

DISTRACTING THE DUALITY OF CENTRE AND PERIPHERY: THE CULTURAL REPRESENTATION IN INDONESIAN'S POST-COLONIAL AIRPORT ARCHITECTURE

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ABSTRACT

As the main national gate and the centre of air transport hub of the state, Soekarno-Hatta international airport bears such important role in providing initial global-local interactions regarding culture, economic, political and social aspects in Indonesia. This paper discusses the idea that the development of aviation technology, transport infrastructure and modern architecture in the post-colonial state become significant tools in emphasising the interrelationship between space, power and identity. Located in western outskirts of Jakarta Greater Area (Tangerang), the airport's terminals and its airside/landside landscape technically and metaphorically offer a cultural representation that symbolises the so-called national identity. It is as a result of intertwined dialogues between international and local architects, as well as the political culture of New Order regime to incorporating local heritage as a formalised tradition in the space of periphery.

The study focuses on how power relationship in colonial state and post-colonial state worked to produce such spatial configuration of the centre-periphery model throughout the development of modern infrastructure and technology along with the cultural representation while displaying such spaces as margin/periphery in a broader sense. The complex duality between the centre (Jakarta) and its region (Tangerang) exists in the colonial-post-colonial discourse and practices, centre/core-region relationship, and in the global nexus force-local agencies. The presence of mega national infrastructure in the region, in contrary, functions instead of a catalyst to perpetuate a new kind of centre surrounding the old periphery. Modern vast development, besides the implementation of superficial traditional heritage and global-local intermingling blur the sense of territorial sovereignty and duality of centre and periphery. The conclusion suggests the urge to pay more attention to further regional development worldwide concerning cultural, economic and political as developing periphery.

Keywords : airport, centre, cultural representation, periphery, post-colonial architecture

Word count : 5129

1. INTRODUCTION TO POST-COLONIAL AIRPORT DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA

The shifting paradigm in aircraft transportation industries from military devices to commercial civil aviation was emerging during postwar era in the 1970s, following the trend of growing demand for commercial air flight traffic along the rise of oil booming and massive foreign investments as a worldwide phenomenon. Since then, the liberalisation of airlines has emerged globally in many regions (Smith, 1990). The *Airline Deregulation Act* in 1978 also persuaded more users to come to a commercialised and kitsch taste airport with the opening of the shopping centre, restaurant, art gallery which created a new kind of *aerotropolis*, an airport city within cities (Zukowsky, 1996). In Indonesia, the growth of airport planning is one of the highest and busiest in the world, with 670 airfields in total, 298 active and having 16 new ones, 67-68 million passengers per annual are departing-arriving over the archipelago. Looking at the main airport in the state, Soekarno-Hatta airport (SHIA) itself serves the activities of approximately 300,000 passengers. (Lubis and Suryadarman, 2017)

Air travel also offers an architectural experience to looking the cities space throughout aerial view (Lloyd, 2003, pp. 93). Terminal building in the airport itself plays the most significant role in defining the spatial experience for the users. Although it commonly is only a little part of the whole complex airport, it functions a welcoming gate of city or state, that is, a transition hub for the passengers between air and ground to refresh their out of space and time experience and the feeling of lost in travel. (van Uffelen, 2012, pp. 1). It potentially provides any intercultural values sharing and exchanges between global and local (Lloyd, 2003). A concept of "non-place" that was coined by Marc Augé in terms of transportation space and infrastructure is now on debate (Augé, 1995, pp.75), since by looking back through the first 20th century, the advancement of airport technology was often confirmed as the symbol of hegemony and power as well as pride of the nation, starting from Weimar State (Germany) that was pioneering the development of aviation devices for military use. The design and style of its architecture, besides its functionality, represents the idea of cultural values of the state (Zukowsky, 1996, pp. 18). Rational design of a terminal, runway, taxiway or the landscape is to frame the abstraction or discourse of socio-cultural networks to the domain of representation of identity, provided in architectural quality that creates particular visual identities to be perceived and intended for certain meanings.

This kind of cultural dynamic, a relationship between power, space and identity in shaping the cultural representation of nation or state are well discussed throughout the post-colonialist framework, to examine the influences given the after-effect condition of post-colonial state (Hall, 2003). Centre-periphery binarism is the primary key aspect to discuss in post-colonial studies (Aschroft, Griffith and Tiffin, 2000). The Post-colonial theory in general concerns understanding toward any non-Western cultural or political context that is frequently were perceived as a subordinate to any dominating or formidable states (Akcan, 2002, 2014). Modern technological tools that were introduced by the dominating Western countries as centre into the non-Western as periphery in this context work potentially in any discourse or practice for the act of disciplining modern societies and introducing such of modernity in Indonesia during both colonial (Mrazek, 2003) dan post-colonial times (Kusno, 2000). The flexibility of its practices may even transform into another form and transferred into another power subjects after the independence of a nation, so that the act of colonialism, regarding socio-political and socio-cultural life, may become a continuous process (Hall, 2003 and Loomba, 2000).

The initial issue of this research specifically begins with a strange and repetitive trivial confusion about the actual site location of SHIA airport which is often being perceived as it was in Jakarta. Budi Karya Sumadi as the

former President Director of PT. Angkasa Pura II (the national airport company in Indonesia), one day in 2015, notified to all operating airlines at the SHIA to change the location of "Cengkareng, Jakarta" to "Tangerang, Banten" while announcing the landing or arriving passengers to terminals. His notification was the response for a critique coming from Mayor of Tangerang city and Banten Province government who claimed that the actual geographical site of the airport is located in their administrative territory and not in Cengkareng or Jakarta whatsoever. It is certainly clear that Cengkareng - Jakarta area is as far as ± 25 km from the original site of SHIA. (Figure 1)



Observing the archives and documentation of the airport planning masterplan, these location name errors have taken place from the beginning to the end of airport's construction by the consultants and architects team, who initially called the project of SHIA *Jakarta International Airport Cengkareng*. Moreover, President Soeharto as the second president of the Republic of Indonesia also repeatedly called the similar mistakes through his quotations of his presidential speech during the visit and inauguration of Terminal I (1985) and Terminal II (1992). He also asserted that façade of SHIA was to display and symbolise the identity of "*country and national heritage*", by using phrases of "Indonesian personality" or "Indonesian atmosphere". Thus, in this context, SHIA becomes an extension for the centre (Jakarta metropolitan city) as well as its national infrastructure and cultural vision.

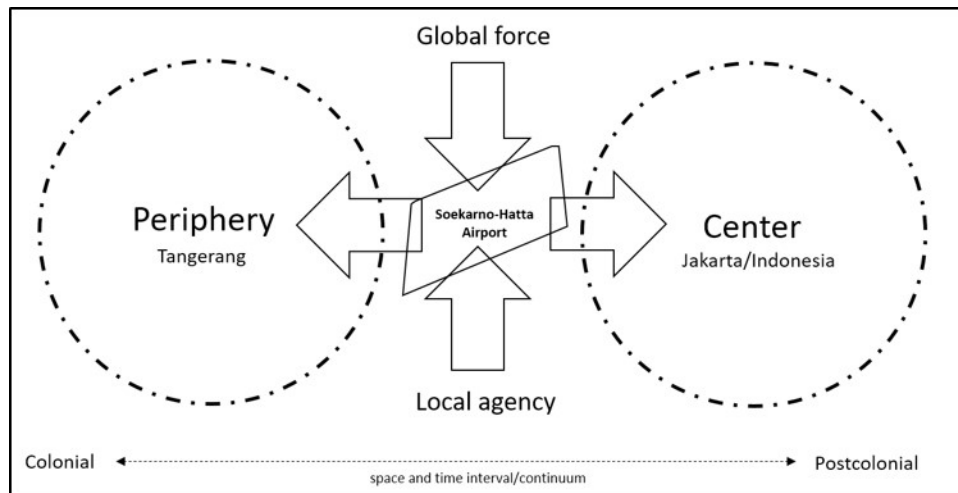
The located airport in the region could be a catalyst for the postwar regional development, as it was exemplified by Gatwick Airport in southern of United Kingdom, Rein-Mein in Frankfurt, and O'Hare in Chicago. This case of locating airport into city periphery is also similarly found to the other major modern airports in the world, for example, Charles de Gaulle in France which is located at the edge of the capital, Roissy, where people often mistakenly claim the place in Paris City. During the modern colonial state of Dutch East Indies in Indonesia, the company of K.N.I.L.M (*Koninklijke Nederlandsch-Indische Luchtvaart Maatschappij*), has operated the first primary two airports legacy in Batavia, Tjillilitan (1928) and Kemajoran (1940). Tjillilitan previously was used for the military base and located far away from the residential areas and city centre, while Kemajoran that served domestic flights later was located a nearby urban area in the eastern of Weltevreden. Soekarno-Hatta airport for decades later on finally displaced the centralisation of the superior Batavia (now Jakarta city), the centre of all progress in Indonesia and is reaching the development to a more periphery, in which a term Abidin Kusno (2009) called this phenomenon of "leniency at the centre".

In defining which is which a periphery regarding geographical or cultural territoriality is indeed primarily by the other more dominant centre. Tangerang city as a part of Jakarta Greater Area (*Jabodetabek*) has played the role as the western belt border (*westerwijk*) of Colonial Batavia, the centre of Dutch East Indies, a colonial enterprise since the 17th century. The etymology of *Tangerang* word or *Tangeran* was derived from a Sundanese noun, *tengger* which means "sign that is steady" to indicate a border or perimeter of a land. The border was naturally formed along Cisadane River (*Tjidanie Rivier*) that divided Batavia and Banten region. (Figure 2)



According to Tomé Pires, a Portuguese traveller in Java island during 1512-1515 AD who firstly mentioned the name of the city in his notes *The Suma Oriental*, the *Tamgara* or *Tamgaram* (Tangerang) city including its *Cidigy* (Cisadane) River were one of the prominent harbours along western Java, together with Calapa (Batavia) that accommodated spices and pepper commodity transit in Sundanese Kingdom territory (Cortese, 1944, pp. 166-171). Tangerang region as the periphery between two centres was referred to "border of war", which divided the territories between two empires of indigenous-local power (Banten Sultanate) and colonial enterprise (VOC, *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) in western Java during Dutch colonial period in Indonesia (<http://www.tangerangkota.go.id/profil-kota-tangerang>, 2007). *Groote Atlas van VOC II* explained that the postwar treaty between defeated Banten Sultanate and VOC Batavia on April 17th, 1684 resulted in the expansion of territorial sovereignty into some parts of the eastern Tangerang as its western quarter (*Westerwijk*) of Ommelanden until the Indonesian's Independence in 1945. The land was inevitably influenced and defined by political, social and economic means and clashes between respective sides.

Starting from the case, the main issue we noticed was the case of a larger urban space on the outskirts of the city that is proliferating and influencing its surroundings. We hypothesise that the "misplaced" issue of the airport location which some people still believe contains a deeper underlying issue that begins from the central figure of Jakarta as the centre of the state, which is considered a place of all significant development and advanced modern facilities. We try to open discussion through the development of architecture and urban space as a built environment in Tangerang by using the post-colonial framework in reading its historical narrative (Figure 3). Concerning the case of SHIA, we describe and analyse the design development of the architecture of airport terminals throughout the archival study, design proposals and cartography of Tangerang area during colonial and post-colonial times to support our argumentation.



2. REPRESENTING LOCAL HERITAGE: TECHNOLOGY TO DETERMINE POWER AND IDENTITY OF CENTRE AND PERIPHERY

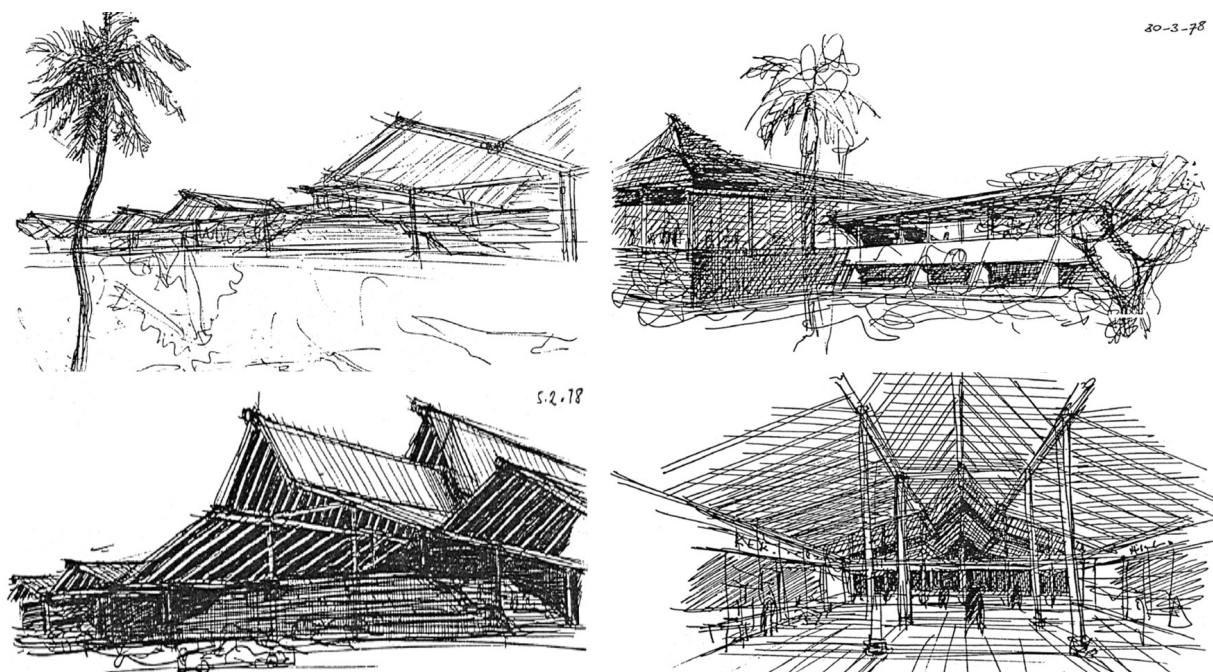
Stuart Hall (1996) describes "cultural representation" as a set of process to producing meaning that is exchanged amongst the members of society. I use this term to refer to the language of architecture and spatial experiences in SHIA. Regarding this, I highlight the two influential subjects hereby deepening their inner cultural realm: President Soeharto as both local-national agency towards his idea and philosophy of Javanese form, and Paul Andreu as a Western architect who brought global design influence to the local, and how his general perception of non-Western culture itself implicitly took part in result of representation.

The SHIA project was commissioned to Paul Andreu and Aéroport de Paris (ADP) since 1977 until 1992 by Indonesian government under the Ministry of Transportation and the Directorate General of Civil Aviation, Zainuddin Sikado (Director) and Soetomo Adisasmito (Project Manager) as his client. The master plan would be estimated to cover a total area of 1,800 hectares in Tangerang. The terminal alone has 126,000 m² as the largest area, and the rest were planned for the runway and taxiway, apron, aircraft maintenance and cargo areas. ADP was responsible for the general masterplan, while the technical and complementary parts such as landscaping and interior finishings engaged more Indonesian architects and artists. The ADP's two terminals masterplan was expected to accommodate the needs of civil aviation in future modern cities. Romi Khosla (1989) reported that SHIA's masterplan was required to be cost-effective, simple and functional, and most importantly, it must reflect the character of "Indonesian architecture". For Soeharto, the purpose of expressing the tradition is to maintain national stability in cultural realm, because the rapid flow of modern international market goes to Indonesia through foreign investment policy at the same time under *UU Republik Indonesia No. 1 Tahun 1967 dan 1968 Tentang Penanaman Modal Asing* (Foreign Investment Act), which helped the penetration of global cultural influence into Indonesia and raised an anxiety toward cultural issues. The later years, SHIA was finally awarded by Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 1995 for succeeding in representing of national culture.

SHIA became the first airport in post-colonial Indonesia that provides such largest complex facilities comprising two runways, several taxiways, domestic and international terminals. Construction of *cakar ayam* (chicken claw), for example, was one of the most innovative and reputable experiments of local ideas in infrastructure technology which was pioneered by Ir. Sedyatmo in 1962. *Cakar Ayam* name refers to the morphological adaptation of chicken-foot structures that conform and tread steadily to the natural wetland in tropical region context such as Indonesia. The design of the airport potentially builds the user's visual identity, especially the

intangible aspects such as local heritage. This application presents a sense of place by perceiving the cultural background of the site and translating it into architectural forms, tactile materials and ornamentation to create an impression of tactility experience (Akmal, 2016), created a harmonious arrangement between two worlds: the exploitation of modern human-made structures and the nuanced of traditional natural landscapes, which was expected to provide sense of place and experience a universal space of Indonesia.

Davidson and Serageldin (1995) reported that Paul Andreu and ADP had succeeded in applying adaptation to traditional culture and local incorporation into the design of modern airport. Decorative elements that reflect exotic locality are also found in many corners, both indoors and outdoors. The use of precast terrazzo tiles on the walls and floor of the airport resembles a red brick pattern. The open pavilion provides natural sunlight, grille, air ventilation and the composition of reddish iron pipes that columns the construction. Andreu based his design interpretation towards the socio-cultural and environmental dimensions of Central Java. Andreu tried to represent Javanese architecture by creating *pendopo* spaces for multifunctional activities at the airport (Figure 4). The SHIA design precedent tends to be slightly different when compared to Paul Andreu's earlier works, such as France's main airport, Charles de Gaulle International Airport, which was built in 1967 and located in Roissy (suburb of Paris), adopted more modernist approach to managing the geometric modules and rich exploration of circular hub forms and material expression. However, this aspect of modernity that has become the ADP design standard is also familiarly found in SHIA. The SHIA project thus creates a dialogue between modern design interventions with the values or shape adjustments that are considered Indonesian's "tradition" or "heritage".



3. CHANGING PARADIGM OF CENTRE-PERIPHERY MODEL IN POST-COLONIAL AIRPORT ARCHITECTURE

The classical model of centre-periphery relationship in urban studies was acknowledged since John Friedman (1966), and recent scholars explain in more dynamic terms, evaluating the vast growing urbanisation in the global era. Coherent studies related to centre-periphery relationship are found in borderline cities and periphery within cities model, introduced by recent urban scholars (Čepaitienė, 2015) and a dissolvent of influence in both sides by denser geographical and social mobility (Turbina, 2015), economical potency and travel time (Gren, 2003), or the conflict between frontier urban society (Pullan, 2011). Giebels and Peter J.M.

Nas (1986, pp. 101-115) also denoted the hinterland region around Jakarta Greater Area (*Jabotabek* or *Jabodetabek*) which is termed as "buffer zone" or "satellite city" where the regions support structural space of the centre in the geopolitical sense regarding its geographical position to support the activities and interests of the capital. This function had operated since colonial era when the fortress or port in the outskirts of Batavia was performed for military base defense from possible colonised local-indigenous attacks.

The industrial areas that are located around SHIA in Tangerang and adjacent to Jakarta resulted in urban sprawl in the compound zonation and form of spaces (Asoit, 2003). The urbanization causes more development at the region, which is the shifting of people's life from agriculture activities since the 18th century in the northern and western Java to an industrial community. Especially since the "megapolitan" concept offered by Governor of Jakarta municipal city Ali Sadikin (1966-1977), was supported by Presidential Instruction (*Instruksi Presiden*) No. 13 in 1976 to determine Tangerang region as the industrial area of *Jabotabek* in order to reduce the density. The allocation of about 3,000 hectares of land in Tangerang also zoned the region into large industrial areas through the regulation of Presidential Decree No. 54 in 1989.

President Soeharto, who was popularly known as "Father of Development" used modes of modern infrastructure technology such as architectural means to be a positive tool to legitimise his idea of "tradition" to achieve the vision of the State. (Kusno, 2000, pp. 209) Strategies and tactics of cultural representation were produced between the prior construction of architectural space in the periphery of Soeharto's New Order government centre, especially if looking through the design of SHIA as well as modern development and investment in Tangerang at the urban scale. (Figure 5)



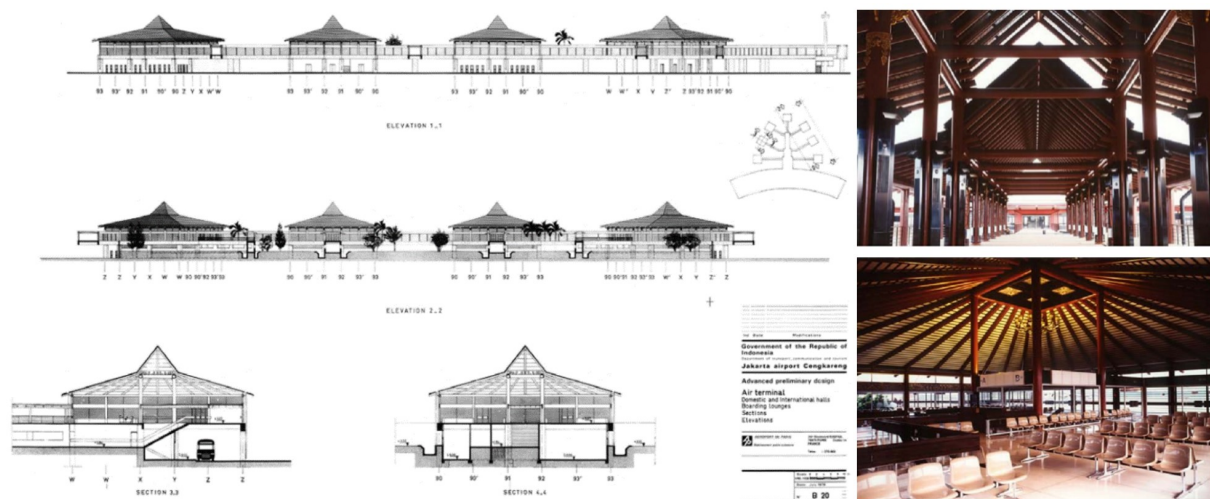
Tracing the origin of the SHIA airport's name, Soeharto wanted the name of the first two founding fathers of the nation (Ir. Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta) to be remembered in one of the state's greatest technologies. Many airports in each of the region in Indonesia were using the name of their particular local hero, while for the central airport of the state should be named from the greatest national hero instead. The interesting point is the similarities and differences between these first and second presidents, Soekarno and Soeharto, with their subsequent viewpoints to their political culture's attitude toward Javanese philosophy as their original tradition. Their culture at some points was mirrored throughout their political moves (Anderson, 1990). If Sukarno corresponded his idea of nationalism through a lot of modernist architecture and international spirit, Soeharto would like to remember the Indonesian tradition in more his own rooted local culture, Central Java.

Soeharto's reference would make sense to comprehend the fact that Paul Andreu as SHIA's architect was only underlying his understanding of the traditional building or building traditions diversity in Indonesia toward the Javanese dimension that Soeharto emphasised since it represented his culture and ethnicity. The power

relations in this interaction were shaped behind the design development process. Saya Shiraishi (1990), who had first visited Indonesia from Japan and arrived at Soekarno Hatta airport even wrote her impression that the airport design language was structured on a massive structure, materials and architectonic that articulated much the regime of New Order government. (Shiraishi, 1990, pp.121)

Budi Sukada (2017) as one of the drafters in designing Terminal I of SHIA in his interview once criticises international architects such as Paul Andreu who did not understand the local philosophy of architectural tradition and climatic factors of spaces in Java or tropical countries in general. The selected choice of red color for the airport roof, wall and floor, for example, was more considered "exotic" in Andreu's Eurocentrist view to the glimpse of non-Western cultures such as Java, just like what Saya Shiraishi (1990) linked the brick-patterned floors with the color of the red soil, the color of traditional culture in the tropical islands. In contrast, Saptono Istiawan (2017) who once worked as an architect in Aéroport de Paris witnessed that SHIA design has accommodated with the tropical climate, even the designers were willing to take advantage of the tropical climate. This debate has a point to a vibrant dialogue between local and global subjects who were involved in the airport development.

The hegemony of local culture during the New Order influenced to give a perception that Java architecture in another word somehow bears the representation of Indonesian architecture. This action indicates a process of "Javanization" that globalise the local as Indonesian heritage or national identity in general, as I exemplified the displaying Java as Indonesia from the design of SHIA. The process of selecting the tradition becomes inevitable. Some ethnics appear on the floor plan and others only become a façade or decorative ornamentation at the surface, or not even represented at all. It is still the Javanese culture that becomes the core of the terminal design that constitutes the spatial experience (Figure 6). In parallel, the other national projects were also highlighted in the name of "Traditional Architecture", such as Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (1970-1975), a containment of ethnic architecture, Universitas Indonesia - Depok complex, (1980) and the mass construction of mosques of Amal Bakti Muslim Pancasila Foundation throughout archipelago (1982-2009).



The idea of the SHIA design becomes the product of a remembering, recalling or re-inventing process of Indonesian's tradition when the archipelago kingdoms were in the pre-colonial period. Formal architects of New Order government made possible negotiations with the dominance of government as a patron. The SHIA project also shows an attempt of New Order government's perception to Tangerang as a periphery and space of containment which conveys the architecture as the static symbolic national culture. Other means are to push the central territory to its periphery with the political behaviour and culture of Javanese philosophy, at the moment when the owner of Power (Suharto) tends to concentrate the force at one central point by

drawing all the energy from all its periphery. The relationship between the Indonesian government and the architectural bureau of Aéroport de Paris also provided negotiation of patron and client relations. The airport architecture here was the product of global-local interaction presence, and Tangerang is periphery space that embodies and gains influence during the airport development. It exhibits a deeper and deeply-rooted local political culture behavior between global and local subjects in the margin. (Mignolo, 1990)

The New Order government as the centre for Tangerang and Paul Andreu (Aéroport de Paris) as the global agent in building the first major airport infrastructure in Indonesia narrated the representations of traditional culture in modern development. The design of Soekarno-Hatta airport as a front gate to sum up the "Indonesian" atmosphere is an example of how the meaning and identity of national culture is universally and centrally constructed. As Foucault's notion in the *Form of Dominance* that Nezar AlSayyad (1992) quotes back in his book, the experiment forms of colonial domination by the former colonial state were re-practised as the legacy of the colonial enterprise. It is an imperial gift to the socio-cultural and cultural-political realm of post-colonial Indonesia. In this paper, I argue that it is also not impossible that the distribution of global capital and culture is also embedded in the results of the efforts of Paul Andreu's Eurocentrist view.

However, by the presence of mega national infrastructure in the region at the same time, in contrary, functions instead of a catalyst to perpetuate a new kind of "centre" surrounding the old periphery which the remaining areas are still underdeveloped or developing under the local agencies led by a their new local government after the rise of Regional Autonomy in Indonesia during the late 20th century. Modern vast development and the implementation of superficial traditional heritage, also the global-local intermingling blur the sense of territorial sovereignty and duality between centre and periphery.

4. CONCLUSION

By investigating SHIA with the architecture and city planning perspective as a socio-cultural outcome of history that shaped it, I argue that the advancement of transportation technology, architectural forms and urban space throughout the post-colonial era have to be a strategic aspect in re-defining the national vision, continuing what Mrazek has argued the same potency in colonial era (2002). Besides, any established production of representation and identity in the post-colonial architecture historiography is now also challenged with the rapidly emerging change and socio-cultural configuration dynamic, given the rapid infrastructure growth and the complexity of global and local networks that are embedded in Indonesian's post-colonial architecture today, following the post-colonial subjects (primarily aspired from the periphery and margin) continue to question the idea of national culture such as "Indonesian Architecture" in which the New Order government once attempted.

This paper also has discussed the agencies in the formation of Tangerang space in context as colonial and post-colonial margins from the central zone's point of view. Through the development of the architecture that creates a kind of colonial modernity encourage the production of cultural and social-political relations between the centre-periphery and global-local. On the other hand, the centre and periphery in the post-colonial context are a consequence of the after-effect presence of colonial practices, by underlining economic and political aspects. The formation of any model of these is still constructed primarily by the dominant power and is implemented throughout language, geography, economic, socio-political actions and culture.

From what we have exemplified in the study of the post-colonial architecture here is to assert that any centre or periphery model, geographically or metaphorically is reaching its very subjectivity and may occur in contextual and very particular cases. The discussion of superficial binarism between centres and margins in the realm of urban studies has become increasingly irrelevant since the abandonment of universal-minded models

of thought in the social sciences theories of various post-colonial thinkers and scholars. Although there was an attempt to find alternative ways of explaining the central-periphery phenomenon, we can still find the clear tendency to classify "major" and "minor" space in the Global-Local paradigm model, which has been an alternative actual framework for explaining the intermingling process of the two poles, since global-local paradigm model inevitably bequeaths a dualistic epistemology in viewing the world.

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FIGURES

Figure 1. Soekarno-Hatta international airport located between the two provinces. Source: Google Maps, 2018.

Figure 2. The detail map showing Old Tangerang site and Cisadane River in 1770 where the SHIA would take place hundred years later on the eastern side of Cisadane River (left), and the map of western Ommelanden Batavia in 1926 (right). Source: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, K 29 and Leiden University Online Maps

Figure 3. Diagram showing centre-periphery and global-local relationship surrounding Soekarno-Hatta airport

Figure 4. Paul Andreu's sketches of SHIA terminal design idea to construct a space atmosphere of "Indonesian architecture" or "Java architecture" (1977). Source: Aéroport de Paris, Aga Khan Award for Architecture.

Figure 5. President Soeharto reviewing the SHIA masterplan in 1977 (left) and visited the official opening of a bike factories in Batu Ceper Tangerang, July, 12th 1974 (right). Source: JB. Soeratno, Kompas and Soeharto.org.

Figure 6. SHIA's corridors and boarding hall (right), the arrangement of red-coated iron pipes were intended to resemble the roof of *pendopo* and Joglo house, a traditional Javanese style, structural and constructional section (left). Source: Aéroport de Paris, Aga Khan Award for Architecture.