cosmopolitan and rooted in local identity.

References

- Atmadi, T. [ed.], (1970), *Indonesia Man and His Culture: As Reflected at pavilion Indonesia Expo '70 Osaka JAPAN*, The National Committee for Expo '70, Jakarta
- Bloembergen, Marieke. 2006. *Colonial Spectacles: The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the World Exhibitions, 1880-1931*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Commemorative Association for the Japan World Exposition, (1972), *Official Report of the Japan World Exposition, Osaka, 1970 Volume 2*, Commemorative Association for the Japan World Exposition, Osaka.
- Hamilton Wright Organization, (1964), *Indonesia Sums up life in Pavilion of Past and Present*, Hamilton Wright Organization, New York.
- Jackson, Anna. 2008. *Expo: International Expositions 1851-2010*. London: V&A Publishing.
- Kultermann, U. (2007), *Anticipation of the Future: The Origin and History of World's Fairs*, in Garn, A., et al, *Exit to tomorrow: world's fair architecture, design, fashion, 1933-2005*, Universe, New York, p 26 (2007)
- Kostof, Spiro. 1985. *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*. Oxford University Press.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. 2004. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. 2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks California 91320: SAGE Publications, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071878781>.
- Kurniawan, Harry. 2019. "The Search For Indonesian Architecture Through World Exposition's Pavilions." Tohoku University.
- Kusno, Abidin. 2000. *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space, and Political Cultures in Indonesia*. London: Routledge.
- Mattie, Erik. 1998. *World's Fairs*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.
- New York World's Fair 1964-1965 Corporation, (1963), *Architecture of The Indonesian Pavilion New York World's Fair, 1964-1965*, New York World's Fair 1964-1965 Corporation, New York.
- Norberg-Schulz, Christian. 1963. *Intentions in Architecture*. Oslo: Universitetsforlage.
- Pangestu, M. E. [ed.], (2011), *Our House: Indonesia Pavilion World Expo Shanghai 2011*, PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta.
- Pareanom, Y. A., (2016), *Paviliun Indonesia World EXPO Milan 2015: Indonesia Menawan, Koperasi Pelestari Budaya Nusantara dan Artha Graha Peduli*, Jakarta.
- Shanken, Andrew. 2014. *Into the Void Pacific Building the 1939 San Francisco World's Fair*. California: University of California Press.
- Sudradjat, Iwan. 1991. "A Study of Indonesian Architectural History." The University of Sydney.
- Sukarno, (1960), *Build World anew*, United Nations General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Official Records, 880th Plenary Meeting, September 30, 1960, New York, pp. 278- 290,

Retrieved 2017, July 4 from
<http://kepuustakaan-presiden.pnri.go.id/>.
Sukarno, (1964), Pidato PJM Presiden Sukarno
Dihadapan Para Utusan Jang Telah Kembali
dari New York World's Fair, Bogor, 21

Nopember 1964, Sekretariat Negara-Kabinet
Presiden Republik Indonesia, Jakarta
Taylor, Jean Gelman. 2003. *Indonesia: Peoples
and Histories*. London: Yale University Press.