



**UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES
OPEN UNIVERSITY**

MASTER OF ASEAN STUDIES

MARY VINCELLE C. YASA

**TRANSCENDING DIVERSITY THROUGH AESTHETICS: REFLECTIONS ON
TAMAN MINI INDONESIA INDAH AND NAYONG PILIPINO**

Thesis Adviser:

NESTOR T. CASTRO, PhD
Faculty of Management and Development Studies

December 2024

Permission is given for the following people to have access this thesis,
subject to the provisions of applicable laws, the provisions of the UP IPR policy and
any contractual obligations:

Invention (I)	☐ Yes or ☒ No
Publication (P)	☐ Yes or ☒ No
Confidential (C)	☐ Yes or ☒ No
Free (F)	☒ Yes or ☐ No

Student's signature:

Special problem adviser signature:

University Permission Page

TRANSCENDING DIVERSITY THROUGH AESTHETICS: REFLECTIONS ON TAMAN MINI INDONESIA INDAH AND NAYONG PILIPINO

“I hereby grant the University of the Philippines a non-exclusive, worldwide, royalty-free license to reproduce, publish, and publicly distribute copies of this thesis or dissertation in whatever form subject to the provisions of applicable laws, the provisions of the UP IRR policy and any contractual obligations, as well as more specific permission marking on the Title Page.”

“Specifically, I grant the following rights to the University:

- a) To upload a copy of the work in the theses database of the college/school/institute/department and in any other databases available on the public internet;
- b) To publish the work in the college/school/institute/department journal, both in print and electronic or digital format and online; and
- c) To give open access to above-mentioned work, thus allowing “fair use” of the work in accordance with the provisions of the Intellectual Property Code of the Philippines (Republic Act No. 8293), especially for teaching, scholarly, and research purposes.”

MARY VINCELLE C. YASA / 25 March 2025
Signature over Student Name and Date

Acceptance Page

This thesis entitled **Transcending Diversity Through Aesthetics: Reflections on Taman Mini Indonesia Indah and Nayong Pilipino** is hereby accepted by the Faculty of Management and Development Studies, U.P. Open University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of ASEAN Studies.

NESTOR T. CASTRO, PhD
Chair

25 March 2025

(Date)

JOEFE B. SANTARITA, PhD
Member

25 March 2025

(Date)

ROLANDO G. TALAMPAS
Member

26 March 2025

(Date)

ASSOC. PROF. FINAFLOR F. TAYLAN, DProfSt

Dean

Faculty of Management and Development Studies

31 March 2025

(Date)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The author is a writer and copyeditor for the Communication Office of the Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (BSP). Having been with the institution for ten years, the facet of BSP that stirs her curiosity the most is its role as a keeper and steward of Philippine art and culture, in addition to being a vanguard of the country's economy. This, in combination with her inherent leanings toward history, is what fueled the trajectory of choosing the purview of the study.

Her roots are in health care, having earned a Bachelor of Science in Nursing degree (*cum laude*), but her future lies in the past, as she slowly carves her path toward a career in history and art.

She is the eldest child of two academics who inevitably influenced her passion for lifelong learning. Writing has always been her citadel and will continue to be for as long as time allows.

Acknowledgement

Before I embarked on writing this study, I was told multiple times how hard it would be to pull it off given that I also work. At the time, I did my best to play it down. But now I know I should have taken the warning seriously because the constant shifting between the synthesis, tone, word usage, and analogy of academic writing and the outputs required of me from work proved to be much more difficult than I thought. There were multiple times when I exasperated out loud, “My grey cells are failing me. My English is failing me. I’m doing everything wrong.”

But now, I gladly cue Frodo’s exhausted consolation after having thrown the ring to the depths of Mordor—“It’s over. It’s done.”

I would like to extend the biggest hugs to my family—my Mom, Dad, brothers, sister-in-law, and niece for the endless flow of inspiration and support.

To Steno, dear friend and fellow compatriot in the world of literature, for his diligent and thorough copyedits of the manuscript.

To friends and colleagues who have always cheered me on.

To the kind librarians of the University of the Philippines and the National Library of the Philippines for their enduring patience to my repeated requests for references.

To the warm-hearted people of Jakarta whom I crossed paths with while I was there, you made my short stay truly unforgettable. I never thought I'd like being referred to as "Ibu" the way I did, but here we are.

To the scholars I interviewed for this study, for being incredibly generous of their time, experience, and wisdom. I have learned a lot.

To the previous ASEAN Program Chair, Dr. Ricardo Bagarinao and the current ASEAN Program Chair, Asst. Prof. Lorena Jean Saludadez, for extending understanding and consideration throughout my graduate studies journey. It has helped more than you know.

To the members of my thesis committee, Dr. Joefer Santarita and Prof. Rolando Talampas, for their unfailing guidance and wise counsel.

To the chairman of my thesis committee and adviser, Dr. Nestor Castro, for his supervision and admirable sagacity.

Lastly, to the master of our fate, for unending grace.

My gratitude is yours.

Hannon Ie.

For Mom and Dad

Abstract

A side-by-side exploration of Taman Mini Indonesia Indah and Nayong Pilipino has never been undertaken before, despite claims that the latter served as inspiration to the former, despite the regional connection of Indonesia and the Philippines, and despite the parallel authoritarian regimes which initiated the parks' construction. The primacy of culture during the New Order and New Society eras of Soeharto and Ferdinand Marcos, its concomitant crystallization into cultural policies, and subsequent materialities into institutions, specifically cultural theme parks, is the horizon this study situates itself in. As a social historical thesis, documentary research and expert interviews served as the main avenues by which data were collected. The study is organized around what makes nation-states the way they are, that is authority, territory, people, international relations, and culture, and is largely observed through Michel Foucault's views on governmentality and Tony Bennett's propositions on museums. The narrative commences from where the idea for the parks originated, its proponents—the First Ladies and the shadows they cast on national cultures. It then traverses the condensations of their respective nations within the chosen spaces, particularly their layout and intention. It navigates the formation of identities as they are envisioned, idealized, and prescribed. And explores the currents which aided the parks' fruition along with links that prove how these parks cannot be seen in isolation. The journey culminates with the understanding of culture's power when distilled and harnessed through aesthetics and its associated perils on the inherent diversity of people living in both countries.

Keywords: Aesthetics, Cultural Policy, Culture, Diversity, Nayong Pilipino, Taman Mini Indonesia Indah

Table of Contents

University Permission Page.....	ii
Acceptance Page.....	lii
Biographical Sketch.....	iv
Acknowledgement.....	v
Dedication.....	vii
Abstract.....	viii
Table of Contents.....	ix
List of Tables.....	xii
List of Figures.....	xiii
List of Photographs.....	xiv

Definition of Terms.....	1
Organization of the Thesis.....	2
Prologue.....	3

Genesis

Background of the Study.....	4
Review of Literature	
Culture.....	10
Policy.....	12
Nation.....	14
National Cultural Policy.....	17

Armature

Theoretical Framework	
Foucault's Governmentality.....	20
Bennett's Museum.....	22
Situating the Impetus of the Study.....	24
Objectives.....	27
Conceptual Framework.....	28
Scope and Limitations.....	31

Significance of the Study.....	32
Praxis	
Research Method.....	33
Data Collection.....	34
Interview Guide.....	40
Data Analysis.....	41
Ethical Considerations.....	42
Precipitates	
Proponents.....	44
The Myths.....	44
The Rearing.....	48
The Beautiful.....	50
The Plexus.....	53
The Spark.....	54
The Issues.....	58
Condensations.....	61
The Setting.....	61
The Catalogue.....	68
The Intention.....	71
Identity.....	78
The Reclaiming.....	78
The Completion.....	82
The Othering.....	86
The Crescendo.....	94
Currents.....	99
The Predecessors.....	100
The Heralds.....	102
The Circulation.....	107
Aesthetics.....	109
The Firepower.....	110

The Illusion.....	112
The Merchants.....	117
Ruminations	121
Epilogue.....	128
Gallery.....	131
Bibliography.....	151
Appendices	
I. Request Letter for Interview.....	172
II. Overview and Interview Questions.....	173
III. List of Main Documents Reviewed per Section.....	175
IV. Scholar A (June 24, 2024).....	186
V. Scholar B (June 24, 2024).....	191
VI. Scholar B (July 8, 2024).....	203
VII. Scholar C (July 8, 2024).....	222
VIII. Scholar D (July 13, 2024).....	246
IX. Timeline for the Conduct of the Study.....	250
X. Informed Consent for Interviewees.....	251

List of Tables

1. Definition of Terms.....	1
2. Models of National Support for the Arts.....	19
3. General Profiles of the Interviewees.....	39
4. Interview Questions.....	40
5. Chronology of Events Between Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino.....	56
6. Architects of Nayong Pilipino.....	66
7. Exhibitions – Indonesia.....	90
8. Exhibitions – The Philippines.....	91
9. Convergences and Divergences.....	123

List of Figures

1. Organization of the thesis.....	2
2. Cultural policy reports submitted by Indonesia and the Philippines to UNESCO.....	7
3. E.M. Rogers' Diffusion of Innovation Theory.....	8
4. Foucault's Governmentality.....	21
5. Conceptual Framework.....	28
6. Photos of Marcos Sr.'s Medals.....	46
7. Astana Giri Bangun.....	47
8. Ferdinand Marcos Sr. as Malakas.....	48
9. Groundbreaking Ceremony of Nayong Pilipino.....	57
10. Groundbreaking Ceremony of Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	58
11. New York Times Article on TIMland.....	61
12. Map of Taman Mini Indonesia Indah 1.....	63
13. Map of Taman Mini Indonesia Indah 2.....	63
14. Map of Nayong Pilipino 1.....	66
15. Map of Nayong Pilipino 2.....	67
16. Frontispiece of Dean C. Worcester's The Philippines Past and Present Volume II.....	85
17. The Tasadays.....	94
18. Skansen circa 1905.....	101
19. Madurodam.....	102
20. ASEAN-5 Leaders circa 1976.....	103
21. Soeharto with the Marcoses.....	103
22. Tien Soeharto and Eleanor Roosevelt.....	104
23. Imelda Marcos, Evita Perón, Jackie Kennedy, and Farah Pahlavi.....	107
24. Woodcarver in Nayong Pilipino.....	114
25. Bagong Anyo Showcase.....	121
26. Convergences and Divergences.....	122

List of Photographs

1. Jambi – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	131
2. Bengkulu – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	131
3. Sumatera Selatan – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	132
4. Riau – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	132
5. Sumatera Barat – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	133
6. Sumatera Utara – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	133
7. Aceh – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	134
8. Kalimantan Barat – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	134
9. Kalimantan Selatan – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	135
10. Kalimantan Timur – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	135
11. Maluku – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	136
12. Kalimantan Tengah – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	136
13. Sulawesi Utara – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	137
14. Sulawesi Tengah – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	137
15. Papua (formerly Irian Jaya) – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	138
16. Sulawesi Tenggara – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	138
17. Sulawesi Selatan – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	139
18. Nusa Tenggara Timur – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	139
19. Nusa Tenggara Barat – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	140
20. Bali – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	140
21. Jawa Timur – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	141
22. D.I. Yogyakarta – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	141
23. Jawa Tengah – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	142
24. Jawa Barat – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	142
25. Lampung – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	143
26. DKI Jakarta – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	143
27. Papua Barat – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	144
28. Sulawesi Barat – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	144
29. Kepulauan Riau – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	145
30. Gorontalo – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	145
31. Maluku Utara (under construction) – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	146

32. Banten – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	146
33. Bangka Belitung – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah.....	147
34. Lake 1 – Nayong Pilipino.....	147
35. Lake 2 – Nayong Pilipino.....	148
36. Ifugao Village 1 – Nayong Pilipino.....	148
37. Ifugao Village 2 – Nayong Pilipino.....	149
38. Ifugao Village 3 – Nayong Pilipino.....	149
39. Ifugao Village 4 – Nayong Pilipino.....	150
40. Ifugao Village 5 – Nayong Pilipino.....	150

DEFINITION OF TERMS

To establish a common reference, Table 1 lays out the operational use of the key terms of the study.

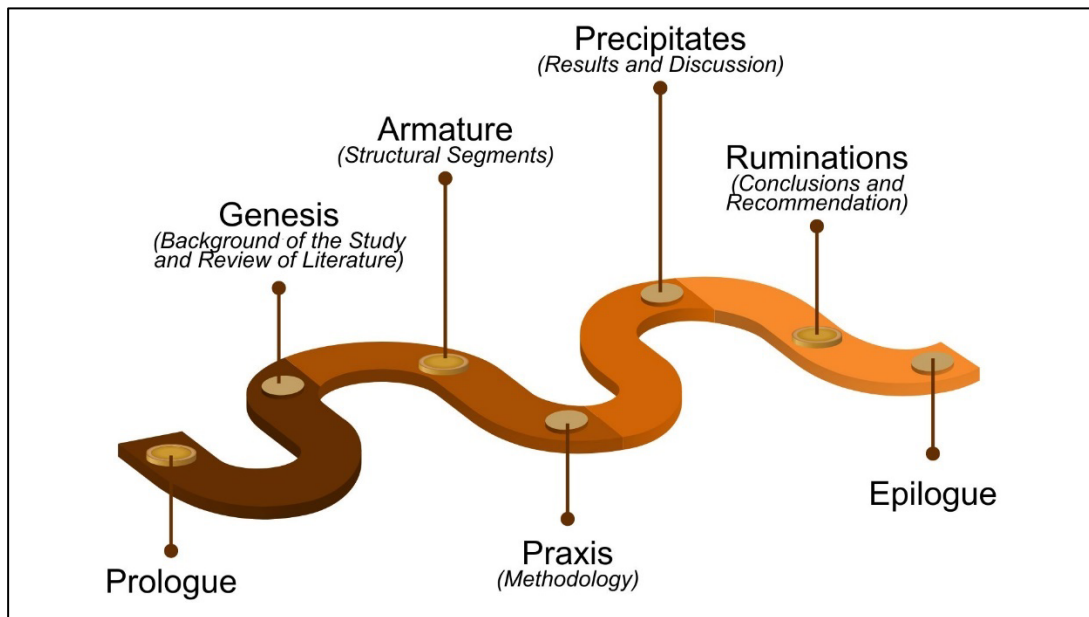
Table 1

Definition of Terms

Term	Operational definition
Aesthetics	A standard preference molded by a set of creative criteria
Authority	A government's ability to influence or command
Condensations	A depiction or visual design made to resemble a thing, person, or place in a concentrated form
Critical	A focus of cultural policy which leans toward theory building rather than practical application
Culture	A set of shared social and anthropological attributes that has concomitant explicit or material representations
Currents	A prevailing or general movement resulting in particular tendencies or inclinations
Diversity	A condition of being composed of different markers or emblems, especially as it relates to populations
Identity	A distinction employed at different levels of being and belonging (e.g., as an individual, as a group, as a nation, as a region)
International relations	The way states interact and manage relations with each other
People	A population relevant to a territory
Proponent	A person who initiates or advocates for a proposal or a cause
Territory	A defined geographical space under the jurisdiction of a state

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

Figure 1. Organization of the thesis



The figure above provides the layout for the thesis. It opens with the prologue, which conveys the inception of the decision on the niche of the study. Genesis follows which details the background of the study and the review of literature. Armature presents the structural segments of the study as follows: (1) Theoretical Framework, (2) Situating the Impetus of the Study, (3) Objectives of the Study, (4) Conceptual Framework, (5) Scope and Limitations, and (6) Significance of the Study. This progression was employed to support the narrative flow of the study.

Praxis then imparts the methodology of the study and comprises five parts: (1) Research Method, (2) Data Collection, (3) Interview Guide, (4) Data Analysis, and (5) Ethical Considerations. Precipitates thematically discuss the results of the study based on the conceptual framework. Ruminations provide the space for the conclusions and recommendations. And the narrative closes with final thoughts in the Epilogue.

Also of importance is the sequence with which the states concerned are mentioned throughout the study. The chronology of Indonesia and the Philippines is simply based on the alphabetical order of the first letters of the countries' names. This serves as the pattern throughout the thesis; therefore, any term in relation to Indonesia will be mentioned first, followed by the term in relation to the Philippines (i.e., the title of the study, emphasis added—*Transcending Diversity Through Aesthetics: Reflections on the Taman Mini Indonesia Indah and the Nayong Pilipino*).

PROLOGUE

"Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?"
"That depends a good deal on where you want to get to."
"I don't much care where —"
"Then it doesn't matter which way you go."
"- so long as I get SOMEWHERE,"
"Oh, you're sure to do that," said the Cat, "if you only walk long enough."
-Lewis Carroll, *Alice in Wonderland*

Like Alice, all I had at the beginning was a vague direction. I knew that the topic I would pursue would have something to do with art and culture. Given that I work as a writer at the Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (BSP), its art collection was foremost in my mind. After all, I have constant interaction with it along hallways and corridors, and within offices and meeting rooms. Add to that a sustained exposure to exhibits brought by the proximity of the Metropolitan Museum of Manila when its home was still within the BSP complex, and the product was a curiosity for the arts steadily fed.

Having broadened my world by stepping inside the concept of regionalism, a deeper comprehension of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and

its member states naturally emerged. And the idea I originally wanted to undertake was a comparative investigation of the central bank art collections of the ASEAN-5.¹ But after a brief survey, I quickly realized that not every central bank chooses to undertake the path of art collecting.

Obviously, I needed to pivot, and I did this by parsing through volumes of books published about the BSP's art collection. It was through this that I stumbled upon the *Kayamanan* series. After noticing the dates of publication, I checked the series' background and found a particular regime and a particular penchant for policy. A further look into whether other ASEAN countries might have explored the same affinities yielded answers. That's when I knew I've walked long enough, because I reached it—the space.

GENESIS

Background of the Study

Space. What is the cultural policy space like? For most, it's a diverging road anchored on the question of who it's for. Should it service the need of governments (i.e., policy advisory) or should it lean more toward the academe (i.e., theoretical analysis)? As Bennett (2004) succinctly puts it, "It may be that the different worlds of cultural policy research ... are ... the torn halves that never add up to a whole; that research can be practical, or it can be critical, but it can never be both at the same time" (p.246). The cleft is stark but the more you explore the space, the deeper the fissure gets. And if cultural policy is indeed "the missing agenda" of cultural studies,

¹ The ASEAN-5 countries are Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand.

as Angela McRobbie (1996, p.335) declares it, then it would appear to be a divided agenda.

No matter the depth of the crevice, there is another side to this space and that is a shared commitment to furthering the possibilities of both halves of the field, a shared preference for an interdisciplinary approach to research and a shared optimism that out of the skirmishes in both principle and form might arise an intellectual vigor for the advancement of the discipline.

Another theme prevalent in this space relates to geography. The bulk of studies is conducted *in* and *for* Britain, Europe, and the United States. This scope can be anchored to the genesis of the field that is widely pinned down to at least two pivotal moments—the end of World War II and the 1959 founding of the French Ministry of Cultural Affairs. The narrow literature depicting how the concept of cultural policy was adopted and allowed to evolve in Asia, particularly in Southeast Asia, is the gap this study aims to humbly contribute toward. As the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2013) asserts, “Comparisons along the South-South axis are likely to be more conducive to productive mutual learning in the Global South than the importation of ready-made models from elsewhere” (p.35).

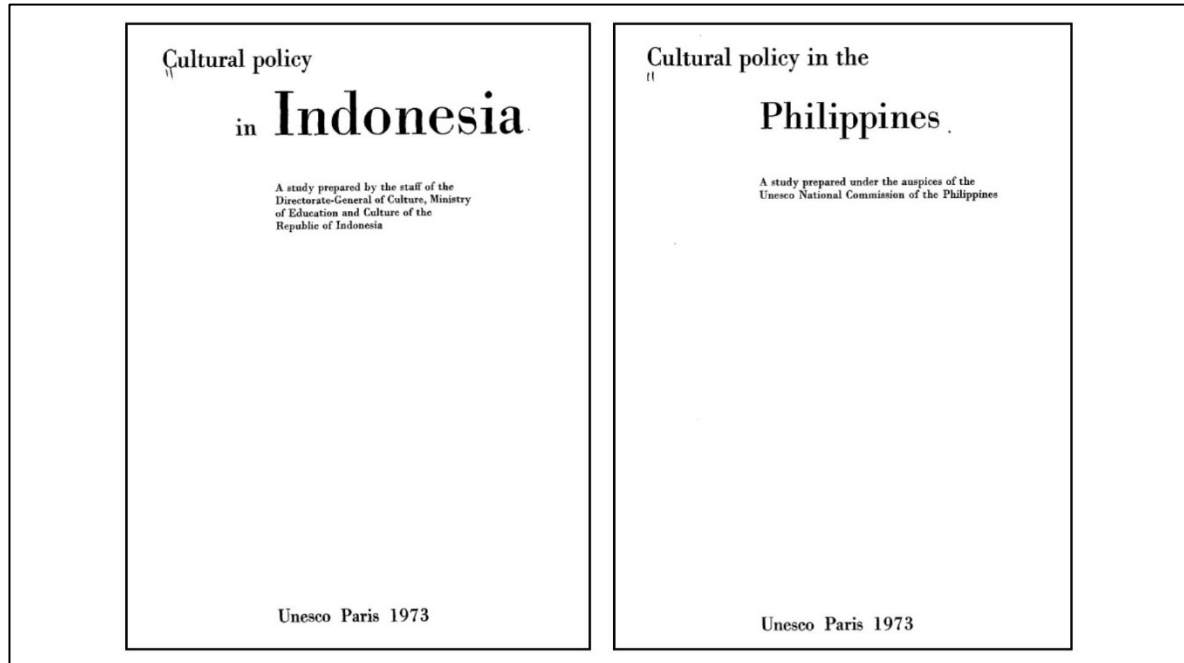
Refining the focus of the space to post-colonial Southeast Asia reveals a picture of nascent governments seizing what nationhood means, holding close their hard-fought independence and trying to re-establish what they have lost through identity-building. This cluster of nations, collectively labeled 南洋 by its northeastern neighbors (read Nanyang by the Chinese and Nan'yō by the Japanese), is grappling both with

the diversity they relinquished and, at the same time, incurred through latitudes and multitudes of imperialism. Language, art, religio-philosophical traditions, customs, belief systems—every facet of culture and, by extension, nationality was examined, sifted, and constructed before being carved into legalities. As Mulcahy (2017) points out, “The distinguishing characteristic of cultural policy in countries characterized by a legacy of coloniality is the importance of identity formation and the politics that are involved in formulating its definition” (p.237). Along these multiple points of cultural divergence and convergence is an enduring reality of a shared history that eventually grew to be a regional bloc, the ASEAN. In its 1967 Declaration is a purpose of note, “To accelerate the economic growth, social progress and *cultural development* in the region...,” ringing close to UNESCO’s (1969) recognition “that economic and social development should go hand in hand with *cultural development*” (p.10).

In this vein, when cultural policy started gaining traction as a policy sector in the 1960s, states in the region stood ready to take part. Two countries, in particular, decided to heed the call for the submission of a report on their respective cultural policies, Indonesia and the Philippines—Southeast Asian archipelagoes both in the third decade of their sovereignty.

This is how the study achieves its purview—encompassing two nations resolved to catch the global community off guard by submitting their national reports at an early stage. Both presented their policies in 1973 (see Figure 2), only four years after UNESCO published its preliminary study in 1969, fulfilling the timeframe for the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Asia held in Yogyakarta in December 1973.

Figure 2. Cultural policy reports submitted by Indonesia and the Philippines to UNESCO



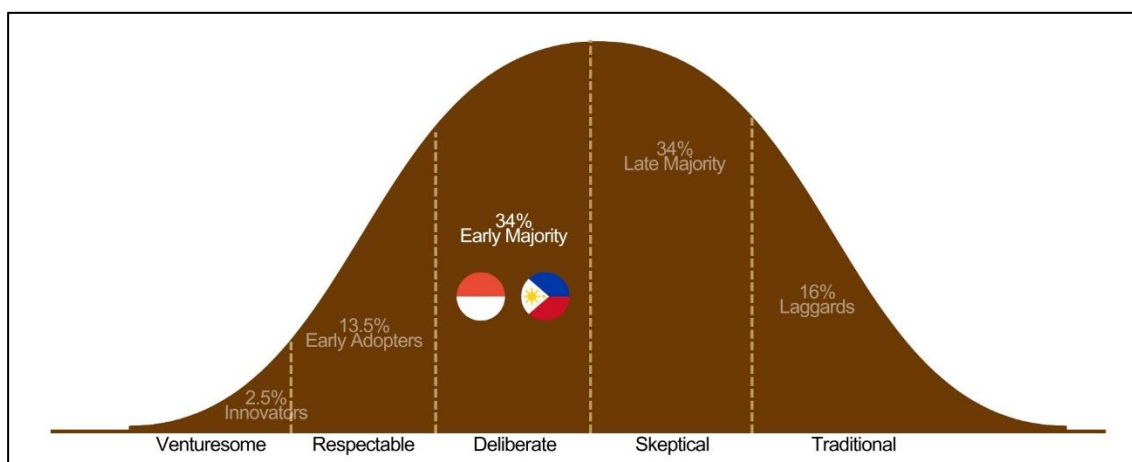
Source: UNESCO

As Alasuutari and Kangas (2020) revealed in their study,² of the 67 participating nations, Indonesia and the Philippines were considered part of the Early Majority (alongside 20 other countries) consonant with E.M. Rogers' Diffusion of Innovation Theory (see Figure 3). According to Rogers (1962), there are five adopter categories: (1) Innovators: Venturesome (the first 2.5%), (2) Early Adopters: Respectable (the next 13.5%), (3) Early Majority: Deliberate (the next 34%), (4) Late Majority: Skeptical (the next 34%), and (5) Laggards: Traditional (the remaining 16%). Of the Early Majority, he describes the group as those who "adopt new ideas just before the average member of a social system" (p.249). At its crux, what the study by Alasuutari and Kangas (2020) showed is that the spread of cultural policy differed from the conventional diffusion pattern (wherein developed nations adopt the innovation first

² See Alasuutari, P. & Kangas, A. (2020). The global spread of the concept of cultural policy. *Poetics*. Volume 82.

and developing nations followed), as proven by various developing countries presenting their reports alongside developed states at an early phase.

Figure 3. E.M. Rogers' Diffusion of Innovation Theory



Source: Author construct based on Rogers, E.M. (1983). *Diffusion of Innovations*, Third Edition. New York: The Free Press.

This finding is what advances the interest on the parallel decisions of Indonesia and the Philippines in preparing studies about their national cultural policies, especially given that both countries were under authoritarian rule at the time. Soeharto³ of Indonesia officially began his administration in 1968 but was already the Acting President after unseating Sukarno in 1967. In the Philippines, Ferdinand Marcos Sr. began his term in 1965 after winning against Diosdado Macapagal who was running for his second term. Soeharto was at Indonesia's helm for 30 years (until 1998), while Marcos Sr. held the Philippines' reins for 21 years (until 1986). And both presented their administrations as torchbearers of change. Soeharto implemented the *New Order* (Orde Baru) while Marcos Sr. established the *New Society* (Bagong Lipunan).

³ The spelling follows Romano's (2002) note in her book, *Politics and Press in Indonesia: Understanding an Evolving Political Culture*, that "There is often variation in the spelling of names of individuals, with Soeharto/Suharto the best-known example. The spelling of such names conforms, where applicable, to that in *Apa dan Siapa: Sejumlah Orang Indonesia 1985–1986* (Tempo & Grafitipers 1986), the Indonesian equivalent of *Who's Who*, and *Wajah Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia: Pemilihan Umum 1999* (Kompas 2000), a formal profile of members of Indonesia's parliament."

Another facet worthy of note is if Rogers' description of the Early Majority as *deliberate* holds true, then the active participation of the two strongmen of Southeast Asia in this arena may be surmised not only as a deliberate action towards solidifying nationhood (a post-colonial necessity), but also as a deliberate action toward not falling behind (a peer pressure tendency). To quote Alasuutari and Kangas (2020), "The first countries to produce those [national cultural policy] reports acted like bridgeheads for the flow of the concept of cultural policy in each region" (p.9).

Extracted from the specifics of their motivation, what at least can be supposed is that UNESCO's strides toward cultural policy were deemed neutral enough along the "Occident-Orient" axis to not be considered ominous. As it was set forth, the preliminary study emphasized its non-prescriptive nature: "Obviously, there cannot be *one* cultural policy suited to all countries; each Member State determines its own cultural policy according to the cultural values, aims, and choices it sets for itself" (UNESCO, 1969). This opened a wide berth of room for interpretation, subsequently allaying fears of alignment amid the ongoing cold war of the period. The importance placed on individuality (as nations) and of each state's prerogative to ascertain what constitutes culture in their respective territories led to highly engaged governments eager to present themselves as purveyors of art and culture.

Given the almost free rein accorded to participating nations, Indonesia and the Philippines established their own criteria for what passes as national identities in their territories. The focus on identity stems from the deemed civilizing effect of culture as being a shaper of it and of national identity's subsequent role as an emblem of

independence, a status of immense importance to post-colonial nations. The ideologies and principles favored by the governments were harnessed carefully through conceptions of what was accepted as culture. What then broadens the avenue for the examination, critique, and inquiry of their cultural policies are the array of impacts caused by their enactment to the citizens' idea of "Indonesianness" and "Filipinoness".

Review of Literature

Culture

Culture, as both word and concept, is notoriously problematic to define, and this is exemplified by academics and even UNESCO refraining to ascribe a specific meaning to it, though attempts to characterize the term have not been entirely abandoned. What the scholarly sphere has been able to agree upon is the two ways by which it can be understood, either through the anthropological lens or the sociological (aesthetic) lens. The former considers culture as "a marker of how we live our lives, the senses of place and person that make us human" (Miller & Yudice, 2002, p.1), while the latter considers it more exclusively as "explicit representations" (Rosenstein, 2018) or as "artistic output [which] emerges from creative people and is judged by aesthetic criteria" (ibid). In the same vein, the duality may be described as "custom and text, population and interpretation, number and *noumen*, organization and language, laboratory and library" (Durrer, Miller, & O'Brien, 2018, p.2).

This Kantian approach to understanding culture may also echo the infamous "torn halves of cultural policy research" (Bennett, 2004, p.246), the debate between critical and practical. The anthropological perspective veers more toward critical in the

sense that it “looks through the lens of the values, beliefs, norms and ways of thinking and being that make up culture” (Rosenstein, 2018, p.9) which serves as a fertile ground for theory building. On the other hand, the sociological perspective gravitates toward practical in the sense that culture is seen as “symbols, stories, rituals” (Swidler, 1986, p.273) which are “actively produced, distributed, consumed, preserved, and legitimized in a variety of ways” (Rosenstein, 2018, p.9) which then serves as metrics for policies.

This inquiry, given its critical leanings, will delve more into how culture is harnessed in political systems. Culture as the zeitgeist of the era under investigation. Culture as a creation of both language and history. Culture as a bearer of political ideations in a post-colonial world where social cohesion is being forged in the aftermath of war and where “the working-out of the idea of culture is a slow reach again for control” (Williams, 1960, p.314). Culture became our way to understand who we were, who we are, and who we want to be after sovereignty, and in which ways do we want to introduce this understanding to the world. To further quote Raymond Williams (1960), “We project our old images into the future, and take hold of ourselves and others to force energy towards that substantiation. We do this as conservatives, trying to prolong old forms; we do this as socialists, trying to prescribe the new man” (p.356). Hence, the building of a sieve through policies that will enable chosen parts of the past to become highlights of the present, and the weaving of a history to establish a common source for the new 20th century Indonesian and Filipino.

As an attempt to rebalance the scale from the instrumental logic of culture wherein it is reduced to measurements of production and consumption, as simply

another form of commodity in an increasingly globalized world, it would be beneficial to explore its ritual logic as well, to go back to prior discernments of the civilizing or transformative nature of culture and how it was harnessed by political regimes. As Royseng (2008) emphasized, “As social researchers we must be willing to focus on how modern society creates and reproduces its sacral aspects” (p.12). And the “ideological arguments and developmental imperatives that couple cultural sovereignty with political independence” (Mulcahy, 2017, p.239) are important facets of this sacrality.

Policy

To not overlook the intrinsic value of culture is a road paved with good intentions, but to completely set aside instrumentality in the process is simply imprudent. As Bell and Oakley (2015) emphasized, “policy is, by definition, instrumental, in that its aim is to achieve change. Expecting cultural policy to be somehow different seems a misunderstanding of how public policy works” (p.59). The conundrum within the field is the extent and clout of instrumentality (i.e., how much is too much?). Where and how does one draw the line between detrimental gatekeeping and a complete sell-out of culture to public purview is the pinnacle of the tug of war between scholars and policymakers. To echo Nisbett (2013), “Instrumentalism is not rejected by those within the cultural institutions ... All policies are expected to achieve something or relate to something, and policy inherently involves Government; otherwise, there would be no policy” (p.566). This acknowledgement is not only a testament to the point that culture cannot exist in a vacuum, but also an understanding that culture, being the “record of our meanings and our definitions” (Williams, 1960,

p.314), is both polysemic and a source of polysemy. At its base, it is a concept with common ownership and, thus, needs a particular amount of organization and direction.

This is where policy, as an “organizing construct through which some arena of governing is conceptualized, organized, and enacted” (Rosenstein, 2018, p.14), is brought to light. Policy, therefore, is more than just a program of actions through which power and authority are implemented. It is an approach to problem solving. The very idea of policies is that they are exacted by necessity. Real concerns and pressing issues are its motivation and intent. In a rather candid description, Miller and Yudice (2002) explains that “performativity, rather than constativity, characterizes policy, and it is frequently made on the run, in response to unpredictable pressures” (p.2). Despite the often ad hoc nature of policy, its authority being “founded in transparent rationality” (Durrer, Miller, & O’Brien, 2018, p.3) does provide one avenue “to think about governing” (Dean, 2010, p.24).

Cultural policy then, in its classic definition, “is what governments at various scales choose to do or not to do in relation to culture” (Dye, 2013, p.2). And to understand the gamut of these activities is to, once again, consider a binary—on one end, there is regulation of culture (e.g., protection, censorship, ownership) and on the other, promotion of culture (e.g., patronage, state funding). Another perspective by which this can be approached is the government’s *proximity* to culture or its level of control—that can be “an indirect one, which operates through regulation, taxation, and incentives, particularly of business and markets; and [a] more formal, direct cultural production” (Durrer, Miller & O’Brien, 2018, p.3).

Given that government activities related to culture do not fall neatly into one field but crosses disciplines, it naturally follows that these scholarly thresholds will undertake analyses differently. Gray (2010) identified three broad methodological approaches to examining cultural policies: positivist for economics, interpretivist for cultural studies, and realist for sociology and political science.⁴ Building upon this, Bell and Oakley (2015) divided cultural policy research into four categories: as discourse (explorations of cultural policy as a discursive formation); as text (linguistic or literary analysis); as process (exploring the nuances of managing culture); and as practice (building of data for audit and comparability).⁵ This study will approach cultural policy as discourse with general queries such as “what is culture understood to be for, how is it organized so as to produce particular effects, who propagates this understanding and through what means?” (Bell & Oakley, 2015, p.63).

Nation

Culture can be considered as one half of nation's definition, the other half being will or consent (i.e., willed cohesion to belong to a group). But to understand culture's role in the concept of *nation* is to first understand the relationship between *nation* and *nationalism*. Most people assume that the *nation* is what gave birth to *nationalism*. In this assumption, the approach is more primordial, but there is more than one way to understand this connection. Gellner (2006) states that “the great, but valid, paradox is this: nations can be defined only in terms of the age of nationalism ... it is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way around” (p.55). Hence, we turn to the ways nationalism employs culture. In this light, culture undergoes careful selection and

⁴ See Gray, C. (2010). Analysing cultural policy: incorrigibly plural or ontologically incompatible? *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. 16:2. p.215.

⁵ See Bell, D. & Oakley, K. (2015). *Cultural Policy*. Routledge. p.63-70.

often radical transformation. The chosen cultural fragments, which are often reinvented folk culture, is homogenized, and centralized to a high culture status and then standardized through education, creating a common bedrock of provenance and, by extension, legitimacy. The *state* then becomes the natural paladin of the high culture as well as the educational system that instituted it.

The emphasis on *state* in the previous statement is crucial as *nation* and *state* need to be differentiated as well. According to Article 1 of the Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States “The State as a person of international law should possess the following qualifications: (a) a permanent population; (b) a defined territory; (c) government; and (d) capacity to enter into relations with the other States.” Nation, on the other hand, is harder to define, but for this study, the anthropological definition offered by Anderson (2006) is what will be utilized, and that is nation as “an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (p.6). These two descriptions converge on three points, both *state* and *nation* have people, territory, and authority. Whereas the *state* highlights international relations, the *nation* is more concerned with identity and culture. The *state* does not regulate *nationhood* because aspects of community building is deemed internal and, therefore, not another state’s concern—the principle of non-intervention is invoked. Stated another way, “a state is an apparatus of governance, and a nation is a cultural community” (Nimni, 2007, p.55).

Building further upon this distinction, *statehood* is what’s needed to forge alliances and networks in a world that is not only increasingly globalized but also progressively regionalized. *State-building*, then, is concerned with rectifying

dysfunctional and ineffective structures, institutions, and systems to be considered eligible for participation in the international arena. *Nationhood*, on the contrary, is what's needed for the people to willingly accept the authority or agency of the government. *Nation-building*, then, is aimed at resolving the absence of social cohesion and sense of belonging in order to build legitimacy for those in positions of power. Bringing Williams' (1960) words into this context, "The acceptance in bad faith is a matter for the law, although we have not yet gone very far in working out this necessary common control. The acceptance in good faith, on the other hand, is a matter of culture" (p.323).

Focusing on the notion of *nation-building* and its reliance on the process of identification, two facets of identity come into view—one through citizenship and one through nationalism. "If we agree that the sovereignty of the people is the founding principle of the nation—without this a nation has no existential legitimacy—any theory of nation-building must start by putting people center stage" (Grotenhuis, 2016, p.59). Citizenship, subsequently, becomes the pragmatic translation of this sovereignty. People understand that as citizens, they are entitled not just to rights but also responsibilities—what Poole (1999) terms as "moral agenda" or "special obligations" that individuals have to other members of the nation.⁶ Identity through the prism of nationalism, on the other hand, is better understood when we heed Gellner's (1964) cautioning that "nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist" (p.168). Granted that nation does not beget nationalism, nationalism remains as an emerging to a certain kind of consciousness. And if "all profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them

⁶ See Poole, R. (1999). *Nation and Identity*. London: Routledge. p.63.

characteristic amnesias” (Anderson, 2006, p.204), then it is out of these spaces of forgetting or obscurities that an inception of personhood and, by extension, nationhood is allowed to arise, but because it cannot be fully remembered, it must be imaginatively narrated instead.

National Cultural Policy

Culture is compelled into assisting the state define the nation. It serves as a repertoire of furnishings and materials that can help construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct narratives that the people of the state can identify with, therefore building a connected community armed with a handful of stories about their national identity. If nations are inventions, then the identities inscribed within are fictions, as in convictions that cater more to the imagination than reality. Albeit fictions with a scattering of historical bases, but fictions, nonetheless. Cultural policy’s role, then, is to serve as an instrument addressing the need to explain and assert the nation to itself. Going further, it can be said that “at the heart of national cultural policy is a particular form of instrumentalism: the use of culture to create, and continually reiterate, national identity” (Bell & Oakley, 2015, p.112).

Culture provides the structure for the symbiotic relationship between national identity and cultural policy, wherein national identity is both cultivated by and cultivator of cultural policy and vice versa. Cultural policy takes on the role of becoming a beacon or an indicator for national character, in that the very act of harnessing or enacting national cultural policy serves as a testament for not only culture, and the identity it’s supposed to cohere into being, but the state itself—a description also akin to Raymond Williams’ (1984) comment on the state’s propensity to utilize culture for purposes of

“national aggrandizement” (p.2). If “to understand the cultural politics of a country, one must first understand its political culture” (Ridley, 1987, p.225), then a closer look at how cultural policies and cultural policy systems come into being can help shed light on the government-culture spectrum, and why a myriad of relationships exists, such as some governments putting culture front and center in their policy innovations while others place it on the backseat of their priorities.

How expansive is the role of the state in matters falling under the cultural purview? Bell and Oakley (2015) simplified the possibilities into three main functions: “(i) control, sensor, and prohibit forms of cultural expression, (ii) provide forms of protection for national culture, and (iii) promote national culture and enlist culture in broader national promotion” (p.126). These functions have been mapped in varying magnitudes and styles employing different considerations in every attempt, but perhaps the most recognized and used schema would still be Chartrand and McCaughey’s (1989) fourfold typology of arts patronage (see Table 2). This typology may be problematically “too Western” given its model countries, but it would still be a point of interest to know where Indonesia and the Philippines fall in the categories and how they moved, if they moved, from one classification to another, especially as seen from the lenses of the study’s chosen cultural institutions. As is well accepted in the field of cultural studies currently, the borders of these divisions are about as porous as pre-agrarian societies, and very few states fit into one group completely and decidedly.

Table 2*Models of National Support for the Arts*

Role of the state	Model country	Policy objective	Funding system
Facilitator	USA	Diversity	Tax exemption
Patron	UK	Excellence	Arm's-length arts councils
Architect	France	Social welfare	Ministry of culture
Engineer	Soviet Union	Political education	Ownership of means of artistic production

Source: Bell and Oakley, 2015 (derived from Chartrand and McCaughey, 1989, p.116)

Outside the rigors of categorization of government interventions lies a common premise reminiscent of Max Weber's (1978) explanation on the state's claim to "the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order," (p.54) and that "culture is central to authority's mission of preventing anarchy by helping to design the modern person, the liberal individual" (Miller & Yudice, 2002, p.9-10). Order is to be maintained by forming "new people" through exposure to the civilizing effects of art and culture—an aesthetic transcendence. This new breed of culturally specific people, streamlined to homogeneity through cultural policy's suggested behavior and the state's standardized education, as well as standardized taste, is expected to legitimize and materialize the identity of the nation.

ARMATURE

Theoretical Framework

Foucault's Governmentality

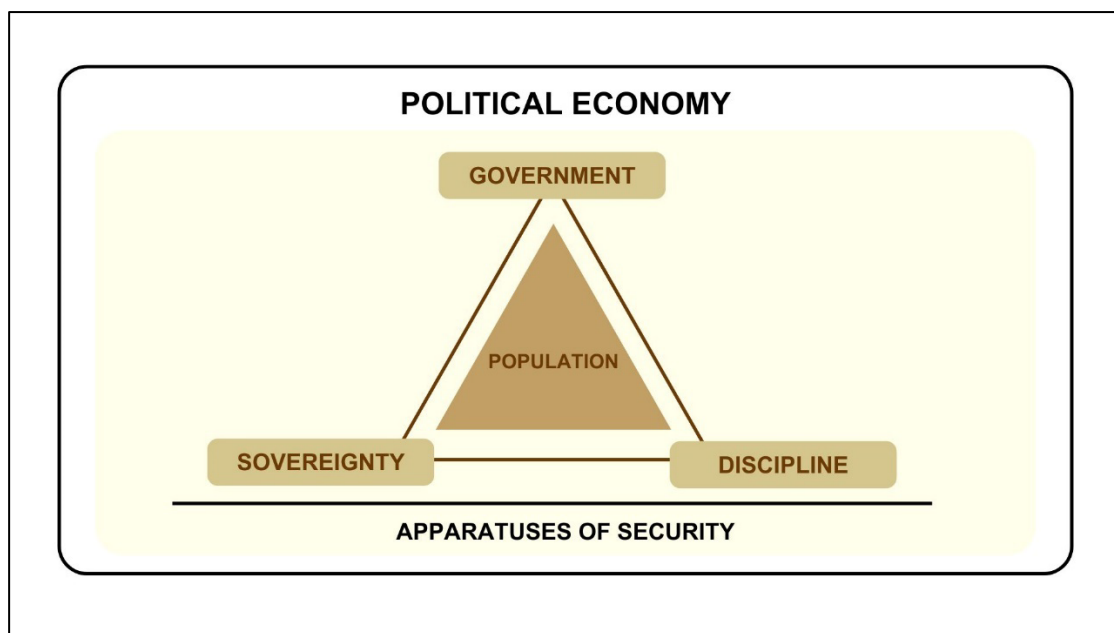
Bell and Oakley (2015), as well as Wang (2004), caution that it is important to contemplate national cultural policy *relationally*, rather than comparatively.⁷ This is to account for the accepted similarities and innate differences (e.g., countries working within a post-colonial context but bear distinct colonial experiences) that have brought nations to being and, by extension, their respective policies. The parallels between Indonesia and the Philippines in the period being investigated are stark and palpable, and in order to anchor the exploration of their convergences and divergences in this domain, an overarching framework was employed—that is, Foucault's perspectives on governmentality.

Foucault's insights on governmentality are copiously drawn from the works of Guillaume de La Perrière, a French writer. Perrière (1567) put forward the statement "government is the right disposition of things, arranged so as to lead to a convenient end" (as cited in Foucault, 1978, p.93). Building on this, Foucault steered the political *savoir* from the type of governing solely reliant on laws, which he deemed Machiavellian, to a type "employing tactics rather than laws, and even using laws themselves as tactics," (p.95) which he termed political economy. He termed the main mechanisms or the essential technical means underpinning this perspective as apparatuses of security. Another shift that he pointed out is the yielding of family to population. Population becomes the fundamental end and target of government, and

⁷ See Bell, D. & Oakley, K. (2015). Cultural Policy. Routledge. p.130. And Wang, J. (2004). The Global Reach of a New Discourse: How Far Can 'Creative Industries' Travel? International Journal of Cultural Studies. 7(1). p.12.

family is relegated to being an aspect of population and, therefore, an instrument in its governing. It is also at this juncture that he highlights the importance of discipline (to manage population in both its capaciousness and particularities) and sovereignty (as a concept exercised on the territory occupied by a population), (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Foucault's Governmentality



Source: Author's construct based on Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller. Chicago: Chicago University Press. p.102.

Foucault delineates governmentalities as the particular rationalities of government discernible at any one point in time or as the discourses that support the logic of power employed by government. Discourses, for Foucault, are the foundation of knowledge and power. They are not just ways of speaking, but also ways of acting that are almost always held together by a particular set of relations.⁸ Synthesized by Jones (2005), "Rationalities of government are discursive formations—combinations

⁸ See Foucault, M. (1984). *The Foucault reader*, ed. P. Rabinow. New York: Vintage Books. p.383.

of discourses held together by sets of relations that produce a certain network of material relations” (p.26).

Culture, given its intrinsic trait of being tied with notions of group and individual identity, is considered a form of governmentality facilitating the targeting of populations. Its deep embedment in people’s lives conceives it as a nexus inextricably linked to power relations that hems in society. Cultural policy, then, becomes the operationalization of the state’s conjectures on culture.

As may be deduced, Foucault’s concepts of power and governmentality provide a broad approach, the state as an entity provides a broad base, and culture as a lens provide a broad scope. In sharpening the focus of this study, I hereby concur with Jones’ (2005) assertion that:

The state as a whole would be an unwieldy unit of analysis within a Foucaultian framework. It is too large, too fragmented and caught in so many relations of power that detailed analysis would be rendered near impossible. Instead, Foucault suggests that analysing power relations is best done by ‘focussing on carefully defined institutions’ (1982, p. 222). Institutions are the sites at which governmental rationalities meet, intertwine, disagree, are translated into technologies and applied to subjects. Translated back into policy terms, focusing on a particular institution provides an insight into how the development and application of policy is contingent on the operations of a particular combination of power relations in that institution and links those relations together with broader historical movements. (p.27)

Bennett’s Museum

The cultural institutions chosen for this study are Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (hereafter referred to as Taman Mini) and Nayong Pilipino. Underpinning the investigation of these two parks are Tony Bennett’s postulations on the public museum within the Foucaultian ecosystem.

Bennett's discussions on the public museum typically encompass three zones. He considers it as "a space of emulation, in which the folk might learn civilized forms of behavior from their social betters; a space of representation, staging cultural performances in such ways as to educate the folk into a set of tastes; and a space of observation, which ... constantly reminds the visitor to monitor his/her conduct" (p.24). These three zones undeniably overlap and are enmeshed with each other as they materialize within institutions, but this study will be primarily hinged upon the second notion which concerns the pedagogic approach of representation.

The apparent may be addressed at this point: that is, Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino are public parks, not public museums. For which I argue that Bennett's principles on the public museum are just as useful for examining cultural parks as they are also a crossroad for intervention, depiction, and curation made accessible to the public. In the same way that "museums produced a position of power and knowledge in relation to a microcosmic reconstruction of a totalized order of things and peoples" (Bennett, 1995, p.97), so do cultural parks educate and inform visitors by bringing forth an encapsulation of their respective nations. Taman Mini, at its opening, boasted the representation of Indonesia's 26 provinces. In the same vein, when Nayong Pilipino opened, it showed off the Philippines through the rendering of six chosen regions.

Bennett's philosophy is also symbolic of the governmental shift that started in the 18th century, wherein the nation was no longer viewed as the king's land but as the people's territory—the state. The king is stripped of his absolute and undisputed authority, and the state having taken its place in governing is imbued with an inherent

need for legitimacy and for people to accept the government's authority. The logic of power, divested of its earlier bearings, now finds itself wielded in tactics. As part of a larger network of cultural institutions, "the museum—addressing the people as a public, as citizens—aimed to inveigle the general populace into complicity with power by placing them on this side of a power which it represented to it as its own" (Bennett, 1995, p.95).

In regarding the people as citizens, nations are implored to anchor citizenship upon a foundation of sameness, to construct a "we" feeling that will conjure a cohesive nation. Given this necessity, "the recent past was historicized as the newly emerging nation-states sought to preserve and immemorialize their own formation as a part of that process of 'nationing' their populations that was essential to their further developments" (Bennett, 1995, p.76). The nation's identity was conceived from the *amnesias*, as Anderson (2006) puts it, intrinsic to the shift in consciousness propagated by the deteriorating hold of colonialism and the gravity of reacquainting oneself (as nations) with heritage and tradition.⁹

Situating the Impetus of the Study

Staying within Foucault's and Bennett's umbrella, the placing of the populace on the side of power portrayed as their own is by no means a fully democratic movement. What transpired in practical terms is a forging of a permeating responsibility—the responsibility of culture. The state, in the case of post-colonial nations, considered itself the bridge between the old imperial realm and that of the

⁹ See Anderson, B.R.O. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Revised Edition). Verso. p.204.

modern world. The state took upon itself the obligation of allowing to emerge the *authentic* identities of its people, prescribing the forms culture will take through rigorously defined institutions. This was one of the ways power was utilized in the era of governments—teaching citizens of a common past which will situate them in the present and inform their conduct and perception in the future—a progression almost akin to a reworking of Gramsci’s concept of hegemony.

The state’s commitment to culture is reflected in the following declarations adduced from the national reports of Indonesia and the Philippines:

The government shall develop national culture, referred to as a culture which expresses the personality and vitality of the entire people of Indonesia.
(Cultural Policy in Indonesia, UNESCO, 1973, p.10)

Filipino culture shall be preserved and developed for national identity. Arts and letters shall be under the patronage of the State.
(Cultural Policy in the Philippines, UNESCO, 1973, p.11)

The image being composed at the time is that of the incomplete man. The incomplete man as the general public—boorish, coarse, and uncouth. Western civilizations addressed this predicament by creating supervised public spaces (such as museums and parks) where: (1) the public may be exposed to the civilizing effects of curated art, thereby streamlining their taste in aesthetics to mimic those of the upper classes; and (2) the proletariat can co-mingle with the bourgeois and learn by imitation, the tenets of good manners and right conduct—“a lesson in civics” as Bennett (1995, p.69) would describe. Translated in post-colonial Southeast Asia, the incomplete man is not just the public who happened to be rough around the edges, he is also someone

who has no recollection of his past because of centuries of foreign rule and therefore needs to be educated of his own history and ancestry. An imaginative depiction by Bennett (1995) makes this point clear, “Like all the king’s horses and all the king’s men, the museum is engaged in a constant historical band-aid exercise in seeking to put back together the badly shattered human subject” (p.39).

Culture, specifically high culture, is enlisted by the state to help create the complete man—adept in history, modern in outlook, and refined in taste. High culture, as previously discussed, is often reinvented folk culture made to fit the demands of modernity. This enlistment envisions the civilizing of the population through normative diffusion.

Utilizing high culture to prescribe the new man, or in the case of this study the new Indonesian and the new Filipino, also serves as an arm’s length approach to managing the diversity present in both countries. Indonesia comprises more than 17,000 islands with more than 1,000 recognized ethnic groups. The Philippines, on the other hand, comprises more than 7,000 islands with more than a hundred ethnolinguistic groups. Diversity is a genetically embedded truth in the fate of both nations. What I refer to as arm’s length approach to management is the way the state, by prescribing a definitive set of aesthetics and taste across the population, moves the reality of pluralism from the political field to the cultural sphere. Stripped of its political content, pluralism becomes more acquiescent and therefore less prone to animosity and dissent. Taste and aesthetics, therefore, “provides an alternative value register to ethnicity and religion” (Jones, 2005, p.44). A further illustration of this point is expounded by Miller and Yudice (2002):

An aesthetic of truth and beauty is, as per Kant, the internal monitor within each person that provides a collective, national, categorical imperative. Its very ethos of singular appreciation becomes, ironically, a connecting chord of national harmony, binding individual goals to an implied national unity. (p.10)

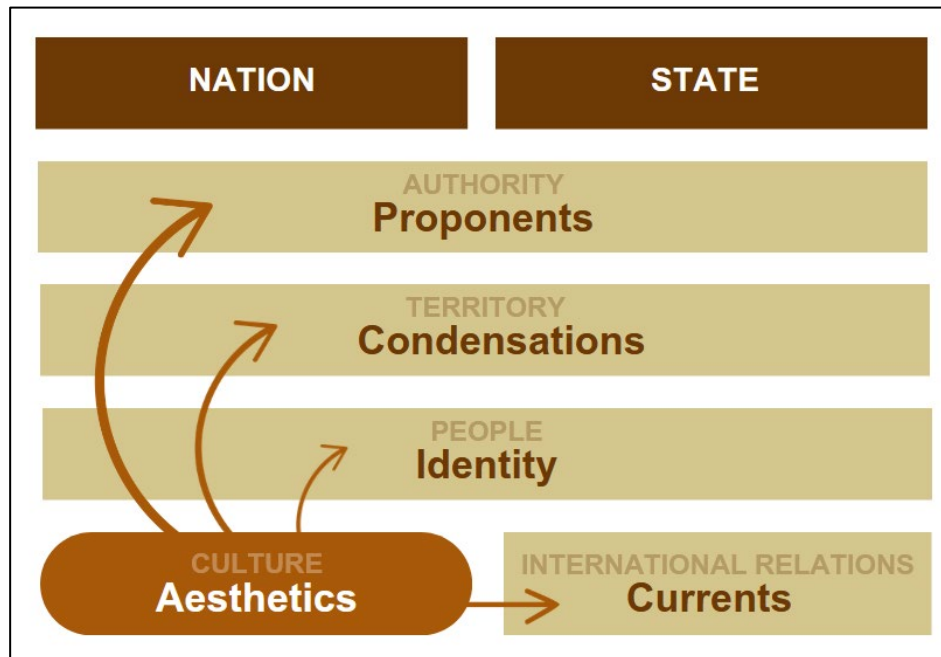
Exploring the sinew of aesthetics to transcend class, ethnicity, and diversity as well as forge unity and identity within the chosen spaces are what propels the study.

Objectives

1. Analyze the milieus that propagated the idea for Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino.
 - a. How was culture employed as an apparatus of the state by Indonesia and the Philippines?
 - b. What are the driving factors behind the establishment of these parks?
 - c. Who are the main proponents of these parks and what roles did they play in their establishment?
2. Examine the clout of cultural prescription represented in Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino.
 - a. How effective were the authoritarian leaderships in helping build a national culture and a national identity?
 - b. How nuanced was the representation exhibited in these parks?
 - c. How did these parks prescribe the states' preferred identities to its citizens?

Conceptual Framework

Figure 5. Conceptual Framework



The main concept used to anchor the breadth of the study is the notion of nation-state. As previously discussed, the constructs of nation and state converge on three points, namely authority, territory, and people, and diverge in regard of the nation concerning itself with culture and the state tending to international relations. Culture and how it interacts with the other four constructs within the parks will be the inclination of the study. Further, the rationale behind the reduced transparency of these words in the graphical presentation is the reality that they are too broad (on their own and even more so as a group) to undertake effective critical analysis and therefore needs refinement in focus. The identified subcategories within each domain are the words in full opacity.

First is authority. “Proponents” was the category selected for this domain to elucidate the similar threads behind the genesis of the parks. Both Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino were the brainchildren of the First Ladies of both countries Siti

Hartinah Soeharto of Indonesia and Imelda Marcos of the Philippines. Both women were not just motivated to have these parks made, they were emphatic that they be finished to serve as cultural validation for their nations. The study, therefore, has looked into the efforts they've put in and the creative resources they've tapped into in order to make these parks a reality—the achievement of which reinforced the shroud of power that their husbands' administrations invoked.

Second is territory. “Condensations” was identified given that both parks intended to encapsulate their respective archipelagoes by way of construction. In the case of Indonesia, it is a pavilion representative of each province. Then in the Philippines, it not only included houses but also replicas of landmarks from each chosen region. Despite the allure of fastening the analysis on the accuracy of style employed in the replicas' construction (i.e., whether they gave justice to the sources and original inspirations from which they were based), the study delved more on macro-aspects such as location, layout, sequence, space allotment, and intention which exhibited how the cultural preferences of each regime were built into the park.

Third is people. “Identity” was chosen given that both regimes endorsed a specific set of characteristics or criteria representative of the nation's identity. Put another way, clear parameters were set to delineate what separates an Indonesian and a Filipino from other civilizations in the world. Identity, as has already been construed, is of immense importance to post-colonial states as it is symbolic of not just their capacity for independent governance but also of their place within the global community. These parameters have been gleaned from how the parks were

envisioned, how they were equipped to educate the proletariats of their ancestries, and how they represented their nationals to foreign visitors.

Fourth is international relations. The term “currents” was chosen to represent the shifts and tides not just within nations, but also across nations, that may have influenced the cultural strides both states have undertaken during this period. In a time where the advantages of globalization were already being recognized and the call for regionalization was no longer an abstract invitation but a reality in action—culture, amid competing pulls of political and economic priorities, was viewed as a pivotal component of the Indonesian and Filipino governments. The currents that drove Soeharto and Ferdinand Marcos Sr. to prioritize culture and support their wives’ cultural projects was the angle that took precedence here.

Fifth and last is culture. The nexus and chain of this inquiry. Within this purview, “aesthetics” was the chosen tribute—aesthetics as the unifying chord that can overlook, even if only superficially, the divisions and diversity embedded inside nations. How are both countries represented not just to its people but to the international community? Beyond the objective logic of laws, how are national identities of people mandated? Having transitioned into a phase where governance needs legitimacy, how is power and influence conveyed within society? Representation, identity, and power sharpen taste and hone aesthetics, leading to a singular state of preference a person can call his own without establishing immediate connections that rather than having willed it by himself, he was, through exposure and instruction, willed into it—a governmentality successfully employed.

Scope and Limitations

Demarcations on the study's ambit have been alluded to in previous sections given the deductive way the discussions were structured. To make explicit the scope of the study, its focus will be the analysis of Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino as parts of a set of state-sponsored cultural institutions tasked with streamlining the aesthetics of its people, transcending, in the process, the diversity inherent in both countries.

Spatially, the examination was limited to the pavilions created of the provinces of Indonesia, for Taman Mini, and the facsimile structures of the regions of the Philippines, for Nayong Pilipino. Other edifices within both parks, such as halls, museums, and other amenities have been tackled as well but only marginally. This is to bring to the fore connections and motivations behind the building of scaled representations of countries as pedagogic tools for both its citizens and the world at large. Additionally, critiquing of the employed architecture styles in each replica will be beyond the scope of this study as that will entail a longer and more nuanced engagement, not just with the parks itself, but also with each of the cultures from whence they were rooted.

Temporally, the study only included affairs, developments, and points of convergences and divergences that revolved around the opening of the two parks under analysis: 1975 for Taman Mini and 1970 for Nayong Pilipino respectively. The justification for this is that temporally extending the range to present time will involve expanding other facets as well, such as mapping the cultural policies and predilections of each presidency that followed Soeharto, for Indonesia, and Marcos Sr., for the Philippines; tracing political issues, territorial disputes, and geopolitical occurrences

whose dominance and repercussions were translated inevitably to the locations and physical structures of the parks; and other factors germane to the changing hands of governments.

Significance of the Study

The relevance of Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino continues to the present. Taman Mini's doors remain open to the public to this day and while Nayong Pilipino's journey has not been as smooth, plans to re-open the park remain concrete. Without delving into critical exactitudes, a premise may be made—that despite having spent decades in sovereignty, there is still an urge for cultural representation, an eagerness to learn about diversity in a safe space, and a clamor to have national identities within grasp. What this study offers to be is a bridge or a vantage point. By understanding what brought these parks into being and what they sought to accomplish in its citizens, a reflective wave may begin its course, one that is focused on how identities have shifted, how diversity is perceived, and how culture has evolved after both nations' excursions with time. Furthermore, the use of the combined perspective of Foucault's Governmentality and Bennett's Museum as theoretical framework serves as a contribution to the field of Aseanology and provides another springboard from which other studies and curiosities may emanate.

In line with specifics, this analysis will be of benefit to the following:

Students. Scholars of ASEAN and Southeast Asia, as well as scholars who want to learn more about ASEAN and Southeast Asia, will find the results of this study

informative in setting a historical foundation for the purview of culture in the region with its ties to politics.

Professionals. Specialists and academics in the fields of ASEAN studies, art history, cultural policy, and political philosophy will find merit in the study's critical analysis of how states, by way of cultural institutions, centralized aesthetics to propagate identity amid diversity.

Government officials. Despite the critical leanings of the study, the findings lend practical use in serving as theoretical and historical basis for current policy decisions and directions. It, thus, provides an academic and logical basis for public servants assigned to cultural offices and organizations.

Researchers. The analysis of Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino within the context of identity and aesthetics offers a fertile ground for further study across disciplines. The multitudes of ways the determinations of this study can be employed add depth and dimension to current understandings of culture.

PRAXIS

Research Method

This qualitative inquiry leaned toward social historical research given that this type of examination is mostly undertaken for one or more of the following reasons: “to uncover the unknown; to answer particular questions; to seek implications or relationships of events from the past and their connections with the present; to assess past activities and accomplishments of individuals, agencies, or institutions; and to

generally aid in our understanding of human culture” (Lune & Berg, 2017, p.159). The fit was ascertained on account of the study’s purpose to understand the facets, elements, and developments that contributed to the advent of Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino, and how the implications from these parallel affairs gain traction and relevance to the present. And also, of my intention to “fashion a descriptive written account of the past ... a narrative account, [that] at its best, is flowing, revealing, vibrant, and alive!” (Lune & Berg, 2017, p.158).

The goal was not to conjure mere nostalgia over these specific events but to capture nuances and interpretations within the context of history. After all, “Historical research seeks to offer theoretical explanations for various historical events” (ibid). Hence, when discussing the methods that may be employed when undertaking social history, Lune and Berg (2017) assert that “all are informed by a theory or theories that provide a set of parameters that focus on asking about history as it unfolds, particularly the relationship between people, events, phenomena, and the historical situations that create history” (p.159). Thus, the study was envisioned to be a historical narrative of the interplay of aesthetics and politics as it unfolded in Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino, analyzed within the theoretical frameworks of Foucault and Bennett.

Data Collection

The data collected to address the objectives of the study emanated from two thresholds: (1) documents and (2) interviews. It should be noted, though, that documents were the primary source of data for this study and the interviews only worked to support the documentary findings.

The main part, documentary research, is described by Connaway and Powell (2010) as the “putting together in a logical fashion [of] the evidence derived from documents or records” (p.252). Within this study, those sources were official documents (e.g., UNESCO records, government publications and reports, speeches), biographies of the parks’ proponents, academic papers or journals tackling the artistic and cultural ramifications of the chosen sites, and news articles about Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino.

The sources mentioned were either primary or secondary in nature. Primary sources are considered as “social artefacts of the periods in question, produced in a particular time and place which therefore contain glimpses into that world” (Lune & Berg, 2017, p.161). Secondary sources, on the other hand, are “documents written or objects created by others that relate to a specific research question or area of research interest” (ibid). Despite the initial expediency to favor primary sources given that they “represent the data which lie closest to the historical event” (Connaway & Powell, 2010, p.248), it is neither possible nor desirable in social historical research for previous theoretical applications and conceptual developments are most often found in secondary sources. Again, to quote Connaway and Powell (2010, p.249), “By synthesizing the existing research literature, secondary sources help to round out the setting or fill in the gaps between primary sources of information.”

For this study, it is worth mentioning that the bulk of documents reviewed and analyzed for Taman Mini was mostly academic journals and scholarly articles, while for Nayong Pilipino, due to it being understudied, the narratives were largely constructed from official publications, biographies, and news articles.

Another criteria worth mentioning is that the documentary sources considered for this study are those written in English. Understandably, this posed immediate concerns on inclusivity especially since *Bahasa Indonesia* and *Filipino* are the respective national languages of the states concerned. The main justification for this is one of the mentioned qualifications for a state and also, one of the facets of the study—that is, international relations. The analysis was not undertaken within the national vacuums of Indonesia and the Philippines. It involved drifts and currents in both the regional and global spheres that contributed to the establishment of Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino. Add to this the projections of both countries as to how these parks represented their territories to the international community and contributed to their global standing as nation-states. English, as the appointed language of international relations and as the working language of ASEAN, then becomes a natural intersection for these factors. The list of main documents reviewed per section of the findings entitled Precipitates is attached as Appendix III.

For the supplementary part, Lune and Berg (2017) consider interview as “an especially effective method of collecting information for certain types of research and ... for addressing certain types of assumptions. Particularly when investigators are interested in understanding the perceptions of participants or learning how participants come to attach certain meanings to phenomena or events, interviewing provides a useful means of access” (p.70). In the case of this study, the focus is not only on the meanings attached to Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino but also on the origins and manifestations of these meanings.

Specifically, the study utilized expert interviews and was mainly applied for assessment and aggregation (the other two main applications for this method are anticipation and affirmation).¹⁰ Christian von Soest (2022) describes assessment as the way experts, through sharing their judgement on political and social processes, analytically reconstruct an event or set of events, while aggregation as an application similar to assessment but tends to be more descriptive.¹¹ The experts then are able to provide the “‘big picture,’ meaning the assessment of processes and events as well as the aggregation of various sources” (von Soest, 2022, p.280). Moving to who can be considered experts, they are described as having “specific knowledge about an issue, development, or event” (ibid, p.278) or as “carrier[s] of deep knowledge of the research subject” (Libakova & Sertakova, 2014, p.117).

Expert interviews are usually conducted using a “non-standardized interview in which the question formulations and the order of the questions are non-binding” but at the same time, for its conduct, having an interview “guide ensures that all important aspects are addressed” (Monke, 2007, p.14). Given this, the method leans more toward the conduct of a semi-standardized interview which was the one employed to take advantage of the structure provided by a set of pre-determined questions and the freedom to expound on certain points and topics. The interviews took place either synchronously or asynchronously in web-based environments. Despite the preference toward the conduct of synchronous interviews via Zoom, as this has been deemed most practical and appropriate given that the target interviewees are based in different countries and time zones, the interviewees were also given the discretion to opt for an

¹⁰ See von Soest, C. (2022). Why do we speak to Experts? Reviving the Strength of the Expert Interview Method. American Political Science Association. p.278.

¹¹ Ibid. See also Tansey, O. (2007). Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing: A Case for Non-Probability Sampling. PS: Political Science & Politics 40(4). p.766.

asynchronous interview, to answer the guide questions and send it via email. Details on how the interviews transpired are rendered in the succeeding paragraphs. Following the tone set by the main data collection method, the language utilized in the conduct of all interviews is English and lasted for 25 minutes to about one hour and a half.

The original target number of interviewees for the study was six, three from each country and two from each of the fields of cultural policy, art history, and architecture. The list of interviewees was created based on their research outputs and journal articles published, specifically, on Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino, and more generally, in the prior fields stated. Eleven requests for interview were sent out (request letter attached as Appendix I; overview and interview questions attached as Appendix II), five to Indonesian scholars and six to Philippine scholars, all of whom wield a PhD and have written profusely on the culture and art of Indonesia and the Philippines either generally across periods or specifically within the eras of the countries explored in the thesis. The asymmetry in the number of interview requests was due to Nayong Pilipino being under-analyzed and my hope for a chance to talk to more scholars to help round out the analysis of the park. But in the end, only four responded and agreed for the interview, two for each country (Scholars A and B for Indonesia, Scholars C and D for the Philippines). Table 3 presents their respective general backgrounds.

Table 3

General Profiles of the Interviewees

Scholar A

- Field/s: Cultural policy and tourism
 - Research: Written and edited several books and published more than 50 journal papers on cultural tourism and cultural heritage management.
 - Geographical area/s of interest: Indonesia, Southeast Asia
-

Scholar B

- Field/s: Anthropology, Sociology
 - Research: Edited several books, written book chapters, and published more than 20 journal papers on Indonesian national policy toward minorities, indigenous peoples' movement in Indonesia, and conservation contestations in and around national parks, among others.
 - Geographical area/s of interest: Indonesia, Malaysia (esp. Sabah), Brunei, Southeast Asia
-

Scholar C

- Field/s: Architecture, History, Curation
 - Research: Written books and published multiple journal papers on the intersections of architecture history and theory, cultural studies, gender and sexuality studies, post-colonial theory, Southeast Asian studies, spatial justice, public interest design, and heritage conservation.
 - Geographical area/s of interest: The Philippines, Southeast Asia
-

Scholar D

- Field/s: Cinema Studies, Media, Art
 - Research: Written a book and published academic papers and articles on colonialism and race, Third Cinema and transnationalism, and globalization and cultural policy.
 - Geographical area/s of interest: The Philippines, Southeast Asia
-

For transparency, let me detail how the interviews transpired. For Scholar A, it was conducted synchronously via Zoom on June 24, 2024. Due to time constraints, I opted to let the interviewee share insights on Taman Mini using the interview guide as a frame but not necessarily going question by question. For Scholar B, the interview was conducted both asynchronously—I received the written response via email on June 24, 2024, and synchronously via Zoom on July 8, 2024. The synchronous conversation allowed me to clarify certain points from the written response. For Scholar C, the interview was conducted synchronously via Zoom on July 8, 2024,

during which the guide was followed, and additional questions were accommodated by the interviewee. For Scholar D, the interview was done asynchronously, I received the written response via email on July 13, 2024. Despite the interviewee's brief answers, the scholar provided me with additional references to consult, which have subsequently formed part of the documentary analysis. In addition, two of the interviewees (Scholars B and C) have also referred me to other possible interviewees but all suggested experts were already part of the original list of 11 scholars to whom requests for interview were sent. The varying ways the interviews transpired reflect the importance of exercising flexibility when conducting expert interviews.¹² Core passages from the interviews are attached as Appendices IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII.

Interview Guide

Below are the guide questions used for the conduct of interviews.

Table 4

Interview Questions

Questions	
1	In general, how does Indonesia/the Philippines view and present its respective culture?
2	How was culture employed as an apparatus of the state during the regime of Soeharto/Marcos?
3	How effective was the authoritarian leadership in helping build a national culture and a national identity?
4	What was the role played by Siti Hartinah/Imelda Marcos in forming the national culture at the time of her husband's terms as president?

¹² See Monke, S. (2007, March 20). The expert interview as a method of qualitative social research. GRIN Verlag. p.20.

Questions

- 5 The government of Soeharto/Marcos led to a rise in cultural institutions. Paying particular attention to Taman Mini/Nayong Pilipino, what do you consider are the driving factors behind the establishment of this park?
 - 6 How would you describe the depth and breadth of representation, in terms of both territory and culture, exhibited in Taman Mini/Nayong Pilipino?
 - 7 Museums and parks are often regarded as places of instruction in terms of civics, do you think this is also true of Taman Mini/Nayong Pilipino? Why or why not?
 - 8 Taman Mini/Nayong Pilipino is frequently cited as an institution prescribing the “generic” Indonesian/Filipino. How and to what degree did this park prescribe the state’s preferred identity to its citizens?
-

Data Analysis

Content analysis was the main method employed in assessing and evaluating the data collected. It is described as “a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, assumptions, and meanings” (Berg & Latin, 2008; Leedy & Ormrod, 2005; and Neuendorf, 2002 as cited in Lune & Berg, 2017, p.182).

After gathering relevant documents and transcribing the synchronous interviews, I established familiarity with the data through repeated readings. It was also during this process that I took notes of data points that would help dilate the pre-identified themes in the conceptual framework. Points of convergences and divergences were collated into a set of subthemes. These, in turn, were re-analyzed to ascertain alignment with the study’s objectives. Additional documents were then gathered for sub-themes under-supported by the initial group of documents but deemed too important to be left out completely. Photos from the reviewed documents

were also collected and added to the manuscript to help crystallize ideas and notions. As much as this study charts the past, I also ensured that a path to the present and the future will not be overlooked. Also, on a short trip to Jakarta from May 15-18, 2024, I secured a visit to Taman Mini to see the pavilions and experience the park in person. Unfortunately, the same cannot be attempted at Nayong Pilipino as it remains closed to this day.

For reference, the timeline for the conduct of the study is attached as Appendix IX.

Ethical Considerations

The study abides by the following standards on: (1) informed consent, (2) confidentiality, and (3) copyright.

I have obtained informed consent from the interviewees (a copy of which is attached as Appendix X) which details: (1) the general aim of the study, (2) the types of information they are expected to share, (3) the topics to be discussed, (4) the rationale behind their selection, (5) the level of participation expected from them, (6) the persons/parties who will/might have access to their information, (7) the details of the interview, and (8) the avenues the study's publication will take.

The last part of the informed consent form detailed the safeguards undertaken to secure the information imparted by the interviewees. This mostly involved detaching names, details and/or other identifiers from the data, and fulfills the degree of confidentiality needed for the conduct of this study even if only at its most fundamental

level. This is crucial since “anonymity is virtually nonexistent” (Lune & Berg, 2017, p.48) in qualitative research given that subjects are not just known, but are usually identified by the researcher/s. To add, the collection, treatment, and storage of all personal data followed the provisions of Republic Act No. 10173, otherwise known as the Data Privacy Act of 2012.

As the author of this study, I recognize the importance of intellectual ownership and the repercussions of tolerating plagiarism. The study was conducted within the principle of the fair use of a copyrighted work under Republic Act No. 8293, otherwise known as the Intellectual Property Code of the Philippines. The relevant statement is cited below, emphasis added:

The fair use of a copyrighted work for criticism, comment, news reporting, teaching including multiple copies for classroom use, scholarship, *research*, and similar purposes is *not an infringement* of copyright.

Hence, proper citations and attributions were observed following the university's guidelines to satisfy the moral rights of the author promulgated by the same law, quoted below:

To require that the authorship of the works be attributed to him, in particular, the right that his name, as far as practicable, be indicated in a prominent way on the copies, and in connection with the public use of his work.

PRECIPITATES

“When we try to pick out anything by itself,
we find it hitched to everything else in the universe.”
-John Muir, *My First Summer in the Sierra*

The quote above encapsulates the themes and subthemes that arose from the study, how tightly they are wound, how, even when I wanted to delineate clearly when one theme or subtheme ended and when one began following my proposed conceptual framework, the concepts tenaciously intersected and overlapped—everything was indeed hitched to everything else.

Proponents

The primacy of culture under the governments of Soeharto and Ferdinand Marcos Sr. has always been apparent, but it was a frontier best conquered with a soft touch rather than an iron fist. This is the upper hand offered by their wives, Siti Hartinah Soeharto, more widely known as Tien Soeharto or Ibu Tien, and Imelda Romualdez Marcos. Culture was the domain of the First Ladies, and it was from them and through them that the idea for Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino came about. But before delving into their roles in the establishment of the parks, it would be useful to first explore the synergy of the First Couples.

The Myths

Mythopoeia or mythmaking is a common trope in the public rendering of the First Couple's lives, but its utility for them is more a form of exaggeration than fiction, especially in terms of establishing pedigree. Tien Soeharto is often described as a “girl

of nobility” and a “woman of eminence.”¹³ She allegedly traces her lineage to Mangkunegoro III, “great grandson of Mangkunegoro I, a national hero and founder of the Dynasty of Mangkunegaran” (Gafur, 1992, p.35) in Surakarta. Imelda Marcos, on the other hand, preferred to be depicted as someone “bred to be, if not a royal queen, certainly a First Lady. Her official biography prepared for the 1965 inaugural souvenir program begins, ‘She considers herself to be of the South, being a Romualdez of Leyte, where her forebears founded the town of Tolosa and established a family that has since become one of the mightiest political clans in the country’” (Bonner, 1988, p.19). Other times she goes as far as saying that “the surname ‘Romualdez’ is not of Iberian descent but a contraction of the Spanish phrase “alcaldez de Roma” which literally translates to ‘rulers of Rome’” (Lico, 2003, p.43). Approached in this frame, both ladies would appear to be nothing less than princesses of old kingdoms turned queens of new nations.

Their husbands, Soeharto and Ferdinand Marcos Sr., made no attempt to claim royal ancestry. Soeharto’s humble beginnings have always been public knowledge, and he is even described as a “peasant turned soldier” (Berger, 2008). As Fibiger (2023) asserts, “He was a soldier through and through. And it was the Indonesian army that delivered him to his position as paragon of counterrevolution” (p.17). Ferdinand Marcos Sr., though also of humble origins, exerted great effort to paint his life as simply a matter of claiming his destiny. “Every detail of his life [as depicted in his biographies]—from schoolboy to law student, from guerrilla fighter to congressman, from lover to father—is seen from a single vantage point: his future as president of the Philippines” (Rafael, 2000, p.127). There are speculations that both men’s war records

¹³ See Gafur A. (1992). Siti Hartinah Soeharto: First Lady of Indonesia. p.43 and p.390.

might have been overemphasized, but this observation often tilts more toward Ferdinand Marcos Sr. than Soeharto, especially when the former suddenly started displaying medals in 1962 to support his claim as a decorated soldier (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. Photos of Marcos Sr.'s Medals



Source: Mijares, P. (2017). *The Conjugal Dictatorship of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos*. p.764-765.

Together, the myths the First Couples claim for themselves tend to accentuate their self-imposed entitlement not only to their genealogy but also to the heritage of their nations. One focal point for the Soehartos is the reconstruction of the Giri Bangun site within the Mangadeg mausoleum complex (see Figure 7). This is the gravesite of Tien Soeharto's ancestors with supposed ancestral ties to the Mangkunegaran line, and at the time was expected to hold the remains of Mr. and Mrs. Soeharto. It was rebuilt "with glistening marble columns, lavishly carved woodwork, gilded pillars, and other signs of respect that substantially outshine the Mangadeg complex" (Pemberton,

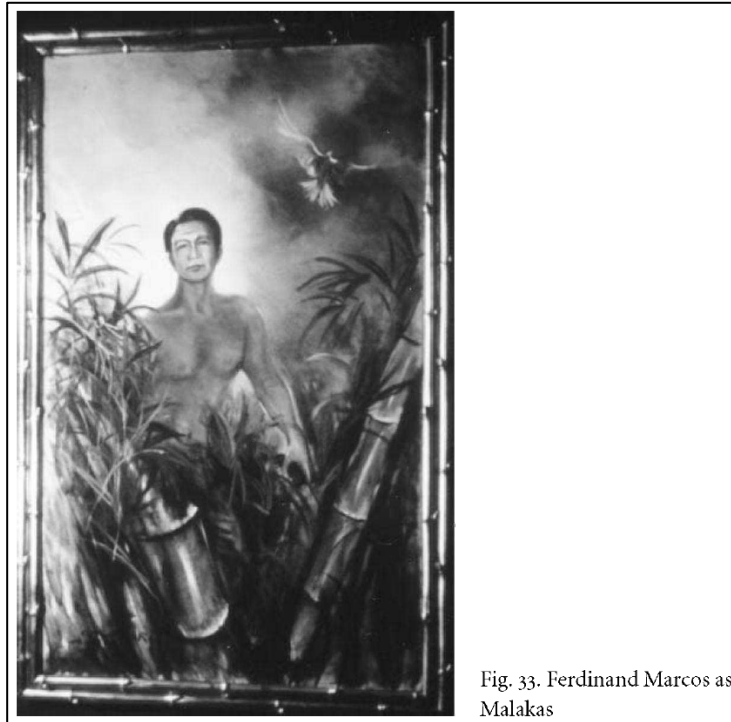
1989, p.241). As for the Marcoses, one of their most frequently invoked myths is that of *Malakas at Maganda* (the strong and the beautiful). This is a legend of the first Filipino man and woman who emerged from a large bamboo stalk. They likened themselves to these primordial Filipinos to the point that they had portraits of themselves hung in Malacañan Palace as the titular couple (see Figure 8 as example). “In 1985, they even went so far as to commission a group of Filipino academics to rewrite the legend in terms that would culminate in the celebration of the Marcos regime” (Rafael, 2000, p.122).

Figure 7. Astana Giri Bangun



Source: travel.tribunnews.com

Figure 8. Ferdinand Marcos Sr. as Malakas



Source: Rafael, V.L. (2000). *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*. p.123.

The Rearing

The justifying of pedigree was not only to establish their rise to power as the First Couples but also to affirm their self-bestowed roles as parents of the nation. The Soehartos, also known as *Bapak* or *Pak* (Father) Harto and *Ibu* (Mother) Tien, poised themselves fully for this function when Taman Mini opened. “With the founding of ‘Beautiful Indonesia,’ Bapak and Ibu Soeharto assumed the roles of model parents of an extended national family, privileged benefactors of an extensive inheritance” (Pemberton, 1994b, p.244). Soeharto’s fatherhood to the nation was further enshrined when the MPR, the assembly vested with the people’s authority, presented to him the distinction “*Bapak Pembangunan Indonesia*” (Father of Indonesia’s Development) in 1983. In the Philippines, the First Couple’s partnership was illustrated by Ferdinand

Marcos Sr.'s metaphor addressed to his wife, "Make a home while I build a house."¹⁴ But it was not only the compassion and seemingly eternal generosity of parents that was highlighted, the authority that came with parenthood was emphasized as well. "As *Malakas* and *Maganda*, Ferdinand and Imelda imaged themselves not only as the father and mother of an extended Filipino family. They also conceived of their privileged position as allowing them to cross and redraw all boundaries: social, political, and cultural" (Rafael, 2000, p.122).

The motherly aura projected by both First Ladies also punctuates the role of women in both societies. In Indonesia and the Philippines, women are seen as the heralds of domesticity. In my interview with Scholar B on July 8, 2024, Ibu Tien was described "as the envisioner of Taman Mini, she would be seen as the kind of mother of the country and Taman Mini would be a vehicle for socializing values to the populace at large in a way that the women's role as kind of domestic educator in the family would be essential to the reproduction of those values that were seen as essential to supporting the New Order." This description lays parallel to one of Dr. Talitha Espiritu's statements in her book, *Passionate Revolutions* (2017)—"It is significant that Imelda's chosen fields of intervention conformed to the maternal duties of women—as the primary caregivers and formative educators—in the domestic sphere. Laying claim to social policy and cultural policy as 'women's work,' she went on to posit cultural development to be not merely an appendage to social development but its necessary counterpart" (p.67). Culture being subsumed within the domain of domesticity is precisely why most cultural projects bear the First Ladies' imprints.

¹⁴ See Manuel, Ma. Teresa. (1979). *Tao: Humanism at work in Filipino society*. p.17

The Beautiful

At the heart of cultural structures is the idea of aestheticization of politics, the art of supplying spectacles to the citizens as a non-threatening way of pushing propaganda. And this is where the magic of the First Ladies shines the most.

Under the Soehartos, the keywords are *keindahan* (beauty) and *kerukunan* (harmony). Costa (2020) expounds on this by saying that, “the concept of beauty in the New Order ideology is heavily informed by morality and ethics. To this political stance, beautiful is anything that aligns to the 1945 Pancasila principles... At the same time, from a more internal perspective, beauty is tightly entwined with the idea of *kerukunan*” (p.363). What is beautiful and harmonious is anything embodying belief in God, tolerance, humanity, democracy, and social justice, which are the five principles under Pancasila. It is also anything that reinforces “*bhinekka tunggal ika*” (unity in diversity) which is the national motto of Indonesia. I will go back to the concept of harmony under the theme of Aesthetics, but for now, it would suffice to establish these two words as encompassing concepts harnessed by Tien Soeharto in her role as First Lady. “She was not a major ideologue of the New Order, as was, for example, Ali Moertopo. Her role was not to formulate ideology and policy, but to serve as a major undertaker of the projects that sought to operationalize the New Order ideology and to serve as the icon of New Order values, especially as they related to women” (Scholar B, June 24, 2024). Despite not being a “major ideologue,” Tien Soeharto did establish the *Yayasan Harapan Kita* (Our Hope Foundation) and was able to bring to fruition quite a number of projects—“Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, Taman Ria Remaja, the Maternity Ward of Our Hope Hospital, the Cardiac Center, the National Library, the orphanages, and the Cibubur Boy Scout and Girl Scout Center [which] are distinct

illustrations of her infinite array of ideas and her affluence of concepts” (Gafur, 1992, p.536).

Under the Marcoses, the keywords are *katotohanan*, *kabutihan*, *at kagandahan*, or as more often convoked in English, “the true, the good, and the beautiful.” These three words are almost always in every preface written and every speech delivered by Imelda Marcos during her time as First Lady. Like Indonesia, the Philippines under Marcos Sr. also emphasized unity in its motto which is, “*Isang Bansa, Isang Diwa*” (One Nation, One Soul). The Philippines also had an equivalent for Pancasila which was elaborated by Ferdinand Marcos Sr. in his Notes on the New Society dated 1973. It is referred to as the seven moral postulates: (1) Filipino Identity, (2) Nationalism and National Unity, (3) Social Justice and Equality, (4) Participatory Democracy, (5) Development and Prosperity, (6) Freedom of Belief, and (7) Internationalism: Oneness with Mankind.¹⁵ But these were not as deep-seated as the Pancasila is in Indonesia. What made more impact was the overarching rhetoric of discipline. The so-called axiom of the New Society, which revolves around the statement “*Sa ikauunlad ng bayan, disiplina ang kailangan*” (For national development, what we need is discipline), was felt in full when Martial Law was declared in 1972. But in so far as beauty and Imelda Marcos were concerned, things tended to take on a literal and tangible hue. Two of the rationales behind her extravagant projects were: (1) to leave two lasting impressions, one was “the search for what is Filipino in the artistic thrust for the universal and the cultivation of the love

¹⁵ See Marcos, F.E. (1978). Five Years of the New Society. p.172-177. Also note that the same principles appear in Marcos, F.E. (1988). An Ideology for Filipinos. p.98, but are worded differently [i.e., Seven Pillars of Moral Redemption which are: (1) Nationalism and identity, (2) Unity, (3) Social justice, (4) Barangay or participative democracy, (5) Self-reliance through rational planned change, (6) Freedom of belief, and (7) Internationalism or adherence to the ideals of the United Nations].

for beauty among the masses” (Marcos, 1974, p.40); and (2) “to show the world that, see, we have a pretty face” (Imelda Marcos as quoted by Ellison, 1988, p.139). Truly, beauty for beauty’s sake, or as her biographer Ileana Maramag (1982) prefers to describe her, “a soldier of beauty” (p.viii). Unlike Tien Soeharto who didn’t hold government positions, Imelda Marcos was a “public servant” on top of being a First Lady. She was Governor of Metropolitan Manila in November 1975, a member of Parliament in April 1978, Minister of Human Settlements in June 1978, and a diplomat since 1969. Her pervading presence not just as First Lady but also as a government officer alongside her husband was what led to the touting of the Marcos era as a conjugal dictatorship. As she liberally laid out in a book titled “Seven Tasks” (1974), the realms of her duty were: (1) social welfare, (2) socio-economic, (3) cultural, (4) economic-cultural, (5) environmental, (6) projects endorsed, and (7) President’s special representative. This power naturally translated to the building of a vast number of structures. To outline some of these projects, there is the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) Complex which boasts of several buildings in the property, numerous luxury hotels and exhibit halls, the National Arts Center, Nayong Pilipino, the so-called designer hospitals in Quezon City, the Population Center, and multiple urban development projects as well as restoration projects of mostly parks, churches, and heritage sites.¹⁶ “For Imelda, it was like she wanted to be able to shape everything, the entire kind of built environment, the entire Philippines if possible” (Scholar C, July 8, 2024).

¹⁶ See Lico, G. (2003). *Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture*. Ateneo de Manila University Press.

The Plexus

The spaces that the First Ladies have led to actualization attest to the pervasiveness of their husbands' regimes, lending credence to the premise that "space is fundamental in any exercise of power" (Foucault, 1984, p.252). "Monumental architecture testifies to the power of the rulers who sponsored its creation and increased that power" (Trigger, 1995, p.215). This was true of early civilizations, and apparently, true still for post-modern times. The allure of monumentalism lives on.

In Indonesia, monumentalism mostly took the form of the "Taman Complex", a term I encountered in Acciaioli's work (1996). Between 1978 and 1994, 24 cultural parks were established in provinces across the archipelago.¹⁷ Acciaioli traces the government's drive to establish cultural gardens (*Taman Budaya*) in provincial capitals to an educational movement called *Taman Siswa* (the garden of learners). "The notion of the park in this organization's name functions, in part, not only as a metaphor connoting beauty and natural riches, but as a legitimation for encompassing the archipelago as a whole within a single entity accessible to a public that, at the time, had yet to be constructed" (Acciaioli, 1996, p.28). The "encompassing" trait is directly reflected in one of the New Order's crowning achievements culturally, Taman Mini.

In the Philippines, monumentalism is most often referred to as the "Edifice Complex," which was a "term coined in the 1970s to describe Philippine First Lady Imelda Marcos' practice of using public funds on construction projects as political and election propaganda" (Rivera-Lutap & Castillo, 2023, p.3). Another definition is offered

¹⁷ See Jones, T. (2005). Indonesian Cultural Policy, 1950-2003: Culture, Institutions, Government. p.233.

by Lico (2003), wherein he describes the edifice complex as “a syndrome which plagues an individual, nation, or corporate institution with an obsession and compulsion to build edifices as a hallmark of greatness, as a signifier of national prosperity, as a conveyor of an individual’s status, or as a projection of a corporate image” (p.51).

Based on these depictions, both the Taman Complex and the Edifice Complex can be considered as spectacles of power, forms of display that reproduce the ego of those in authority. But Lico (2003) and Roces (2019) point to an alternative, that these complexes might be compensatory mechanisms. After all, as Roces (2019) points out “the insecure must overcompensate” (p.21) Considering this facet, both complexes may be termed “insecurity complexes.” In the case of the Philippines, Lico (2003) attributes the insecurity to having “no great tradition of architecture that bears witness to our precolonial past” (p.141), hence, the need for great monuments in the post-modern times. The same cannot be said for Indonesia though, as great kingdoms left marvelous architectural structures in the archipelago. But an insecurity that may be ascribed to both is that of them being nascent nations trying to justify the place they hold in the international community.

The Spark

Within the repertoire of both First Ladies are the two foci of the study, Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino. It may be noted here that their intertwined motivations for building the parks are a natural consequence of increasing demands for regionalization. ASEAN was formally established in 1967 (conspicuously transpiring

during their husbands' regimes), a triumph which only came after failed attempts at forming a regional body (i.e., ASA and MAPHILINDO).

The biography of Tien Soeharto authored by Gafur (1992) states that the inspiration for Taman Mini were Disneyland at Anaheim, California, and Thailand in Miniature or TIMland, a cultural park in Thailand. But a third is cited by Costa (2020, 2021), and that is Nayong Pilipino. This was also supported by Wanandi (2012) when he stated that the idea for Taman Mini “arose when she [Tien Soeharto] went to the Philippines and saw Imelda Marcos making a mini-Philippines near the airport. She [Tien Soeharto] was taken by that and she wanted to do something similar back home” (location 4098¹⁸). The same is echoed by Lico (2003) and Cabalfin (2012), with both authors citing that it wasn't just Tien Soeharto who was inspired by the idea of Nayong Pilipino but also Queen Sirikit of Thailand. Table 5 helps to visualize the mutually informing chronology of events.

¹⁸ There were no page numbers provided in the Kindle app, from where the book was accessed, only the location.

Table 5*Chronology of Events Between Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino*

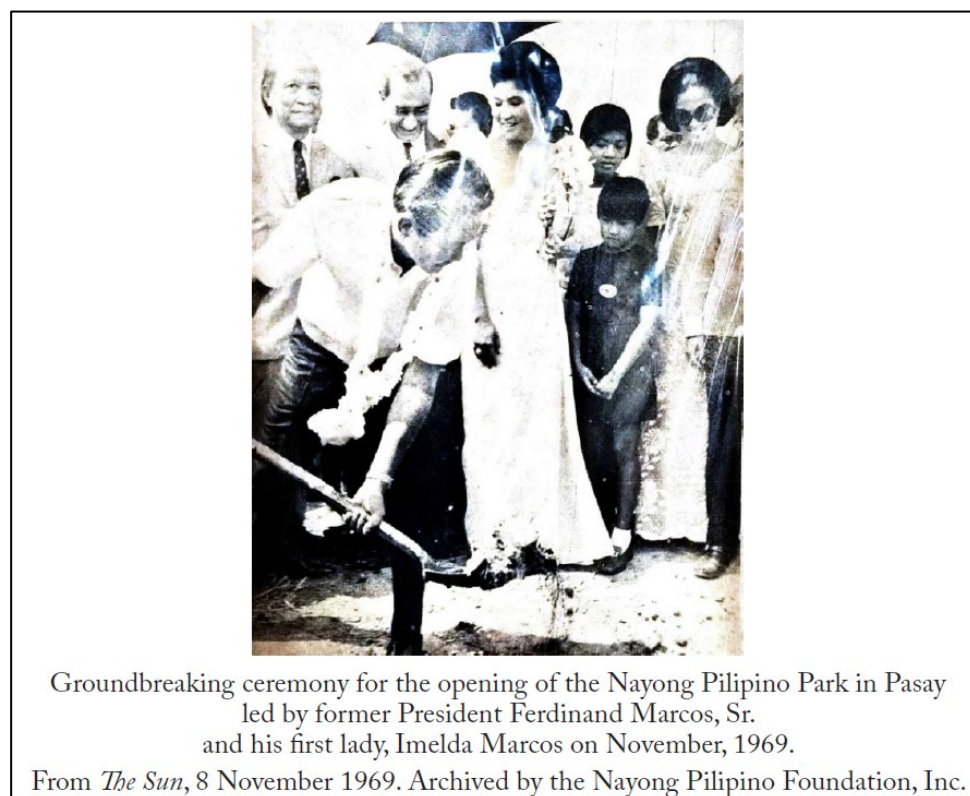
Date	Event
July 17, 1955	Disneyland opens. (Source: Britannica)
November 1968	Action group first met with Imelda Marcos to implement initial construction of the tourist village (Nayong Pilipino). (Source: Maramag, n.d., p.62)
November 1969	Groundbreaking ceremony for the opening of the Nayong Pilipino Park in Pasay (see Figure 9) (Source: Serra, 2023, p.5)
1970	TIMland is in operation. ¹⁹
June 11, 1970	Nayong Pilipino was inaugurated. (Source: Manuel, M.T., 1979, p.58)
March 1971	Tien Soeharto introduced the concept of Taman Mini in the plenary meeting of the Yayasan Harapan Kita. (Source: Gafur, 1992, p.392)
June 30, 1972	Tien Soeharto buried the head of the carabao signaling the start of the construction of Taman Mini (see Figure 10) (Source: Gafur, 1992, p.397 & 451)
April 20, 1975	Taman Mini was dedicated. (Source: Gafur, 1992, p.389)

If Nayong Pilipino was the inspiration for Taman Mini, then what invigorated the idea of Nayong Pilipino in Imelda Marcos? This is not exactly known but Cabalfin (2012) speculates that Disneyland might have played a part since Nayong Pilipino was conceptualized after the First Lady returned “from a medical check-up trip from the United States in June 1968” (p.443). The concept was a revival of Imelda Marcos’ one-stop shopping area for Philippine arts and crafts that was originally going to be part of the CCP Complex but was discarded during the planning process. Nuguid (n.d.) offers a different frame of mind when she stated in her article that Nayong Pilipino should remind the visitor of “the Spanish Village (Poble Espanyol) in Barcelona and the Polynesian Center in Honolulu” though as she contends, Nayong Pilipino “surpasses

¹⁹ The earliest record I was able to find of TIMland being in operation is in an article by Henry Kamm for the New York Times dated March 1, 1970, hence the date 1970.

both in size and detailedness” (p.192). Whether these were indeed the inspirations can only be conjectures at this point. What is certain though is that the First Ladies did acknowledge each other’s handiwork. The Soehartos were esteemed guests at the inauguration of the Museum of Philippine Traditional Culture (located in Nayong Pilipino) in 1971.²⁰ And Imelda Marcos, along with Mrs. Sheares (First Lady of Singapore), were “VIPs” at the dedication of Taman Mini.²¹ Imelda Marcos also planted a banyan tree—the symbol of Javanese royalty as well as the logo for the New Order’s dominant political organization, Golkar—in Tien Soeharto’s orchid garden.²²

Figure 9. Groundbreaking Ceremony of Nayong Pilipino



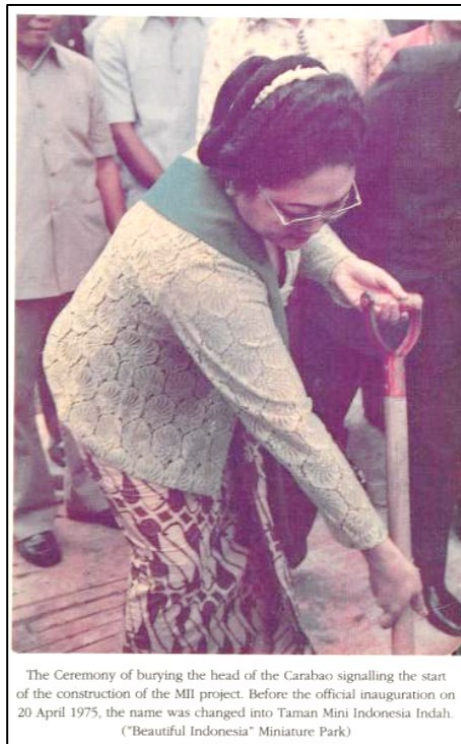
Source: Serra, J.P. (2023). *An Institutional History of the Nayong Pilipino Foundation (1970-2015)*. p.5.

²⁰ See Nayong Pilipino Foundation. (2020). Fact Sheet. p.1.

²¹ See Gafur A. (1992). Siti Hartinah Soeharto: First Lady of Indonesia. p.389.

²² See Costa, R. (2021). *Metamorphoses in an Everlasting Present: Desires, Changes, and the Power of Mini-ization in Taman Mini’s Stone Age*. p.29. And Pemberton, J. (1994b). *Recollections from “Beautiful Indonesia” (Somewhere beyond the Postmodern)*. p.251.

Figure 10. Groundbreaking Ceremony of Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Gafur A. (1992). Siti Hartinah Soeharto: First Lady of Indonesia. p.451.

The Issues

The opening of the parks were festive events, but their introduction to the citizens didn't entirely receive a warm response. This is particularly the case for Taman Mini which, Anderson (1973) describes, was "unpopular from the start" (p.64). The resistance of the public mainly derives from two reasons. "First, more than 300 families living in the 100-hectare tract (surroundings of Pondok Gede, Pasar Rebo sub-district) were eventually evacuated and compensated with 100 rupiah per square metre, deemed by many critics to be a derisory sum of money" (Costa, 2020, p.357). Second, "the proposed ten and one-half billion rupiah project - twenty-five million U.S. dollars in 1971 - was criticized as a grossly luxurious use of funds that could be better spent, it was argued, on either fifty-two small industries (employing one hundred workers each), or seven large university campuses, each the size of the prestigious Gajah Mada University" (Pemberton, 1994b, p.241). In response to what she felt was

rampant objections, Tien Soeharto told reporters on December 15, 1971, that “Whatever happens, I won’t retreat an inch! This project must go through! Its implementation won’t retreat a single step! For this project is not a prestige project—some of its purposes are to be of service to the People. The timing of its construction is also just right—so *long as I’m alive*. For someone’s conception cannot possibly be carried out by someone else, only by the conceiver herself—unless I am summoned by God in the meantime!” (Anderson, 1973, p.65). The opposition persisted and in Soeharto’s “Pertamina” speech of January 6, 1972, he felt it right to address the matter squarely. “Quite frankly, I’ll deal with them! No matter who they are! Anyone who refuses to understand this warning, frankly I’ll deal with them!” (Anderson, 1973, p.65). Soeharto pressed that the project was a matter of national consciousness, and the construction went ahead.

In the Philippines, the relative absence of resistance to the establishment of Nayong Pilipino is something I attribute to two things. One is that Nayong Pilipino utilized a 47-hectare cogon land near the Manila International Airport as its location,²³ which is not only much smaller than Taman Mini’s area but is also a predominantly vacant lot which means there was no mass displacement of people. And two, it was a much smaller undertaking when compared to Imelda Marcos’ other projects. Case in point was the CCP which faced immense criticisms for its current total area of 77 hectares (16 hectares of which are underdeveloped), part of which had to be reclaimed from Manila Bay, and its 50 million USD price tag (originally only 15 million USD).²⁴ So instead of stark opposition, what I’d like to interrogate is the claim that Nayong

²³ See Serra, J.P. (2023). *An Institutional History of the Nayong Pilipino Foundation (1970-2015)*. p.6.

²⁴ See Lico Lico, G. (2003). *Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture*. p.85 & 95.

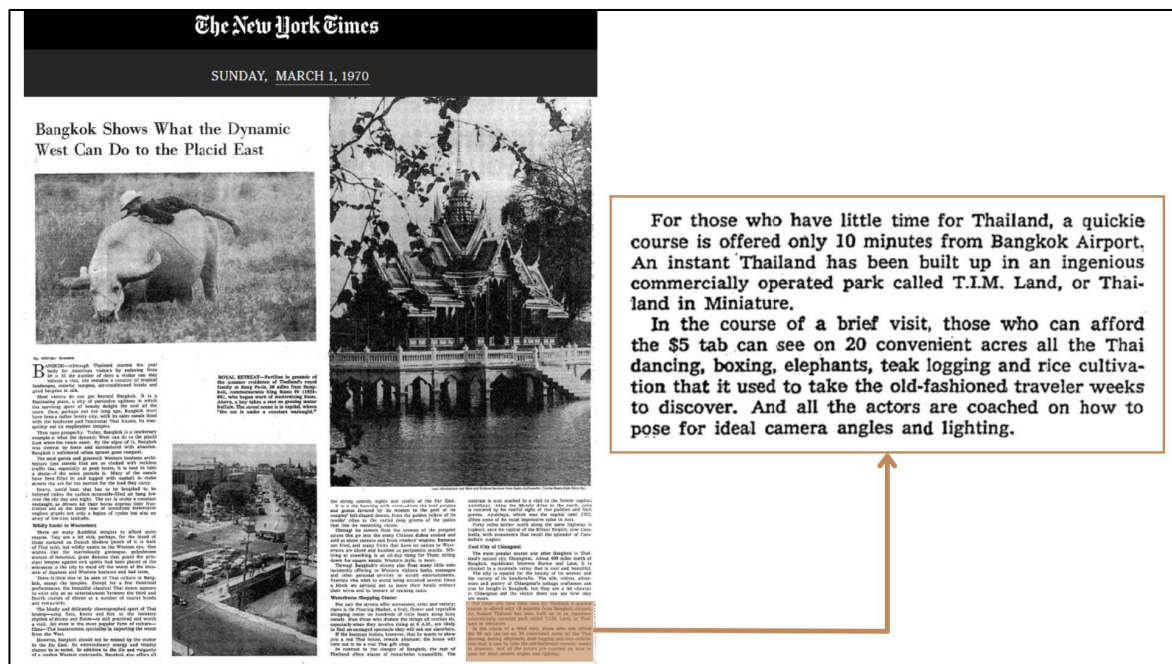
Pilipino is the “first cultural park in Asia.” This is a statement put forth by Lico (2003, p.57) and Serra (2023, p.6). The same message twenty years apart. My reservation lies in the lack of accessible online information on when TIMland was established. The only part I was able to confirm is that it was also state-funded given that it was developed by the Tourist Authority of Thailand.²⁵ For clarity, TIMland is different from *Muang Boran* (Ancient City). *Muang Boran* is located in the Samut Prakan province of Thailand which is 30 kilometers from Bangkok.²⁶ It is also a private venture, established by a wealthy businessman named Lek Viriyahbhun in 1972.²⁷ TIMland, on the other hand, is advertised in Kamm’s article this way—“For those who have little time for Thailand, a quickie course is offered only 10 minutes from Bangkok Airport, an instant Thailand has been built up in an ingenious commercially operated park called T.I.M. Land, or Thailand in Miniature.” (see Figure 11). The date of the article, which is March 1, 1970, coincides with Tien Soeharto’s visit in Bangkok, which is in March 1970 where, according to Anderson (1973), “an analogous project [TIMland] has been completed” (p.64). If the dates are to be taken into consideration, then TIMland was already in operation before Nayong Pilipino, which would put the claim placed on the latter as being the “first cultural park in Asia” under reasonable scrutiny.

²⁵ See Van Esterik, P. (2000). *Materializing Thailand*. p.117.

²⁶ See Serra, J.P. (2023). *An Institutional History of the Nayong Pilipino Foundation (1970-2015)*. p.22.

²⁷ From the website of *Muang Boran* Museum.

Figure 11. New York Times Article about TIMland



Condensations

Having established how the ideas for Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino came about through their proponents, it will now be useful to explore the materiality of the parks—the perceptions their structures embody and the meanings they hold.

The Setting

With the parks built, a walkthrough is in order. "Taman Mini is located in Pondok Gede, East Jakarta, very close to the Jagorawi toll road that connects Jakarta to Bogor City in West Java, and near the Halim Perdana Kusuma Airport for domestic flights" (Lukito, 2022, p.767). For the park's layout details, Pemberton (1989) describes it in this manner:

The centerpiece of "Beautiful Indonesia"-in-Miniature Park or Mini, as the park came to be called, would be an 8.4-hectare artificial pond with little artificial islands representing the archipelago. Mini would also include "monuments," representative "religious buildings," a 1000-room hotel and shopping center of "international standards," recreation facilities, an artificial waterfall, a revolving

theater, and an immense, outdoor performance arena. Special importance and one hectare each would be given [to] twenty-six display houses representing the so-called "genuine customary architectural style" of each of Indonesia's provinces. A central main audience hall in grand Central Javanese style would be used for large "traditional" (tradisional) ceremonies. And all of this would be viewable in its Mini completeness from an aerial cable car. (p.215-216)

The same details are cited by Anderson (1973, p.64). When the park opened in 1975, there were only 26 traditional regional houses. This is because East Timor only became the 27th province in 1976²⁸ and its pavilion was only added in 1980.²⁹ The master plan and the general infrastructure of Taman Mini, including the lake, the Pancasila Flame Monument, the Joglo-Sasono function halls, and the management building were constructed by Nusa Consultants, *Yayasan Harapan Kita's* appointed developer.³⁰

Both Acciaioli (1996, p.29) and Lukito (2022, p.767) highlight the way the sections of the park were arranged, which represents a mandala³¹ (see Figures 12 and 13). Lukito (2022) expounds on this:

Taman Mini has three layers or expanding circles. The first circle consists of 8.4 ha at the centre of the park in the form of an artificial lake, with islands whose features represent a map of Indonesia on a scale of 1:10,000. The miniature Indonesian archipelago spans west to east and even has mountains and plateaus following the existing landscape. The second circle surrounding the lake consists of pavilions based on each Indonesian province, with a circular street between the first and second circles. The third and outermost circle of

²⁸ See Gafur A. (1992). Siti Hartinah Soeharto: First Lady of Indonesia. p.413.

²⁹ See Lukito, Y. N. (2022). Historical and cultural negotiations in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: Beyond the utopia of 'unity in diversity.' p.762.

³⁰ See Lukito, Y. N. (2022). Historical and cultural negotiations in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: Beyond the utopia of 'unity in diversity.' p.768.

³¹ Mandala is a term employed to denote traditional Southeast Asian political formations. It was adopted by 20th century Western historians (most notably, O. W. Wolters 1968, 1982; and I. W. Mabbett 1978) from ancient Indian political discourse as a means of avoiding the term 'state' in the conventional sense. Not only did Southeast Asian polities not conform to Chinese and European views of a territorially defined state with fixed borders and a bureaucratic apparatus, but they diverged considerably in the opposite direction: the polity was defined by its centre rather than its boundaries, and it could be composed of numerous other tributary polities without undergoing administrative integration. (cited from Dellios, 2003, p.1)

Taman Mini consists of various theme parks, museums, and religious buildings. (p.767)

Figure 12. Map of Taman Mini Indonesia Indah 1



Source: Acciaioli, G. (1996). Pavilions and Posters: Showcasing Diversity and Development in Contemporary Indonesia. p.30.

Figure 13. Map of Taman Mini Indonesia Indah 2



Source: Lukito, Y. N. (2022). Historical and cultural negotiations in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: Beyond the utopia of 'unity in diversity.' p.768.

In terms of spatial arrangement, one hectare each is dedicated for the *rumah adat* (traditional/customary houses) of each province (roughly two or three pavilions within each hectare), and, in principle, their positions should, more or less, be geographically accurate in reference to the mini-Indonesia archipelago represented in the lake. But even in a seemingly equitable share of space, there is still privileging. For example, the pavilion of Lampung was placed between Jakarta and West Java instead of being part of Sumatra. This, as Acciaioli (1996) points out, is because of Lampung's importance as a "social location as a hinterland for Jakarta and the rest of Java which has been increasingly filled with Javanese transmigrants" (p.29 & 32). Other examples that he put forth are the highly peripheral locations of the East Timor and Irian Jaya pavilions. Lukito (2022, p.769) also points to the Central Java complex having more pavilions than other provinces, clearly showcasing the privileging of Javanese culture under the New Order. Meanwhile, Schlehe and Uike-Bormann (2010) also point out another issue of representation within Taman Mini and that is "only the 'indigenous' *suku* (ethnic groups) were recognized and displayed as components of the Indonesian nation," (p.75) as there were no evidence of migration or cultural hybridity.³² The Lampung case, then, can be taken as a slight evidence in contrary of Schlehe and Uike-Bormann's last statement and/or a slight budding of a more flexible trend of representation.

³² See Schlehe, J., & Uike-Bormann, M. (2010). Staging the Past in Cultural Theme Parks: Representations of Self and Other in Asia and Europe. In J. Schlehe, M. Uike-Bormann, C. Oesterle, & W. Hochbruck (Eds.), Staging the Past: Themed Environments in Transcultural Perspectives. p.75.

The Nayong Pilipino, on the other hand, was constructed in Pasay, a stone's throw away from the Manila International Airport (now the Ninoy Aquino International Airport). Manuel (1979) describes the layout of the park as follows:

[Nayong Pilipino] is built around a six-hectare artificial lagoon. It is divided into seven distinct areas representing the Central Luzon and Tagalog provinces, the Bicol region, the Visayan region, Muslim Mindanao, the northern highland provinces, the Ilocos region and a traditional Philippine Plaza complex which serves as the Nayon's administration center. Famous landmarks (miniaturized Ifugao rice terraces, Mayon volcano, Chocolate Hills of Bohol, and Lanao Lake³³) and the distinctive architecture of each region have been re-created. (p.58)

The park also has a chain of handicraft stores called *Tindahan Bayan*, a restaurant serving Filipino dishes called *Turo Turo sa Nayon*, a hotel with approximately 200-300 rooms called *Tuluyan sa Nayon*, and the Museum of Philippine Traditional Culture (later renamed Philippine Museum of Ethnology) which houses PANAMIN's ³⁴ exhibits. ³⁵ Prominent architects were handpicked to design the structures for every region. The list appears in Table 6. Meanwhile, Figures 14 and 15 lay out the map of Nayong Pilipino.

³³ See Lico, G. (2003). *Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture*. p.59.

³⁴ Presidential Assistant on National Minorities (PANAMIN).

³⁵ See Lico, G. (2003). *Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture*. p.59. And Serra, J.P. (2023). *An Institutional History of the Nayong Pilipino Foundation (1970-2015)*. p.7-8.

Table 6

Architects of Nayong Pilipino

Architect	Design
Luis Araneta	Central Luzon Village (Tagalog Region)
Carlos Arguelles	Visayan Region
Lorenzo del Castillo	Muslim Village
Gabriel Formoso	Stilted restaurant and open-air theater
Leandro Locsin	North Luzon Village (Ilocos and Cordillera Regions)
Manuel and Francisco Mañosa	Bicol Region
Angel Nakpil	Government Center
Ildefonso Santos	Landscape of the entire park

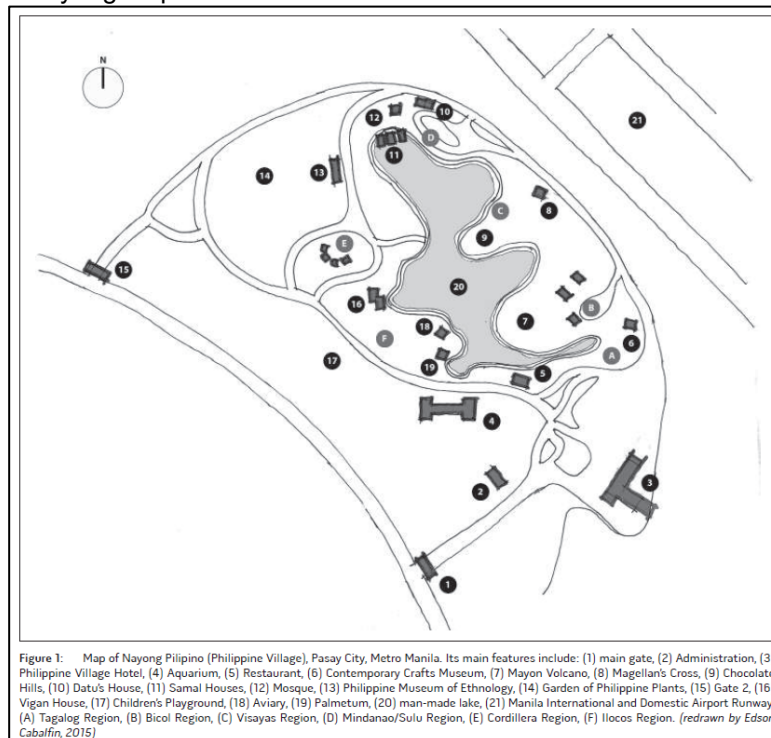
Sources:

Cabalfin, E. R. (2012). Nation as Spectacle: Identity Politics in the Architectures of Philippine Displays in International Expositions, 1887 – 1998. p.445.

Lico, G. (2003). Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture. p.59.

Serra, J.P. (2023). An Institutional History of the Nayong Pilipino Foundation (1970-2015). p.7-8.

Figure 14. Map of Nayong Pilipino 1



Source: Cabalfin, E.R. (2014). Condensing the Country: Identity Politics in the Design of Nayong Pilipino (Philippine Village) and the 1998 Expo Pilipino Theme Parks. p.27.

Figure 15. Map of Nayong Pilipino 2



Source: Serra, J.P. (2023). An Institutional History of the Nayong Pilipino Foundation (1970-2015). p.6.

In the Nayong Pilipino's spatial arrangement, the mandala presentation is not adhered to. Rather, what can be observed is the center-periphery trope or civilized-primitive zoning which is common to colonial exhibitions. Two examples that Cabalfin (2012) points out is the 1887 Exposicion General in Madrid, Spain, and the 1904 St. Louis Fair in Missouri, USA (p.531). He further explains:

Visitors of the Nayong Pilipino similarly encounter first the "civilized zone," which consists of the Spanish colonial architectures and Hispanicized regions of the Tagalog, Bicol, and Visayas, and then proceeds to the "primitive zone" composed of the Museum of Ethnology, the predominant non-Christian regions of the Cordillera, Muslim Mindanao and the facsimile natural geological formations (such as Mayon Volcano, Banaue Rice Terraces, Lanao Lake). (p.530)

Privileging of particular regions were also not as stark when compared to Taman Mini, primarily because the park did not set out to present an encyclopedic

version of the country. From the beginning, it set out to be a loose interpretation of the nation rather than a strict one. More than an atlas, *Nayong Pilipino* was more a viewing deck. This is not to undermine the highly edited perspectives it displays and the amount of marginalization it embodies, but in general there was more acceptance to what it's for given that geographical accuracy and representativeness were secondary, if not tertiary, priorities in the establishment of the park.

The Catalogue

For the sake of narrative, I will break my stipulated sequence of presenting findings about Indonesia first, the Philippines second, at least just for this part. Let me begin by sharing an abridged version of the story of Fray Manuel Blanco.

Fray Manuel Blanco is an Augustinian botanist tasked by his superiors to put on hold his studies on plants and focus instead on the study of humans, specifically, the character of the Philippine native or who the Spaniards often refer to as *indio*. He obliged, but with a warning that the book he was working on should only be opened after his death. Keeping their word, the friars only went to his cell after his passing. In there they found a thick volume labelled *El Indio*. They flipped the pages, eager to learn what Manuel Blanco has discovered about the *indios*, only to find that it contained nothing but blank pages. Not one word was written.

There are two main interpretations of this story. One is the colonialist discourse, that the story attests to the colonizer's belief that the *indio* is a tabula rasa, a void, a nothingness. The other is the nationalist perspective, that after more than 300 years of occupation, the Spaniards knew nothing of the land it conquered and the people in

it. But my focus is on neither side of these interpretative claims. My focus is on the curious choice of a naturalist, a taxonomist for a monograph about people. This can easily lead to speculations about the reduction of the *indio* to something less than human, but parallel to this, the story of Manuel Blanco also poses the question of why we classify.

Mojares (2023) answers what classificatory systems are for:

To know is to name, identify, compare, and classify. People classify to find and impose order on the world's dizzying plenitude by marking similarities and differences, relations and groupings of people, phenomena, and things. The classificatory enterprise established the universality of Western science; it was not only essential for building knowledge of the world, it was a means for ruling the world. (p.410)

The compulsion to classify and codify finds concrete resonances in the New Order and New Society eras. To say Soeharto and Ferdinand Marcos Sr. wanted to rule the world might be excessive, but they did want to rule over their territories indefinitely. Boellstorff (2002) says this of Taman Mini, "what is Taman Mini if not a model for a human zoo where ethnolocalities³⁶ are habitats – cages for culture – and the state a zookeeper?" (p.32). Espiritu (2012) also adds weight to this perspective when she points out the Marcos regime's enlistment of archaeologists and anthropologists to create taxonomies of indigenous groups in the early 1970s.³⁷

The trend of classification is mostly visible within the museum concept. Again, I quote Mojares (2023) on this:

In a museum, we see objects recontextualized, removed from their natural or logical environment, alienated, aestheticized, and staged. Isolated, set apart from everyday, it is meant to be a place for musing (which is the origin of *museum*, from the Muses). Yet the site is not entirely free since it is carefully

³⁶ Ethnolocality is a spatial scale where 'ethnicity' and 'locality' presume each other to the extent that they are, in essence, a single concept. (Boellstorff, 2002, p.25)

³⁷ See Espiritu, T. (2012). Native subjects on display: reviving the colonial exposition in Marcos' Philippines. p.733.

constructed as space and event, constructed by someone for someone. Objects are classified, preserved, and displayed in a particular way, designed and captioned to tell or signal a particular story, and meant to convey a notion or message and stimulate or elicit a particular effect. (p.14)

The museum concept is a colonial bequeathal. The Dutch introduced this to Indonesia³⁸ and the Spaniards to the Philippines with the establishment of the Santo Tomas Museum in 1869.³⁹ And this is a colonial bequeathal that metamorphosed to go beyond objects to include dwellings and humans as well. Within the bounds of the respective nations, Nayong Pilipino does not have a direct antecedent, but Taman Mini does and it is the Bali Museum—a museum making use of traditional buildings and open-air displays established by the Dutch in 1932 (as cited in Costa, 2021, p.30; Lukito, 2022, p.772; and Hitchcock, 1995, p.18 & 1998, p.125). The roots of the museum concept indeed run deep.

Sojourning lightly to the sinister side of the story of Manuel Blanco—that is, classification as reduction, which equated to it being “deployed and propagated as charter for discrimination, exclusion, domination, and violence” (Mojares, 2023, p.411). Classification as reduction of differences to “static essences and simple markers of identity and identification” (Schlehe & Uike-Bormann, 2010, p.85). With this, it becomes clear why classification, and its concomitant outgrowths in monumentalism, was crucial to the imposition of order.

³⁸ See Hitchcock, M. (1998). *Tourism, Taman Mini, and national identity*. p.126.

³⁹ See Mojares, R.B. (2023). *Enigmatic Objects: Notes towards a history of the museum in the Philippines*. p.21-22.

The Intention

In this section, I want to explore the “official” intentions behind the condensations that are Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino. On Tien Soeharto’s conception of the park after visiting Disneyland on May 31, 1971,⁴⁰ she states the following:

I was inspired to build a project of that sort in Indonesia, only *more* complete (lengkap) and *more* perfect, adapted to fit the situation and developments in Indonesia, both materially (materiil) and spiritually (spirituil).” (Tien Soeharto, Late August of 1971, as quoted by Pemberton, 1989, p.215 and 1994b, p.241).

To add, let me quote in length a part of Tien Soeharto’s speech at the opening of Taman Mini:

The central theme of this park is the portrayal of this big country in a miniature configuration. We can also see here models of the traditional houses and other structures which can be found in the various regions of the country and which are cultural legacies of inestimable value of the Indonesian people. We feel our urgent need to preserve this cherished cultural inheritance to prevent its extinction. They should not fall prey to today’s demands for development and progress. I express the hope that here in this park we can enjoy the art, the customs and traditions of the regions against a backdrop of structures and in an atmosphere that simulate reality. We are then able to immediately grasp the richness of the diverse regional cultures which lend added beauty to the overall aspects of our national culture. And I am sure that this will augment our love for our country and people, which is of crucial importance for the continuous progress of our nation in the days to come.

Admittedly, this park is not completed yet. God willing, this park will be further developed and extended with more features so that visitors will be able to obtain an unabridged image of Indonesia: its history, its struggles, ideals, the results of its toil and perhaps its dreams of the future. This will bolster our self-confidence. In so doing, I am persuaded that this park serves an additional purpose, namely to enable Indonesians, young and old, and the children, the present generation as well as the future generation, to know more about Indonesia. This park will become an instant and healthy recreational venue, as one of the amenities of modern life.

The exhibition of the art and culture of the regions in this park will boost endeavors to revive and enhance the people’s small-scale industry, including its marketing promotion. Briefly, this park will also provide the opportunity to

⁴⁰ See New York Times. (June 1, 1970). Suharto Visits Disneyland; Takes Helm of Cruise Boat.

come to know the regions in their entirety, as well as their potentials and their prospects.

[On attracting foreign visitors to deepen the world's understanding of Indonesia] This mutual understanding will pave the way for the realization of a more peaceful and friendly world, ideals fully shared by our people. (Tien Soeharto, April 20, 1975, as cited in Gafur, 1992, p.403-404)

For Soeharto's speech on the opening of Taman Mini, let me quote the following statements:

This park is a condensed replica portraying the vastness of our country, Indonesia...

We must stamp our own, Indonesian identity on this evolution towards progress...

Another matter that comforts me is that we have herewith endeavoured to sustain part of our cultural heritage and our invaluable moral standards for the benefit of our future generations. Each generation should preserve subsequently consign to its next genesis all that is worth sheltering. And so it goes on. In this fashion, the process of our nation's development will proceed unabated. It is in this spirit of our progress as a reflection of farsightedness. (Soeharto, April 20, 1975, as cited in Gafur, 1992, p.408-409)

On the Philippine side, here are passages from the foreword of the Nayong Pilipino brochure:

And it is in his [Filipino] honor that "Ang Nayong Pilipino" (The Philippine Village) is dedicated. "Ang Nayong Pilipino" serves as a showcase of the finest in Filipino craftsmanship which best depicts the Philippines' various colorful cultures.

At this point, it is my pleasure to invite the entire Filipino people and our friends from foreign lands to visit the "Ang Nayong Pilipino" and see the handiwork of Filipino artisans and craftsmen amidst an authentic setting of representative samples of the different regional houses built throughout the country from the historical past to the present. (Imelda Marcos, November 1969)

Below are some of Ferdinand Marcos Sr.'s statements at the inauguration of Nayong Pilipino:

Nayong Pilipino celebrates the Filipino heritage...

On this small piece of land is a microcosm of the Philippines. But it is only a shred of the land, it is only a material representation of the Philippines...

While indeed this is a microcosm of the Philippines, and while indeed it represents Philippine geography and culture, and it may contain the external substance of Filipino life, the traveller who comes to this spot must remember that he finds here nothing but a physical shell. The scenes and structures that he will see, the sounds and nuances of Philippine living that will fill his senses for the moment, all these together provide only an inadequate image of our country and of our people.

Yes, here and there the foreign visitor will find reflected the arts and thoughts of the Filipino, glimpses of Philippine history, a general contour of the nation. But I ask that he accept this as a modest picture of what we have, for the Philippines is where our people are. And they are in the villages, in the mountains, on the sea...

But when the foreign traveller comes to this place, let us ask him to see beyond the physical monuments...

Let us ask the travellers instead to come and know the whole Filipino...

This is but the gateway that we offer you. Let the visitor come to Nayong Pilipino, but as he comes to admire the Nayong Pilipino let him go beyond and discover the Filipino heartland, for that is what we give you a glimpse of tonight in the Nayong Pilipino. (Ferdinand Marcos Sr., June 11, 1970)

The reason for the extensive quotations is to illustrate, by placing the parks proponents' statements side-by-side (or one after the other), how Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino, despite both being regarded as nation-building projects, were intended for different reasons. One of the main drivers for Taman Mini was cultural preservation, which was emphasized by the Soehartos in their speeches. Note Tien Soeharto's "more complete, more perfect" conception of a park for Indonesia. I surmise that she was not only referring to Disneyland but also to Nayong Pilipino as a predecessor of Taman Mini, because she knew that Nayong Pilipino did not purport to be a comprehensive representation of the Philippines. It was only ever meant to show "glimpses" and "samples" of the country. "Glimpse" was used twice by Ferdinand Marcos Sr. in his speech and was also used to describe Nayong Pilipino in an official

publication—i.e., “provide an *instant glimpse* into the different lifestyles and cultures of the major Philippine regions” (Manuel, 1979, p.58). The term “samples” was used by Ferdinand in his speech, by Imelda in her foreword, and on a similar note was used by Cabalfin (2014) as part of his description of the road that goes around Nayong Pilipino—i.e., “The loop did not follow a prescribed sequence but rather allowed visitors to discover *cultural examples* from the archipelago as they go throughout the park” (p.27-28).

Condensations are authority’s attempts at containing their respective territories. And both presidents do not shy away from this wielding of power. Soeharto described Taman Mini as a “condensed replica.” On the other hand, Ferdinand Marcos Sr. described Nayong Pilipino as a “microcosm.” The difference between the two lies in everything that followed “microcosm” in Ferdinand’s speech— “finds here nothing but a physical shell,” “provide only an inadequate image,” “a modest picture of what we have,” and “this is but the gateway that we offer you.” The difference is the acknowledgement that the park is not comprehensive, it is not complete, it is not encyclopedic. The Marcoses conceived of Nayong Pilipino as an invitation to a party, a *patikim* (taste) of a feast, and a trailer to a movie, which is the opposite of what the Soehartos wanted Taman Mini to be.

Academics, such as Costa (2020), tout Taman Mini to be the cultural jewel of the New Order in setting right the practice of Pancasila, in emphasizing the centrality of Javanese culture, and in inspiring and promoting unity and integration of the country

*dari Sabang sampai Merauke*⁴¹ (p.359 & 361). And they are right. Taman Mini is the centerpiece of Soeharto's cultural policy. Nayong Pilipino, on the other hand, is but a mere pawn in the Marcos' chessboard. Recall that it was a revival of the one-stop shopping area Imelda wanted for the CCP. Nayong Pilipino, as much as it was an apparatus of nation-building, was also simply a grand and elaborate "marketplace," which was on-brand for Imelda since she did not do anything small. And this is reflected in her statements from the foreword of the Nayong Pilipino brochure—"serves as a showcase of the finest in Filipino craftsmanship" and "see the handiwork of Filipino artisans and craftsmen amidst an authentic setting of representative samples of the different regional houses." The crafts were the star, the regional replicas were the backdrop. And this is further highlighted by the brochure itself, because instead of using the Philippine regions as the chapter headers, the brochure used the crafts sold at Nayong Pilipino— i.e., Paete and Ornamental Wood Carving; Leyte and Mat Weaving; Lanao and its Brassware; The Ilocos Region and Fabric Weaving; Pangasinan, Province of the Basket Weavers; Cebu, Land of Guitars; Batangas and the Balisong; The Tagalog Region and Cloth Weaving; and The Igorot Village and the Woodcarvers. In addition, two official publications describe the establishment of Nayong Pilipino as a way of instilling "appreciation for our arts and crafts and provide a market for these products" (Maramag, 1975, p.38 and Maramag, n.d., p.60). Although a similar vein was struck by Tien Soeharto in her statements—"I express the hope that here in this park we can enjoy the art, the customs and traditions of the regions against a backdrop of structures and in an atmosphere that simulate reality" and "The exhibition of the art and culture of the regions in this park will boost

⁴¹ A formulaic expression that refers to the dimension of Indonesia: from the farthest west (the city of Sabang, Aceh) to the farthest east (the city of Merauke, Papua).

endeavors to revive and enhance the people's small-scale industry, including its marketing promotion," ultimately, arts and crafts were less of a priority in Taman Mini than it was in Nayong Pilipino.

Another difference is to who the parks mainly cater to. Taman Mini was built for Indonesians. Emphasizing some of Tien Soeharto's lines from her speech— "augment our love for our country and people" and "enable Indonesians, young and old, and the children, the present generation as well as the future generation, to know more about Indonesia." Attracting foreign visitors was also an aim but not as big of a goal as it was in Nayong Pilipino. Note Ferdinand's use of "traveller," this can pertain to anyone but he mentions the word "foreign" twice in his speech (i.e., "foreign visitor", "foreign traveller"). Nuguid (n.d.) mentions that Imelda saw the concept of Nayong Pilipino as "an answer to the problem of the transient visitor who would like to see something of the country while awaiting his connecting flight" (p.193). This is also the reason why the chosen location was adjacent to the Manila International Airport, to cater mainly to foreign tourists. With foreign visitors established as the primary target audience of the park, the secondary target would be Metro Manila residents which comprised 75% of the visitors.⁴² "If you're at the center, if you're in the National Capital Region, you might not have a perception or an understanding of anything that's outside the center. And so, I think Nayong Pilipino was used as a way to be able to instruct people in the capital, to understand that there is something beyond the capital. I think that's one of the underlying intentions. I don't think they ever mentioned it, but that's sort of my interpretation" (Scholar C, July 8, 2024). There was a didactic streak in the park but it was less prominent when compared to Taman Mini. Laying foresights side-by-side,

⁴² See Nuguid, N. (n.d.). Nayong Pilipino.

the envisioners diverged in vision. Tien Soeharto says that “God willing, this park will be further developed and extended with more features so that visitors will be able to obtain an unabridged image of Indonesia: its history, its struggles, ideals, the results of its toil and perhaps its dreams of the future.” On the other hand, Imelda Marcos had this in mind, “Once completed [the structures within the park], it will enhance our tourist industry, increase our dollar earnings, and project the truly native talents and craftsmanship of the Filipino” (Maramag, n.d., p.60). Tien yielded more to the romantic, Imelda to the acuminous.

Both parks endeavored to exhibit a representation of their countries, and both succeeded partially. Of Taman Mini, Scholar B notes “I certainly appreciate the geographical breadth of representation, as there was an honest attempt to encompass the entire archipelago. However, there are other sorts of breadth as well, as only certain iconic societies were represented in each pavilion” (June 24, 2024). Of Nayong Pilipino, Scholar C remarks “They showed breadth in terms of [exhibiting] the Northern part to the Southern part of the Philippines. They also showed breadth in terms of arts... For depth, I would say it’s quite shallow and superficial in the sense that it’s also hard to be able to show the depth of each culture in a very short time, in a very small space... Also, for breadth, they just chose the hits, the very famous ones” (July 8, 2024). Both statements reflect that exclusion becomes an inevitable part of the condensing process. But what also gets weaved into this method is the question of authenticity, especially when the displays are not just scaled down versions of the originals, but also scaled up versions in terms of both size and representation. Pemberton (1994b) states, “‘Beautiful Indonesia’ monuments stand, it would seem, as the displacement of the distinction itself. That is, origins are presented as recovered

in a form so totally unconfusing, so endowed with an abstracted miniaturized clarity [or overscaled audacity], that the distance between what it represents and what is represented, in effect, collapses” (p.247). Costa (2021) also adds that “It is indeed by altering their physical appearance that historical referents (say, monuments or artifacts) are made accessible and comprehensible (or majestic and mystical when overscaled)” (p.34). Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino aim to efface space (in terms of altering the sizes of the display to suit authority’s needs) and time (in terms of freezing the displays in the epoch they were represented). But as Pemberton (1989) argues, within these parks, “time is not completely effaced, but instead self-consciously opposed” (p.229). Hence, “Within this temporal framework, authenticity does not accrue, but on the contrary must be built in as a unique quality which will survive through time so long as the building stands” (ibid, p. 228). It would seem then that the art of condensation is a thread within the wider act of reclamation that allows those in power to bestow authenticity on their creations.

Identity

Among the ripples of Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino’s intended meanings are swells prescribing the states’ preferred identities. Encoded and embedded within these parks are the essences of what it is thought to be the true Indonesian and Filipino personalities.

The Reclaiming

Decolonization and nationalism are two tightly intertwined phenomena that I tend to describe them as being each other’s aftertastes. Which came first is not a facet I’m trying to establish; my concern is the immense space their fruition brought about.

This space is independence. And amid it are people who now have to navigate their own boats for the first time in centuries. They need direction and a harbor. Direction is easy enough to deduce and that is to aim for modernity, so they can stand on the same alps as their colonizers. Cultivating a harbor, on the other hand, is harder, but an archetypal conclusion would be to revert to the past. After all, if the priority is to claim the actuality of them being free from colonizers, they might as well go back to the time when they used to be free of colonizers. This breaking away from the colonial shadow is imperative for without this divorce, “the result will be individuals without an anchor, without a horizon, colorless, stateless, rootless—a race of angels” (Fanon, 1963, p.218).

The Soehartos, in reaching for the past, call to mind Hobsbawm’s (1992) warning—“We should not be misled by a curious, but understandable, paradox: modern nations and all their impedimenta generally claim to be the opposite of novel, namely rooted in the remotest antiquity, and the opposite of constructed, namely human communities so ‘natural’ as to require no definition other than self-assertion” (p.14). The New Order’s purview is that everything that makes up the Indonesian character is already there, ready for the claiming, if only one does a little digging. Note the use of “recapture and reinvigorate” in the passage below:

To develop and to intensify the devotion and the loyalty to the homeland. To strengthen the unity and integrity of the nation. To enhance and reverse our cultural expressions. To recapture and reinvigorate the culture that we have inherited from our ancestors, so that the people in all the provinces with their own and different respective backgrounds, customs and traditions will become familiar with our overall national cultural treasures. (Tien Soeharto on the motivations of Taman Mini as quoted in Gafur, 1992, p.395-396)

Soeharto also insists that the spiritual welfare of Indonesians is already in their possession and that it lies in their “beautiful and noble cultural inheritance” (from

Soeharto's speech at the opening of Taman Mini as quoted in Pemberton, 1994b, p.244). It is right to point out, however, that post-colonial and post-modern Indonesia is indeed novel in the same way that "nation" is a fairly recent historical concoction and is most definitely constructed despite claims of it being intact and untarnished, and only needing unveiling.

The Marcoses, on a similar thread, completely embraced Fanon's notions and repeatedly reiterated the need to establish a national culture from the trappings of the past following Anderson's traversals of consciousness and amnesias. Below are excerpts from their statements exemplifying this point:

When history and circumstances cause a blurring of the past, the result is confusion of tradition and values. A people with national amnesia suffer a lack of balance and sense of direction. Rootless and purposeless, they must find firm traditions or ideals, and grasp the solid sedimentation of ancestral aspirations or they will wither and die. (Imelda Marcos, 1966, CCP brochure as quoted from Lico, 2003, p.41)

One of the most crucial tasks we faced after the declaration of martial law was to mend the tattered fabric of our society, to resuscitate the dying spirit of the nation. Clearly, the strategy for decolonization lay in a cultural liberation program directed toward an understanding, appreciation, and internalization of our rich cultural heritage as a foundation for developing pride in ourselves as a people. The strategy for cultural liberation was intended to awaken the Filipino from his "cultural amnesia," to enable him to see the culture he once proudly possessed, the indigenous traditional beliefs, mores, and values that extend back to thousands of years. (Ferdinand Marcos Sr., 1978, p.169-170)

The New Society fully catered to the ruling elite's desire to not only romanticize the past but also mine it for markers of identity and cultural showpieces that will help set the country and its citizens apart in the international arena. Histories are stretched, emblems are hyperbolized, and traditions are invented to fill the amnesias and magnify the myth and fiction of Filipino identity. As Lico (2003) notes, "The regime's manipulation of the arts sought to prescribe a reincarnation (palingenesis) of vernacular civilization, fashioned from a synthesis of indigenous and cosmopolitan

aspirations of modernity: (1) identity as a derivative of primeval ancestry, and (2) identity as evidence of human progress, made possible through art” (p.40).

In both countries, nostalgia is what gave them harbor. It is what allowed them to resist being “angels” as Fanon argued. And what gave form to these harbors are invented traditions, the weaving of common memory and ways of being that are often proclaimed as a process of reclaiming when they are actually processes of constructing. These invented traditions are “responses to novel situations” (Hobsbawm, 1992, p.2), and in the context of Indonesia and the Philippines, these situations are nationalism, decolonization, and post-modernism—all recent events in the history of man. The common thread was “the invention of emotionally and symbolically charged signs of club membership,” (ibid, p.11) that is membership as citizenship and national identity. “Nostalgia was made possible through modern media and technology such as state-funded modern architecture, state-sanctioned art, and government-controlled mass information systems” (Lico, 2003, p.40)—a situation reminiscent of Anderson’s “homogeneous empty time.” This idea from Anderson is what changed the concept of simultaneity as something predetermined or foreordained, as was believed in the Middle Ages and prior eras, to something linear and measurable by clock and calendar.⁴³ “The idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogeneous empty time is a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which also is conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history” (Anderson, 2006, p.26). Homogeneous empty time, in other words, is what allowed the imagining of the nation to be possible, while nostalgia is what gave details

⁴³ See Anderson, B.R.O. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Revised Edition). Verso. p.24.

and features to that imagining. Another aspect that nostalgia helped bolster is the concept of legitimacy amid insecurity and anxiety—insecurity due to being freshly minted nation states and anxiety due to the concomitant desire of becoming members of the international community. Conceiving and birthing a past is what allowed the government to establish a historical continuity which then became the primary justification for convincing its citizenry of their authority.⁴⁴ All invented traditions, after all, “use history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion” (Hobsbawm, 1992, p.12). The building of monuments and structures then, such as Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino, naturally became the conveyors of their proponents’ legitimacy.

The Completion

For this part, I go back to the notion of the incomplete man, the specimen that needs civilizing, for it was not only the colonizers who relegated other races below them. The divide also transpired between the elites and the proletariat of the same race. The summoning of culture was utilized by the scions of nation-states to impose the same type of civility the colonizers championed but colored in what they perceived to be their true identity. A certain change in attitude, it would seem, is the key to development.

New Order cultural policy shared many features with colonial era policy. There was particular focus on economic and social development but underpinning that is also a specific drive for spiritual enhancement.⁴⁵ As Soeharto shared on the opening of Taman Mini:

⁴⁴ See Cabalfin, E.R. (2012). *Nation as Spectacle: Identity Politics in the Architectures of Philippine Displays in International Expositions, 1887 – 1998*. [PhD diss., Cornell University]. p.48 & 533.

⁴⁵ See Jones, T. (2005). *Indonesian Cultural Policy, 1950-2003: Culture, Institutions, Government*. Curtin University of Technology. p.306.

Economic development alone is not enough. Life will not have a beautiful and deep meaning with material sufficiency only, however abundant that sufficiency might become. On the contrary, pursuit of material things only will make life cruel and painful...One's life, therefore, will be calm and complete only when it is accompanied by spiritual welfare. (quoted in Pemberton, 1994b, p.244)

Following Javanese sensibilities, there is a need to be *alus* or refined, elegant, and sensitive. Social tensions should be avoided, and one should always aim for harmony as it is the bedrock of stability, and stability, thereafter, is a significant pillar of development.⁴⁶ It is understood then that these values not only epitomize spiritual transcendence for Indonesians but are also a nesting doll of virtues for national progress. Ali Moertopo, one of New Order's main movers, demonstrates culture's utility further by defining it as the process of humanity "developing a continual struggle in order to secure the victory of the process of humanization and avoid the process of dehumanization" (quoted in Acciaioli, 2001, p.8). From this perspective, Indonesians are represented as beings on the cusp of evolution. A caterpillar on the brink of metamorphosis.

The spiritual dictum is also evident in the Philippines' New Society. Ferdinand Marcos Sr. (1970), in his speech at the opening of Nayong Pilipino, states:

We are one today in thinking in terms of economic development and, therefore, we give high value to, if not worship at the foot of engines and machinery. Let me tonight, therefore, lead you in the worship of the spirit and of the soul. To the traditional Asian, abundance means spiritual bounty, a full life is lived in the spirit. And true to this heritage, we have always consecrated the values of the heart, the intangibles that have given to Asian life its calm and durable quality – and its peculiar pride.

New Society, in so far as authorized publications go, is described as a "humanist revolution" in that it caters to the body, mind, and feelings of man. Greek classicism and renaissance humanism are invoked in order to drive home the dogma of "man as

⁴⁶ See Abdulgani-Knapp, R. (2007). Soeharto: The Life and Legacy of Indonesia's Second President. Singapore. Marshall Cavendish. p.18.

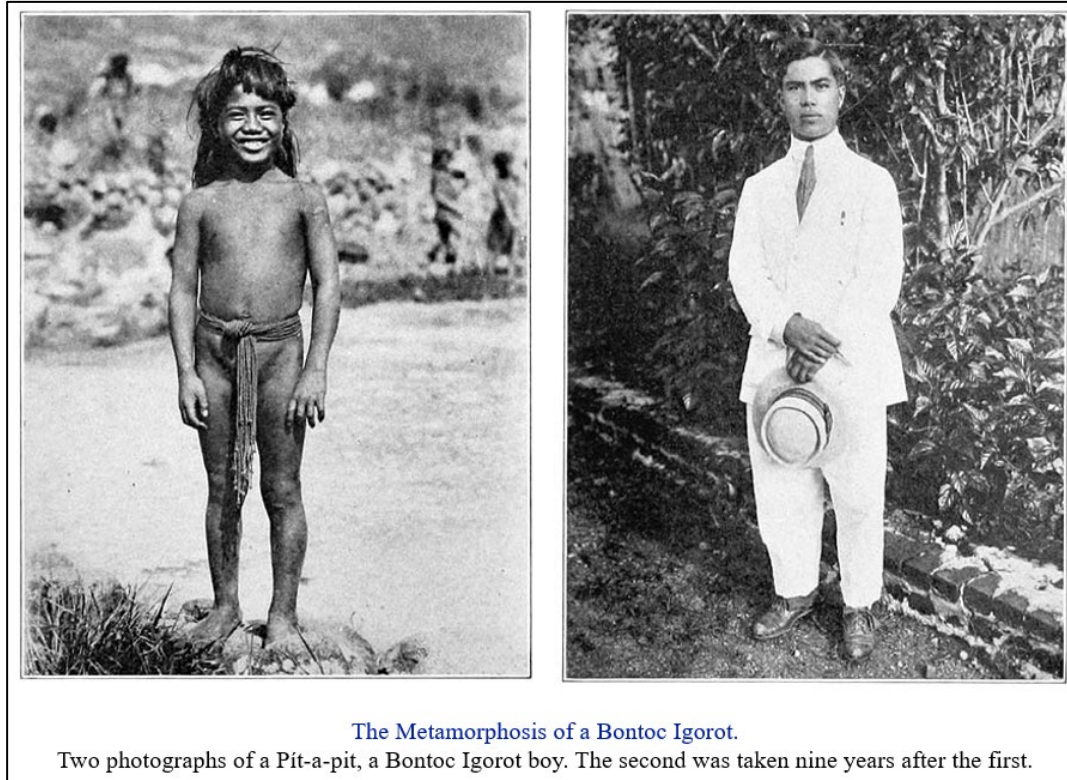
creator, whose most wonderful creation was ‘himself in the full excellence of his humanity’.”⁴⁷ This coming into fullness is especially coupled with relinquishing subaltern values garnered from the country’s long history of Spanish rule, a process Marcos Sr. was incredibly particular of. For, according to him, it is what led to the Filipino character being “dominated by indolence, docility, passivity, a pervading consciousness of racial inferiority, shyness, and a resistance to being enlightened” (Marcos, 1988, p.87). And this “character” is what stops the full uptake of both democracy and economic reforms in the country. Hence, the need for transcendence and evolution, a new set of values, and a new ideology. But this point of view is not novel to Marcos Sr. (as in the case of Indonesia) and is a common thread across the decolonizing landscape. For the Philippines, however, it mostly blooms as white love. Operationally, white love is the way Americans saw their occupation of the Philippines not as conquering another nation but what President McKinley referred to as “benevolent assimilation”⁴⁸ which is aimed at civilizing natives and supposedly preparing them for self-rule. By their definition, the Philippines is not a nation since it lacked a civilized, unified population. “In fact, they claimed that there were no Filipinos as such, only a mixed collection of polyglot savages lacking a common culture and prone to impulsive and irrational behavior” (Espiritu, 2017, p.57). Worcester (1914) notes, “I will say emphatically that the great mass of Filipinos do not constitute ‘a people’ in the sense in which that word is understood in the United States. They are not comparable in any way with the American people or the English people. They cannot be reached as a whole, and they do not respond as a whole” (vol.2, p.938). By American standards, benevolent assimilation would end once the “native inhabitants

⁴⁷ See Manuel, Ma. Teresa. (1979). *Tao: Humanism at work in Filipino society*. National Media Production Center Metropolitan Manila. Foreword and p.9.

⁴⁸ McKinley, W. (December 21, 1898). Executive Order.

desire what colonial authority desired for them” (Rafael, 2000, p.22). “In other words, self-government can be achieved only when the subject has learned to colonize itself” (Espiritu, 2017, p.59). See Figure 16 and note the use of the word “metamorphosis” in the caption.

Figure 16. Frontispiece of Dean C. Worcester’s *The Philippines Past and Present* Volume II



Source: Worcester, D.C. (1914). *The Philippines Past and Present*. Volumes I and II. New York. The Macmillan Company.

In both countries, and despite an explicit anti-colonial stance, colonial ways were not eradicated but were instead remastered to perpetuate an evolving dichotomy—from civilized-native to modern-indolent. The immediate post-modern world, evidently, is yet to grow out of the human metamorphosis frame and of Social Darwinism as a whole. In Indonesia, “greater intervention and control were justified through the assumption that Indonesians were backward compared to ‘developed’ nations and had limited capacities... Cultural policy adopted the task of preparing

Indonesians for economic development and making Indonesian culture ‘developed,’ while ‘protecting’ Indonesian cultural values” (Jones, 2005, p.306). In the Philippines, Marcos Sr.’s “internal revolution was premised on making the cultural subject aware of his deficiencies. The self-monitoring cultural subject, in short, had to be trained to recognize his ethical incompleteness as a first step to developing a drive for self-improvement. This critical fixture of cultural policy was promoted and disseminated by the Marcos regime” (Espiritu, 2017, p.64). In both cases, Fanon’s (1963) argument stands, “decolonization is quite simply the replacing of a certain ‘species’ of men by another ‘species’ of men” (p. 35).

The Othering

The dawn of the post-colonial world caused a shift in the established centers, not so much in meaning or composition, but in who runs them. It was a ceremonial passing of the baton (that is often bloody, often violent) from the colonizers to the local elites. A ceremony which entails no intention of changing the current order—those who have been in the periphery will still be in the periphery, albeit within a slightly different frame. After all, “a locality only has meaning in relationship to a center” (McVey, 1978, p.8) and so the center persists with the conviction that it must do so to cater to their “lesser” co-citizens. Jones (2005) states that Taman Mini “has become the most important representation of ... how the New Order regime understood ethnicity” (p.273). If this is true, and the center is constituted of the indigenous *suku* (ethnic groups) with the Javanese taking primacy, then what gets left out are the “immigrant Chinese, Indian, Arab, or European cultures” as “there were no plural visions, no traces of migration or any other flows, mixes, and hybridization of cultures” (Schlehe & Uike-Bormann, 2010 p.75). But what is also true is the marginalization

within the *suku*, especially of those considered “‘*suku terasing*’ or, more formally, ‘*masyarakat terasing*’, literally ‘[most] isolated tribes’ or ‘[most] isolated societies” (Acciaioli, 2001, p.14). The government, being the developer and cultivator of national culture, sought to “socialize” the *suku terasing*, to “remould them not only as political citizens of the state, but as cultural members of the nation” (ibid). According to New Order dictum, this is the only way for them to participate as “full” citizens contributing to the development process of the state. And this process of “socializing” (*memasyarakatkan*, literally, ‘convert into society’) fell within the mandate of the Social Affairs Department (Departemen Sosial or DEPSOS).⁴⁹ Following the same perspective in the Philippines, that is, *Nayong Pilipino* as the looking glass through which the New Society understood ethnicity, would show that the tightrope inclusion was walking on was even scrawnier than Indonesia’s. Recall that Taman Mini showcased 26 provinces, while *Nayong Pilipino* only displayed six regions.⁵⁰ And the litmus test used by the New Society to determine the center from the periphery is naturally a colonial hand-me-down—Christianization. Non-Christian peoples residing in the “countryside and the Muslims were considered as the ‘other’ to the hegemonic official national discourse” (Cabalfin, 2017, p.123), and despite being represented in the park, in practice, they are largely cast aside from the favored urban, Christian, and Tagalog population dominating postwar society.⁵¹ Similarly with Indonesia, the New Society also tried to bring these ethnic groups within its centralized culture, but this mandate did not fall with the Department of Social Welfare,⁵² which was the DEPSOS equivalent in the Philippines, but a separate non-profit organization reporting directly

⁴⁹ See Acciaioli, G. (2001). ‘Archipelagic Culture’ as an Exclusionary Government Discourse in Indonesia. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*. 2(1). p.15-16.

⁵⁰ Regions as clusters/groups of provinces.

⁵¹ See Cabalfin, E.R. (2012). *Nation as Spectacle: Identity Politics in the Architectures of Philippine Displays in International Expositions, 1887 – 1998*. [PhD diss., Cornell University]. p.529 & 544.

⁵² See Department of Social Welfare and Development. (n.d.). History of DSWD.

to the office of the president called PANAMIN, whose duty is to integrate to the larger community and to protect the rights of those considered as “national minorities.”⁵³ If this process was termed “socialization” in Indonesia, in the Philippines the chord it struck was closer to America’s “benevolent assimilation,” though admittedly, both are spun from similar threads. Imelda, in the 1974 fund drive for PANAMIN, stated:

“Every year, we launch an educational and fund drive for our national minorities. They are national minorities in terms of numbers and their place in modern culture. ... If our minorities are often regarded as recipients of assistance, it is only because as human beings and indigenous citizens, they have a claim to our duty in protecting them against the impact of culture shock. They have a right to be here, among us, for we are their inheritors. ... If our concern is a kind of charity, it is only because we are being charitable to ourselves. But since this is not charity but compassion, and more than compassion, a matter of cultural and national consciousness, we are, in supporting PANAMIN, truly claiming ourselves.” (in Maramag, 1978, p.100)

The propagation of the divide, or internal colonialism, was deemed important because identifying an “exotic, precolonial, and pre-industrial identity” (Cabalfin, 2012, p.529) serves as a source of vernacular raw materials for the invention of traditions, within which the creation of a national culture resides, and provides the distinctive hallmark which sets the country apart from other nations and giving it the rudiments of an identity, a brand. With the brand established, what comes next is demonstration, finding venues to showcase what has been achieved culturally. And one way to do this is by holding or participating in exhibitions. The age of imperialism did it to sustain the occident-orient (i.e., civilized-native) narrative, while the post-colonial age did it to secure for themselves a place in the international community. The reasons may have changed, but the content didn’t—the crux of the exhibitionary complex remains. This concept by Bennett is often set against Foucault’s carceral archipelago. In more ways

⁵³ See Presidential Decree No. 1414.

than one, both were responses to the problem of order, and both aimed for the “normalization of the power of normalization” (Foucault, 1984, p.237) through imposition of discipline via surveillance but differ in how they went about accomplishing the task. Foucault’s carceral archipelago, as the name implies, refers to discipline through confinement, with those carrying out the surveillance considered as “technicians of behavior: engineers of conduct, orthopedists of individuality. Their task was to produce bodies that were both docile and capable” (ibid, p.235). Bennett’s exhibitionary complex, on the other hand, refers to discipline via self-regulation, “a question of winning hearts and minds” (Bennett, 1995a, p.62), a matter of culture. What the institutions under Bennett’s concept aim for is “to allow the people to know and thence to regulate themselves; to become, in seeing themselves from the side of power, both the subjects and the objects of knowledge, knowing power and what power knows, and knowing themselves as (ideally) known by power, interiorizing its gaze as a principle of self-surveillance and, hence, self-regulation” (ibid). Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino are prime examples of Bennett’s exhibitionary complex in the post-colonial context, but their approach to visual display is by no means novel as prior colonial international exhibitions and world fairs have already set precedents and models. For Indonesia, some of these are as follows (Table 7):

Table 7

Exhibitions – Indonesia

-
- 1 International colonial exhibition in Amsterdam in 1883¹
 - 2 Colonial exhibition in Batavia in 1893²
 - 3 Bali Museum opens in Denpasar (construction of the building was in 1910, but the museum formally opened in 1932)^{1,3,4}
 - 4 Colonial exhibition in Surabaya in 1911²
 - 5 Colonial exhibition in Semarang in 1914^{2,3}
 - 6 International colonial exhibition in Paris in 1931¹
-

Sources:

¹ Lukito, Y. N. (2022). Historical and cultural negotiations in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: Beyond the utopia of 'unity in diversity.' *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 53(4), 762–785. doi:10.1017/S0022463422000844, p.772.

² Schlehe, J., & Uike-Bormann, M. (2010). Staging the Past in Cultural Theme Parks: Representations of Self and Other in Asia and Europe. In J. Schlehe, M. Uike-Bormann, C. Oesterle, & W. Hochbruck (Eds.), *Staging the Past: Themed Environments in Transcultural Perspectives*. p.75.

³ Costa, R. (2021). *Metamorphoses in an Everlasting Present: Desires, Changes, and the Power of Mini-ization in Taman Mini's Stone Age*. Cornell University Press. p.30.

⁴ Hitchcock, M. (1995). The Indonesian Cultural Village and its Forbears. *Journal of Museum Ethnography*. p.18.

Taman Mini's Indonesia Museum even bears an astonishing resemblance to the *Nederlandsche Paviljoen* (Netherlands Exhibition Hall) in the 1931 International Colonial Exhibition in Paris which was designed by Dutch architect W.J.G. Zweedijk.⁵⁴ On the other hand, for the Philippines, some of these exhibitions are as follows (Table 8):

⁵⁴ See Pemberton, J. (1994b). *Recollections from "Beautiful Indonesia" (Somewhere beyond the Postmodern)*. Public Culture. The University of Chicago.

Table 8*Exhibitions – The Philippines***Spanish Occupation**

- 1 1887 Exposicion General de las Islas Filipinas in Madrid, Spain
- 2 1895 Exposicion Regional de las Islas Filipinas in Manila

American Occupation

- 3 1898 Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition in Omaha, Nebraska
- 4 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York
- 5 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri
- 6 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific in Seattle, Washington
- 7 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, California

Post-World War II

- 8 1953 Philippine International Fair in Manila
- 9 1958 Universal Exposition in Brussels, Belgium
- 10 1962 World's Fair in Seattle, Washington, USA
- 11 1964 World's Fair in New York, USA
- 12 1970 World's Fair in Osaka, Japan
- 13 1992 Universal Exposition in Seville, Spain

Source:

Cabalfin, E.R. (2012). *Nation as Spectacle: Identity Politics in the Architectures of Philippine Displays in International Expositions, 1887 – 1998*. [PhD diss., Cornell University].

Through Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino, the New Order and New Society were able to demonstrate their control over their nations' history, pedigree, and patrimony and invited the visitors of and performers (i.e., people who had roles as part of the displays) to see this power as their own. The architecture employed in the parks functioned as a way of "spatializing identities," that is "by articulating the identities of people through space and built form, narratives of self and nation are physically manifested and visualized" (Cabalfin, 2012, p.29). "The great exhibitions were inextricably intertwined with colonialism" (Cabalfin, 2017, p.109) and instead of rewriting the disparities within the stories told, post-colonial nations decided to transcend their precursors by rejecting ephemerality and opting for permanence, thereby solidifying colonial anecdotes.

The displays in both parks which are “decontextualized, essentialized, and simplified regional cultures serve for the celebration of romanticized and exoticized traditions” (Schlehe & Uike-Bormann, 2010, p.76). As Bruner (2005) elaborates, “Although both world’s fairs and ethnic parks are recreational, they are also seriously political. They symbolize centralized power. Cultural heterogeneity is put in its place—fixed, aligned, domesticated—and turned into recreational exhibition” (p.212). The fixing in place and time causes complications for cultures are never fixed—they move, transform, and metamorphose just as the people who live and practice them do. And yet, the states strongly call for preservation. As Tien Soeharto proclaims at the opening of Taman Mini: “We feel our urgent need to preserve this cherished cultural inheritance to prevent its extinction” (as cited in Gafur, 1992, p.403). And Imelda Marcos at the 1974 fund drive for PANAMIN: “We are bound to preserve them [national minorities], not only because they enrich our heritage, but because, above all, they are part of us and we are part of them” (in Maramag, 1978, p.100). This vigorous preservation is what Espiritu (2012) means when she says that ethnic groups are subject to “special treatments” (p.733) from the government. For Indonesia’s *suku terasing*, it was cultural prescription.⁵⁵ For the Philippines’ national minorities, it was enforced primitivism.⁵⁶ In both cases, self-exoticism quickly established itself as a currency in helping propel the cultural economy. Imelda Marcos, known to not do anything small, actively promoted the Philippines as an “exotic country,” and proudly stated that the wares displayed at Nayong Pilipino were chosen specifically because they already gained prominence

⁵⁵ See Acciaioli, G. (1985). Culture as Art: from Practice to Spectacle in Indonesia. *Canberra Anthropology*, 8(1 & 2). p.162.

⁵⁶ See Cabalfin, E.R. (2014). Condensing the Country: Identity Politics in the Design of Nayong Pilipino (Philippine Village) and the 1998 Expo Pilipino Theme Parks. *Espasyo, Journal of Architecture and Allied Arts in the Philippines*. p.29.

and recognition at international exhibitions.⁵⁷ In short, they were already on brand, even if that brand was a colonial bequeathal. Truly, “orientalization and self-orientalization appear to be two sides of the same coin” (Schlehe & Uike-Bormann, 2010, p.76). Again, in the case of the Philippines, ethnic exploitation reached a unique peak—PANAMIN’s alleged discovery of the Tasadays (see Figure 17), “a tribe of 25 or so Stone Age hunters and gatherers in the montane rainforests of southern Mindanao” (Thomas, 2000, p.77). This caused a massive uproar in the world of anthropology upon revelation, and when the Marcos dynasty fell, it caused a massive divide. The Tasadays may be a hoax, they may be real, or they may be something in between, but what they do show is the extent of self-exoticism’s profitability. Bruner (2005) was right—ethnic theme parks are paradoxical, not only because “they display difference yet promote unity” (p.212), but also because as they show the country’s drive for modernization given their capacity to build a park, they also promote stagnation for the sake of distinction.

⁵⁷ See Ang Nayong Pilipino (The Philippine Village) Brochure. (1969). Philippines Board of Travel and Tourist Industry.

Figure 17. The Tasadays



Source: Photo by Launois, J. in MacLeash, K. (1972). The Tasadays: Stone Age Cavemen of Mindanao. National Geographic. August 1972. Volume 142, No.2.

The Crescendo

The identity promoted by the New Order and New Society has two main characteristics—homogeneity and perpetuity. The editing process employed by the governments of Soeharto and Ferdinand Marcos Sr. as a prerequisite for establishing a coherent nation falls under the former. As Cabalfin (2017) notes, “part of nationalism’s tragedy is that for a country to be able to forge its national identity, it often requires the exclusion and erasure of ethnicities and identities within the nation” (p.123). This means making sure differences are under control and that perceived irregularities are smoothened out, so as not to disturb the carefully built narrative and image of the nation—a process of homogenization with very little breathing space for genuine diversity. For Indonesia, this has been explicitly delineated in an official New Order publication that commemorates Taman Mini’s opening:

This means that Indonesian culture is essentially one, with a pattern of diversity reflecting the wealth of Indonesian culture and serving as a model and basis for development of the entire people, ultimately for the enjoyment of the entire people. Therefore, in guiding and cultivating the national culture, the mining and enrichment of regional cultures is an important element in enriching and lending character to the national culture. (The Writers' Group, 1978, p.19 as quoted in Acciaioli, 1996, p.27)

Note the phrases “essentially one” and “pattern of diversity” which clearly impose cohesion and, at the same time, demote diversity from something integral to something prescribed. As Lukito (2022) quotes from Edi Sedyawati,⁵⁸ “national culture is not the sum of ethnic cultures” (p.775) but rather a product of nationalism’s sieve, a homogenous concoction with a scintilla of variety. What traces of diversity can be gleaned are essentially only “centrally permitted embroidery” (Acciaioli, 1996, p.39), more ornamental than substantial. In the case of the Philippines, Lico (2003) describes Marcos architecture as “essentially a system of rejecting aspects deemed ‘inappropriate,’ and emphasizing those that were judged ‘proper.’ The selection process was inherently vulnerable to the biases of its jury, helping muffle the rich polyphony of architectural expressions within the heteroglot cultures of the archipelago” (p.72). Noticeably, Lico refers particularly to ‘architectural expressions’ in his statement, but the intention can be expanded to cultural expressions within the Philippines. With the representations in *Nayong Pilipino* being more nebulous than *Taman Mini*’s, homogeneity takes on a stronger hue.

The states’ prescription of the “generic” Indonesian and Filipino in *Taman Mini* and *Nayong Pilipino* can be observed in varying facets. First is by what Acciaioli

⁵⁸ Indonesia’s director-general of culture in 1993.

termed as emasculating or domesticating diversity.⁵⁹ This may be understood with this passage:

By culturizing real differences, the regime, in the manner of the colonial power that preceded it, reduces the risk of mobilization along ethnic lines and defuses potential political opposition. By deflecting ethnic loyalties from their origins and focusing them on the province, the state provincializes ethnicity, and moves the locus of identification 'from a primordial to an administrative entity'. (Hitchcock, 1998, p.131)

Essentially, the spotlight was shifted from ethnic groups to provinces for Indonesia, and to regions for the Philippines—effectively defanging stark differences and silencing considerable contrasts between ethnicities, thus rendering diversity more malleable and more amenable to template formation. Second is by depoliticizing culture. This can be gleaned from the chosen emblem of both parks which is the house. Through this, culture is literally containerized and located strictly within the domestic.⁶⁰ And third is cherry-picking norms. For Indonesia, this is generally done by choosing houses that are mainly those of royalty and by having each province be represented by a heterosexual couple in traditional costumes.⁶¹ This creates a *fata morgana* of cohesion made intriguing with local flavor. And “where diversity cannot be so easily assimilated, official representations erase the delinquent forms and construct a novel local tradition, disciplining waywardness into conformity. Penis sheaths [for example] become discreetly refined silk short pants” (Acciaioli, 1996, p.39). For the Philippines, representatives are chosen based mostly on reputational value. By this, I mean the ones featured are those whose indigenous styles and local handicrafts have

⁵⁹ See Acciaioli, G. (1985). *Culture as Art: from Practice to Spectacle in Indonesia*. Canberra Anthropology 8(1&2). p.161. And Acciaioli, G. (1996). *Pavilions and Posters: Showcasing Diversity and Development in Contemporary Indonesia*. EIKON. 1. p.39-40.

⁶⁰ See Acciaioli, G. (1996). *Pavilions and Posters: Showcasing Diversity and Development in Contemporary Indonesia*. EIKON. 1. p.40. And Boellstorff, T. (2002). *Ethnolocality*. The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology. p.32.

⁶¹ Ibid.

already incurred recognition from the international community⁶² or to requote Scholar C, only “the hits, the very famous ones” (July 8, 2024). The following excerpts from the 1969 *Nayong Pilipino* brochure help bring this point to focus:

In almost all international exhibits and expositions, including the World Exhibition in Montreal, Canada, the ornamental woodcarvings from Paete are given prominence and recognition.

Mats woven in Leyte are in great demand all over the country for their utility and craftsmanship.

Today, brass jugs, agongs, lamps, brasshandled boloos and spears made in Lanao are used as ornamental pieces in the more affluent homes—such as those in Forbes Park and the nearby plush villages of Makati—and in multi-million-peso hotels such as the Manila Hilton, Savoy Philippines and Hotel Intercontinental Manila.

Both fabrics [Ilocano cloth and Igorot fabric], coming from the Ilocos region, are very much in demand today, locally and internationally.

The bags and baskets [of Pangasinan] compete favorably with foreign-made products in the tourist market.

Lately, Cebu has acquired more fame with its handmade guitars... Children learn the art from their elders, who, in turn, learned it from the previous generation of artisans. It is this system which has preserved the unique quality of these guitars which have now achieved prominence in the international market.

The “balisong” [made in Batangas] is a highly tempered fan knife named after the barrio where knife-making is a major home industry. Because of its workmanship and ornamental design, the “balisong” is popular throughout the country and valued as a special souvenir by foreigners.

In spite of the technological and agricultural advancement, the industrious and hardworking Tagalogs still engage themselves in various cottage industries, of which the most outstanding is “piña” and “jusi” cloth weaving. It is due to the increasing demand for these cloths, both locally and internationally, that the home industry has evolved into a big time industry.

Nestled on the foothills of the Mountain Province and around Baguio City are the tiny Igorot villages. The Igorots have gained distinction through outstanding home industries: woodcarving and loom weaving.

⁶² See Ang *Nayong Pilipino* (The Philippine Village) Brochure. (1969). Philippines Board of Travel and Tourist Industry.

The above passages further strengthen the notion that Nayong Pilipino was intended more as a marketplace than a comprehensive representation of the archipelago. Hence, while there is a hint of “political sensitivity” in Taman Mini by equitably having little reference to ethnicity within its pavilions and having no mention of ethnic groups,⁶³ it is a little less so with Nayong Pilipino. This is especially the case with the Cordillera Region which is composed of culturally distinct ethnic groups who are collectively labelled and marketed as *Igorots*.⁶⁴ Therefrom, allow me to offer a simple yet admittedly imperfect and not unproblematic analogy⁶⁵—from the vantage point of the ones who claim for themselves a position above others, it may be surmised that the *Igorots* are to the *Tagalogs* what *Indios* are to the Spanish, an appellation aimed at reinforcing the structures of power.

The other characteristic of identity under the New Order and the New Society is that of perpetuity. The insecurity and anxiety which nostalgia helps placate creates Indonesians and Filipinos whose eyes are fixed to the future but whose feet are glued to the past, rendering the rest of his being embedded in a non-moving present—a perpetual now. Historian Anne McClintock uses two concepts to help visualize this state through the lens of colonialism. First is that of panoptical time, which is “the image of global history consumed—at a glance—in a single spectacle from a point of privileged invisibility” (McClintock, 1995, p.37). Through this concept, time becomes “a geography of social power, a map from which to read a global allegory of ‘natural’

⁶³ See Acciaioli, G. (1996). Pavilions and Posters: Showcasing Diversity and Development in Contemporary Indonesia. EIKON. 1. p.38.

⁶⁴ See Maramag, I. (n.d.). Performance and Achievement: A Progress Report on the Projects of the First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos. And Ang Nayong Pilipino (The Philippine Village) Brochure. (1969). Philippines Board of Travel and Tourist Industry.

⁶⁵ I say imperfect and not unproblematic since there are various positions taken about the usage and connotations of the word Igorot. See Scott, W. H. (1962). The Word Igorot. *Philippine Studies*, 10(2), 234–248.

social difference” (ibid). And in the states’ “compulsion to collect and reproduce history whole, time stops in its tracks... history appears static, fixed, covered in dust” (ibid, p.40). In the case of Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino, it is national history that is fixed so it may be consumed in a glance. The other concept McClintock offers is that of anachronistic space, which is described as “a land perpetually out of time in modernity, marooned, and historically abandoned” (ibid, p.41). Within the context of colonialism, this may be described through this passage: “The stubborn and threatening heterogeneity of the colonies was contained and disciplined not as socially or geographically different from Europe and thus equally valid, but as *temporally* different and thus as irrevocably superannuated by history” (ibid, p.40). The taxonomic projects persist through internal othering which is then exhibited in the parks for normative diffusion. The chosen recovered cultures whose first sentence is that of being ahistorical and therefore out of sync with the modernity being promulgated by the state is given a second sentence, and that is permanent abeyance. Once displayed, they are to remain as they are as logograms to the nation. Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino then become harbingers of ceaselessness, they become monuments “designed to reveal essence and continuity rather than record existence and change” (Anderson, 1973, p.72)—bringing forth an “eternal Indonesianness” (Acciaioli, 1996, p.40) and Filipinoness.

Currents

The fact that the establishment of Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino did not occur in isolation has already been established, but this section will further elucidate some of the international movements and developments that have helped bring the idea of these parks into fruition.

The Predecessors

“It remains unclear precisely when the cultural village concept was introduced to the Asia-Pacific region,” (Hitchcock, 1995, p.17) but what is clear is that the idea was received enthusiastically. Cultural villages fall along the same category as open-air museums and themed gardens which Hoffstaedter refers to broadly as cultural theme parks.⁶⁶ The first of its kind to ever open is Skansen in Stockholm, Sweden (see Figure 18). This cultural theme park was founded by Arthur Hazelius in 1891. His impetus was that in his travels to Sweden’s hinterlands, he saw how traditional forms of village life were fading because of the rise of industrialization. Wanting future generations to be able to see what Sweden had been like, he sought to preserve various dwellings, cottages, and huts in a park for everyone to see.⁶⁷ “The museum was to provide a vital link between the ancient and the modern” (Hitchcock, 1998, p.128), an aspiration akin to Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino, and which would substantiate as to why it is the most cited predecessor of these parks (Cabalfin, 2012, p.442; Costa, 2021, p.29; Hitchcock, 1998, p.128; Lukito, 2022, p.773). The other commonly mentioned forerunner is Madurodam in Scheveningen, the Netherlands (see Figure 19). This park was established by Mrs. Boon-van der Starp in 1952. Unlike Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino though, Madurodam was founded as a living memorial to war hero, George Maduro, and as a way of raising funds for charities.⁶⁸ Also unlike these parks, it was “built at a consistent scale” (Lukito, 2022, p.773). But

⁶⁶ See Hoffstaedter, G. (2008). “Representing Culture in Malaysian Cultural Theme Parks: Tensions and Contradictions.” *Anthropological Forum* 18:2. p.141.

⁶⁷ See Hitchcock, M. (1998). Tourism, *Taman Mini*, and national identity. Indonesia and the Malay World. 26:75. p.128. And Lukito, Y. N. (2022). Historical and cultural negotiations in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: Beyond the utopia of ‘unity in diversity.’ *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*. 53(4). p.773.

⁶⁸ See History | Madurodam. (n.d.). Madurodam. <https://www.madurodam.nl/en/organisation/history>

just like Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino, they are a mixture of fantasy and something very abstract, which in this case is culture, that takes on the appearance of closeness, intimacy, and authenticity.⁶⁹ Interestingly enough, these two antecedents, with the addition of the Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen, Denmark, were also the inspiration to what Hoffstaedter (2008) calls as either the “greatest icon or worst nightmare” (p.141) of Southeast Asian cultural theme parks, that is Disneyland.⁷⁰ The cultural village bug also did not stop with Indonesia and the Philippines as other ASEAN countries also established their own parks. In an earlier section, I’ve already mentioned TIMland and Muang Boran, but other examples include the Malay Village of Geylang Serai in Singapore built in 1989 but eventually closed in 2011, the Taman Mini Malaysia which opened in 1986, and the Taman Mini ASEAN which opened in 1991.⁷¹

Figure 18. Skansen circa 1905



Source: Old country-house at Skansen, near Stockholm, Sweden. (1905). Stereograph Collection, Arts Department, Boston Public Library.
<https://www.digitalcommonwealth.org/search/commonwealth:sq87dq71d?view=commonwealth%3Asq87dq73z>

⁶⁹ See Hoffstaedter, G. (2008). “Representing Culture in Malaysian Cultural Theme Parks: Tensions and Contradictions.” *Anthropological Forum* 18:2. p.141. And Lukito, Y. N. (2022). Historical and cultural negotiations in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: Beyond the utopia of ‘unity in diversity.’ *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*. 53(4). p.773.

⁷⁰ See Costa, R. (2021). *Metamorphoses in an Everlasting Present: Desires, Changes, and the Power of Mini-ization in Taman Mini’s Stone Age*. Cornell University Press. p.29.

⁷¹ See Lukito, Y. N. (2022). Historical and cultural negotiations in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: Beyond the utopia of ‘unity in diversity.’ *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*. 53(4). p.773-774.

Figure 19. Madurodam



Source: History | Madurodam. (n.d.). Madurodam.
<https://www.madurodam.nl/en/organisation/history>

The Heralds

The parallels between the parks' pioneers are by no means exclusive to them. Tien Soeharto and Imelda Marcos are among the First Ladies who took on their roles in cultural regeneration to heart. Their linkage is a natural consequence of countries establishing connections through state visits, highlighting how the cultural arena became an important diplomatic avenue especially among Southeast Asian nations (see Figures 20 and 21).⁷²

⁷² See Cabalfin, E.R. (2012). *Nation as Spectacle: Identity Politics in the Architectures of Philippine Displays in International Expositions, 1887 – 1998*. [PhD diss., Cornell University]. p.471-472.

Figure 20. ASEAN-5 Leaders circa 1976



Source: Abdulgani-Knapp, R. (2007). Soeharto: The Life and Legacy of Indonesia's Second President. Singapore. Marshall Cavendish. p.140.

Figure 21. Soeharto with the Marcoses



Source: Abdulgani-Knapp, R. (2007). Soeharto: The Life and Legacy of Indonesia's Second President. Singapore. Marshall Cavendish. p.142.

Tien Soeharto was rarely compared to other First Ladies, but in my interview with Scholar B, there was a mention of Eleanor Roosevelt (see Figure 22) as a probable analogue to Soeharto's wife, in that both are high profile personalities but whose roles have more to do with social causes rather than political decisions (July 8, 2024). Anna Eleanor Roosevelt was wife of President Franklin Roosevelt and was the longest serving First Lady of the United States from 1933 to 1945. Eleanor as a First

Lady was described as someone who dedicated her life to her husband's purposes. "She became eyes and ears for him, a trusted and tireless reporter" (Black, 2009, p.71). Tien Soeharto's support for her husband may be gleaned upon by this passage at the time she was awarded the *Bintang Budaya Parama Dharma*, a distinction for cultural promotion whose first Indonesian recipient was the First Lady:

"As the President of the Republic of Indonesia stooped slightly to pin the Bintang Budaya, the First Lady, dressed in a bright green kebaya and looking rather somber and pensive, focuses her attention meaningfully on the pillar bearing the inscription: *Pengabdian Suci Seorang Wanita Kepada Suaminya, Tanggung jawab, Kasih Sayang Tumpuan Cinta Sejati Seorang Laki-Laki Kepada Isterinya* (Purity of devotion, loyalty and love of wife for her husband and responsibility, un-erring love and affection of a husband for his wife)" (Gafur, 1992, p.423).

It may be construed that they are analogous in terms of their devotion to their husbands but differed quite a bit in their focus. Eleanor Roosevelt concentrated on social issues such as that of race while Tien Soeharto became more absorbed in cultural projects.

Figure 22. Tien Soeharto and Eleanor Roosevelt



Sources:

¹ Republic of Indonesia Presidential Museum

² Black, A. (2009). *The First Ladies of the United States of America*. White House Historical Association. p.70.

Imelda Marcos, on the other hand, has been compared to at least two other First Ladies (see Figure 23). First is Evita Perón, wife of Argentine President Juan Perón and First Lady of Argentina from 1946 until her death in 1952. In an *Inquirer* article (2011),⁷³ the following was stated in terms of their similarities:

Background: poor, rejected by the affluent and families with old pedigreed names; born of a second wife; hence, driven, to match burning desire to get out of misery, become rich and famous, maybe go international. With a lot of help from their beautiful faces (in Evita's case, body, too), they make it to the top of the ritz, to the lineup of newsmakers of the world... The beauties Evita and Imelda married to powerful men began to wield power themselves and to believe that they alone were the saviors of their people.

But there are oppositions to this as well, articulating that Imelda pales in comparison to Evita—that while Evita used her poor origins as a political tool, Imelda denounced hers and that while Evita fought for labor rights and women's suffrage, Imelda was busy nursing her edifice complex.⁷⁴ As for Imelda herself, she also disliked being compared to Evita Perón and preferred instead to be likened to Jackie Kennedy, according to her friend, Nikki Haskell.⁷⁵ Jacqueline Lee Kennedy was wife to President John Kennedy and First Lady of the United States from 1961 until her husband's assassination in 1963. She was known for her work in restoring the historic integrity of the White House and for her support to the arts and commitment to preserving historic sites,⁷⁶ which is probably why Imelda wanted to be compared to her. The other First Lady to whom Imelda Marcos was compared with was Farah Diba. Farah Diba Pahlavi was the widow of the last Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, and was queen and empress of Iran from 1959 to 1979. Their main intersection lay in their considerable

⁷³ See *Inquirer*. (February 24, 2011). Evita and Imelda.

⁷⁴ See Pedrosa, C. (May 17, 2020). Imelda Marcos was not an Evita Peron. *The Philippine Star*; and Anderson, J. (January 18, 1981). The Powerful Imelda Marcos. *The Washington Post*.

⁷⁵ Widdicombe, B. (November 4, 2019). How Imelda Marcos, the Wife of a Filipino Dictator, Became an Icon of '80s Excess. *Town and Country*.

⁷⁶ See Black, A. (2009). *The First Ladies of the United States of America*. White House Historical Association.

mobilization of state resources to advance cultural activities. As Roces (2019) describes:

In both the Iranian and Philippine cases, the expenditure on these things cultural by either state was of unprecedented scale. In both cases, the statuesque woman who was front and center of decades-long celebration for affairs cultural – partying – took up huge space in the national imagination. In both cases, their spouses were architects of politically recalibrated repression...Both escorted women who recreated themselves from art students into transcendent beings. Goddess, muse, preternatural patroness of art, Farah Diba and Imelda Marcos dressed to be loved by cameras and occupied center stage of spectacle. A male/female Janus head of power was, in either case, cut graphically for a plethora of cameos in mass media. (p.297).

Whether Imelda liked being compared to Farah was anybody's guess but what can be deduced was that the party in Persepolis, staged in 1971 by Farah Pahlavi to celebrate the 2500th year of the Foundation of the Imperial State of Iran, was where "the empress caused a grand parade to materialize upon the sands, in which luxuriously costumed physical representations of Persia's epochs dramatized art history [and] thousands of bodies performed fascist choreography," (Roces, 2019, p.310) and to which Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos were attendees, thereby heavily influencing Imelda's cultural activities in the Philippines. And this "influence" fully materialized in 1974. During this year, the Folk Arts Theater rose behind the CCP in just 70 days and became the venue of the Miss Universe Beauty Pageant, as well as the controversial *Kasaysayan ng Lahi* (History of the Race), which not only "reworked the visual, performative, and commercial dynamics of the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair" (Espiritu, 2012, p.729) where 1,100 Filipinos were used as human displays, but also aimed to be "a parade-to-end-all-parades for the Philippines, as kilometeric as that in Persepolis [where] costumed 'tribes' of the Philippines as well as actors who were rendered into friezes of historical moments paraded in front of the pageant contestants" (Roces, 2019, p.310). Truly, there are connections to be unearthed within the often-overlooked world of First Ladies.

Figure 23. Imelda Marcos, Evita Perón, Jackie Kennedy, and Farah Pahlavi



Sources:

¹ Vergara, A.Y. (September 20, 2015). Imelda Marcos and the 'terno' of her affections. Lifestyle Inquirer. <https://lifestyle.inquirer.net/207123/imelda-marcos-and-the-terno-of-her-affections/>

² Gods and Foolish Grandeur. <https://godsandfoolishgrandeur.blogspot.com/2021/05/so-christian-dior-me-eva-peron-vestida.html>

³ Black, A. (2009). The First Ladies of the United States of America. White House Historical Association. p.77.

⁴ Karimdaze, M. (April 28, 2022). Former Empress Farah Pahlavi on the Future of Iran. Town and Country.

The Circulation

Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino as condensations of their nations would not have been realized if nationalism had not spread the way it did. As Smith (1979) declares, "of all the visions and faiths that compete for men's loyalties in the modern world, the most widespread and persistent is the national ideal" (p.1). He further asserts that:

At the root of the 'national ideal' is a certain vision of the world and a certain type of culture. According to this vision, mankind is 'really' and 'naturally' divided into distinct communities of history and culture, called nations. Each nation is distinct and unique. Each has its peculiar contribution to make to the whole, the family of nations. Each nation defines the identity of its members, because its specific culture molds the individual. The key to that culture is history, the sense of special patterns of events peculiar to successive generations of a particular group. (ibid, p.2-3)

Parallel to this is Hobsbawm's (1992) contention of the nation as a "comparatively recent historical innovation... with its associated phenomena: nationalism, the nation-state, national symbols, histories, and the rest. All these rest on exercises in social engineering which are often deliberate and always innovative, if only because historical novelty implies innovation" (p.13). These two statements, the parameters they inevitably set, and the concomitant waves of action which have sprung from the concepts they describe illustrate the wide array of problematics nation and nationalism bring to the fore— invention of history, enactment of a singular culture, prescription of identity, among others. All of which flesh out the lattice of this study.

In an earlier section, I described decolonization and nationalism as being each other's aftertastes. In stating this, I referred to both as processes. Relationally, and worth pondering over, is Smith's description of anti-colonialism as a variegation of nationalism, along with imperialism and populism.⁷⁷ These "isms," within Smith's context, may be seen as a form of stance, a place in time where people willingly stand while harnessing (and oftentimes, fighting for) specific worldviews. This highly combustible era where nations were being born straight from the colonial womb and where culture is being commercialized and weaponized for the international battle of identity, is also the exact, same backdrop for the cold war—replete with effects and reverberations which can only be described as furthest from cold. This *mise-en-scène* depicts the enduring entanglement of power and the superficial aspects of culture (mainly art and performance) and how it shaped our understandings of belonging,

⁷⁷ See Smith, A.D.S. (1979). *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. Australian National University Press. Canberra. p.8-11.

nationhood, and citizenship. A thought-provoking series of statements from Roces (2019) further illustrates this:

Power and art have danced in myriad configurations since art itself was begat, which is to say, since art was understood to be magic... The object of magic is to will control over nature. Power-and-art articulated through historical process intends to dominate people... I think that the mind that imagined that art's link to life is from on high, that art straddles myth on one hand and State system on the other, is an infinitely evil mind. (p.17, 19, 22)

The evil lies in repression rooted in homogenization, the all-consuming want to be known and recognized causing peripheral blindness—suddenly, there is only one way to be a citizen, and that one way is determined and enforced by the state. Circling slightly back to the heralds, Roces (2019) notes that “Tehran and Manila were way stations in a twentieth-century Silk Road that trafficked fabulous goods and experiences. Farah Diba and Imelda Marcos similarly enabled trading on high-octane blends of exotica and High Art” (p.298). Everywhere across the globe, during this time, were outbursts of culture and power engaged in a fiery dance of exhibition and pageantry. In every single nation, stages were set, and state leaders stood as maestros conducting invented symphonies celebrated as originals. Indeed, “on the American flank of the Cold War were dictators who traded heavily in cultural capital” (Roces, 2019, p.303). And as it happens, “Michel Foucault speaks to this condition: ‘The problem of culture is at the heart of the problem of power’” (ibid, p.22).

Aesthetics

Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino were spectacles amid a vintage where the spectacularization of culture was on its way to its apogee, if not already at its zenith. In a sonar-like fashion, the concentration of efforts toward aesthetics during the New Order and New Society, together with its implications, are what will be explored in this section.

The Firepower

I titled this subsection as “firepower” because this is what aesthetics was for the eras of Soeharto and Ferdinand Marcos Sr. Combustion occurs when a fuel meets an oxidant compound, creating fire. Within the context of the New Order and New Society, the state is the fuel and culture acts as the oxidant compound. The fire created here appears in a concentric manner, red to orange flames near the center which are the capital cities of Jakarta and Manila, then the flames shift to yellow, white, and blue as they spread out to the margins. And as basic science knowledge dictates, blue flames are the hottest, which means the ones who are hurt the most by the top-down prescription of culture are the ones at the margins. Within this reality, borders burn the most. This is due to the belief that the further you are from the locus of power, the more primitive, unmodern, and to a certain extent, more unruly you are expected to be when compared to the states’ vision of polished citizens, subsequently necessitating a more thorough disciplining. Akin to this perspective is Acciaioli’s (1996) contention of “the homogenizing hand of the modern State [being] more evident in the periphery than in the center” (p.38).

Pemberton (1989) notes that, “One of the keys to the Soehartos’ hold on power lies in the particular sway that ‘tradition’ (as both *adat* and *tradisi*) has developed under the New Order government. Through ‘tradition’ is perceived a sense of timeless stability, an image of cultural order which confirms the existence of a ‘stable’ (*stabil*) political order” (p.230-231). Homogenized culture, then, is seen as the most effective implement for social order, which is expected to propagate national stability, state security, and civil loyalty. As a homogenous entity, it is expected that fewer frictions

would arise, making the population more manageable (at least in the imagined worlds of Soeharto and Ferdinand Marcos Sr., such was the case). Hence, “sosialisasi,” (socialization) as Scholar B (July 8, 2024) points out in the interview, was used to compel people to adhere to a specific set of values. In the case of Indonesia, this is the Pancasila, and Taman Mini becomes the perfect showcase of these virtues. In the case of the Philippines, it was the constant harping to discipline as a way to transcendence, therefore becoming “true” Filipinos. Nayong Pilipino was not only symbolic of this but was also representative of the enforced neutrality and proletarian nature of culture, that all actions done under the flag of culture are not political and can never be detrimental or go against the welfare of the citizens. Lico (2003) says this of the CCP, which I’ll be extending to Nayong Pilipino: the existence of the park “confirms the significance of cultural power—the power to impose a hegemonic vision for social control in the semblance of consensual image and collectivity” (p.159). By conflating and flattening the image of identity in one place, lines were drawn, though most were only retraced.

Referring again to my interview with Scholar B (July 8, 2024), there was mention of transmigration as another means by which the homogenization of culture was discharged, though naturally the main aim was to relieve population pressure from economic centers. For Indonesia, this began in 1905 with small-scale attempts by the Dutch colonial government and continued through to the New Order, and was mainly undertaken in the islands of Java, Madura, Bali, and to a certain extent West Lombok.⁷⁸ Scholar B explains that the transmigrants were moved to what was then

⁷⁸ See MacAndrews, C. (1978). Transmigration in Indonesia: Prospects and Problems. *Asian Survey*, 18(5), p.458.

called Irian Jaya, and despite the economic overtones the basis was largely cultural—to inculcate proper Indonesian national values and loyalty to the government in the border areas. It was also mentioned in the interview that the same transpired in the Philippines, citing specifically the case of what is now General Santos City. For the Philippines, transmigration began in the 1900 during the American occupation, with Catholic settlers being moved from the northern mainland to Mindanao, the goal being the dilution of sociological differences through a coerced cultural shift.⁷⁹ What both movements demonstrate is not only the continuity of colonial practices but also of the cultural machinery employed to the hilt by the governments of Soeharto and Ferdinand Marcos Sr., to which Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino are only a part. The fires created by this era probably looked like fireworks from the international perspective—young nations taking after their prior rulers must have looked astounding to the global eyes, but to the people on the ground, the ones who have to live through the consequences of being proximal to the fire, the colors produced by the aesthetics can never detract from the fact that they burned.

The Illusion

Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino flaunt the aesthetics of the New Order and the New Society by being utopic visions of their countries. Utopias are phantoms and therefore are about as fictive as the recalled histories and traditions which lie on the foundations of both governments' cultural exploits. In this light, the way the displays at the parks were curated can be interpreted as a form of veil put on by both countries for the sake of claiming international status.

⁷⁹ See Schaefer, B. K. (2018, September 19): Moro Separatism in the Philippines: The Strategic Failure of a Promising Counterinsurgency. *Small Wars Journal*.

The notion of beauty under the Soehartos, as I've mentioned in an earlier section, is closely intertwined with harmony and subsequently, stability. Costa (2020) refers to harmony as the New Order's "supreme aesthetic" (p.354) and as one of the aspects "that characterize[s] Suharto's romance with a beautiful and stable Indonesia" (ibid, p.364). Acciaioli (1996) refers to Taman Mini as a monument reflecting the supposed success of the New Order in molding "the archipelago into a coherent nation state" (p.29). Instead of reflecting diversity as it is lived by Indonesians, "harmony and a clean image of Indonesia were deemed more important" (Lukito, 2022, p.771). The "aesthetic smokescreen" (Hitchcock, 1995, p.23) created by the seeming tranquility reflected by the pavilions as they lay side-by-side within the park boosts the state's desirability, not just as a country worth visiting, but as a nation worth admiring. As Lukito (2022) explains:

Taman Mini is appealing because it offers the fantasy that one is seeing a map of Indonesian culture. The items displayed are controlled and have become part of the official image of Indonesian culture, and the regional pavilions have become accepted versions of local architecture and culture. The selectiveness of the collections and the construction of national culture make Taman Mini essentially a utopian gesture. (p.777)

For the Marcoses, and this has also been mentioned previously, the running theme is beauty for beauty's sake. With the administration's edifices being funded mostly by loans, the Philippines, unfortunately, is still paying for these articles of beauty today, half a century later.⁸⁰ The notion is dizzyingly superficial, the reality almost nauseating, and so is its purported aim for harmony. Imelda Marcos made it her life's mission to cultivate good taste and to "share" it with the populace. "In her own

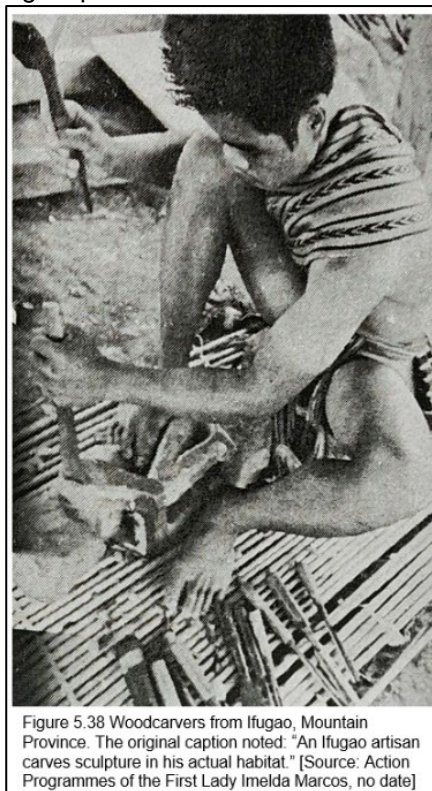
⁸⁰ See Roces, M.P. (2019). *Gathering: Political Writing on Art and Culture*. De La Salle College of Saint Benilde. p.298. And Lico, G. (2003). *Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture*. Ateneo de Manila University Press. p.143-144.

words, 'Culture and art and the taste for the beautiful must lead to goodness' (Polotan, 1969, p.184 as quoted by Espiritu, 2017, p.72). To further elucidate:

Imelda's dictum synthesizes [Immanuel] Kant's notion of taste as a "public sense" and Matthew Arnold's notion of culture as the "study of perfection." For these philosophers of taste, being "cultured" entails the deliberate and systematic acquisition of aesthetic sensibilities, which crucially serve to buttress social harmony. (Espiritu, 2017, p.72)

But as Miller and Yudice (2002) caution us, the aesthetic channeling of social harmony has often been "bought at the expense of those whose tastes are not only aesthetically unacceptable, but more importantly, potentially contestatory" (p.11). As to the utopic aspirations of Nayong Pilipino, its manifestations are far less direct than Taman Mini, though statements such as in the original caption of the photo below (see Figure 24) suggest that the Marcos government was convinced that its depictions of regions within the park were accurate and detailed enough to refer to them as "actual habitats."

Figure 24. Woodcarver in Nayong Pilipino



Source: Cabalfin, E.R. (2012). *Nation as Spectacle: Identity Politics in the Architectures of Philippine Displays in International Expositions, 1887 – 1998*. [PhD diss., Cornell University]. p.467.

Beneath the veil and what the states want their international forerunners and contemporaries to see lie the hand of painful hegemony. As my interview with Scholar B (June 24, 2024) elucidates, by enforcing Pancasila and even going as far as massacring those who would not submit (i.e., the 1984 Tanjung Priok massacre), the New Order triggered backlash from the practitioners of Islam, making the already violent quest for homogeneity even more violent. More generally, having established that marginalization abounds within the pavilions and structures of Taman Mini, it is understood that culture is removed from the realm of everyday living toward the iron fist of the government. “Culture, observed the Negro painter emphatically, was not to be found in the jungle” (Alejo, 1968, p.65 as quoted in Acciaioli, 1985, p.148)— for why would it be there when it sprawls “beautifully” and “completely” in Jakarta? There, chosen angles of the mundane are turned to spectacles and rendered views line everyone’s sight—a legerdemain like no other. And to those whose cultures are deemed lacking “show quality,” a pre-made one is offered. Nothing is left to stand out oddly. Everyone gets to wear the centralized uniform. Truly, “Culture has become art throughout Indonesia, but for the most peripheral even that art has been prescribed by the state” (Acciaioli, 1985, p.162).

For the Philippines, the reality behind the artifice is not any better. What the harmonious, Eden-like setting of Nayong Pilipino hid were tensions and conflicts between the state and those considered national minorities. Issues on land grabbing and of encroachment on ancestral lands are asphyxiated to a hum, and the religious tensions between Muslims and Christians are glossed over by a simple inclusion of a

Muslim village within the park premises.⁸¹ PANAMIN, being the President's handmaiden on all matters concerning the nation's minorities, resolutely doles out every verdict of the state. It rides out to the very edges of the archipelago like the four horsemen of the apocalypse. Just like Indonesia, culture in the Marcos era is both art and spectacle—"Art [that] becomes a gift, something to be delivered, ultimately to the provinces" (Roces, 2019, p.21). Art that is centrally developed, akin to the presumed "good taste" of the country's top patroness, and that is almost always handed unkindly.

Indeed, we must keep in mind Mojares' (2023) reflections on the *gabinete de fisica y museo* (cabinet of physics, also museum of natural things), that "We must muse on what these enigmatic objects and ensembles of objects say, and do not quite say" (p.14). Because one, within the parks, the magicians' hands are crafty and diversity becomes a trick—essentially, it is the rabbit pulled out of aesthetics' hat. And two, by blending facts and fiction and subverting the linearity of both time and history, both parks—just like Disneyland—are rendered utopic.⁸² And if the place is a utopia, what of its people? Here, I recall my interviews with Scholar C (July 8, 2024) and Scholar D (July 13, 2024), both of whom corrected my last question on the institutions' prescription of a "generic" Indonesian and Filipino. For Scholar C, it is "idealized." And for Scholar D, it is "picturesque." I agree on both corrections—for Soeharto and Ferdinand Marcos Sr. were both Casanovas, courting a romanticized idea of what they think the citizens of Indonesia and the Philippines should be.

⁸¹ See Cabalfin, E.R. (2014). Condensing the Country: Identity Politics in the Design of Nayong Pilipino (Philippine Village) and the 1998 Expo Pilipino Theme Parks. *Espasyo, Journal of Architecture and Allied Arts in the Philippines*. p.28-29.

⁸² See Costa, R. (2021). *Metamorphoses in an Everlasting Present: Desires, Changes, and the Power of Mini-ization in Taman Mini's Stone Age*. Cornell University Press. p.32.

The Merchants

Within the New Order and the New Society, “culture has become art, ritual has become theater, and practice has become performance” (Acciaioli, 1985, p.153). Hitchcock (1995) also stated something similar, that “Diversity in this new set of orderings had to be expressed aesthetically, hence the importance accorded to expressions of identity in an artistic manner” (p.23). With the amnesias filled, the reclaiming arrives at its pinnacle, and everything is now for show. As philosopher Byung-Chul Han (2020) puts it, “The society of authenticity is a performance society. All members perform themselves. All produce themselves” (p.16). This statement embodies Indonesia and the Philippines’ leanings into self-exoticism. “Today, we consume not only things themselves but also the emotions that are bound up with things. You cannot consume things endlessly, but emotions you can. Thus, emotions open up a new field of infinite consumption. The emotionalization of commodities and the associated aestheticization of commodities are subject to the compulsion of production. Their function is to increase consumption and production. As a consequence, the aesthetic is colonized by the economic” (ibid, p.5). In this passage, “today” may be interpreted as any time after the postmodern dawned and “emotions” as the nostalgia promulgated by nascent nation-states. Also, it would clarify the multi-angled facets of Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino—that they are, indeed, cultural projects with strong political bases and even stronger economic objectives. What the seeming harmony the utopias sire goes beyond orchestrating an elaborate illusion for international standing (though it is one of its aims), it also culminates to a push for economic momentum. In short, a source of income. One of the parks’ stated aims shines unapologetically—tourism.

In Indonesia, both Acciaioli (1985) and Spyer (1996) have noted the shrinking domain of *adat* since the colonial period. The Dutch, through its policies, has limited the sphere of *adat*, while the New Order, despite claiming its respect for *adat*, has in fact eroded it.⁸³ *Adat* has been “redefined to codify highly limited aspects of ‘traditional’ socio-cultural life” (Spyer, 1996, p.28). Which aspects? “Only that which can be displayed or performed is *adat*” (Acciaioli, 1985, p.158). “Regional diversity is valued, honoured, even apotheosized, but only as long as it remains at the level of display, not belief, performance, not enactment” (ibid, p.161). Custom effectively defanged. What this codification allows is replicability—a state needed if the tides of consumption, as it’s brought about by globalization and capitalism, are to be satisfied. Following Marilyn Halter’s assertions that ethnicity has moved from having an ascriptive status in traditional societies to being malleable and driven by consumption amid modern times,⁸⁴ it may be ascertained that “visitors to Taman Mini understand ethnic groups and national identity through cultural commodities they acquire while visiting the park” (Lukito, 2022, p.775). The commodification of culture, thus, results in nation-states being peddlers of highly exclusive customs. But it is not just about economic gains, as Hitchcock (1995, 1998) argues, for tourism is also seen as a potent means of restoring respectability in regions blighted by strife or turmoil (p.23 & p.125). This was true of the colonial period, as it was in the New Order. Just as the Bali Museum rose “to restore the Netherlands’ international image, which had been tarnished by the bloody campaigns needed to subdue the island” (Hitchcock, 1998, p.125), so did the Taman Mini rise to restore “Indonesia’s troubled image after the bloodbath of the alleged coup and counter coup of 1965” (Hitchcock, 1995, p.23).

⁸³ See Acciaioli, G. (1985). Culture as Art: from Practice to Spectacle in Indonesia. Canberra Anthropology. 8(1&2). p.151-152.

⁸⁴ See Halter, M. (2000). Shopping Identity: The marketing of ethnicity. New York, Schocken. p.150.

Notwithstanding both period's efforts toward image restoration, it is worth reiterating that Taman Mini faced oppositions when it was proposed to be built, but "by 1990, when tourism in Indonesia had moved into fourth place as an earner of foreign exchange, outstripping rubber and coffee, these objections had largely been forgotten" (Hitchcock, 1998, p.127). Tourism, therefore, continues to play the pivotal role of concealer for the country's façade and one of the drivers of the nation's economy.

In the Philippines, Espiritu (2012) says this of the expansion of tourism in the country:

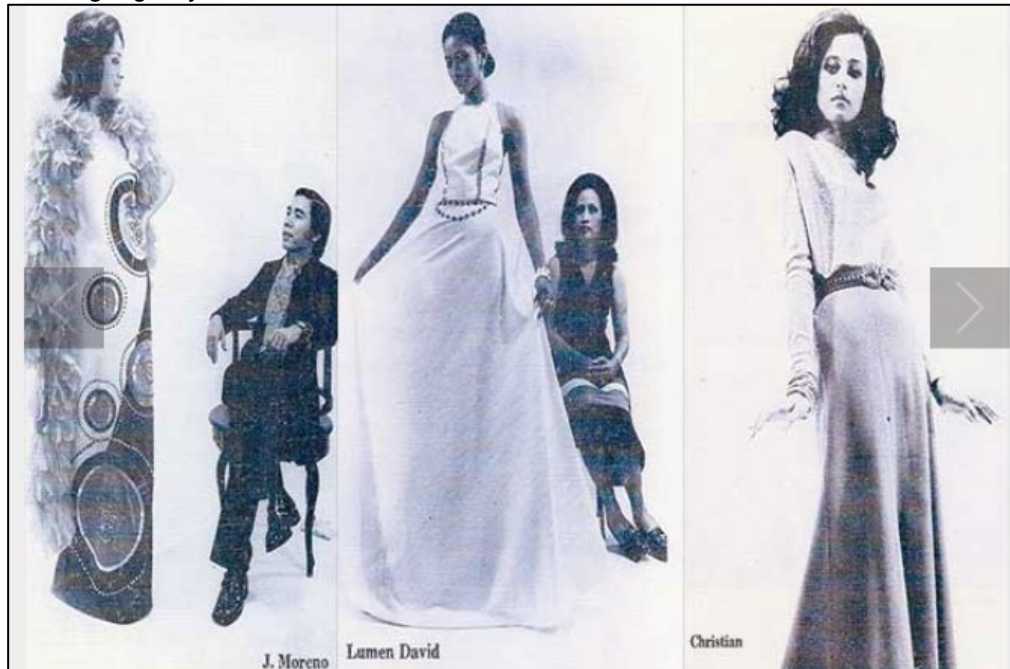
[It was] a vital platform in the Marcos regime's new economic model—Export Oriented Industrialization. Complementing the state's Export Processing Zones, the regime's cultural city fit hand-in-glove with state efforts to 'bid aggressively for foreign investments' (Marcos, 1978, pp.87-88). At a time when most Third World states were touting heritage as the necessary bulwark against cultural imperialism, the Marcos regime was actively wooing multinational culture industries. It saw no conflict between its program of indigenous cultural salvage and its commercialization of indigenous traditions. (p.735)

What the Marcoses wanted, aside from international recognition, was investments. This was the main driving force for the "beautification" of Manila—the state wanted to impress visitors so they would think that the country is on par with developed countries, and therefore, rightfully deserving of attention and funds. Thus, huge events were held in the capital "to package Manila as a 'global' city" (Espiritu, 2017, p.82), two that have already been mentioned is the *Kasaysayan ng Lahi* parade and the Miss Universe pageant. Another event of note would be the *Bagong Anyo* (New Form) project (see Figure 25). As the souvenir program of this event states, "This cultural presentation is a completely Filipino endeavor which aims to inspire pride and appreciation for everything Philippine made—from textiles manufactured by 26 of the country's millers to shoes, gloves, hats and other accessories crafted by Filipino artisans" (as cited in The Philippine Star article, August 5, 2017). *Nayong Pilipino*, being the main

marketplace for the country's arts and crafts, was naturally chosen as the venue for the inaugural showcase of *Bagong Anyo*. It premiered on December 18, 1972, featuring the clothes of 50 Filipino designers. A gala followed at the CCP on December 30, and annually, for the next six years (1972-1977), exhibiting Filipino fashion to the world.⁸⁵ This is part of what Cabalfin (2017) refers to when he agrees with Anderson's argument that "part of the nation-building process is the transformation of a country in its 'infinite reproducibility'" (p.125). As "nations construct an idea of itself that is intended to be consumed and replicated... The nation, through the expositions and their accoutrements, is converted into a 'brand' that is traded, sold and eventually consumed as products" (Cabalfin, 2012, p.551). Consumption then becomes the way by which people get to taste the government's preferred identities and eventually digest them fully. Both the Indonesia and Philippine cases substantiate Miller and Yudice's (2002) identification of one critical feature of cultural policy—that "alongside the drive to discipline the citizen is the disposition to showcase and market the citizen" (p.27).

⁸⁵ See Leviste, L. (September 7, 2014). When '70s fashion extravaganza was synonymous with one name: Bobby Caballero. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. And Vergara, A.Y. (September 20, 2015). Imelda Marcos and the 'terno' of her affections. *Lifestyle Inquirer*.

Figure 25. Bagong Anyo Showcase



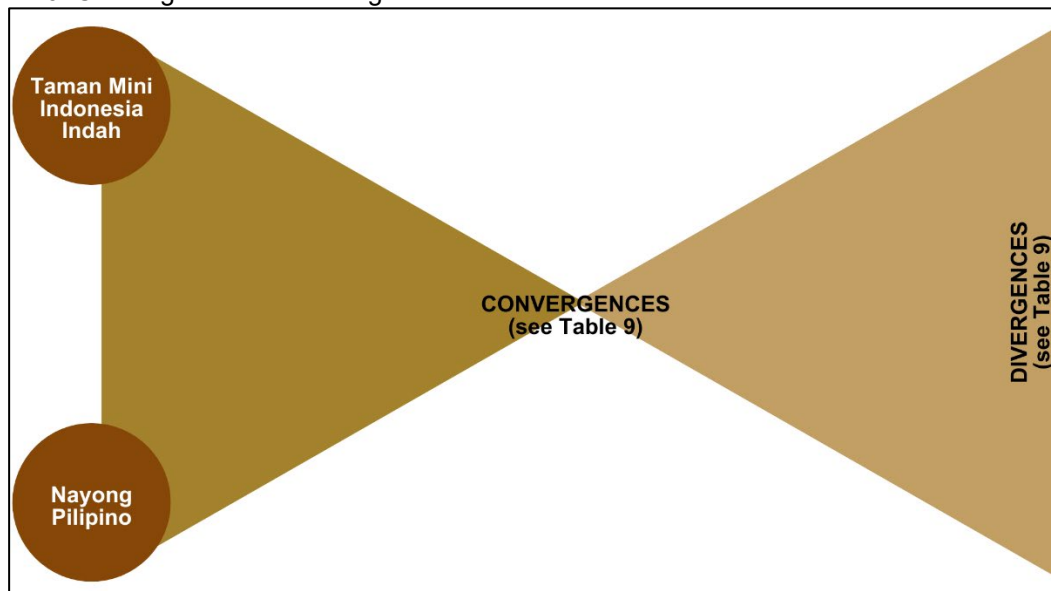
Source: The Philippine Star. (August 5, 2017). Bagong Anyo: Showcase of Phil Art and Culture. Remember When? The Philippine Star.

RUMINATIONS

Through the constructs of the nation-state, the stories of Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino were revisited—their points of convergences and divergences explored and laid out (see Figure 26 and Table 9). Tracing the trajectory from the parks' proponents through to the condensations of their respective nations within these spaces to the identities they prescribed and the currents that aided their fruition inevitably leads to the understanding of the power of culture when harnessed through aesthetics and its subsequent perils on the inherent diversity of people on both countries. I looked back, the same way the governments of Soeharto and Ferdinand Marcos Sr. looked back. What they were looking for was an anchor, something to base their present on. Admittedly, I was doing the same. I was looking for a semblance of light from across the ocean of time, something that would help inform the present and direct the future. Nostalgia, as Boym (2001) describes, “is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one’s own fantasy. ... It would not occur to

us to demand a prescription for nostalgia. Yet in the seventeenth century, nostalgia was considered to be a curable disease, akin to the common cold. Swiss doctors believed that opium, leeches and a journey to the Swiss Alps would take care of nostalgic symptoms. By the twenty-first century, the passing ailment turned into the incurable modern condition. The twentieth century began with a futuristic utopia and ended with nostalgia” (location 93⁸⁶). In the cases of Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino, however, I would argue the opposite. The New Order and the New Society began and built power from nostalgia and culminated in symbols of utopia.

Figure 26. Convergences and Divergences



Source: Author construct

⁸⁶ There were no page numbers provided in the Kindle app, from where the book was accessed, only the location.

Table 9

Convergences and Divergences

Convergences

Proponents

- The Myths** (establishing pedigree and authority)
- The Rearing** (self-bestowed roles as parents of the nation)
- The Beautiful** (art of supplying spectacles to the citizens)
- The Plexus** (allure of monumentalism)
- The Spark** (motivations for building the parks)

Condensations

- The Catalogue** (compulsion to classify and codify the population)

Identity

- The Reclaiming** (nostalgia as foundation of identity-building)
- The Completion** (process of becoming a developed man)
- The Othering** (how the administrations understood ethnicity)
- The Crescendo** (homogeneity and perpetuity in identity)

Currents

- The Predecessors** (onset of cultural village concept)
- The Heralds** (analogues to the First Ladies)
- The Circulation** (spread of nationalism)

Aesthetics

- The Firepower** (homogenizing hand of the state)
- The Illusion** (rendering utopic visions of their countries)
- The Merchants** (commodification of culture)

Divergences

Proponents

- The Issues** (response of the populace to the parks)

Condensations

- The Setting** (layout of the parks)
- The Intention** (official purpose of the parks)

The precipitates presented are also not exclusive to Indonesia and the Philippines. Similar inferences were made by Hoffstaedter (2008) when he studied three parks in Malaysia, namely Taman Mini Malaysia, Taman Mini ASEAN, and Taman Legenda. Of this, he states, “for the purpose of displaying the ‘idyllic’ nation and/or state the *kampung* [village] has to be remodelled, reinvented and ... culturally subverted.’ This process, which is informed by political, economic and ethnic agendas, is easily hidden behind the inconspicuous label of cultural village or cultural theme

park” (p.156). Another study by Schlehe and Uike-Bormann (2010) which compared Europa-Park in Germany, Huis Ten Bosch in Japan, and Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, yielded parallel results, “It is obvious that all three parks are showcases of invented traditional cultures. A stereotypical past represents continuity, belonging, nostalgia, romanticism and, last but not least, a ‘light’ version of the Other. When cultural parks depict the past, they do not relate it to historic validity, actual memory, or present experiences and subjectivities; they are sites of timelessness, instead” (p.85).

From here, the study can be extended to include other cultural parks in Southeast Asia for a fuller regional understanding of the relations of aesthetics and diversity as it is subsumed within the domains of culture and power. Or it may reach further back, by beginning the chronology from the early forays into cultural theme parks that is Skansen and Madurodam, and then trace its development until it blossomed in Southeast Asia.

But if the predilection is to stay within the territories of Indonesia and the Philippines and within the eras of Soeharto and Ferdinand Marcos Sr., then another good comparison would be that of Taman Mini and the CCP, as they are both the cultural crowning jewels of the New Order and New Society’s incursions in the field of art and aesthetics. Also, like Taman Mini, and unlike Nayong Pilipino, CCP is well-studied and well-critiqued, meaning the researcher will have more materials to work with in terms of analysis. Both are also still in operation. Another point that may yield additional insights is the fact that Taman Mini and CCP, though comparable in terms of status, are not directly comparable in terms of structure type—one is a park and the other is a cultural center. I think this simple fact will provide better contrast as to how

both countries understood (or misunderstood) culture and its materialities. Another avenue worth exploring if one is not to leave the realm of Taman Mini and Nayong Pilipino is to delve into the political, economic, and personal motivations behind the parks, especially as it relates to other forms of exploitation and/or corruption that may have arisen throughout its ideation, construction, and management. This shift in focus, from culture and aesthetics to other facets, will yield various perspectives that can help round out our collective understanding of the two parks.

Focusing on the present and the future, Taman Mini can be encapsulated by this statement from Scholar A, “the story that built Taman Mini is not today’s story” (June 24, 2024). The scholar further notes in the interview that the park has “shaken off its nationalistic feeling” and it now appears to be a leisure and education project, as it is currently considered as one of the important green spaces in Jakarta which citizens can enjoy. Themes of inclusion have also been evolving as noted by the construction of Tionghoa Cultural Park in Taman Mini as a symbol of acceptance of the ethnic Chinese as one of the many legitimate groups of Indonesia.⁸⁷ Also, with the provincial governments’ involvement in the design of their representative houses in the park, some veer away from the so-called “peaks of culture” and opt instead to show change and hybridity.⁸⁸ How the park is perceived has also been shifting. As noted by Lukito (2022), “visitors seem to enjoy the park without necessarily absorbing its overarching political framework. Culture as it is represented in Taman Mini provides observers with what they expect and offers an easy and comfortable way of experiencing heritage” (p.785). As it stands, Taman Mini now serves as a place for

⁸⁷ See Lukito, Y. N. (2022). Historical and cultural negotiations in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: Beyond the utopia of ‘unity in diversity.’ *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*. 53(4). p.778.

⁸⁸ *ibid*, p.782.

cultural production and negotiation and no longer “only about constructed national culture per se, but [also] ethnic creativity and individual understandings of cultures” (ibid).

Nayong Pilipino, on the other hand, is yet to re-open its doors. The original 47-hectare area of the park has been officially transferred to the Manila International Airport Authority in 2002. The park resumed operations in a 15-hectare property in Clark, Pampanga, in 2007 but closed eventually. During the term of President Benigno Aquino III, a “New Nayong Pilipino” was conceptualized and was set to rise in a 9.5-hectare area in Parañaque City, but to this day, this plan is yet to materialize. The Nayong Pilipino Foundation, however, is active in the research and social engagement sphere, which they manage mainly through their Facebook page. They have even published a journal titled “Nayon: Journal of Natural and Cultural Heritage” in 2023. Asked about what the new Nayong Pilipino should look like, Scholar C said that it probably “shouldn’t have villages, but rather [it should be] a place where art and culture is explored in a different way than it’s been done before” (July 8, 2024). Scholar C also advocated the possible use of technology, as the way people consume culture now is different from when the park was opened more than five decades ago. Specifically, there was a suggestion to incorporate virtual and augmented realities as potential features of the park.

For both, a common point of interest for their futures is the possibility of taking the “community museum” route as De La Paz offers. This aims to move away from the colonial way of collecting objects, resolve the center-periphery dichotomy, and address the gap between what the tourists want to see and what the people want the

world to see. De La Paz (2015) notes, “If the main concern behind a museum project is the tourist, then its exhibit will only lead to exoticization. But if its main concern is the articulation of people’s voices, then its installations might be an ‘authentic’ voice from below” (p.171). She encourages collaborative curatorship, of veering away from solely aesthetic objectives and of creating a space that shifts and expands with the people it represents. For her, “A community museum is not the structure per se; it is the continuous process of producing knowledge by the people, in order to better understand present realities and inspire the capacity to ‘create,’ concurrent with the possibility to change” (ibid, p.173). If considered, this will liberate and dramatically transform the way cultures and identities are formed and lived.

A last note of consideration would be to change the way diversity, especially as it falls under culture, tends to be understood. A frame of mind where, as a society, we move from imaginary to spirit. As Han (2020) notes, “The ‘inherent heterogeneity’ is constitutive of the formation of spirit. Inasmuch as it mindlessly excludes what is foreign, the idea of the *Leitkultur* [dominant culture], often invoked today, is devoid of spirit. As a form of *Retrotopia*,⁸⁹ it is situated in the realm of the imaginary” (p.33). By doing so, a certain form of acceptance might emerge—that of culture as a living, breathing being, as alive as the humans who practice it. *Adat*, in this light, may recover the wonder and power it once had. And primitivism, as a condition enforced in the Philippines, may cease to be a reality. Diversity will then evolve as culture evolves and as people evolve—unrestricted. And with it, the dawning of a new epoch, a time where

⁸⁹ “conscious attempts at iteration, rather than reiteration, of the status quo ante, ... – its image having been by now significantly recycled and modified anyway, in the process of selective memorizing, intertwined with selective forgetting. All the same, it is the genuine or putative aspects of the past, believed to be successfully tested and unduly abandoned or recklessly allowed to erode, that serve as main orientation/reference points in drawing the roadmap to Retrotopia.” (Bauman, 2017, p.9).

“Pluralism⁹⁰ embraces heterogeneity but does not push for its maximization” (Yumatle, 2015, p.17)—a much awaited spring after a long, prescriptive winter. “A favorable view of pluralism should draw attention to the fact that pluralism makes life interesting—a project, not a given. It confronts us and meets us always in a place of searching and questioning, a place of partial and incomplete understanding, a place of creation and appropriation rather than of finitude, standardization, and consistency” (ibid). A world where varieties are true, not pretense, not farce. By way of condensing, let me share Scholar B’s correction of my first interview question—it “should read ‘cultures’ rather than ‘culture’” (June 24, 2024).

EPILOGUE

It is curious that I began this treatise with a search of space and ended up, quite literally, at the foothill of two spaces. I visited Taman Mini in May 2024, and like Scholar A who also visited earlier in the year, I thoroughly enjoyed walking through the park. It was incredibly difficult to be critical when the surroundings appear peaceful and kids of varying ages, who are on their school trips, wave to you as they walk past. For a reason I am yet to discover, they perceive instantly that I am a foreigner despite my personal conviction that I look like a typical Southeast Asian and should therefore be indiscernible from the crowd. At the time I was there, some of the representative houses were being renovated which make their completion something to look forward to as it would mean another shift in the narrative of the park. I was not able to visit every museum in Taman Mini, but I did make sure to check out the contemporary art

⁹⁰ “Pluralism is an interpretation of social diversity. ... Any kind of pluralism (cultural, political, or philosophical) presupposes at the very least an empirical thesis about irreducible diversity.” (Yumatle, 2015, p.1).

gallery, which I found engaging. I visited other galleries in the city too, from which I concluded that Jakarta's art scene is also something worth anticipating.

My last visit to Nayong Pilipino, on the other hand, was in June 2010 when it was still based in Pampanga. I remember the day being gloomy and of only seeing a handful of other people. I did not take comprehensive photos which I attribute to me being young at the time my family visited, but I did take photos of the lake, which after having done this study, I realized was a constant element in both parks probably due to the archipelagic nature of both countries; and of the Ifugao village, which was special to my Mom since she is from the province. As a young, half-indigenous girl, I remembered pointing at some of the displays and saying, "Oh, this looks familiar." while looking quizzically at others asking, "Wait, what is this? We have something like this?" Now that I understand a little the problematics of representation, I can look back critically at these observations and comprehend that it was not supposed to show culture as it was lived or as people know it to be, instead, it showed culture as a brand or commodity.

This thesis is but a humble contribution to the understanding of how cultural policy materialized in the region. It adds another pane to the already expansive analysis of Taman Mini while also helping lay the foundation for the deeper dissection of Nayong Pilipino, which remains largely understudied. The hope I cling to is that by placing these parks side-by-side, their confluences and bifurcations might stoke curiosity and further critical inquiry, especially as they morph and evolve to accommodate the ever moving present. This exploration of two spaces, especially as reflections of their respective countries, helps add nuance to the understanding of our

common history and the different trajectories we took as we incurred our independence, inevitably widening in the process the possibilities of Aseanology. Studies in regional culture and art along with their political underpinnings have yet to deepen its roots, and I hope this study helped pave that road. The ardent desire is for the owl of Minerva to look ever so fondly on Southeast Asia for times to come.

“Begin at the beginning,’ the King said, very gravely,
‘and go on till you come to the end: then stop.’”
-Lewis Carroll, *Alice in Wonderland*

Gallery

Plate 1. Jambi – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 2. Bengkulu – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 3. Sumatera Selatan – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 4. Riau – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 5. Sumatera Barat – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 6. Sumatera Utara – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 7. Aceh – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 8. Kalimantan Barat – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 9. Kalimantan Selatan – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 10. Kalimantan Timur – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 11. Maluku – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 12. Kalimantan Tengah – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 13. Sulawesi Utara – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 14. Sulawesi Tengah – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 15. Papua (formerly Irian Jaya) – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 16. Sulawesi Tenggara – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 17. Sulawesi Selatan – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 18. Nusa Tenggara Timur – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 19. Nusa Tenggara Barat – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 20. Bali – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 21. Jawa Timur – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 22. D.I. Yogyakarta – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 23. Jawa Tengah – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 24. Jawa Barat – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 25. Lampung – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 26. DKI Jakarta – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 27. Papua Barat – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 28. Sulawesi Barat – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 29. Kepulauan Riau – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 30. Gorontalo – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 31. Maluku Utara (under construction) – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 32. Banten – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 33. Bangka Belitung – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah



Source: Author's collection, May 2024.

Plate 34. Lake 1 – Nayong Pilipino



Source: Author's collection, June 2010.

Plate 35. Lake 2 – Nayong Pilipino



Source: Author's collection, June 2010.

Plate 36. Ifugao Village 1 – Nayong Pilipino



Source: Author's collection, June 2010.

Plate 37. Ifugao Village 2 – Nayong Pilipino



Source: Author's collection, June 2010.

Plate 38. Ifugao Village 3 – Nayong Pilipino



Source: Author's collection, June 2010.

Plate 39. Ifugao Village 4 – Nayong Pilipino



Source: Author's collection, June 2010.

Plate 40. Ifugao Village 5 – Nayong Pilipino



Source: Author's collection, June 2010.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Abdulgani-Knapp, R. (2007). Soeharto: The Life and Legacy of Indonesia's Second President. Singapore. Marshall Cavendish.
- Acciaioli, G. (1985). Culture as Art: from Practice to Spectacle in Indonesia. *Canberra Anthropology*. 8(1&2). 148-172.
- Acciaioli, G. (1996). Pavilions and Posters: Showcasing Diversity and Development in Contemporary Indonesia. *EIKON*, 1, 27-42.
- Acciaioli, G. (2001). 'Archipelagic Culture' as an Exclusionary Government Discourse in Indonesia. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 2(1), 1-23.
- Adorno, T.W. (1978). Culture and Administration. *Telos*, 1978, 111 - 93.
- Alasuutari, P. & Kangas, A. (2020). The global spread of the concept of cultural policy. *Poetics*. Volume 82, 2020, 101445. ISSN 0304-422X. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2020.101445>.
- An act prescribing the intellectual property code and establishing the intellectual property office, providing for its powers and functions, and for other purposes. Rep. Act. No. 8293. (June 6, 1997).
- An act protecting individual personal information in information and communications systems in the government and the private sector, creating for this purpose a national privacy commission, and for other purposes. Rep. Act. No. 10173. (August 15, 2012).
- Anderson, B.R.O. (1973). Notes on Contemporary Indonesian Political Communication. Cornell University Press.
- Anderson, B.R.O. (1990). Old State, New Society: Indonesia's New Order in Comparative Historical Perspective. In B.R.O. Anderson (Ed.), *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Anderson, B.R.O. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Revised Edition). Verso.
- Anderson, J. (January 18, 1981). The Powerful Imelda Marcos. *The Washington Post*.
- Ang Nayong Pilipino (The Philippine Village) Brochure. (1969). Philippines Board of Travel and Tourist Industry.
- Ardiani, Y. M., Kurniawan, K. R., & Lukito, Y. N. (2023). Anti-colonialism During Suharto's New Order Era and its Impact on Conservation of Architecture in Indonesia. *ISVS E-journal*, 10(8), 62-71. <https://doi.org/10.61275/ISVSej-2023-10-08-05>
- Arnold, M. (1869). *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism*. London: Smith, Elder & Company.
- ASEAN Charter. (2007).
- ASEAN Declaration. (1967).
- Aspinall, E. (2015). The New Nationalism in Indonesia. *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies*. 3 (1): 72–82.
- Babbie, E. (2010.). *The Practice of Social Research* (12th edition). Chapman University.
- Bauman, Z. (2017). *Retrotopia*. Polity Press.
- Belfiore, E. (2016). Cultural policy research in the real world: curating “impact”, facilitating “enlightenment”, *Cultural Trends*, 25:3, 205-216, DOI: 10.1080/09548963.2016.1204050
- Belfiore, E. (2004). The methodological challenge of cross-national research: comparing cultural policy in Britain and Italy. Working Paper. Coventry: Centre for Cultural Policy Studies, University of Warwick. Centre for Cultural Policy Studies University of Warwick Research Papers (No.8).

- Bell, D. & Oakley, K. (2015). *Cultural Policy*. Routledge.
- Bennett, O. (2004). Review essay: The Torn Halves of Cultural Policy Research. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 10:2, 237-248. DOI: 10.1080/1028663042000255844
- Bennett, T. (1995). *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Bennett, T. (1995). The Multiplication of Culture's Utility. *Critical Inquiry*, 21(4), 861–889. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1344070>
- Bennett, T. (1998). *Culture: A Reformer's Science*. London. Sage.
- Berg, K. E., & Latin, R. W. (2008). *Essentials of Research Methods in Health, Physical Education, Exercise Science and Recreation* (3rd ed.). Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott, Williams & Wilkins.
- Berger, M. (January 28, 2008). Suharto dies at 86; Indonesian Dictator Brought Order and Bloodshed. *The New York Times*.
- Bhattacharjee, A. (2012). *Social Science Research: Principles, Methods, and Practices*. University of South Florida.
- Black, A. (2009). *The First Ladies of the United States of America*. White House Historical Association.
- Boellstorff, T. (2002). Ethnolocality. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*.
- Bogner, A., Littig, B., Menz, W. (2009). Introduction: Expert Interviews — An Introduction to a New Methodological Debate. In: Bogner, A., Littig, B., Menz, W. (eds) *Interviewing Experts*. Research Methods Series. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230244276_1
- Bonner, R. (1988). *Waltzing with a Dictator: The Marcoses and the Making of American Policy*. New York: Vintage.

- Bordat, E.M. (2013). Institutionalization and change in cultural policy: CONACULTA and cultural policy in Mexico (1988–2006), *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 19:2, 222-248, DOI: 10.1080/10286632.2011.638980
- Boym, S. (2001). *The Future of Nostalgia*. Basic Books.
- Britannica.
- Brunner, E. (2005). *Culture on Tour. Ethnographies of Travel*. Chicago/London. University of Chicago Press.
- Chartrand, H. & McCaughey, C. (1989). The arm's length principle and the arts: An International Perspective—past, present, and future, in Cummings, M.C. & Schuster, J.M.D. (eds). *Who's to Pay for the Arts? The International Search for Models of Support*. New York: ACA Books.
- Cabalfin, E.R. (2012). *Nation as Spectacle: Identity Politics in the Architectures of Philippine Displays in International Expositions, 1887 – 1998*. [PhD diss., Cornell University].
- Cabalfin, E.R. (2014). *Condensing the Country: Identity Politics in the Design of Nayong Pilipino (Philippine Village) and the 1998 Expo Pilipino Theme Parks*. *Espasyo, Journal of Architecture and Allied Arts in the Philippines*.
- Cabalfin, E.R. (2017). *Postcolonial Identity Politics and Philippine Pavilions in International Expositions, 1958-1992*. *International Research Symposium Proceedings: "Expo and Human History"*.
- Cañete, A.M.L. (2009). TASADAYSPEAK: Elizalde, Anthropology, and the Politics of Speaking. *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*. Vol. 37. No. 1. pp. 35-54.
- Colebatch, H. K. (2006). What Work Makes Policy? *Policy Sciences*, 39(4), 309–321. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25474307>

- Connaway, L. & Powell, R. (2010). *Basic Research Methods for Librarians*, 5th Edition. Retrieved from <https://publisher.abc-clio.com/9781591588689/>
Cornell University. Department of Asian Studies.
- Costa, R. (2020). Harmony is Beautiful: A Reappraisal of the Aestheticization of Politics in 'Beautiful Indonesia' Miniature Park. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*. 21:4.
- Costa, R. (2021). *Metamorphoses in an Everlasting Present: Desires, Changes, and the Power of Mini-ization in Taman Mini's Stone Age*. Cornell University Press.
- Cote, J. (2000). "To See is to Know": the Pedagogy of the Colonial Exhibition, Semarang, 1914. *Paedagogica Historica*, 36(1), 340–366.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230000360115>
- Craik, J. (2007). *Re-Visioning Arts and Cultural Policy: Current Impasses and Future Directions*. ANU Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24hdgg>
- Dahbour, O. (2002). National Identity: An Argument for the Strict Definition. *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 16(1), 17–37. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40441311>
- Dean, M. (2010). *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. 2nd edition. London: Sage.
- De La Paz, C.S. (2015). The appropriation of local culture in museum practices: Problems and Possibilities for Philippine Communities. In *Towards a Filipino History: A Festschrift for Zeus Salazar*. Edited by Portia Reyes. Palimbagan ng Lahi. Quezon City.
- Dellios, R. (2003). *Mandala: from sacred origins to sovereign affairs in traditional Southeast Asia*. (Centre for East-West Cultural and Economic Studies; No. 10). Bond University.

- Department of Social Welfare and Development. (n.d.). History of DSWD.
<https://www.dswd.gov.ph/about-us-main/history/#:~:text=1976%20%E2%80%93%20The%20Department%20of%20Social,its%20productivity%20and%20developmental%20thrusts.>
- Durrer, V., Miller, T. & O'Brien, D. (2018). Towards global cultural policy studies in
 Durrer, V., Miller, T. & O'Brien, D. (eds). The Routledge Handbook of Global Cultural Policy. Routledge.
- Dye, T.R. (2013). Understanding Public Policy. 15th edition. London: Pearsons.
- Ellison, K. (1988). Imelda: The steel butterfly of the Philippines. USA: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Espiritu, T. (2012). Native subjects on display: reviving the colonial exposition in Marcos' Philippines. *Social Identities*. 18:6.
- Espiritu, T. (2015). The Marcos Romance and the Cultural Center of the Philippines: The Melodrama of a Therapeutic Cultural Policy. *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 45(1), 141–162. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44122200>
- Espiritu, T. (2017). *Passionate Revolutions: The Media and The Rise and Fall of the Marcos Regime*. Ohio University Press.
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press. New York.
- Fernandez, D. G. (1989). Mass Culture and Cultural Policy: The Philippine Experience. *Philippine Studies*, 37(4), 488–502. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42633152>
- Fibiger, M. (2023). *Suharto's Cold War: Indonesia, Southeast Asia, and the World*. Oxford University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

- Foucault, M. ([1978] 1991). Governmentality. In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1982). The Subject and Power. In H. L. Dreyfus & P. Rabinow (Eds.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (2nd ed., pp. 209-226).
- Foucault, M. (1984). *The Foucault reader*, ed. P. Rabinow. New York: Vintage Books.
- Gafur A. (1992). *Siti Hartinah Soeharto: First Lady of Indonesia*. Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada.
- Gellner, E. (1964). *Thought and Change*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Gellner, E. (2006). *Nations and nationalism* (2nd ed.). Blackwell.
- Gibbon, K.F. (2005). *Who Owns the Past? Cultural Policy, Cultural Property and the Law*. Rutgers University Press.
- Grotenhuis, R. (2016). *Nation-Building as Necessary Effort in Fragile States*. Amsterdam University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1gr7d8r>
- Gray, C. (2010). Analysing cultural policy: incorrigibly plural or ontologically incompatible? *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. 16:2, 215-230. DOI: 10.1080/10286630902935160
- Grenier, J. & Orléan, A. (2007). Michel Foucault, l'économie politique et le libéralisme. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 62, 1155-1182. <https://www.cairn.info/revue--2007-5-page-1155.htm>.
- Hall, S., & Du Gay, P. (Eds.). (1996). *Questions of cultural identity*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Halter, M. (2000). *Shopping Identity: The marketing of ethnicity*. New York, Schocken.
- Han, B.C. (2020). *The disappearance of rituals: A Topology of the Present*. Polity Press.

- Hesmondhalgh, D. & Pratt, A.C. (2005). Cultural industries and cultural policy, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11:1, 1-13, DOI: 10.1080/10286630500067598
- History | Madurodam. (n.d.). Madurodam. <https://www.madurodam.nl/en/organisation/history>
- Hitchcock, M. (1995). The Indonesian Cultural Village and its Forbears. *Journal of Museum Ethnography*.
- Hitchcock, M. (1998). Tourism, Taman Mini, and national identity. *Indonesia and the Malay World*. 26:75. 124-135. DOI: 10.1080/13639819808729916
- Hobsbawm, E. (1992 [1983]). Introduction: Inventing traditions. In the invention of tradition, ed. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger. 1–14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoffstaedter, G. (2008). "Representing Culture in Malaysian Cultural Theme Parks: Tensions and Contradictions." *Anthropological Forum* 18.2: 139-160.
- Hunter, S. (2008). Living documents: A feminist psychosocial approach to the relational politics of policy documentation. *Critical Social Policy*, 28(4), 506-528. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018308095300>
- Inquirer. (February 24, 2011). Evita and Imelda. *Inquirer.net*. <https://www.inquirer.net/57/evita-and-imelda/>
- Isar, Y. R. (2008). Cultural policy: issues and interrogations in an international perspective. In S. Beckman & S. Månsson (Eds.), *KulturSverige 2009: Problemanalys och Statistik* (pp. 74-79).
- Isla, N.R. (2022). Applying Plausibility: "Validity and Reliability" in Qualitative (Communication) Research.

- Jones, T. (2005). Indonesian Cultural Policy, 1950-2003: Culture, Institutions, Government. Curtin University of Technology.
- Jones, T. (2007) Liberalism and Cultural Policy in Indonesia, *Social Identities*, 13:4, 441-458, DOI: 10.1080/1350463070145912
- Jones, T. (2012). Indonesian Cultural Policy in the Reform Era. *Indonesia*, 93, 147–176. <https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.93.0147>
- Kamm, H. (March 1, 1970). Bangkok Shows What the Dynamic West Can Do to the Placid East. *New York Times*.
- Kant, I. (1987). *Critique of Judgment*. Translated by Pluhar, W.S. New York: Hackett Publishing.
- Kant, I. (1991). *Metaphysics of Morals*. Translated by Gregor, M. Edited by Guess, R. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kelly, J. D. (2000). Nature, Natives, and Nations: Glorification and Asymmetries in Museum Representation, Fiji and Hawaii. *Ethnos*, 65(2), 195–216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00141840050076897>
- Karasipahi, S. (2009). Comparing Islamic Resurgence Movements in Turkey and Iran. *Middle East Journal*, 63(1), 87–107. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25482605>
- Klotz, A., & Prakash, D. (2008). *Qualitative Methods in International Relations*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kohlbacher, F. (2006). The Use of Qualitative Content Analysis in Case Study Research. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*. Volume 7, No. 1, Art. 21.
- Lande, C. H. (1982). Authoritarian Rule in the Philippines: Some Critical Views [Review of Marcos and Martial Law in the Philippines.; The Counterfeit Revolution: Marital Law in the Philippines.; The Conjugal Dictatorship of Ferdinand and Imelda

- Marcos I., by D. A. Rosenberg, R. R. Canoy, & P. Mijares]. *Pacific Affairs*, 55(1), 80–93. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2756904>
- Lasswell, H.D. & Kaplan, A. (1950). *Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry*. New Haven CT: Yale University Press.
- Lasswell, H.D. (1951). The Policy Orientation in Lerner D. and Lasswell H.D. ed. *The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in Scope and Method*. Palo Alto CA: Stanford University Press.
- Laya, J.C. (2000). The Philippine approach to cultural statistics. *World culture report, 2000: cultural diversity, conflict and pluralism*, p. 263-266. UNESCO.
- Leedy, P. D., & Ormrod, J. E. (2005). *Practical Research: Planning and Design* (8th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson/Merrill/Prentice Hall.
- Leviste, L. (September 7, 2014). When '70s fashion extravaganza was synonymous with one name: Bobby Caballero. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. <https://lifestyle.inquirer.net/171006/when-70s-fashion-extravaganza-was-synonymous-with-one-name-bobby-caballero/>
- Libakova, N.M. and Sertakova, E.A. (2014). The Method of Expert Interview as an Effective Research Procedure of Studying the Indigenous Peoples of the North. *Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences* 1 (2015 8), 114-129.
- Lico, G. (2003). *Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture*. Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Loong, L.H. (2017). Arts, culture and a distinct Singaporean Identity. *The Straits Times*. Accessed: <https://www.straitstimes.com/politics/singapolitics/pm-whether-chinese-malay-or-indian-a-singaporean-can-spot-a-fellow-citizen>

- Looseley, D. (2011). Notions of popular culture in cultural policy: a comparative history of France and Britain, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 17:4, 365-379, DOI: 10.1080/10286632.2010.541907
- Lukito, Y. N. (2022). Historical and cultural negotiations in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: Beyond the utopia of 'unity in diversity.' *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*. 53(4). 762–785. doi:10.1017/S0022463422000844
- Lune, H. & Berg, B.L. (2017). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. 9th edition. Pearson Education Limited.
- MacAndrews, C. (1978). Transmigration in Indonesia: Prospects and Problems. *Asian Survey*, 18(5), 458–472. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2643460>
- MacLeash, K. (1972). The Tasadays: Stone Age Cavemen of Mindanao. *National Geographic*. August 1972. Volume 142, No.2.
- Manuel, Ma. Teresa. (1979). *Tao: Humanism at work in Filipino society*. National Media Production Center Metropolitan Manila.
- Maramag, I. (n.d.). *Performance and Achievement: A Progress Report on the Projects of the First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos*.
- Maramag, I. (June 1975). *Compassion and Commitment: Action Programmes of the First Lady, Imelda Romualdez Marcos*. National Media Production Center.
- Maramag, I. (1978). *The Ideas of Imelda Romualdez Marcos, Volume I*. National Media Production Center. Metropolitan Manila.
- Maramag, I. (1982). *Imelda Romualdez Marcos: A Biography of Deeds*. Office of Media Affairs.
- Marcos, F.E. (June 11, 1970). *One Country, One People*. Speech at the Inauguration of the Nayong Pilipino, Manila International Airport, Pasay City.
- Marcos, F.E. (1973). *Notes on the New Society*.

- Marcos, F.E. (1978). *Five Years of the New Society*.
- Marcos, F.E. (1988). *An Ideology for Filipinos*. Marcos Foundation Inc.
- Marcos, I.R. (1974). *Seven Tasks*. National Media Production Center Metropolitan Manila.
- Matarasso, F. & Landry, C. (April 1999). *Balancing Act: twenty-one strategic dilemmas in cultural policy*. Cultural Policies Research and Development Unit. Policy Note No. 4. Council of Europe Publishing.
- McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. Routledge. New York.
- McGuigan, J. (Ed.) (2014). *State Culture and Beyond (1984)*. SAGE Publications Ltd, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473914766>
- McKinley, W. (December 21, 1898). *Executive Order Online* by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. Retrieved from: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/executive-order-132>.
- McRobbie, A. (1996). 'All the world's a stage, screen or magazine: When culture is the logic of late capitalism'. *Media, Culture and Society*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 335–342.
- McVey, R.T. (1978). Introduction: local voices, central power. In Ruth McVey (ed.). *Southeast Asian transitions: approaches through social history*. New Haven. Yale University Southeast Asia Series. pp. 1-31.
- Mijares, P. (2017). *The Conjugal Dictatorship of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos*. Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Miller, T. & Yudice, G. (2002). *Cultural Policy (First Edition)*. Sage Publications.
- Mojares, R.B. (2023). *Enigmatic Objects: Notes towards a history of the museum in the Philippines*. Ateneo de Manila University Press.

- Monke, S. (2007, March 20). The expert interview as a method of qualitative social research. GRIN Verlag. ISBN: 9783346549594
- Mulcahy, K.V. (2017). Coloniality: The Cultural Policy of Post-colonialism. In: Public Culture, Cultural Identity, Cultural Policy. Palgrave Macmillan, New York. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-43543-9_4
- Mulcahy, K. V. (2008). Identity and Cultural Policy. In J. M. Cherbo, R. A. Stewart, & M. J. Wyszomirski (Eds.), Understanding the Arts and Creative Sector in the United States: Understanding the Arts and Creative Sector in the United States, Revised Edition (REV-Revised, pp. 197–212). Rutgers University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5hj6t7.17>
- Nastiti, A.D. (2015). Culture and Cultural Policy in a Globalized Context: The Case of Indonesia. Université Jean Moulin -- Lyon 3.
- Nayong Pilipino Foundation. (2020). Fact Sheet.
- Nayong Pilipino Foundation. (2020). Under the administration of President Rodrigo Roa Duterte.
- Nayong Pilipino Foundation. (2021). Institutional Reforms and Enduring Relevance.
- Nayong Pilipino Foundation. (2021). Museo ng Nayong Pilipino Bulletin.
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2002). The Content Analysis Guidebook. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- New York Times. (June 1, 1970). Suharto Visits Disneyland; Takes Helm of Cruise Boat.
- Nimni, E. (2007). Stateless Nations in a World of Nation-states. In Cordell, Karl & Stefan Wolff (eds.), Routledge handbook of Ethnic conflict. Routledge.

- Nisbett, M. (2013). New perspectives on instrumentalism: an empirical study of cultural diplomacy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 19:5, 557-575, DOI: 10.1080/10286632.2012.704628
- Nuguid, N. (n.d.). *Nayong Pilipino*.
- Nye, J. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus.
- Paschalidis, G. (2009). Exporting national culture: histories of Cultural Institutes abroad. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. Vol. 15, No. 3, August 2009, 275–289.
- Pedrosa, C. (May 17, 2020). Imelda Marcos was not an Evita Peron. *The Philippine Star*.
- Pemberton, J. (August 1989). *The Appearance of Order: A Politics of Culture in Colonial and Postcolonial Java*. A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University.
- Pemberton, J. (1994a). *On the Subject of Java*. Cornell University Press.
- Pemberton, J. (1994b). *Recollections from "Beautiful Indonesia" (Somewhere beyond the Postmodern)*. Public Culture. The University of Chicago.
- Perrière, G.D.P. (1567). *Le Miroir Politique (Mirrour of Policie)*. Paris.
- Peterson, R. A., & Kern, R. M. (1996). Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore. *American Sociological Review*, 61(5), 900–907. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2096460>
- Philpott, S. (2000). *Rethinking Indonesia: Postcolonial Theory, Authority and Identity*. London:Macmillan.
- Philpott, S. (2003). The natural order of things? From 'Lazy Natives' to political science, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 4:2, 249-263, DOI: 10.1080/1464937032000112980

- Pierce, M. (2020). Sovereignty, Discipline, Security: Foucault and the Governmentality of U.S. Border Enforcement. Portland State University. <https://cpb-us-w2.wpmucdn.com/about.illinoisstate.edu/dist/e/34/files/2020/09/FINAL-1-PDF.pdf>
- Pinnock, A. (2008). Two cultures: the use and non-use of hypotheses in cultural policy research, *Cultural Trends*, 17:3, 139-146, DOI: 10.1080/09548960802361944
- Poole, R. (1999). *Nation and Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Powers, P. (2007). The Philosophical Foundations of Foucaultian Discourse Analysis. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Discipline*, 1, 18-34.
- Presidential Decree No. 1414. (June 9, 1978). <https://elibrary.judiciary.gov.ph/thebookshelf/showdocs/26/16902>
- Rafael, V.L. (2000). *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*. Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Ridley, F. (1987). Tradition, change, and crisis in Great Britain. *The Patron State: Government and the Arts in Europe, North America, and Japan*. Eds. M. Cummings and R. Katz. New York. Oxford University Press.
- Rivera-Lutap J.A. and Castillo, J.B.A. (2023). From power to architecture: an analysis on the identity transformation of Tagaytay people's park in the sky through edifice complex and democratization theory. *City, Territory and Architecture*. 10:31.
- Roces, M.P. (2019). *Gathering: Political Writing on Art and Culture*. De La Salle College of Saint Benilde.
- Rogers, E.M. (1983). *Diffusion of innovations*, Third Edition. New York: The Free Press.
- Romano, A. (2002). *Politics and the Press in Indonesia: Understanding an Evolving Political Culture*. Routledge.

- Rosenstein, C. (2018). *Understanding Cultural Policy*. Routledge.
- Royseng, S. (2008). The ritual logic of cultural policy. Paper presented at the Fifth International Conference on Cultural Policy Research, Istanbul. 20-24 August.
<https://www.culturenet.cz/coKmv4d994Swax/uploads/2018/08/The-Ritual-Logic-of-Cultural-Policy.pdf>
- Rüegg, K.O. (2020). *The Philippines vs Indonesia: A Tale of Two Leaders*. New York University.
- Rutherford, D. (1996). Of Birds and Gifts: Reviving Tradition on an Indonesian Frontier. *Cultural Anthropology*. 11(4). 577–616. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/656668>
- Sarı, B. (2015). An Analysis on Robert Cox's Argument "Theory is Always for Someone and for Some Purpose": Its Implications and Significance in International Relations.
- Saukkonen, P. & Pyykkönen, M. (2008). Cultural policy and cultural diversity in Finland. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. 14:1, 49-63, DOI: 10.1080/10286630701856518
- Schaefer, B. K. (2018, September 19): Moro Separatism in the Philippines: The Strategic Failure of a Promising Counterinsurgency. *Small Wars Journal*, 9/2018.
 URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/moro-separat-ism-philippines-strategic-failure-promising-counterinsurgency>
- Schlehe, J., & Uike-Bormann, M. (2010). Staging the Past in Cultural Theme Parks: Representations of Self and Other in Asia and Europe. In J. Schlehe, M. Uike-Bormann, C. Oesterle, & W. Hochbruck (Eds.), *Staging the Past: Themed Environments in Transcultural Perspectives* (1st ed., pp. 57–92). transcript Verlag.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv371bxvs.6>

- Schofer, E. & Meyer, J.W. (2005). The worldwide expansion of higher education in the twentieth century. *American Sociological Review*. Dec. 2005, Vol. 70, No. 6. pp. 898-920.
- Schuster, J.M. (1985). *Supporting the Arts: An International Comparative Study*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Schuster, J.M. (2002). Sub-national cultural policy--where the action is: Mapping state cultural policy in the United States, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8:2, 181-196, DOI: 10.1080/1028663022000009623
- Scott, W. H. (1962). The Word Igorot. *Philippine Studies*, 10(2), 234–248. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42719782>
- Scullion, A. & García, B. (2005). What is cultural policy research? *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. 11:2, 113-127, DOI: 10.1080/10286630500198104
- Serra, J.P. (2023). An Institutional History of the Nayong Pilipino Foundation (1970-2015). In *Nayon: Journal of Natural and Cultural Heritage* Volume 01.
- Singh, J.P. (2018). Regulating cultural goods and identities across borders in Durrer, V., Miller, T. & O'Brien, D. (eds). *The Routledge Handbook of Global Cultural Policy*. Routledge.
- Smith, A.D.S. (1979). *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. Australian National University Press. Canberra.
- Soebadio, H. (1985). *Cultural policy in Indonesia*. UNESCO.
- Spyer, P. (1996). Diversity with a Difference: Adat and the New Order in Aru (Eastern Indonesia). *Cultural anthropology*. Washington. Vol. 11. nr. 1. 25-50.
- Sridharan, K. (2013). *Major Powers and Southeast Asia: A restrained competition?* in *Advanced ASEAN Studies*. University of the Philippines Open University.

- Stainforth, E. & Borch, A. (2015). The nature and value of cultural policy research for early career researchers. *Cultural Trends*. 24:2, 109-111, DOI: 10.1080/09548963.2015.1031476
- Stakenas, R. G., & Mock, D. B. (1985). Context Evaluation: The Use of History in Policy Analysis. *The Public Historian*, 7(3), 43–56. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3377126>
- Stanziola, J. (2008). Developing a model to articulate the impact of museums and galleries: another dead duck in cultural policy research? *Cultural Trends*, 17:4, 317-321, DOI: 10.1080/09548960802615455
- Street, J. (2000). Aesthetics, policy and the politics of popular culture. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 3(1), 27-44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/a010861>
- Swenson, S. (1987). National Minorities, in Schirmer, D.B. and Shalom, S.R. *The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance*. South End Press. Boston.
- Swidler, A. (1986). Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies. *American Sociological Review*, 51(2), 273–286. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095521>
- Tansey, O. (2007). Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing: A Case for Non-Probability Sampling. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 40(4): 765–72.
- Taylor, C. (1989). *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Taylor, C. (1994). 'The Politics of Recognition', in *Multiculturalism and 'The Politics of Recognition'*, ed. Amy Gutmann. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- The Philippine Star. (August 5, 2017). Bagong Anyo: Showcase of Phl Art and Culture. Remember When? The Philippine Star.

<https://www.philstar.com/entertainment/2017/08/05/1725553/bagong-anyo-showcase-phl-art-and-culture>

- The Pod Network Entertainment. (April 25, 2024). De-Heritage Your Mindset [Video]. Youtube. <https://youtu.be/rOsR6alijpl?si=uFpmeyH3jzrdsaNq>
- Thomas, B. (2000). National Geographic, PANAMIN and the Stone-Age Tribe. *Dialectical Anthropology*. Vol. 25. No. 1. pp. 77-88.
- Tierney, W. & Clemens, R. (2011). *Qualitative Research and Public Policy: The Challenges of Relevance and Trustworthiness*. 10.1007/978-94-007-0702-3_2.
- Trigger, B. (1995). Architecture, power, and politics in early civilization. In Anyplace, ed. C.C. Davidson. MIT Press.
- UNESCO. (1969). *Cultural Policy – A Preliminary Study*.
- UNESCO. (1973). *Cultural Policy in Indonesia*.
- UNESCO. (1973). *Cultural policy in the Philippines*.
- UNESCO. (1974). *Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Asia, Yogyakarta 10-19 December 1973. Final Report*.
- UNESCO. (2000). *World Culture Report*.
- UNESCO. (2013). *The Creative Economy Report: Widening Local Development Pathways*. New York: UNESCO.
- United Nations Treaty Collections. (26 December 1934). *Convention on Rights and Duties of States adopted by the Seventh International Conference of American States*. League of Nations Treaty Series.
- Upchurch, A. (2016). Arts management and cultural policy research, *Cultural Trends*, 25:4, 300-301, DOI: 10.1080/09548963.2016.1241463

- Valentine, J. (2007). Political Art, Cultural Policy, and Artistic Agency. *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, 51(1), 96–111.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23182145>
- Van Esterik, P. (2000). *Materializing Thailand*. Berg Publishers.
- Vergara, A.Y. (September 20, 2015). Imelda Marcos and the ‘terno’ of her affections. *Lifestyle Inquirer*. <https://lifestyle.inquirer.net/207123/imelda-marcos-and-the-terno-of-her-affections/>
- Vitorillo, J. (2020). Whose governance, whose good? Cultural Policy and Governance in the Philippines. LASALLE College of the Arts.
- von Soest, C. (2022). Why do we speak to Experts? Reviving the Strength of the Expert Interview Method. *American Political Science Association*.
doi:10.1017/S1537592722001116
- Wanandi, J. (2012). *Shades of Grey: A Political Memoir of Modern Indonesia, 1965-1998*. Equinox Publishing.
- Wang, J. (2004). The Global Reach of a New Discourse: How Far Can ‘Creative Industries’ Travel? *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 7(1), 9-19.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877904040601>
- Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Ed. Roth, G. & Wittich, C. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Weir, A. (2009). Who are we? Modern identities between Taylor and Foucault. *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 35(5), 533-553.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0191453709103426>
- Widdicombe, B. (November 4, 2019). How Imelda Marcos, the Wife of a Filipino Dictator, Became an Icon of ‘80s Excess. *Town and Country*.
- Williams, R. (1960). *Culture and Society 1780-1950*. Anchor Books, New York.

- Williams, R. (1984). *State, culture and beyond* in Appignanesi, L. edition. *Culture and the State*. London: ICA.
- Wilson, W. A. (2006). *Marrow of Human Experience, The: Essays on Folklore by William A. Wilson* (J. T. Rudy & D. Call, Eds.). University Press of Colorado. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt4cgkmm>
- Winston-Salem State University. (n.d.). *Key Elements of a Research Proposal – Quantitative Design*.
- Worcester, D.C. (1914). *The Philippines Past and Present. Volumes I and II*. New York. The Macmillan Company.
- Wyszomirski, M.J. (1998.) *Comparing Cultural Policies in the United States and Japan: Preliminary Observations*, *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 27:4, 265-281, DOI: 10.1080/10632929809597271
- Yambao, C.M. (2011). *Philippine Installation Art from 1970 to 2008 as the Discourse of the Philippine Postcolonial Avant-Garde*. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 16.
- Yasa, M.V. (2022). *Land Physiognomy and Southeast Asia Identity*.
- Yin, Robert K. (2003a). *Case study research, design and methods* (3rd ed., vol. 5). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Yin, Robert K. (2003b). *Applications of case study research* (2nd ed., vol. 34). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Yúdice, G. (2003). *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era*. Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11smt88>
- Yumatle, C. (January 1, 2015). *Pluralism*. *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, First Edition. Edited by Michael T. Gibbons. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2830483>

_____ 2024

Sir/Madam:

I am taking the Master of ASEAN Studies (MAS) Program at the University of the Philippines Open University (UPOU) and am currently working on the thesis entitled “Transcending Diversity Through Aesthetics: Reflections on the *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* and *Nayong Pilipino*.”

In this regard, I am pleased to invite you to serve as one of the key respondents for the study in view of your expertise and knowledge in the field of Philippine/Indonesian/Southeast Asian cultural policy/art history/architecture. Hence, I am respectfully requesting for a virtual interview via Zoom in your most convenient time, which should not take more than one hour. Should a virtual interview not be feasible, you may choose to provide your answers to the attached word file of the thesis questions.

Enclosed for reference are the overview of the study with the thesis questions and the informed consent form.

Your views and opinions on the subject matter are highly significant to attain the objectives of the study.

I am deeply hoping for your kind consideration on the above request.

Thank you and warm regards.

Respectfully,

MARY VINCELLE C. YASA
Student, MAS, UPOU

TRANSCENDING DIVERSITY THROUGH AESTHETICS: REFLECTIONS ON THE TAMAN MINI INDONESIA INDAH AND THE NAYONG PILIPINO

Overview

The wellspring of the study is the parallel decisions of Indonesia and Philippines to submit their countries' cultural policy reports in 1973 (only four years after UNESCO published its preliminary study in 1969), in which they were considered part of the early majority based on E.M. Rogers' Diffusion of Innovation Theory.

Another point of similarity is that both countries were under authoritarian rule at the time. Suharto was at Indonesia's helm with the New Order (Orde Baru), while Ferdinand Marcos Sr. held Philippines' reins with the New Society (Bagong Lipunan).

What broadens the avenue for the examination, critique, and inquiry of their cultural policies at the time are the impacts caused by their enactment to the citizens' idea of "Indonesianness" and "Filipinoness", especially at a time when the concept of cultural development is high on the agenda of not just international organizations like UNESCO, but also of the region's young regional bloc, ASEAN.

Moving deductively, the units of analysis chosen within the wide field of cultural policy are two state-sponsored cultural institutions—the Taman Mini Indonesia Indah and the Nayong Pilipino. These two cultural theme parks largely converge on three points: (1) both held a condensed representation of their archipelagoes; (2) both were brainchildren of the First Ladies of both countries, that is Siti Hartinah of Indonesia and

Imelda Marcos of Philippines; and (3) both were tasked to help the state promote its idea of nationhood and nationality.

Utilizing high culture to prescribe the new man, or in the case of this study—the new Indonesian and the new Filipino, serves as the core of this social historical research. While exploring the utility of aesthetics to transcend diversity, inherent in both countries, serves as its rationale.

Questions

- 1 In general, how does Indonesia/the Philippines view and present its respective culture?
- 2 How was culture employed as an apparatus of the state during the regime of Soeharto/Marcos?
- 3 How effective was the authoritarian leadership in helping build a national culture and a national identity?
- 4 What was the role played by Siti Hartinah/Imelda Marcos in forming the national culture at the time of her husband's terms as president?
- 5 The government of Soeharto/Marcos led to a rise in cultural institutions. Paying particular attention to Taman Mini/Nayong Pilipino, what do you consider are the driving factors behind the establishment of this park?
- 6 How would you describe the depth and breadth of representation, in terms of both territory and culture, exhibited in Taman Mini/Nayong Pilipino?
- 7 Museums and parks are often regarded as places of instruction in terms of civics, do you think this is also true of Taman Mini/Nayong Pilipino? Why or why not?
- 8 Taman Mini/Nayong Pilipino is frequently cited as an institution prescribing the "generic" Indonesian/Filipino. How and to what degree did this park prescribe the state's preferred identity to its citizens?

List of Main Documents Reviewed per Section

Proponents

Proponents – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
Acciaoli, G. (1996). Pavilions and Posters: Showcasing Diversity and Development in Contemporary Indonesia. EIKON, 1, 27-42.	The Plexus
Anderson, B.R.O. (1973). Notes on Contemporary Indonesian Political Communication. Cornell University Press.	The Issues
Berger, M. (January 28, 2008). Suharto dies at 86; Indonesian Dictator Brought Order and Bloodshed. The New York Times.	The Myths
Bonner, R. (1988). Waltzing with a Dictator: The Marcoses and the Making of American Policy. New York: Vintage.	The Myths
Cabalfin, E.R. (2012). Nation as Spectacle: Identity Politics in the Architectures of Philippine Displays in International Expositions, 1887 – 1998. [PhD diss., Cornell University].	The Spark
Costa, R. (2020). Harmony is Beautiful: A Reappraisal of the Aestheticization of Politics in ‘Beautiful Indonesia’ Miniature Park. The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology. 21:4.	The Beautiful
	The Spark
	The Issues
Costa, R. (2021). Metamorphoses in an Everlasting Present: Desires, Changes, and the Power of Mini-ization in Taman Mini’s Stone Age. Cornell University Press.	The Spark
Ellison, K. (1988). Imelda: The steel butterfly of the Philippines. USA: McGraw-Hill Book Company.	The Beautiful
Espiritu, T. (2017). Passionate Revolutions: The Media and The Rise and Fall of the Marcos Regime. Ohio University Press.	The Rearing
Fibiger, M. (2023). Suharto’s Cold War: Indonesia, Southeast Asia, and the World. Oxford University Press.	The Myths
Foucault, M. (1984). The Foucault reader, ed. P. Rabinow. New York: Vintage Books.	The Plexus
Gafur A. (1992). Siti Hartinah Soeharto: First Lady of Indonesia. Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada.	The Myths
	The Beautiful
	The Spark
Jones, T. (2005). Indonesian Cultural Policy, 1950-2003: Culture, Institutions, Government. Curtin University of Technology.	The Plexus

Proponents – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
Kamm, H. (March 1, 1970). Bangkok Shows What the Dynamic West Can Do to the Placid East. New York Times.	The Spark
Lico, G. (2003). Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture. Ateneo de Manila University Press.	The Myths The Beautiful The Plexus The Spark The Issues
Manuel, Ma. Teresa. (1979). Tao: Humanism at work in Filipino society. National Media Production Center Metropolitan Manila.	The Rearing The Spark
Maramag, I. (n.d.). Performance and Achievement: A Progress Report on the Projects of the First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos.	The Spark
Maramag, I. (1982). Imelda Romualdez Marcos: A Biography of Deeds. Office of Media Affairs.	The Beautiful
Marcos, F.E. (1973). Notes on the New Society.	The Beautiful
Marcos, F.E. (1978). Five Years of the New Society.	The Beautiful
Marcos, I.R. (1974). Seven Tasks. National Media Production Center Metropolitan Manila.	The Beautiful
Mijares, P. (2017). The Conjugal Dictatorship of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos. Ateneo de Manila University Press.	The Myths
Nayong Pilipino Foundation. (2020). Fact Sheet.	The Spark
Nuguid, N. (n.d.). Nayong Pilipino.	The Spark
Pemberton, J. (August 1989). The Appearance of Order: A Politics of Culture in Colonial and Postcolonial Java. A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University.	The Myths
Pemberton, J. (1994b). Recollections from “Beautiful Indonesia” (Somewhere beyond the Postmodern). Public Culture. The University of Chicago.	The Rearing The Spark The Issues
Rafael, V.L. (2000). White Love and Other Events in Filipino History. Ateneo de Manila University Press.	The Myths The Rearing

Proponents – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
Rivera-Lutap J.A. and Castillo, J.B.A. (2023). From power to architecture: an analysis on the identity transformation of Tagaytay people's park in the sky through edifice complex and democratization theory. <i>City, Territory and Architecture</i> . 10:31.	The Plexus
Roces, M.P. (2019). <i>Gathering: Political Writing on Art and Culture</i> . De La Salle College of Saint Benilde.	The Plexus
Serra, J.P. (2023). An Institutional History of the Nayong Pilipino Foundation (1970-2015). In <i>Nayon: Journal of Natural and Cultural Heritage</i> Volume 01.	The Spark The Issues
Trigger, B. (1995). Architecture, power, and politics in early civilization. In <i>Anyplace</i> , ed. C.C. Davidson. MIT Press.	The Plexus
Van Esterik, P. (2000). <i>Materializing Thailand</i> . Berg Publishers.	The Issues
Wanandi, J. (2012). <i>Shades of Grey: A Political Memoir of Modern Indonesia, 1965-1998</i> . Equinox Publishing.	The Spark

Condensations

Condensations – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
Acciaioli, G. (1996). Pavilions and Posters: Showcasing Diversity and Development in Contemporary Indonesia. <i>EIKON</i> , 1, 27-42.	The Setting
Anderson, B.R.O. (1973). <i>Notes on Contemporary Indonesian Political Communication</i> . Cornell University Press.	The Setting
Ang Nayong Pilipino (The Philippine Village) Brochure. (1969). Philippines Board of Travel and Tourist Industry.	The Intention
Boellstorff, T. (2002). Ethnolocality. <i>The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology</i> .	The Catalogue
Cabalfin, E.R. (2012). <i>Nation as Spectacle: Identity Politics in the Architectures of Philippine Displays in International Expositions, 1887 – 1998</i> . [PhD diss., Cornell University].	The Setting
Cabalfin, E.R. (2014). Condensing the Country: Identity Politics in the Design of Nayong Pilipino (Philippine Village) and the 1998 Expo Pilipino Theme Parks. <i>Espasyo, Journal of Architecture and Allied Arts in the Philippines</i> .	The Setting The Intention
Costa, R. (2020). Harmony is Beautiful: A Reappraisal of the Aestheticization of Politics in 'Beautiful Indonesia' Miniature Park. <i>The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology</i> . 21:4.	The Intention

Condensations – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
Costa, R. (2021). <i>Metamorphoses in an Everlasting Present: Desires, Changes, and the Power of Mini-ization in Taman Mini's Stone Age</i> . Cornell University Press.	The Catalogue The Intention
Espiritu, T. (2012). Native subjects on display: reviving the colonial exposition in Marcos' Philippines. <i>Social Identities</i> . 18:6.	The Catalogue
Gafur A. (1992). <i>Siti Hartinah Soeharto: First Lady of Indonesia</i> . Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada.	The Setting The Intention
Hitchcock, M. (1995). The Indonesian Cultural Village and its Forbears. <i>Journal of Museum Ethnography</i> .	The Catalogue
Hitchcock, M. (1998). Tourism, Taman Mini, and national identity. <i>Indonesia and the Malay World</i> . 26:75. 124-135. DOI: 10.1080/13639819808729916	The Catalogue
Lico, G. (2003). <i>Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture</i> . Ateneo de Manila University Press.	The Setting
Lukito, Y. N. (2022). Historical and cultural negotiations in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: Beyond the utopia of 'unity in diversity.' <i>Journal of Southeast Asian Studies</i> . 53(4). 762–785. doi:10.1017/S0022463422000844	The Setting
Manuel, Ma. Teresa. (1979). <i>Tao: Humanism at work in Filipino society</i> . National Media Production Center Metropolitan Manila.	The Setting
Maramag, I. (n.d.). <i>Performance and Achievement: A Progress Report on the Projects of the First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos</i> .	The Intention
Maramag, I. (June 1975). <i>Compassion and Commitment: Action Programmes of the First Lady, Imelda Romualdez Marcos</i> . National Media Production Center.	The Intention
Marcos, F.E. (June 11, 1970). <i>One Country, One People</i> . Speech at the Inauguration of the Nayong Pilipino, Manila International Airport, Pasay City.	The Intention
Mojares, R.B. (2023). <i>Enigmatic Objects: Notes towards a history of the museum in the Philippines</i> . Ateneo de Manila University Press.	The Catalogue
New York Times. (June 1, 1970). <i>Suharto Visits Disneyland; Takes Helm of Cruise Boat</i> .	The Intention
Nuguid, N. (n.d.). <i>Nayong Pilipino</i> .	The Intention
Pemberton, J. (August 1989). <i>The Appearance of Order: A Politics of Culture in Colonial and Postcolonial Java</i> . A Dissertation	The Setting

Condensations – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University.	The Intention
Pemberton, J. (1994b). Recollections from “Beautiful Indonesia” (Somewhere beyond the Postmodern). Public Culture. The University of Chicago.	The Intention
Schlehe, J., & Uike-Bormann, M. (2010). Staging the Past in Cultural Theme Parks: Representations of Self and Other in Asia and Europe. In J. Schlehe, M. Uike-Bormann, C. Oesterle, & W. Hochbruck (Eds.), Staging the Past: Themed Environments in Transcultural Perspectives (1st ed., pp. 57–92). transcript Verlag. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv371bxvs.6	The Setting
Serra, J.P. (2023). An Institutional History of the Nayong Pilipino Foundation (1970-2015). In Nayon: Journal of Natural and Cultural Heritage Volume 01.	The Setting

Identity

Identity – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
Abdulgani-Knapp, R. (2007). Soeharto: The Life and Legacy of Indonesia’s Second President. Singapore. Marshall Cavendish.	The Completion
Acciaioli, G. (1985). Culture as Art: from Practice to Spectacle in Indonesia. Canberra Anthropology. 8(1&2). 148-172.	The Othering The Crescendo
Acciaioli, G. (1996). Pavilions and Posters: Showcasing Diversity and Development in Contemporary Indonesia. EIKON, 1, 27-42.	The Crescendo
Acciaioli, G. (2001). ‘Archipelagic Culture’ as an Exclusionary Government Discourse in Indonesia. The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology, 2(1), 1-23.	The Completion The Othering
Anderson, B.R.O. (1973). Notes on Contemporary Indonesian Political Communication. Cornell University Press.	The Crescendo
Anderson, B.R.O. (2006). Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (Revised Edition). Verso.	The Reclaiming
Ang Nayong Pilipino (The Philippine Village) Brochure. (1969). Philippines Board of Travel and Tourist Industry.	The Othering The Crescendo
Bennett, T. (1995a). The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics. London: Routledge.	The Othering

Identity – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
Brunner, E. (2005). <i>Culture on Tour. Ethnographies of Travel.</i> Chicago/London. University of Chicago Press.	The Othering
Cabalfin, E.R. (2012). <i>Nation as Spectacle: Identity Politics in the Architectures of Philippine Displays in International Expositions, 1887 – 1998.</i> [PhD diss., Cornell University].	The Reclaiming The Othering
Cabalfin, E.R. (2014). <i>Condensing the Country: Identity Politics in the Design of Nayong Pilipino (Philippine Village) and the 1998 Expo Pilipino Theme Parks.</i> <i>Espasyo, Journal of Architecture and Allied Arts in the Philippines.</i>	The Othering
Cabalfin, E.R. (2017). <i>Postcolonial Identity Politics and Philippine Pavilions in International Expositions, 1958-1992.</i> <i>International Research Symposium Proceedings: “Expo and Human History”.</i>	The Othering The Crescendo
Costa, R. (2021). <i>Metamorphoses in an Everlasting Present: Desires, Changes, and the Power of Mini-ization in Taman Mini’s Stone Age.</i> Cornell University Press.	The Othering
Espiritu, T. (2012). <i>Native subjects on display: reviving the colonial exposition in Marcos’ Philippines.</i> <i>Social Identities.</i> 18:6.	The Othering
Espiritu, T. (2017). <i>Passionate Revolutions: The Media and The Rise and Fall of the Marcos Regime.</i> Ohio University Press.	The Completion
Fanon, F. (1963). <i>The Wretched of the Earth.</i> Grove Press. New York.	The Reclaiming
Foucault, M. (1984). <i>The Foucault reader,</i> ed. P. Rabinow. New York: Vintage Books.	The Othering
Gafur A. (1992). <i>Siti Hartinah Soeharto: First Lady of Indonesia.</i> Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada.	The Reclaiming The Othering
Hitchcock, M. (1995). <i>The Indonesian Cultural Village and its Forbears.</i> <i>Journal of Museum Ethnography.</i>	The Othering
Hobsbawm, E. (1992 [1983]). <i>Introduction: Inventing traditions.</i> In <i>the invention of tradition,</i> ed. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger. 1–14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	The Reclaiming
Jones, T. (2005). <i>Indonesian Cultural Policy, 1950-2003: Culture, Institutions, Government.</i> Curtin University of Technology.	The Completion The Othering
Lico, G. (2003). <i>Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture.</i> Ateneo de Manila University Press.	The Reclaiming The Crescendo

Identity – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
Lukito, Y. N. (2022). Historical and cultural negotiations in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: Beyond the utopia of ‘unity in diversity.’ <i>Journal of Southeast Asian Studies</i> . 53(4). 762–785. doi:10.1017/S0022463422000844	The Othering The Crescendo
MacLeash, K. (1972). The Tasadays: Stone Age Cavemen of Mindanao. <i>National Geographic</i> . August 1972. Volume 142, No.2.	The Othering
Manuel, Ma. Teresa. (1979). Tao: Humanism at work in Filipino society. National Media Production Center Metropolitan Manila.	The Completion
Maramag, I. (n.d.). Performance and Achievement: A Progress Report on the Projects of the First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos.	The Crescendo
Maramag, I. (1978). The Ideas of Imelda Romualdez Marcos, Volume I. National Media Production Center. Metropolitan Manila.	The Othering
Marcos, F.E. (June 11, 1970). One Country, One People. Speech at the Inauguration of the Nayong Pilipino, Manila International Airport, Pasay City.	The Completion
Marcos, F.E. (1978). Five Years of the New Society.	The Reclaiming
Marcos, F.E. (1988). An Ideology for Filipinos. Marcos Foundation Inc.	The Completion
McClintock, A. (1995). <i>Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest</i> . Routledge. New York.	The Crescendo
McKinley, W. (December 21, 1898). Executive Order Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. Retrieved from: https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/executive-order-132 .	The Completion
McVey, R.T. (1978). Introduction: local voices, central power. In Ruth McVey (ed.). <i>Southeast Asian transitions: approaches through social history</i> . New Haven. Yale University Southeast Asia Series. pp. 1-31.	The Othering
Pemberton, J. (1994b). Recollections from “Beautiful Indonesia” (Somewhere beyond the Postmodern). <i>Public Culture</i> . The University of Chicago.	The Reclaiming The Completion The Othering
Rafael, V.L. (2000). <i>White Love and Other Events in Filipino History</i> . Ateneo de Manila University Press.	The Completion

Identity – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
Schlehe, J., & Uike-Bormann, M. (2010). Staging the Past in Cultural Theme Parks: Representations of Self and Other in Asia and Europe. In J. Schlehe, M. Uike-Bormann, C. Oesterle, & W. Hochbruck (Eds.), <i>Staging the Past: Themed Environments in Transcultural Perspectives</i> (1st ed., pp. 57–92). transcript Verlag. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv371bxvs.6	The Othering
Scott, W. H. (1962). The Word Igorot. <i>Philippine Studies</i> , 10(2), 234–248. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42719782	The Crescendo
Thomas, B. (2000). National Geographic, PANAMIN and the Stone-Age Tribe. <i>Dialectical Anthropology</i> . Vol. 25. No. 1. pp. 77-88.	The Othering
Worcester, D.C. (1914). <i>The Philippines Past and Present</i> . Volumes I and II. New York. The Macmillan Company.	The Completion

Currents

Currents – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
Abdulgani-Knapp, R. (2007). Soeharto: The Life and Legacy of Indonesia's Second President. Singapore. Marshall Cavendish.	The Heralds
Anderson, J. (January 18, 1981). The Powerful Imelda Marcos. <i>The Washington Post</i> .	The Heralds
Black, A. (2009). <i>The First Ladies of the United States of America</i> . White House Historical Association.	The Heralds
Cabalfin, E.R. (2012). <i>Nation as Spectacle: Identity Politics in the Architectures of Philippine Displays in International Expositions, 1887 – 1998</i> . [PhD diss., Cornell University].	The Predecessors
Costa, R. (2021). <i>Metamorphoses in an Everlasting Present: Desires, Changes, and the Power of Mini-ization in Taman Mini's Stone Age</i> . Cornell University Press.	The Predecessors
Espiritu, T. (2012). Native subjects on display: reviving the colonial exposition in Marcos' Philippines. <i>Social Identities</i> . 18:6.	The Heralds
Gafur A. (1992). Siti Hartinah Soeharto: First Lady of Indonesia. Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada.	The Heralds
Hitchcock, M. (1995). The Indonesian Cultural Village and its Forbears. <i>Journal of Museum Ethnography</i> .	The Predecessors
Hitchcock, M. (1998). Tourism, Taman Mini, and national identity. <i>Indonesia and the Malay World</i> . 26:75. 124-135. DOI: 10.1080/13639819808729916	The Predecessors

Currents – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
Hobsbawm, E. (1992 [1983]). Introduction: Inventing traditions. In the invention of tradition, ed. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger. 1–14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	The Circulation
Hoffstaedter, G. (2008). “Representing Culture in Malaysian Cultural Theme Parks: Tensions and Contradictions.” <i>Anthropological Forum</i> 18.2: 139-160.	The Predecessors
Inquirer. (February 24, 2011). Evita and Imelda. Inquirer.net. https://www.inquirer.net/57/evita-and-imelda/	The Heralds
Lukito, Y. N. (2022). Historical and cultural negotiations in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: Beyond the utopia of ‘unity in diversity.’ <i>Journal of Southeast Asian Studies</i> . 53(4). 762–785. doi:10.1017/S0022463422000844	The Predecessors
Pedrosa, C. (May 17, 2020). Imelda Marcos was not an Evita Peron. <i>The Philippine Star</i> .	The Heralds
Roces, M.P. (2019). <i>Gathering: Political Writing on Art and Culture</i> . De La Salle College of Saint Benilde.	The Heralds The Circulation
Smith, A.D.S. (1979). <i>Nationalism in the Twentieth Century</i> . Australian National University Press. Canberra.	The Circulation
Widdicombe, B. (November 4, 2019). How Imelda Marcos, the Wife of a Filipino Dictator, Became an Icon of ‘80s Excess. <i>Town and Country</i> .	The Heralds

Aesthetics

Aesthetics – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
Acciaioli, G. (1985). Culture as Art: from Practice to Spectacle in Indonesia. <i>Canberra Anthropology</i> . 8(1&2). 148-172.	The Merchants
Acciaioli, G. (1996). Pavilions and Posters: Showcasing Diversity and Development in Contemporary Indonesia. <i>EIKON</i> , 1, 27-42.	The Firepower The Illusion
Acciaioli, G. (2001). ‘Archipelagic Culture’ as an Exclusionary Government Discourse in Indonesia. <i>The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology</i> , 2(1), 1-23.	The Illusion
Cabalfin, E.R. (2012). <i>Nation as Spectacle: Identity Politics in the Architectures of Philippine Displays in International Expositions, 1887 – 1998</i> . [PhD diss., Cornell University].	The Illusion The Merchants

Aesthetics – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
Cabalfin, E.R. (2014). Condensing the Country: Identity Politics in the Design of Nayong Pilipino (Philippine Village) and the 1998 Expo Pilipino Theme Parks. <i>Espasyo, Journal of Architecture and Allied Arts in the Philippines</i> .	The Illusion
Cabalfin, E.R. (2017). Postcolonial Identity Politics and Philippine Pavilions in International Expositions, 1958-1992. <i>International Research Symposium Proceedings: “Expo and Human History”</i> .	The Merchants
Costa, R. (2020). Harmony is Beautiful: A Reappraisal of the Aestheticization of Politics in ‘Beautiful Indonesia’ Miniature Park. <i>The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology</i> . 21:4.	The Illusion
Costa, R. (2021). <i>Metamorphoses in an Everlasting Present: Desires, Changes, and the Power of Mini-ization in Taman Mini’s Stone Age</i> . Cornell University Press.	The Illusion
Espiritu, T. (2012). Native subjects on display: reviving the colonial exposition in Marcos’ Philippines. <i>Social Identities</i> . 18:6.	The Merchants
Espiritu, T. (2017). <i>Passionate Revolutions: The Media and The Rise and Fall of the Marcos Regime</i> . Ohio University Press.	The Illusion The Merchants
Halter, M. (2000). <i>Shopping Identity: The marketing of ethnicity</i> . New York, Schocken.	The Merchants
Han, B.C. (2020). <i>The disappearance of rituals: A Topology of the Present</i> . Polity Press.	The Merchants
Hitchcock, M. (1995). The Indonesian Cultural Village and its Forbears. <i>Journal of Museum Ethnography</i> .	The Illusion The Merchants
Hitchcock, M. (1998). Tourism, Taman Mini, and national identity. <i>Indonesia and the Malay World</i> . 26:75. 124-135. DOI: 10.1080/13639819808729916	The Merchants
Leviste, L. (September 7, 2014). When ‘70s fashion extravaganza was synonymous with one name: Bobby Caballero. <i>Philippine Daily Inquirer</i> .	The Merchants
Lico, G. (2003). <i>Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture</i> . Ateneo de Manila University Press.	The Firepower The Illusion
Lukito, Y. N. (2022). Historical and cultural negotiations in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: Beyond the utopia of ‘unity in diversity.’ <i>Journal of Southeast Asian Studies</i> . 53(4). 762–785. doi:10.1017/S0022463422000844	The Illusion The Merchants

Aesthetics – Main Documents Reviewed	Sub-section
MacAndrews, C. (1978). Transmigration in Indonesia: Prospects and Problems. <i>Asian Survey</i> , 18(5), 458–472. https://doi.org/10.2307/2643460	The Firepower
Miller, T. & Yudice, G. (2002). <i>Cultural Policy</i> (First Edition). Sage Publications.	The Illusion The Merchants
Mojares, R.B. (2023). <i>Enigmatic Objects: Notes towards a history of the museum in the Philippines</i> . Ateneo de Manila University Press.	The Illusion
Pemberton, J. (August 1989). <i>The Appearance of Order: A Politics of Culture in Colonial and Postcolonial Java</i> . A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University.	The Firepower
Roces, M.P. (2019). <i>Gathering: Political Writing on Art and Culture</i> . De La Salle College of Saint Benilde.	The Illusion
Schaefer, B. K. (2018, September 19): Moro Separatism in the Philippines: The Strategic Failure of a Promising Counterinsurgency. <i>Small Wars Journal</i> , 9/2018. URL: https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/moro-separat-ism-philippines-strategic-failure-promising-counterinsurgency	The Firepower
Spyer, P. (1996). <i>Diversity with a Difference: Adat and the New Order in Aru (Eastern Indonesia)</i> . <i>Cultural anthropology</i> . Washington. Vol. 11. nr. 1. 25-50.	The Merchants
The Philippine Star. (August 5, 2017). Bagong Anyo: Showcase of Phl Art and Culture. Remember When? The Philippine Star.	The Merchants
Vergara, A.Y. (September 20, 2015). Imelda Marcos and the 'terno' of her affections. <i>Lifestyle Inquirer</i> .	The Merchants

Scholar A

June 24, 2024

25 minutes

Synchronous via Zoom

Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
So in fact, in the original brochure, it actually makes it very clear that the Taman Mini, is a nation-building project. And you'll see one of the papers of mine begins with a quote "that we shall know one another", and that's what it's about. But this was a long time ago. This is the 1970s.	Purpose, intention	The Intention	Condensations
And I think the big thing is that the meaning and raison d'être of Taman Mini has changed, and it's been changing for some time. It's not about a nation-building project, it's actually just a, you could say it's a leisure and education project.	Change in purpose	Present time	Ruminations
So the interesting thing is the story that built Taman Mini is not today's story.	Change in purpose	Present time	Ruminations
I said to this panel, I said, look, I can't write a paper because the story is changing and I would need to do more research to actually find out the current use of Taman Mini. It was very clear to me when I was there that it was being revisited. They have in the compound of Taman Mini, they have this new, really excellent museum, the Batik Museum. And the Batik Museum has really very good comprehensive coverage of batik across the Indonesian archipelago.	Change in purpose	Present time	Ruminations
So actually, this batik museum is a sort of, you could say, a sign that Taman Mini is becoming very much a cultural, artistic, educational center. I mean, it's still in transition at the moment	Change in purpose	Present time	Ruminations

Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
So the problem with addressing your focus is to say that actually, if you were, if you had the opportunity, I would go to Indonesia and go and dig out people who were involved in the rejuvenation of Taman Mini.	Change in purpose, direction for future research	Present time, recommendation	Ruminations
and then you could make a contribution for your dissertation by saying that there's this complete transformation going on, and this is quite interesting in itself.	Change in purpose, direction for future research	Present time, recommendation	Ruminations
I would do a contemporary piece. But you've got also this literature review on open air museums going right the way back to Skansen in Sweden, which was the, one of the thought to be the first ever village museum like this.	Direction for future research	Recommendation	Ruminations
So when Mrs. Suharto says that it's all original, her idea, and she got the idea from Disneyland. This is not completely, completely accurate because they already had in Indonesia through the Dutch and through the Bali Museum. They already had the idea of putting traditional houses as a, as a visitor attraction.	Forerunners	The Catalogue The Merchants	Condensations Aesthetics
because to be honest, whatever the criticism of Taman Mini in the past, it is quite an amazing place	Change in purpose	Present time	Ruminations
So there's quite a lot. And so it's very interesting that Southeast Asia should get this bug of open air village museums, which comes originally from, from, from Sweden, I mean, Swedes, if you go to, if you go to talk to people at Skansen in Sweden, they're kind of a bit baffled as to why there's this international interest in this small Swedish. Well, not that small, but this kind of quite nice Swedish museum.	Forerunners	The Predecessors	Currents

Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
you could also in your specialist interviews look to people in European open-air museums	Direction for future research	Recommendation	Ruminations
you could point out in your literature review, there is a big literature, but the literature on the Southeast Asian side is, is different and distinctive	Direction for future research	Recommendation	Ruminations
Well, I thought, to be frank, I thought Taman Mini would close, but it didn't. It didn't. And, and, and it has a new lease of life and people.	Change in purpose	Present time	Ruminations
But then suddenly, now, 20, 26 years later, you know, I go to Jakarta and people are talking about, you know, Suharto and you know, you know, what happened.	Change in purpose	Present time	Ruminations
And the fact is the museum has been going since the 1970s. So it's actually a very old museum now. And of course, the great thing is that when, when it opened I think someone want, a journalist said to Mrs. Suharto, this is not a museum, because everything in it is new because at the time it was. And Mrs. Suharto said "Aha! But one day it will be old." And you know what? She's right.	Notions of authenticity	The Intention	Condensations
Taman Mini was, was sort of exciting for people like me as a foreigner to also engage with, with Indonesian intellectuals who were critical of the Suharto regime.	Purpose, intention	The Intention	Condensations
So it seemed like a kind of good idea to write about it. But now, as I said, it's, it's, it's shown that it's shaken off its nationalistic feeling. And also they've built, there was criticism before that the Chinese weren't represented in Taman Mini. Now they are. They have been represented now for some time. So Indonesians say it's a	Change in purpose	Present time	Ruminations

Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
much more comprehensive thing, and it's used for educational purposes and for conferences and all kinds of stuff. And of course, you know, when visitors come to Jakarta, you want a taste of Indonesia, come to Taman Mini, and you kind of get a feeling for what Indonesia is. So it's, I came away from Taman Mini feeling quite sort of a quite cheerful.			
So I was thinking all of those papers that I wrote, which were so critical and, and then it goes to show that actually you write something and it just goes out of date.	Change in purpose	Present time	Ruminations
Oh, by the way, there are there are two open er, three, 2 or 3 open air-village museums in Taiwan. And this is interesting for you as someone from the Philippines, because two of them are devoted to the Aboriginal people of Taiwan. Now, the Aboriginal people of Taiwan are related to Filipinos and Indonesians, and culturally they're quite close to the Philippines.	Direction for future research	Recommendation	Ruminations
And we asked them about whether the museum was a positive factor in their lives. And they (aboriginal people working in the museum) said it was because they had been looked down on a bit by the majority population, which is of Chinese origin, but because people were able to go to the museums and this attracted international visitors, it made the majority population think differently about their, their indigenous population. And so, that in itself is a very interesting story.	Direction for future research	Recommendation	Ruminations
So if you just stick to Southeast Asia. The ASEAN countries, you've got enough material and	Direction for future research	Recommendation	Ruminations

Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
then you can just make an, a side journey to Taiwan. You've got plenty of material there, but you can ground it in the history of, of European and later American open-air museums. And then you put the story to tell on Southeast Asia is quite a good one, but you could just focus it on Taman Mini, but you could put Taman Mini into this wider, wider context.			
But my visit to Taman Mini, as I told you, it made me think that there has been a change and, and that change I would like to document myself, and I may do so with an Indonesian author, but. But you could do it yourself as part of your dissertation. I'm sure. I'm sure that online you can get the names of the people, and I'm sure there must be some kind of management plan online for the, for regenerating Taman Mini. I mean, the good thing is, is that it hasn't just closed and fallen down. It's, it's actually being it's being regenerated and it's part of also, it's part of the greens, one of the green spaces of Jakarta.	Change in purpose	Present time	Ruminations
So I think it's very important in your dissertation that in Jakarta, it's been recognized as one of the green spaces for Jakartan citizens, and also people from across Indonesia also visit the, the pavilions representing their islands and different ethnic groups.	Change in purpose	Present time	Ruminations

Scholar B

June 24, 2024

Asynchronous via email response

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
In general, how does Indonesia view and present its respective culture?	This depends upon how you define Indonesia. Do you mean the central government of Indonesia, Indonesian civil society organisations, or I will assume the former for the purpose of answering this question. First off, the question should read 'cultures' rather than 'culture'. There certainly is a national culture that dictates, for example, the etiquette at official meetings. However, in everyday interactions people invoke explicitly and bodily exemplify (by hexis or habitus) what they have been socialized into as their local culture. As Pemberton and others have argued, Javanese culture is the most highly valued in this regard, and is one of the bases of national culture. However, the modes of self-presentation of Bataks, Bugis and other ethnic groups are quite different, and are often less	Understanding of culture, privileging of ethnic groups	The Othering	Identity

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	valued and even denigrated in official contexts by government officials and others (e.g. such behaviour being regarded as 'kurang ajar', insufficiently civilized. And, then, there is also the religious influence. Islam, the religion of the vast majority of the Indonesian population, though in different variants and regionally uneven among the population, stipulates a lot of what is now accepted nationally in terms of standards of modesty and interaction. So, those who transgress those standards tend not to be valued as highly. So, both Islam and Javaneseness establish a hierarchy of acceptability in public conduct and expression of attitudes. This is very evident on television and other media, though perhaps less so in Taman Mini, where there is an effort made to encompass diversity on a level playing field. However, regional autonomy has somewhat mitigated these tendencies, and at the state and district level there is			

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	more acceptability of the value orientations of local peoples beyond Java, even in government offices and formal occasions.			
How was culture employed as an apparatus of the state during the regime of Suharto?	Cultural development was an imperative of the New Order state, whose officials felt the obligation to impose certain values as well to bring economic development. This is evident, for example, in the appropriate conduct, a model of domesticity, toward which women should aspire, as inculcated in PKK programs. However, it was also evident in such programs as transmigrasi. Javanese migrants were expected to spread Javanese values into the regions in which they were moved – a type of neocolonial Mission Civilisatrice within independent New Order Indonesia. In fact, cultural development was seen as the bedrock of socio-economic development. The constant harping, to this day in the post-Reformasi era, of having to change people's 'mindset' in order to be developed indicates how changing	Socializing values, transmigration, basis of development as cultural	The Completion The Firepower	Identity Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	cultural orientations were seen to be the prerequisite for achieving the developed Indonesian. During the New Order this orientation is seen in the popular writings of Koentjaraningrat, the doyen of Indonesian anthropology, and in the works of such ideologues as Ali Moertopo. Given the anti-Marxist orientation of the New Order, it is understandable that the basis of development would be seen to be mental or cultural rather than stemming from changing relations of production in the base. Of course, institutions such as Taman Mini were one of the means by which the New Order sought to operationalize cultural development, as well as the framing of elections as 'festivals of democracy'.			
How effective was the authoritarian leadership in helping build a national culture and a national identity?	In many ways the New Order was quite effective in promulgating this developmentalist program based on the construction of a national culture. Of course, it had the basis on which to proceed in this regard with the establishment of	Shared sense of being Indonesian Resistance to Pancasila	The Crescendo The Illusion	Identity Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	independent Indonesia as a unitary nation-state (Negara Kesatuan) rather than a federation, as Malaysia opted to become given its aim to retain the power of the local sultanates. Today there certainly is a shared sense of being Indonesian, and most all Indonesians are keen to defend their sovereignty against perceived slights and interference from abroad. That has been a constant from Sukarno to Jokowi, though perhaps most explicitly with Suharto and the New Order. Where there is some fracture in this complex relates to diverse Islamic constituencies. While certainly there are many, especially followers of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) who would promote Islam Nusantara, a distinctly Indonesian variant of Islam allowing syncretism with local cultures, others of more fundamentalist orientation would look to the Middle East for cultural inspiration (preferring to wear a jubah to a batik shirt) and would state that loyalty to (their interpretation			

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	of) Islam transcends any national loyalties and national culture. The New Order is somewhat responsible for that, as its policy of trying to impose on all organisations the ideology of Asas Tunggal Pancasila, including even massacring those who would not submit, as in the case of the 1984 Tanjung Priok massacre, inevitably catalysed a backlash that led to the resurgence of Islam and Political Islam and most likely rendering segments of the population more receptive to Wahhabist forms of Islam from the Middle East that countered the construction of an inclusive national culture. So, the authoritarian leadership of the New Order was only partially effective in building a national culture as the ultimate basis of popular loyalty.			
What was the role played by Siti Hartinah in forming the national culture at the time of her husbands' term as president?	Siti Hartinah or Ibu Tien was certainly instrumental in both embodying national culture for women in her persona and overseeing channels for its dissemination through her sponsorship of PKK, her presence at	Role of Tien Soeharto	The Beautiful	Proponents

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	numerous pageants and similar events exemplifying Indonesian modernity, and her role in conceptualizing and bringing to fruition Taman Mini after she was inspired by similar theme parks in the USA (Disneyland) and Thailand. She was not a major ideologue of the New Order, as was, for example, Ali Moertopo. Her role was not to formulate ideology and policy, but to serve as a major undertaker of the projects that sought to operationalize the New Order ideology and to serve as the icon of New Order values, especially as they related to women. As a (distant) member of the Mangkunegaran dynasty, she also served as an embodiment of high (priyayi) Javanese values, thus furthering the hegemonic position of the Javanese ethos.			
The government of Suharto led to a rise in cultural institutions. Paying particular attention to Taman Mini,	I send you an article that goes into more detail about this, but I will briefly address this in terms of my answers to previous questions. I would opine that Taman Mini was constructed	Purpose Efforts toward modernity	The Intention The Othering	Condensations Identity

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
what do you consider are the driving factors behind the establishment of this park?	to represent as a cultural landscape the Indonesian nation, in its New Order visualization, to its populace, thus functioning as a venue of inculcation of the regime's concept of Unity in Diversity. Certainly, when I first visited it in the early 80s, there were still many groups of school students brought there during the week to experience their nation in condensed, close proximity. As well, as a weekend venue for ethnic associations to have picnics and other events (I still remember watching members of the Minahasan association enjoying a Sunday potluck picnic while listening to a kulintang performance in the North Sulawesi pavilion of Taman Mini on a more recent visit). Making national loyalty a focus of leisure and recreational pursuits can be an effective strategy for cementing loyalty to the nation and creating a specific national version of modernity. It could show to local citizens how even the cultures of Papua (still Irian Jaya by name when I first visited) and East			

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	Timor (before independence) were part of the encompassing national vision. Besides, if Indonesia were to be accepted as among the modern developed nations of the world (at the time of its construction), it should have the sort of theme park that those nation-states had (e.g. Disneyland in the USA).			
How would you describe the depth and breadth of representation, in terms of both territory and culture, exhibited in Taman Mini?	I certainly appreciate the geographical breadth of representation, as there was an honest attempt to encompass the entire archipelago. However, there are other sorts of breadth as well, as only certain iconic societies were represented in each pavilion (e.g. Bugis-Makassar and Toraja in the South Sulawesi pavilion, but no representation of Amma Toa or To Lotang communities). The use of a general template for what was represented in each pavilion also militated against the achievement of depth of representation. There is only so much that can be conveyed by mannequins representing	Layout Diversity in practice	The Setting The Crescendo	Condensations Identity

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	wedding couples, with each said to represent a regency/district (kabupaten) within each provincial pavilion. Such representations do not capture the ethnic diversity within not only districts, but often within villages themselves. Diversity is thus encompassed within homogenization, which effectively undermines the message of diversity. And ethnic differentiation does not always correspond to administrative boundaries, whether of districts or provinces. I would applaud the placing of the Lampung pavilion in the same line as all the Javanese provinces rather than across the lake with the provincial pavilions representing Sumatra, as that did capture the dominance of Javanese transmigrants within that province. However, I'm not sure that message got through to everyone, as it was not something emphasized in the pavilion itself (I do not know about now). Of course, pemerkan in Reformasi and			

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	beyond has further rendered the relationship of cultures to administrative boundaries more complex, as did transmigration and state endorsement of spontaneous migration during the New Order.			
Museums and parks are often regarded as places of instruction in terms of civics, do you think this is also true of Taman Mini? Why or why not?	I think I have already addressed this question above in my answer to question 5, where I mentioned how Taman Mini functioned as a venue for school visits as well as for inculcation of adults regarding all that is encompassed within the Indonesian nation-state. I think this is the case for many theme parks. Listening to an animatronic version of Abraham Lincoln delivering the Gettysburg Address in one of the buildings of Disneyland also functions as a lesson in civics in the USA, as does strolling through Main Street. The various museums in the outer perimeter of the park, which I have not yet mentioned, function more explicitly to display the achievements of organs of the Indonesian state, while the Pura Bhakti	Purpose	The Intention	Condensations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	Pertiwi Museum at the front inculcates how Indonesia has taken its position among the nations of the world by displaying how the gifts of visiting international leaders and dignitaries show homage to the Indonesian regime. The construction of Taman Mini as a venue for instruction through display was one of its driving forces.			
Taman Mini is frequently cited as an institution prescribing the “generic” Indonesian. How and to what degree did this park prescribe the state’s preferred identity to its citizens?	As noted above, the use of a common template (e.g. mannequins of bride and groom in customary wedding attire) for most all the pavilions was one of the major means of prescribing a generic Indonesian identity. So too, the use of an administrative province as the frame for each pavilion, rather than having each pavilions representing a culture, also tended to reinforce the notion of the generic Indonesian.	Prescribing identity	The Crescendo	Identity

Scholar B

July 8, 2024

1 hour, 20 minutes

Synchronous via Zoom

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
So first off, I think there's this common trend wherein, this is the same for the Philippines case as well, that culture was used by the state to maintain state security. What's your stand on that?	Well, I think that is the case with Indonesia as well, in a number of dimensions. First, the attempt to I mean, they use the term in Indonesia "sosialisasi" to socialize people into adherence to certain values. And among those would be the adherence to a national culture as a means of binding Indonesian people together. And, you know, as I said in my written answer, following on from what people like Pemberton have written, a lot of those national values come primarily from Javanese culture. In terms of the emphasis upon a kind of smooth etiquette. So I think that's one way in which culture is, contributes to national security in terms of binding people to a common set of values. Not that it's always successful.	Maintaining state security, norm diffusion	The Firepower	Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	Another way in which it is used is the cultural dimension of transmigration. Because transmigration in part was meant to relieve population pressure in inner Indonesia, Java, Madura, Bali, to a certain degree West Lombok, which is mainly Balinese, but it was also seen as a vehicle for transporting proper Indonesian culture. That the transmigrants, you know, being from the core, from inner Indonesia, would bring to the outer islands in order to kind of cement their loyalty. And of course, that would be particularly important in border areas.	Transmigration	The Firepower	Aesthetics
	So in that sense, culture was not just a tool of development. And they, as I said in my written answer that they always emphasized how cultural development was the basis for economic development, you know, because of the belief that you had to have the right mindset. And they tend to use the English term here in	Right mindset for development, transmigration	The Completion The Firepower	Identity Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	order to you know, properly orient oneself to developing. But also, I think in the case of, of transmigration to the border areas, of inculcating values of loyalty to Indonesia through the transmigrants, to the local populations.			
Another one [question] and this is actually something that I picked up on your, on the article that you've attached to your email. You mentioned Taman complex, and in the Philippines, it's actually the edifice complex. So I'm just curious as to what is it about the authoritarian regimes that kind of wanted to just keep building stuff or structures, because the names, the names are different, but essentially they're the same thing.	I think authoritarian regimes always tend towards the monumental. And you know that park around the Monas as it's usually abbreviated, could be seen as a sort of precursor to Taman Mini. So, you know, I think it's partly to monumentalize the regime. the whole project of building the new capital in East Kalimantan the Ibu Kota Nusantara So IKN (pronounced "ikaen") that's part of that same tendency to want to monumentalize the regime in part to as a symbol of power, in part as leaving one's legacy and such.	Monumentalism	The Plexus	Proponents
	But you know, it, it's this kind of the	Monumentalism	The Plexus	Proponents

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	same thing, you know, Donald Trump's "Let's Make America Great again". It's part of that same orientation towards greatness and monuments And, you know, in a certain sense you could consider Taman Mini a type of monument, is a way of symbolically displaying the power of the state legitimizing its authority. You know, by saying we control this and, you know, we are the arbiter of values. So I think Taman Mini can be, you know, assimilated into that whole complex. As an example of authoritarian monumentality.			
	And it's often, you know, the, the wives of the great dictators who tend to kind of take a certain amount of authority for the cultural side of it, whether Imelda Marcos or Ibu Tien in Indonesia. You know, there, there is a similar sort of Taman Mini. Most of the countries in Southeast Asia have something like that.	Wives of dictators as cultural proponents	The Beautiful	Proponents

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	So, you know, it's, it is part of that whole complex of legitimization. And legitimization is always a fundamental concern of, especially of authoritarian regimes.	Legitimacy	The Plexus	Proponents
I kind of want to understand as well what the role of women is in Indonesia, particularly because I noticed that with Imelda Marcos, she actually held government positions. So she was governor of Manila, and she was also the Minister for Human Settlements at the time. But I don't think Ibu Tien actually held actual government positions at the time.	I think, I mean, she didn't have like a position in Parliament or anything like that. But I think she did have a formal position with regard, I'm blanking on the name of the women's association. it was the whole ideology of the woman as the, not the head of the family, but the one responsible for the inculcation of family values and for keeping an orderly household and such. You know, the kind of acme of domesticity. And in that hierarchy, I think Ibu Tien had more than just a symbolic role. She had a more formal role. But that would have been in keeping with the New Order emphasis upon women's role being primarily domestic rather than public. I mean, since	Role of women, primarily domestic	The Rearing	Proponents

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	Reformasi, the fall of the New Order and such, it's changed. And we've had a lot of female governors and mayors.			
	So, you know, kind of Ibu Tien as the envisioner of Taman Mini and such would be, you know, she would be seen as the kind of mother of the country and Taman Mini would be a vehicle for in socializing values to the populace at large in a way that the woman's role as kind of domestic educator in the family would be essential to the reproduction of those values that were seen as essential to supporting the New Order. So, you know, women's role with regard to social reproduction includes that cultural dimension because it, you know, has to do with values as well. And in that sense, I think you know, her championing of Taman Mini is, is perfectly in keeping with the New Order value of, valuation of women as the kind of arbiters of, of family socialization of values.	Role of women, primarily domestic	The Rearing	Proponents

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
The Marcos dictatorship, particularly, was actually described as a conjugal dictatorship. Would you, do you think that would be the same as well for Indonesia?	Close, but not quite. It's the way I'd say it. I mean, it's not. I think you could make the argument of that, but I think it was a more muted presence of Ibu Tien than Imelda Marcos. I think Imelda Marcos was more of a public personality than Ibu Tien was. I mean, Ibu Tien was certainly active, and I think she did wield a certain amount of power. And of course, there was always the joke of that, you know, her nickname was "Ibu-Ten percent".	Tien Soeharto's role/image	The Beautiful	Proponents
	So, yeah, I mean, to me, almost, but not quite. It would be the way I would respond to that. She certainly was, you know, not just somebody in the background. She certainly had a profile, but to what degree she actually was making decisions on economic development and, you know, having the ear of her husband Pak Harto, I don't know. When I think of a sort of analogue to her, I think of Eleanor Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt's wife. Although probably	Tien Soeharto's role/image, analogue to Tien Soeharto	The Beautiful The Heralds	Proponents Currents

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	Eleanor Roosevelt had, was more benign in many regards, but the sort of role that Eleanor Roosevelt had during Franklin's terms of office as president. I mean, she had a high profile, but it was, you know, to do with social causes and such rather than with political decisions.			
So then there's this other theme called "myth making," wherein authoritarian regimes were finding, that there is a need for them to establish a certain pedigree. So yeah, I think the question is, what's with the myth making part?	Yeah, well, Ibu Tien was connected to royalty in Central Java. I can't remember whether I think it was one of the royal houses in Solo rather than Jakarta. And certainly there was something made of that. Again, you know, as a mother who is responsible kind of for inculcation of national values, that there certainly was a, a role in that contributed by her ties to central Javanese royalty. Now, Suharto couldn't make such claims. Everybody knew he was a commoner status. The myth making with regard to Suharto had to do with his role in the, as a military man. They did tend to overemphasize his contributions to the Independence War.	Myth making, ties to royalty, military pedigree	The Myths	Proponents

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	But it was his, his carving out a career in the military. And then it's the kind of savior of the nation against communism.			
	And the other, you know, again, this goes back to that theme of legitimation. The other legitimation for Suharto was as the father of development, "Bapak Pembangunan". Sukarno was an ideologue. charismatic speaker. But he had no sense of economic policy. And so that was what Suharto brought as the father of development. He brought a certain amount of economic stability and economic progress. "Kemajuan" in Bahasa Indonesia. So those would be the two aspects of the Suharto myth.	Myth making, Soeharto as father of development	The Myths The Rearing	Proponents Proponents
	But for Sukarno, his legitimation had to do with his identification with, with the common people, and to a certain degree, I think Suharto tried to continue that in	Soeharto as father of development	The Rearing	Proponents

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	terms of development, but it was a little bit more top-down in terms of, you know, that he was the kind of bestower of development. But there was still that sense that he was the one who would care for, for the common people.			
In terms of not eradicating diversity, but domesticating it, how effective were they, do you think in having done that?	Well, I think there was a certain degree of success in the New Order in accomplishing that. There was always an undercurrent that they could not totally get rid of. And that kind of erupted then with the Reformasi movement. So, you know, Indonesia's motto "unity in diversity." They didn't, things like Taman Mini tried to set the parameters of diversity. In that sense, the domesticated, what were the allowable limits? But not then to fully, to fully specify how those parameters would be achieved. And as I think I said in my written response one of the kind of points of opposition around which people crystalize was Islam. The New Order did not want to allow political Islam.	Parameters of diversity, Islam as a point of opposition	The Crescendo The Illusion	Identity Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	And that's a kind of indication of the limits of the domestication project that they could not set the full parameters in terms of, of Pancasila, which of course, Pancasila is an inheritance from Sukarno from the old order. It's not something coined by the New Order, but a somewhat different understanding.			
	You get the proclamation in the early 90s, which is still in the New Order of the basic sovereignty of indigenous peoples. Because to a certain extent, to a great extent, the New Order had tried to eradicate the role of custom, of adat, within local governance. And in the short run, they succeeded. So that combination of the indigenous people's movement, the Gerakan Masyarakat Adat Islamic Resistance and the demand for a role of Islam in politics and such were things that I think underlay the movement towards Reformasi and its eventual success. You know, it was, it	Eradicating custom	The Crescendo	Identity

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	was the economic crisis which served as the catalyst and that led to the downfall of the New Order because, but only as a catalyst. I don't think it was the underlying movements, but it was the, in a sense, the legitimization of being the father of development was lost because of the monetary crisis.			
	And, you know, you did have, you know, starting with the American colonial regime, you did have kind of the sponsoring of movements of people from the Visayas and Luzon into Mindanao. So you've got, for example, the establishment of places like General Santos City, Gen San, and such. But I think there was always a certain resistance to that by local peoples. So eventually, just as the global indigenous peoples movement started to have a real effect, I'd say from the early 90s in Indonesia, you had a similar analogous effect in in the Philippines until you finally got, for example, things like the acceptance of notions of ancestral	Transmigration	The Firepower	Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	domain in the Philippines which is the kind of analogue in the Philippines to what in Indonesia would be adat, adat land.			
So yeah, it's [Nayong Pilipino] closed right now, but there are movements to reopen it. So they are kind of reconceptualizing what it means to have that. Similarly, what would be there if you can reconceptualize Taman Mini, do you think in this day and age, do you think it would still follow the cultural village format?	Well, in Indonesia, I think. To a certain extent it does. I get the sense with Taman Mini now that it's to a certain extent less a place of national education. And I think that was much less the case during the new order. So I think that there's more legitimacy to kind of ethnic assertion as opposed to just administrative unit assertion. As used to be the case in Taman Mini because I think that the Reformasi period really legitimated a certain amount of ethnic politics that the New Order attempted to suppress in the interests of national unity. Yeah. In Indonesia in the mid-80s, after the establishment of Taman Mini, there was also a movement to kind of replicate it at the provincial level, in each province. And some of those Taman Mini Propinsi still exists,	Changing notions	Present time	Ruminations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	but they don't have that kind of inculcation socialization, international values there. They're used more for things like exhibitions of regional cooking or of social enterprises in various, you know, the next unit down from the province is usually translated the Regency, the "kabupaten". So they still exist performing that function, but that's not quite what I think they were envisaged to perform.			
	So during the week, it's just a sort of park, you know, like a central park in a city. But on the weekends they do have the pavilions open, and they do have these sort of exhibitions of social enterprises in each kabupaten and such. So it still exists in a kind of, you know, diminished form, I wouldn't say totally a rump form. It isn't that diminished. So, you know, it's been transformed, but it's still there. So it, it's not fulfilled the sort of vision of provincial museums or Taman Minis at	Changing notions	Present time	Ruminations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	the provincial level that was envisaged. I mean, it was seen in the mid-80s that it was really it was a requirement. It was it was kind of phrased as a shout out, a requirement for each province to erect a Taman Mini, but it lost steam very quickly. And not all provinces did end up building Taman Minis. And by now they've been transformed into more general kind of, you know, recreational parks as opposed to that specific sort of inculcation of national values, although as inflected at the provincial level that they were originally envisaged to perform.			
	So, you know, the cultural village format. It exists as a trace. But not with the same power. The same cultural power that it used to have. I don't think the sort of orientation of Taman Mini ever became totally hegemonic. You know that that term. Hegemony. It's a very problematic one. You know, people who subscribe to cultural Marxism and take their lead from	Changing notions, concept of hegemony	Present time	Ruminations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	Antonio Gramsci will talk about, you know, that the hegemonic power of the New Order and such others, like James Scott, really contests the whole notion of hegemony, because he really believes in the continuing autonomy from below in terms of, you know, his whole ideology of the weapons of the weak and hidden transcripts.			
	So, you know, when, like you asked me, to what degree was the New Order successful in domesticating culture and such? Essentially, that could be rephrased by the question to what extent did the New Order orientation become hegemonic? And, you know, again, I would say, well, not fully.	Changing notions, concept of hegemony	Present time	Ruminations
	And I don't think there is the same emphasis in the Jokowi regime on cultural development. I think that's taken a back seat, whereas it had a front seat in the New Order. And I simply think that, you know, for	Comparison of Jokowi and Soeharto regimes	Present time	Ruminations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	Jokowi, business is business, and it's less dependent upon culture. I'm stepping out on a limb there, that's probably overgeneralized, but and I think there's something to it. So you certainly have not had the funding in the Jokowi regime for institutions like museums, regional Taman Minis and such that you had in the New Order where cultural development was just seen as foundational. And I don't think that's the case under the, neo-developmentalism of Jokowi.			
	Yeah, well, I mean, part of the inspiration for Ibu Tien was Disneyland. Yes, and there was a predecessor to Indonesia's Taman Mini of the same sort in Thailand. And those were the two main inspirations, according to the sources that I read. I think yeah, I would say it is much more a recreational park than a kind of venue of inculcation of national values as it was first, first envisaged to be. So yeah, I agree. But	Inspirations for the park	The Spark	Proponents

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	it's not a theme park, like, totally oriented towards rides and such.			
	We're in the age of hybridity. You know, nothing can be totally authentic or only oriented towards one strand of thinking. Anything that you want to appeal to a wide range of constituencies is going to be, it's going to be hybrid in orientation. I mean, another way you could phrase that, is that in many ways Taman Mini was originally envisaged as a sort of venue of modernity, but in the current context, we're all post-modern. And Taman Mini has had to accommodate to that as well.	Changing notions	Present time	Ruminations
	You know, in your future work, think of extending to things like national provincial museums and things like that. Because, you know, it's all of a piece. Yeah. It wasn't just Taman Mini. It was a whole cultural apparatus that the New Order was trying to mobilize. And it continues. But as we've said, not	Direction for future research	Recommendation	Ruminations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	quite in, functioning in the ways that they'd originally envisaged.			

Scholar C

July 8, 2024

1 hour

Synchronous via Zoom

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
So first, in general, how do you think Philippines view and represent its respective culture, especially during the Marcos era?	I think overall, the main idea was that the Philippines had a very diverse and rich culture. And this idea of this diverse culture was also something that was born out of its history that has its pre-colonial history and then its colonial history. So it was never presented necessarily as sort of a pure culture. It was presented as a kind of a layered type of culture born out of its history and its relationship with its colonizers, which was sort of different from other Asian countries. At least that's how the government also wanted to present that. It was different from other Asian countries.	Layered and diverse culture	The Crescendo	Identity
As for the second question, how do you think culture was employed as an apparatus of the state during the regime of Marcos?	So culture was an important instrument, an apparatus during the Marcos period as a way to shape the national consciousness. They did want to create a very unified	Culture as uniting factor	The Crescendo	Identity

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	and almost singular idea of what Filipino means. So again, because of that diversity of, of having this long history and also having multiple islands. The idea is that then to unify everyone was very challenging, but they saw that having kind of this national culture was one way of, of then unifying, unifying the nation to, to say and to communicate to everyone that no matter where you are in the Philippines, you are still a Filipino.			
	And that's part of the project of what nationalism does. Marcos has wanted to be able to use culture a specific, specific way to then unite the country that way. At the same time, I think culture was also used as a way to promote the country abroad. Culture was also used as an instrument to be able to shape the perceptions of outsiders or foreigners, of how they perceive the Philippines.	Culture as uniting factor Promoting the country	The Crescendo The Illusion	Identity Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
Do you also think it kind of contributed to state security?	I think part of it also is that because they wanted to, you know, at that time there were, the country was experiencing a lot of internal issues. The Marcoses were faced with those challenges. And so they saw culture as a way to, I think, like divert the attention from all of the politics that was happening. To be able to say like, oh, you know, like culture is more neutral. It's not necessarily political. And so it's a way to, I think, distract and make people feel and Filipinos feel that look, you know, the Philippines is a very peaceful country and we're all very stable. We're all very secure and so on.	Façade of stability and security	The Illusion	Aesthetics
Do you think the Marcos leadership, in general, was actually effective in helping build our national culture?	The Marcoses were very keen on using it as an instrument, and therefore, I think they were quite effective in making it official and in institutionalizing national culture and national identity. But they, they purposely used, for example, architecture as a way to be able to create that image of what it means to be	Imposing culture and identity Image of a unified country	The Crescendo The Illusion	Identity Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	like a unified country.			
How big of a role do you think Imelda Marcos played in forming the national culture of the Philippines?	She was touting herself as the mother of the arts. She was considering herself as the patroness of the arts. She was really responsible in pushing projects to be built. The Cultural Center of the Philippines complex, for example, is one clear way by which then she really wanted to institutionalize that there is like this national culture. So there were all of these different ways by which then culture was being put at the forefront of the consciousness of the Filipinos through all of these sort of building.	Monumentalism	The Plexus	Proponents
	So, you know, she really saw that the arts and cultures were really important components that I think, you know Ferdinand Marcos was sort of seen as sort of like the politic, the political side, but Imelda Marcos is seen as	Parental image	The Rearing	Proponents

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	kind of like the cultural side, you know, this idea of the mother, and the father and that they have very kind of clear, clear distinct roles in nation building. And that's how they portray themselves, you know, as the father of the nation and the mother of the nation. And so they each took a role in the cultivation of the Filipino nation.			
I was just really curious because at the time of Marcos as well, like they have this term, edifice complex, so they like building really, really large structures. And then all of a sudden, a park, and in terms of grandiosity, usually brutalist structures, I don't think it kind of fits.	I don't think it necessarily contradicted like in terms of, I think the parks are just one component of this edifice complex because at that time Luneta was also renovated, you know, so Rizal Park was also renovated. I.P. Santos, the landscape architect of Nayong Pilipino, also did a lot of the parks. Paco Park, Paco Cemetery was also renovated at that time. So parks were, might seem like, you know, because in terms of buildings, right. Like buildings are very big and kind of massive. And then you have parks that tend to be more horizontal. But they were seen as for Imelda, going hand in hand with, with buildings at the	Monumentalism	The Plexus	Proponents

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	same time, then it wasn't just buildings, parks, then infrastructure. So they had bridges, they had roads, they had highways also at that time. And then at the same time, there were also a lot of rehabilitation and conservation of historic structures.			
	And then also the Nayong Pilipino was about creating new parks. So the old and the new was, was sort of coming hand in hand in all of these projects. So they were not, I don't think they were necessarily seen as contradictory, but they were partners and they complemented each other. And because I think, like for Imelda, it was like she wanted to be able to shape everything, you know, so the entire kind of built environment, you know, the entire Philippines if possible. And that's what they did. You know, that's why they did all of the infrastructure projects at that time. They really saw the built environment as an important component in promoting the national culture, in	Monumentalism	The Plexus The Beautiful	Proponents Proponents

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	creating this idea of a new nation.			
	So part of it is also economic development programs. And so, tourism for them was seen as an important component in creating economic development for the Philippines. And so Nayong Pilipino was really seen as a way to promote tourism for both domestic and then international visitors.	Tourism	The Merchants	Aesthetics
	They really wanted it [Nayong Pilipino] to be close to the airport so that then if you are a visitor, you know, a foreign visitor, you can see the country very easily in kind of like a very concentrated park. So I think what's driving that is to promote tourism for foreign visitors, to be able to see the Philippines and then understand the Philippines. And then at the same time, it's also for the domestic tourists, for people, for example, living in Metro Manila, that was a way for them to maybe see the rest of the country without necessarily going out of Manila and then, be able to understand that the	Tourism Purpose	The Merchants The Intention	Aesthetics Condensations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	people in Metro Manila are also part of a larger country, and therefore they need to also see how there are many different cultures and there are many different Filipinos also across the archipelago. So I think that's part of the agenda, which is, you know, for economic development together with sort of cultural development.			
	And so speaking of cultural development, I think Nayong Pilipino was part of a larger project to also promote vernacular and indigenous traditions. As a way to say that the Philippines is a unique country. And then as a way to be able to then promote these kind of, like, unique qualities to be able to say that we are a nation. The Marcoses at that time to be able to say that, okay, we are a sovereign country, is to be able to say that we have a unique culture. And so, Nayong Pilipino is just an example of how they were able to promote, let's say, the sort of vernacular and	Tourism Purpose	The Merchants The Intention	Aesthetics Condensations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	indigenous traditions to be able to say that like, hey, you know, this is what's unique about the Philippines, and therefore this is what the Philippines can contribute to this common fund of humanity.			
	So, what the Marcoses are doing is really part of a nationalist ideology. This idea that there is this nation, a kind of a unified political community that then has shared values and shared sort of history, even though the Philippines is very diverse and therefore is not kind of simply one singular country.	Understanding of culture	The Crescendo	Identity
Let me just kind of ask further about that. Do you think that [nationalistic drive] contributes to this kind of self-exoticism?	Yes, yes, I think it does. Anthony Smith talks about this in his other theories, but for a nation to be able to say that it is unique and that it is sort of one community, unfortunately, part of that process is also to sometimes conflate everyone, you know, to kind of flatten everyone into this one singular culture. And I think that's partly what Nayong Pilipino is trying to do is like, it's condensing it, it's	Process of conflation Self-exoticism	The Crescendo The Othering	Identity Identity

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	condensing everyone into this one area. Like it's trying to highlight different cultures. Right. And then at the same time, part of the challenge with <i>Nayong Pilipino</i>, is the way the Philippines was represented, for example, in the park really recalls a lot of the colonial expositions. They're presenting the Philippines as sort of like primitive and exotic in those colonial expositions really surfaces again in <i>Nayong Pilipino</i>. And that's why this sort of self-exoticism, and that's why I now call it self-exoticism and self-orientalizing, because then it's now Filipinos trying to present themselves as exotic to an outside audience, to be able to say that they are unique.			
	And so that's what I see as the danger of what <i>Nayong Pilipino</i> has done. It really perpetuated the same sort of imagery, maybe in a different way, but still, it recalls a lot of the same ways by which, the colonial expositions have	Replicating colonial narratives, self-exoticism	The Othering	Identity

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	really presented the Philippines. So then the kind of question is that, what has Nayong Pilipino done then, you know, if it is continuing the same tropes of exoticism and primitivism in those colonial expositions and then they're kind of replicating again. So, you know, as Filipinos, modern day Filipinos, what are we doing then? In this sort of effort to create an idea of nation.			
You mentioned something about flattening space. I've also read for the Indonesian part that Taman Mini is also a symbol of flattening time because it kind of freezes cultures in place, do you think that also happens in Nayong Pilipino?	I think it's exactly the same thing that's happening in Nayong Pilipino. Have you read Benedict Anderson? He talks about this flattening, the homogeneous space time. If you are in one place, you know, because you can't normally see all of these different buildings and places all together and so suddenly, they're all in one place, in kind of like this one setting. And I think that's part of why it flattens everything into this one singular site when in reality, you know, like Indonesia and the Philippines, they're	Flattening of time and space	The Firepower	Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	all scattered in many different places.			
	And it's also not necessarily unusual in the sense that, that was exactly how in the colonial expositions, they were exactly doing the same thing. They were also sort of putting everyone together and conflating them. And so, everyone was sort of on this one area and it flattens everything. You can't really see Nayong Pilipino and Taman Mini in isolation because it's really part of a longer history of the way nations have been for example, displayed in expositions. They're using exactly the same tropes and strategies.	Flattening of time and space Replicating colonial narratives	The Firepower The Othering	Aesthetics Identity
How would you describe the depth and breadth of representation in terms of both territory and culture in Nayong Pilipino?	I think in terms of breadth, it tries to show a wide breadth of cultures. I think they tried to show the breadth in terms, from the northern part of the Philippines to the southern part of the Philippines. I think in terms of depth, I would say it's quite shallow and superficial in the sense that I think it's	Representation Purpose	The Setting The Intention	Condensations Condensations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	also hard to be able to show the kind of depth of each culture in a very short time, in a very small place. I think they attempted to show the depth by showing not just the architecture but also places, like Mayon Volcano, Cagsawa ruins, Banaue rice terraces and so on. So they wanted to show that, but then I think it's hard to show the depth of each one, because you kind of just see it in a very superficial way and kind of very quick way, which is what they're wanting to do anyway, they wanted to show a very kind of quick summary of the Philippines.			
	So in that sense, I think the depth of the way the culture has been represented is not as deep. And then to go back also to the breadth, I think they just chose also kind of the hits, the kind of very famous ones. And so what it also does is that, or what it did is that there are also a lot of other places that were edited out from the park, and therefore you can't really, you're not able to see the entire breadth of the	Editing out	The Intention The Crescendo	Condensations Identity

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	culture and of the Philippines. So it's a very selective kind of process, very edited. So even though they tried to show the breadth and the depth, I don't think it's necessarily as deep and as maybe as complex as it could be. And so another way to describe it is, I would say it's a very simplistic kind of representation of the culture and the territory and the places in that setting. That is always a challenge in terms of like, how do you represent a culture, a place that is very complex into a kind of a very edited way. And so inevitably there are things that are left out. And that has happened in Nayong Pilipino.			
I think that is also where Taman Mini kind of at least stepped it up a bit because theirs was like a pavilion for each province, whereas, in ours it's just a village, it's not even for all the regions.	Exactly. There's a lot of provinces and regions that are missing, you know, so it's not exactly like a very comprehensive view of the Philippines. And then again, at the same time, you know, and I think that's kind of the challenge, is that would you go, if you are going to design a park like this, are you going to go for something more	Editing out	The Intention The Crescendo	Condensations Identity

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	encyclopedic, which is like what Taman Mini has done, maybe like each representing each kind of region or each province, then in that case, how would that be done in the Philippines? Right. And then in terms of size, like Taman Mini is much larger than the Nayong Pilipino.			
Just an extra question again. Because in Taman Mini, they built the pavilions around this model archipelago that's set on top of a lake. So it's kind of the same in Nayong Pilipino. But then there were these issues regarding spatiality in terms of proximity, because I think the plan was to get the pavilions as close to its geographic place in the archipelago. But there are provinces that were actually placed closer to the center than the others. So did that kind of pattern also	I don't think it did, in the same way. I was trying to look back at the way the plan was done, you know, the master plan of Nayong Pilipino. I was comparing it more closely to the colonial expositions for example, in 1904, in Saint Louis Fair and then the other one was like the 1887 Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas in Madrid. I think it was closely, I don't think they patterned it, but it was closer to those, those kinds of arrangements because they arranged it around water. In Saint Louis, they also had what they were calling Arrowhead Lake. So it wasn't necessarily following a very specific geographical, like trying to be close to the geographical location and even	Layout of Nayong Pilipino	The Setting	Condensations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
occur in Nayong Pilipino?	even here in Nayong Pilipino, it doesn't refer to any specific one. I think they were differently arranged.			
Museums and parks are often regarded as places of instruction in terms of civics. This was from a theory by Tony Bennett. But do you think that is also true of Nayong Pilipino? Why or why not?	Yes. So definitely Nayong Pilipino was designed to have a didactic function. It was really meant to teach and educate both, as I mentioned before, both domestic and international tourists. They might have similar intention for the domestic and for the international audience to have a sense of what the Philippines is about in terms of geographical and then also cultural [aspects]. And the intention I remember was, looking back, and also looking at the context of why it was also placed in Manila, was that then it was also not just for domestic tourists in general, but rather actually for Metro Manila residents, is that if you were at the center, you know, if you're in the National Capital Region, if you're at the national capital, you might not have a perception or an understanding of anything that's	Purpose	The Intention	Condensations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	outside the center. And so I think Nayong Pilipino is used as a way to be able to instruct people in the capital to understand that there is something beyond the capital. I think that's one of the underlying intention. I don't think they ever mentioned it, but that's sort of my interpretation. And the other part about the domestic audience, I think, is that it's also about understanding that there are other cultures beyond Metro Manila and therefore how do you appreciate that? And especially, you know, for the school children, I think that's part of the learning.			
	For the international audience, and I think it's different in the sense that or it's similar, but it's different in the way that it's just summarizing the Philippines in a very quick glance and therefore you'll be able to get, receive an understanding in a very summarized way, in a more simplified way. And then they might have less time to be able to view it. Therefore, I think that's part of the	Purpose	The Intention	Condensations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	intention. So in terms of the domestic again, it's also about building that sense of, of civics, in terms of creating a sense of community like okay, I have an understanding that there are people in Mindanao, that there are people in the Visayas. So there's a sense of, a kind of idea of community beyond yourself. So I think that's part of the instruction.			
An extra question again, just in terms of this theme with regards to museum studies, homogenizing taste. So it was kind of connected to colonialism, white man's burden, wherein they're kind of, since they consider themselves more superior, it's their duty to kind of educate and to kind of instill a certain set of aesthetics or taste in or to us. Well, the ones they consider primitive. I kind of think that also still remains in	Yes. Imelda Marcos in her speeches talks a lot about that claiming the past, but also then evolving and moving and becoming the new Filipino. And you see that often, the rhetoric of the new Filipino. And I think you're right, you know, that still evolves from or is still connected with a lot of the colonial narratives in terms of how those exhibitions also work. But I also think there's a shift. Because before if it was the colonial masters, the colonizers who were doing that, you know, they were teaching, let's say, the Filipinos who were treated as inferior and they were treated as not as sophisticated.	Evolution, transcendence Establishing Manila as the center	The Completion The Illusion	Identity Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
Nayong Pilipino. I think there were speeches where, this kind of just us claiming our cultural inheritance, but we kind of have to evolve in order to achieve it.	And so they were being educated to be sophisticated. Right? I think this time and I think this goes back to my earlier comment about like being in Metro Manila. It was about establishing Metro Manila as the center, as the seat of government. And therefore, I think it's also then trying to say that we are the center economically, politically and then also culturally.			
	So then we are now able to say like, okay, this is now the taste, the aesthetics, this is how the arts and the crafts would evolve. That's why there's a lot of resentment also that comes from, let's say outside Manila. They're always saying it's Imperial Manila because it's about how Manila is still seen as the center, because it is the national capital. But then at the same time how it's also then really repeating the same way as the colonizers were doing it, you know, it's a top-down imposition of we will tell you what	Top-down approach to culture	The Illusion	Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	national culture is, right? So it's a very top-down approach in terms of, of how they perceive culture should evolve which I think later on had changed.			
Nayong Pilipino is frequently cited as an institution prescribing the "generic" Filipino. How and to what degree did this park prescribe the state's preferred identity to its citizens?	I think I would put it not as generic but rather that somehow Nayong Pilipino was prescribing maybe an idealized Filipino. I think idealized because like they tried to simplify the Philippines, you know, and present an image of the Philippines as it is harmonious, peaceful country living together in this space. Like if we all live together in this one country, we can all live together harmoniously. So that was like part of the instruction and the message that Nayong Pilipino was saying. So that's why I think it's very idealized in the sense that it's trying to show that Filipinos should be agreeing with each other, and Filipinos should be living together peacefully and harmoniously. So it's a very idealized kind of representation.	Prescribing identity Projecting harmony, utopia	The Crescendo The Illusion	Identity Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	And I think that's part of what Nayong Pilipino is also trying to do, that to idealize this notion of Filipino identity as something that is cohesive, unified, and singular, but in reality, it's not. So they tried to conflate everyone to this one idea of Filipino.			
There is a new site for the Nayong Pilipino, how do you think it should be done now if it ever actually opens again?	You cannot replicate the same villages. You know, I think you need to veer away from that because that is still part of that colonial idea of representing the Philippines. It's the same kind of expression. It has to be a different expression. So I think like one of the ideas was that it should really be a park, and that maybe the park is something that has nothing there in the sense that it doesn't have necessarily like villages, but rather maybe it's a place where arts and culture is explored in a different way than how it has been done before. Maybe I'll do it more, more multimedia also. So it's not necessarily, again because the technology now is very different. So	Suggestions for the new Nayong Pilipino	Recommendations	Ruminations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	maybe it is a different format. It's more maybe augmented reality and virtual reality, you know because of how I think the way we consume culture is very different now from that of the times in the 80s and the 90s. And so I think technology would have to have a big role in the way maybe Nayong Pilipino is also conceptualized.			
When you think of Suharto and culture in terms of Indonesia, the first thing you think of is Taman Mini. But when you come to the Philippines, Marcos and culture, the first thing you think of is CCP, not Nayong Pilipino. What can you say about that?	That's a very good point. I think part of it also is that there's something about how our culture is promoted and how it's presented outside. And so it's about perception. It's about people's perception. And I think you're right to point that out. I think because they also heavily marketed Taman Mini more than, let's say, how Nayong Pilipino is marketed. And then I think because Taman Mini still exists, right. Nayong Pilipino does not exist anymore. I think that's part of the challenge, the kind of the longevity of the project, I think, contributed to how maybe the perception of how the Philippines is then represented	Perception of the Philippines, suggestions for tourism and marketing	Recommendations	Ruminations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	abroad, then creates this sense that, okay, the Nayong Pilipino doesn't come to mind. Right. And then CCP, of course, exists. It's published. It's talked about in many different ways, more than Nayong Pilipino and therefore kind of the impression of, of the Philippines or the culture of the Philippines is more expressed through that way. So let's say from the point of view of government, point of view of tourism, for example, Department of Tourism and NCCA and other agencies, I think they might need to reconceptualize like how they want to present the Philippines. I remember also like looking at marketing and tourism advertising abroad. You know, like the Philippines is mostly presented through its beaches and its other natural [resources], so it's not presented as kind of in the same way like cultural in, in other countries, maybe like Indonesia. Right. So I think that's part of it, also in terms of how how tourism marketing and			

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	tourism programs and, advertising, for example, is being done.			

Scholar D

July 13, 2024

Asynchronous via email response

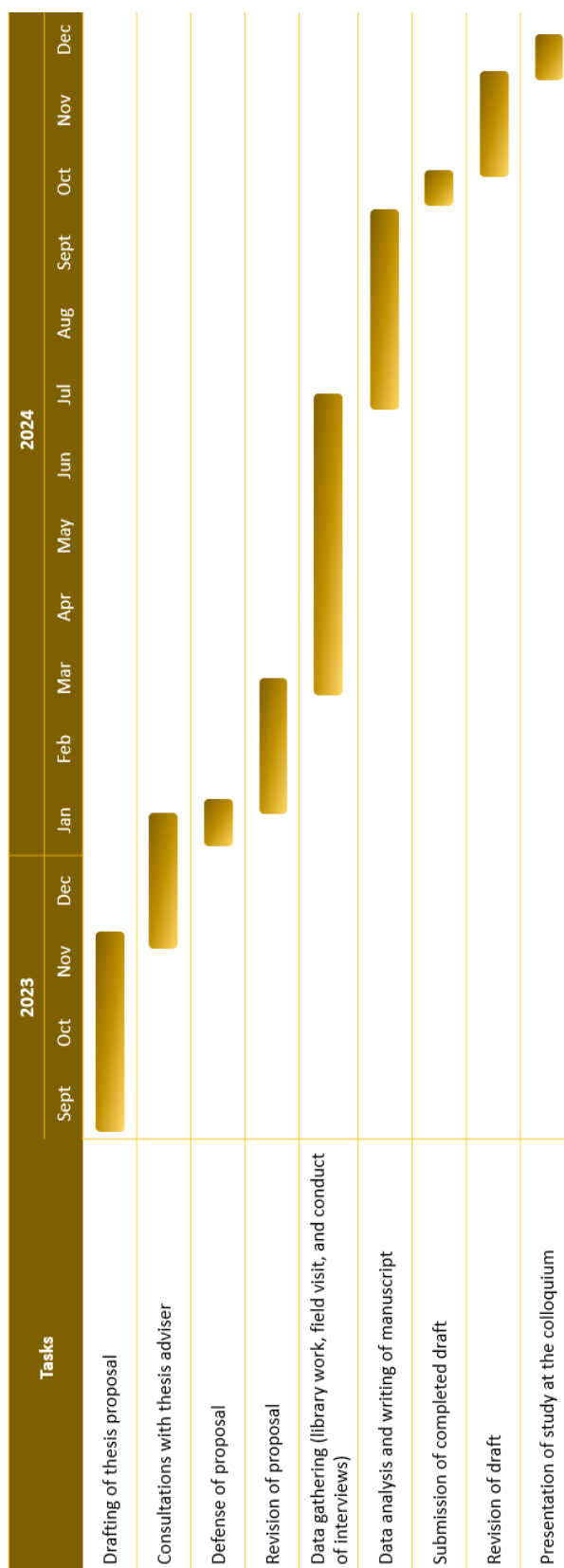
Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
In general, how does Philippines view and present its respective culture?	Generally speaking, the Philippine state presents national culture as a valuable intangible resource for activating national identity and belonging.	Culture as tool	The Crescendo	Identity
How was culture employed as an apparatus of the state during the regime of Marcos?	Please refer to the book, <i>Passionate Revolutions</i> . Please see especially Chapter 2.	-	-	-
How effective was the authoritarian leadership in helping build a national culture and a national identity?	Precisely because it was an authoritarian regime, the martial law state was able to impose a top-down model of national culture. It was able to build a cultural infrastructure centered on Imelda Marcos' persona as the New Society's cultural custodian/patron of the arts. I would say that this top-down model was effective in that the entire education system of the nation followed a state-issued playbook focused on salvaging a national culture as an antidote to a colonial mentality. But at the same time, this heritage culture fell prey to competing economic imperatives that reduced heritage to exploitable	Top-down culture Culture as commodity	The Completion The Merchants	Identity Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	experiences and services, much like window dressing for Governor Imelda Marcos' attempts to rebrand Metro Manila as a global city and cultural mecca.			
What was the role played by Imelda Marcos in forming the national culture at the time of her husbands' term as president?	She literally personified the New Society's cultural policy. She made it her own personal passion project—which is fundamentally opposed to the technocratic nature of cultural policy.	Culture as Imelda Marcos' passion project	The Beautiful The Plexus	Proponents Proponents
The government of Marcos led to a rise in cultural institutions. Paying particular attention to Nayong Pilipino, what do you consider are the driving factors behind the establishment of this park?	I believe Nayong Pilipino was one among several cultural institutions that were built in proximity of the Cultural Center of the Philippines, which would later be called the CCP Complex. This ad-hoc constellation of institutions were of a piece with Governor Imelda Marcos' project to build Metro Manila as a "City of Man." Nayong Pilipino was built near the airport and included the construction of a 5-star hotel. In many ways, it copied the format of World's Fairs with its model-recreations of Philippine Villages. What is interesting is that the park focused on indigenous cultures and forms but in a pseudo-anthropological manner. I would	Layout Purpose	The Setting The Intention	Condensations Condensations

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
	suggest looking into her Bagong Anyo project, which focused on marketing indigenous crafts and design. There is a lot of overlap between the two cultural initiatives and I would be interested in seeing how they may have influenced or reinforced each other.			
How would you describe the depth and breadth of representation, in terms of both territory and culture, exhibited in Nayong Pilipino?	Again, my impression is that the focus was on indigenous folk arts and designs, reflecting the state-imposed heritage playbook spearheaded by the CCP and the Folk Arts Theater.	Focus, purpose	The Intention	Condensations
Museums and parks are often regarded as places of instruction in terms of civics, do you think this is also true of Nayong Pilipino? Why or why not?	Addressing an internal audience of Filipinos, Nayong Pilipino, like the 1974 Kasaysayan ng Lahi parade, was intended to be an exercise in civics. But it also addressed an external audience, as the martial law state sought to boost tourism. I feel that these two outlooks often produced tension, the latter reducing heritage to an exploitable resource.	Exercise in civics, tourism	The Merchants	Aesthetics
Nayong Pilipino is frequently cited as an institution prescribing the “generic” Filipino. How and to what	The preferred identity, I believe, is the picturesque Filipino, or Filipino reduced to being a tourist attraction.	Prescribing identity Culture as commodity	The Crescendo The Merchants	Identity Aesthetics

Questions	Core Passages	Tags	Subtheme/ Sub-section	Theme/Section
degree did this park prescribe the state's preferred identity to its citizens?				

Timeline for the Conduct of Study





University of the Philippines Open University INSTITUTIONAL RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

**Informed Consent Form
for:**

(Name of interviewee)

PART I: INFORMATION SHEET

INTRODUCTION

Greetings!

I am Mary Vincelle C. Yasa, a Master of ASEAN Studies student from the University of the Philippines Open University. I am currently working on my thesis entitled "Transcending Diversity Through Aesthetics: Reflections on the Taman Mini Indonesia Indah and the Nayong Pilipino," to which I am inviting you to take part.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The study is centered on how the chosen state-sponsored cultural institutions (i.e., the Taman Mini Indonesia Indah and the Nayong Pilipino) were utilized to promote the state's idea of nationality and nationhood, transcending in the process the diversity inherent in their respective countries.

TYPE OF RESEARCH INTERVENTION

This invitation is for you to participate in an interview which can take place either synchronously (via Zoom) or asynchronously (via email response to the questions attached).

PARTICIPANT SELECTION

You have been chosen as a participant given your extensive knowledge and expertise in the field of Philippine/Indonesian/Southeast Asian cultural policy/art history/architecture.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you have the option to withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without consequences.

PROCEDURES

Should your preference be a synchronous interview, a meeting link will be sent once the schedule is finalized. The interview will be semi-structured to allow the expounding of certain points and is expected to last for approximately one hour, depending on the extent of discussion.

Should your preference be an asynchronous interview, you will have the opportunity to send your answers to the attached questions within a two-week period (i.e., 14 calendar days from the signing of this consent form).

DURATION OF THE STUDY

Study completion, which would entail data analysis and writing of findings, conclusions, and recommendations is projected to be in July 2024.

BENEFITS

The results of the study will benefit the growing scholarship in Southeast Asia and may also help inform present and future cultural policy decisions.

CONFIDENTIALITY

All information you have provided will be treated with confidentiality under the general provisions of the [Data Privacy Act of 2012](#) and the specifics provided by the [Revised Privacy Policy for Researchers and Research Subjects of the University of the Philippines](#).

SHARING THE RESULTS

The results of the study, which would include extracts from the interview, may be quoted in journal articles and academic papers, and may be part of presentations in conferences, colloquiums, and symposia.

DATA MANAGEMENT

Your signed consent form, as well as the original recording and transcript of the interview (after identifying information has been removed) will be retained for 12 months after the thesis committee approves the study, during which the thesis committee (comprising three professors) may request access to it. All data will be deleted after the indicated retention period.

You are entitled to access the information you provided at any time while it is in storage as specified above.

WHO TO CONTACT

Should you have any questions or clarifications, kindly contact me through the details below.

Mary Vincelle C. Yasa
(contact number of student)
(email address of student)

PART II: CERTIFICATE OF CONSENT

I have read the foregoing information. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have raised have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study.

My preference for the interview is: ☐ Synchronous ☐ Asynchronous

Print Name of Participant: _____
Signature of Participant: _____
Date: [MM/DD/YYYY]

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my

ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

A copy of this Informed Consent Form has been provided to the participant.

Print Name of Researcher: _____
Signature of Researcher: _____
Date: _____ [MM/DD/YYYY]