INTERIORIZATION: SPATIAL MECHANISM TO GENERATE INTERIOR CONDITION IN AN URBAN KAMPUNG NEIGHBORHOOD

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the interiorization process in urban spaces by examining various mechanisms of how interior conditions emerge in outside spaces in the context of everyday life in an urban kampung environment in Semarang, Indonesia. It aims to expand the understanding of interiorization within the discussion of urban spaces that tend to see the interior and exterior as separated entities. The study was conducted by tracing the everyday spatial practices to uncover the distinctive strategies applied by urban kampung communities in their everyday use of the spaces. We argue that by comprehending the practice of interiorization that occurs in everyday spatial uses, there is a potential to expand the urban design discourse concerning the quality of space. The study's findings demonstrate various interiorization mechanisms consisting of interior object movement, activities as the generator of interior condition, and collective agreement in establishing the outside interior. These mechanisms suggest the possible improvement of the quality of urban space based on the everyday spatial strategy practiced by the community.

Keywords: Interiorization, urban interior, spatial mechanism, everyday life

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to explore the mechanism of interiorization as a strategy practiced by the urban inhabitants in managing their everyday living space. The study attempts to consider the production of urban space beyond the common approach of planning and design from a macro perspective. We try to explore how the spatial strategies present in people's everyday lives can be considered an approach to urban design and planning. This paper explores the thinking that the main goal is no longer the ideal city shape but how an approach can be used long-term as urban space continues to develop following existing spatial practices (Cozzolino et al., 2020). Promoting urban space that accommodates appropriate spatial practices in everyday life becomes a way to establish sustainable urban spaces and settlements as one of the Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations, n.d.). The current situation of urban life faces issues with population density and the limitation of living space. Paying attention to the everyday spatial practice and its socio-cultural aspects becomes essential, especially in developing countries, where the community has a close social relationship and a strong cultural background.

The approach in seeing urban context as an interior system has recently developed within the discourse of urban interior. This approach emphasizes the idea of interiority as a perspective in understanding urban space (Atmodiwirjo, 2018; Attiwill, 2011a; Cetin, 2017; Perolini, 2014) In urban space, the interior can appear as a public interiority, which is emerged due to the feeling of interior created by psychological, atmospheric, programmed, and form-based conditions (Teston, 2020).

Interiority in urban spaces challenges the assumption that the interior does not have to occur inside buildings; it shifts the focus to relational conditions,

where the relationship between urban and the interior becomes the challenge in designing and making relationships (Attiwill, 2011b; Cetin, 2017; Poot et al., 2015) The idea of interiority offers several possibilities of how urban design practice can be expanded with a better understanding of the relationships in the built environment (Atmodiwirjo, 2018). The present study attempts to expand the knowledge of the urban design approach, which is not limited to the externalities of architectural space and physical form.

The discussion of urban interiority addresses the understanding of interiority as a condition and a process of interiorization; however, the mechanism of how interiorization occurs needs further inquiry. The process of interiorization in urban space is interesting to investigate because it is related to how space is constructed so that insideness appears as a character of a place rather than as a physical form (Atmodiwirjo, 2018; Attiwill, 2011a; Pimlott, 2018; Teston, 2020). Interiorization emerges as an interior-making process in outside spaces or urban environments (Attiwill, 2011b). Interiorization appears in urban spaces where there is a traversing of inside-outside, which brings the interior characteristics to the exterior (Atmodiwirjo et al., 2015).

In particular, this paper expands the processes of interiorization proposed by Attiwill (2018), which defines it as interior-making based on subjectivity and processes of subjectification. The interiorization process is seen as a spatial strategy for occupancy within a limited space. The study looks into the urban spatial context of Kampung Bustaman, Semarang, Indonesia, which has limited space to operate the everyday practices within the boundaries of the dwelling space. We are interested in exploring the interiorization processes that arise in their everyday life since it can provide an understanding of the urban experience and the atmosphere created in the space (Hinkel, 2011). We argue that tracing everyday practices in urban spaces could reveal a unique spatial strategy from the community (Certeau, 1984; Giddens & Sutton, 2009; Highmore, 2002); therefore, the tracing could reveal the interiorization mechanisms that occur in urban spaces.

This paper is divided into three parts. The first part discusses the idea of urban interiority as a condition and process. The second part focuses on the emergence of interiorization in the everyday practices of the urban *kampung*. The third part investigates the mechanism of interiorization in the urban *kampung*, as the urban spatial strategy practiced by the inhabitants in dealing with their condition of living space. The study's findings are expected to provide descriptions of how the spatial practice strategies in everyday urban life become a way to promote sustainable cities and settlement.

2. RESEARCH BACKGROUND

The current perspective toward urban space has begun to shift by understanding that cities will eventually have to grow inwards rather than outwards (Adams & Marlor, 2019)The relationship between interior and urban design begins to be taken into account in the development of urban and interior knowledge (Attiwill, 2011a; Cetin, 2017). As the urban system develops and changes over time, the opposite relationship between the interior and the urban area seems to weaken (Adams & Marlor, 2019). The idea of interiority becomes relevant to the debates on the public interior as it suggests certain trends and phenomena that can inform future practice (Poot et al., 2019). This idea offers another perspective on territory that is not limited to the physical architectural boundaries (Marlor, 2021). The idea of interiority as a transformative concept (McCarthy, 2005) is closely related to social, cultural, physical, and technological developments. The concept of interiority, which always produces meaning, is subject to transformation as a new approach for current urban design practice.

This paper argues that urban interiority can be understood as an impermanent condition based on the relations that occur and the results of perception—seeing urban interiority as a condition based on the experience of space, sensory, atmosphere, and taste (Atmodiwirjo, 2018; Attiwill, 2011b; Mace, 2014, 2015). Understanding interiority as a relationship involves the need to explore human capacities in building relationships with their surroundings. The role of the various senses is important in developing multi-sensory relationships with space (Atmodiwirjo & Yatmo, 2018). While Mace (2014) argues that to reveal the perceptions of the urban interior, we need to explore the sensory stimuli contained in a condition, and the experiences felt when moving through an environment.

Space is no longer limited to the physical walls and surface surrounding it; based on the relationship between users and architectural experience, the territory of space becomes flexible and dynamic. Marlor (2021) calls it "function neutrality", where the space offers the user an opportunity to interpret and take over. Marlor (2021) further argues that interior territory is not merely based on physical entities or objects but "demonstrated by interior experiences occurring outside of the traditionally understood conditions of the interior" (p. 194).

Meanwhile, in the urban context, seeing interiority as a process impacts the spatial structure and quality formation. The idea of interiority is a form of

understanding that interiority can control and be controlled (McCarthy, 2005). Of course, this is a form of multidisciplinary development of urban science and interior design. Control that appears in the process of interiorization comes from bodies as the centre for the formation of interiority. When this control functions as a barrier or separator is influenced by the movement out of the body, it can form a dynamic territory (McCarthy, 2005). Bringing the interior atmosphere into an urban setting can be one of the ideas in the development of contemporary urban designs. Engaging interior design with the question of urbanism opens up new ways of thinking about how to deal with the increasing density in cities globally (Attiwill, 2011a).

This paper positions the understanding of urban interiority as a process of interiorization, which is closely related to the mechanism that allows the process to take place. Attiwill (2011b) states that the interiorization mechanism is a condition that arises due to interior-making in outside space, while Atmodiwirjo et al. (2015) mention that interiority appears in urban spaces where there is an inside-outside boundary-crossing that results in the emergence of outside spaces with the interior characters. However, how the interiorization process occurs has not been extensively discussed. The inquiry into the interiorization process becomes important to reveal the strategy in everyday operations, to understand the construction of space by a community to support everyday practice.

This paper explores everyday life as a setting of interiorization mechanism to reveal how humans can act creatively to form strategies. "The study of everyday life reveals to us how humans can act creatively to shape reality" (Giddens & Sutton, 2009, p. 251). Space of everyday life has a social dimension when used and changed by people, thus living space is present as a social space (Lefebvre, 1991). The community represents their existence and residential practice through space manifested as the right to space appropriation (Sadri & Sadri, 2012). Space is no longer seen as a physical form, but incorporating various mechanisms carried out by the community in carrying out their daily practices, which can produce another space. Appropriation of space in urban space can occur through action and collective agreements through a spatial process (Lefebvre, 1991; Sadri & Sadri, 2012). The appropriation of space can also change according to the needs at a particular time (Certeau, 1984).

Space appropriation is a spatial strategy that is often hidden, which needs to be revealed by tracing everyday life (Certeau, 1984; Highmore, 2002). Understanding interiorization mechanisms in an urban context could provide a different perspective on the urban design approach, based on understanding the spatial strategy that emerged within the community.

3. METHODS

This research employs the constructivism paradigm, which is considered appropriate to explore everyday life because this paradigm sees the truth in social reality as a result of social construction (Wang & Groat, 2013). Constructivism is also considered appropriate for this study because it focuses on the specific context in which individuals live and carry out activities (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This approach requires the accuracy of the researchers in tracing the mechanism of interiorization in everyday urban practices.

This research was conducted in Kampung Bustaman located in Semarang, Indonesia (Figure 1). The selection of this area represents the urban *kampung* conditions that emerge in many Indonesian cities, which demonstrate the resilience within the urban development with the limitation of spaces and resources. This *kampung* also represents the urban settlement with close socioculture relationships that define the community's everyday life.

This *kampung* is a densely populated settlement with houses close together and limited space for everyday activities. Some houses are inhabited by more than one family consisting of many members. The existence of the alley as the central circulation connects the houses and also functions as a public space, where collective activities are carried out. In this *kampung*, it is not uncommon for everyday domestic practices to occur in outdoor spaces extended beyond their interior dwelling spaces (Figure 2). Observations were conducted to explore how the everyday activities were carried out and investigate how the community established spatial strategies (Certeau, 1984).

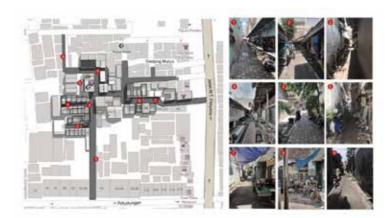


Figure 1:. The existing condition of the Kampung Bustaman Source: Author



Figure 2: Everyday domestic practices in Kampung Bustaman Source: Author

Data collection was carried out through direct observation of the everyday spatial practices of the Kampung Bustaman community. Observation focuses on the practice of interiorizing the outside space, which is then categorized based on the activities carried out. Interviews were also conducted with some community members with different occupations to reveal the spatial strategies within the community. The analysis is focused on tracing the interiorization mechanism in outside space, focusing on how the process happened. The mechanism analysis was conducted by mapping the uses of the spaces, observing the actors using the space, and recording how and when the spaces are used. To capture everyday spatial practice, the observations were made at different times of the day, morning to noon and afternoon to evening. The observation was recorded through sketches and photographs, which became the basis for further tracing to perform a more in-depth analysis.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

The observation reveals three main mechanisms of interiorization found in Kampung Bustaman. First, the appearance of interior objects in the outside area creates the changing quality of the exterior space according to the objects and related activities. Second, the analysis of the outward expansion of the interior activities suggests that physical boundaries become more flexible based on time and spatial practices that can expand or shrink. The third is finding is the emergence of a mutual agreement to bring up the interior condition, which transforms the outside space as a shared interior. Such mutual agreement generates the interior atmosphere associated with the intimacy that can be felt on the exterior. The three findings will be described in the following sections.

a. Objects as the forming device of interior conditions

Interiorization in Kampung Bustaman occurs in the exterior due to the presence of objects that are usually understood as interior entities. This

mechanism could be observed in "Gedong 10" as one of the densest dwellings in this *kampung*; a compound of 10 houses facing one another with the size of 15 m2 each and inhabited by no less than two families with five or more members. One of the residents explain that in their everyday practice, they utilize the interior of the house only for sleeping; meanwhile, other activities such as cooking, washing clothes, washing dishes, and even storing items are carried out by utilizing the available spaces on the house terrace or outside due to the limited space in their houses.

In this compound, the interior objects that are usually inside the house are found in the exterior spaces and alleys. These objects usually support domestic activities, such as buckets, clothes hangers, refrigerators, stoves, and cooking or eating utensils. The existence of these interior objects certainly supports daily practices in this environment; therefore, the interiorization process here becomes a strategy to contain the everyday domestic activities that could not be performed inside. Figure 3 illustrates the presence of object interior in outside space as forming interiorization. Based on the explanation from one of the residents, the existence of buckets and dish racks in the alley indicates the utilization of the alley as a wet kitchen, which functions as a place for washing and storing cooking and eating utensils, and this happens because it is difficult to use the objects inside the house. Buckets and dish racks, which are usually present in the wet kitchen in the house interiors, are found in the exterior space of the alleys. In this way, the house interior territory is expanded following the interior objects that the house owner places on the alley's edge.

These objects exist to accommodate everyday domestic practices. In this case, the domestic practice usually performed inside the house is performed in the alley. This practice expands the territory outside and presents the interior object as a marker of the outside space acquisition. The presence of the plate rack and bucket shift the interior condition of the alley into the outside kitchen. This case demonstrates the interiorization mechanism through the acquisition of the outside space for domestic practice. This mechanism relates the belongings of space to the ownership of objects rather than the space.

A similar case is found in the presence of several buckets along the alley. The buckets commonly perform as interior domestic objects found in the laundry and dishwashing rooms. But in this housing compound, the buckets are present on the exterior. One of the residents explained that the compound performs the activities of cloth washing and dishwashing by acquiring a part of the alley space right in front of her house. These buckets are filled with water and used to wash dishes and cooking utensils; they are used alternately

by family members but not by other residents, although they exist in the public area of the alley. In another case, the resident put a bucket near the wall across his house and used it for washing. Although the wall belongs to his neighbour, the bucket's presence defines the area around the wall as the washing area. The presence of privately owned buckets on the public exterior marks a particular activity space in the public territory. The existence of objects indicates the interiorization mechanism by forming a private territory within the public space.

The ownership of interior objects that are located outside could create a different perceived condition. The ownership is demonstrated through the presence of an interior object on one of the house's terraces. Due to limited interior space, the house owner transforms the terrace into part of the interior by moving the refrigerator outside. This transformation establishes the understanding of the terrace as a form of interior expansion, which is perceived similarly by all residents, even though physically, the terrace remains part of the exterior. This case demonstrates that one's position may affect the understanding of interior conditions. In this case, interiorization occurred on the exterior of a particular house but did not affect the urban space as a whole. Thus, the object can affect the different conditions perceived by the owner and other people in this neighbourhood.

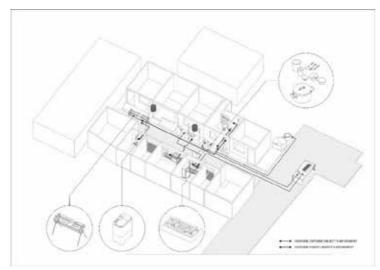


Figure 3: Objects as the forming device of interior conditions

Source: Author

With the presence of these objects, the quality of the exterior space changes, and the physical material affects emotional responses Liddicoat, (2018). It can be understood by the presence of these objects that humans perceive the quality of space differently when they are outside with interior objects that make them feel the interior atmosphere (Attiwill, 2011b; Coombs, 2015). The interior objects, in this case, are those related to everyday activities usually performed in the house interior. The diagram in Figure 3 illustrates that the emergence of the interior object on the exterior can act as the forming device to create various understandings related to space belonging, perceived condition, and defined territory in public space. The expansion of the interior to the outside space occurs through the movement of interior objects, the acquisition of outside space by domestic activities, and the leaking of interior objects to the exterior.

b. Activities as the generator of interior conditions

Kampung Bustaman is a densely populated neighborhood with limited dwelling spaces, resulting in the expansion of activities from the inside out. Some of the activities are related to the everyday practice of the Kampung Bustaman community in the production of satay and curry. In this neighborhood, the cooking activities that are usually performed in domestic kitchens occur in outside spaces. Some activities are extended to the alley and take over part of the public outdoor space. One of the houses, as the center of satay and curry production activities in this kampung, has a number of activities that are performed both in the inside and outside spaces. Preparing and sorting activities are performed in front of the house and extended to part of the alley. These extended activities generate the condition of the interior on the exterior. Another interior expansion can be found in the activities of cooking curry when the house interior was not enough to accommodate the stoves, so the activities were extended to the outside. When this happens, the territory of the domestic activities is emerged by acquiring some part of the public space. With this expansion, outside space is transformed into private interior space during a certain period.

Dining is a domestic activity usually performed in a home or a restaurant. However, in Kampung Bustaman, some food consumption activities were carried out on the side of the road or at a "buk" which belongs to the neighborhood ("buk" is a permanent seat made of a concrete block located in an urban environment with a certain width so that it can be used for various activities together). Some residents have their breakfast, lunch, and dinner

activities in front of the house using this "buk" as dining tables. Some tea and mineral water are always available there, ready to be consumed by anyone. Several residents perform this dining activity at certain times of the day, and they often chat while dining together. During one of the interviews, some residents mentioned that this condition makes them feel familiar with the home atmosphere. When this collective activity has finished, they return to other activities, and the concrete block returns to its function as the storage. Such interior condition that appears temporarily at certain times but routinely occurs at mealtimes has become a typical characteristic of the Kampung Bustaman community (Figure 4).

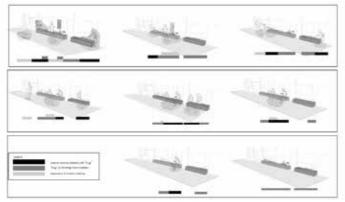


Figure 4: Layering interior activities in "Gedong 10"

Source: Author

Interiorization may arise when interior activity extends to the exterior due to the porosity of the boundary, which allows the exchange of atmospheric conditions, the exchange of programs and actions, and the movement of objects across boundaries between inside and outside (Atmodiwirjo et al., 2015). This inside-out intersection is deeply embedded in everyday life. It changes the way we consider the understanding of the interior in an urban context (Atmodiwirjo et al., 2015; Attiwill, 2011b). Activities usually carried out in an interior domestic environment can take place on the exterior for a specific purpose. In Kampung Bustaman, the interiorization of the exterior is due to the expansion of interior activities outward. The emergence of outside interior activities has resulted in the formation of new territory and the flexibility of boundaries. The activities become the basis for forming the boundary, thus allowing the newly established territory to occur. In this case, the exterior space with public character can be transformed into a private

interior space during a particular time. This transformation suggests that the interiorization mechanism due to the appearance of interior activity on the exterior is temporary, although it can be repeated at different times. Such a process of interiorization becomes the particular characteristic of the community.

c. Collective agreement as the spatial strategy to establish the interior conditions

The spatial strategy established by the Kampung Bustaman community due to space limitations is to come up with an agreement on the utilization of shared space for communal use. This strategy is demonstrated in the use of the shared bathroom by the members of the Kampung Bustaman community for bathing, defecating, and washing. The community leader explained that the community also has an agreement for communal religious events such as prayer and recitation to be held at the mosque. The community uses the shared facilities because they appreciate the existence of collective spaces to support their everyday activities (Figure 5).

Another collective habit of the Kampung Bustaman community is demonstrated in the shared dining area, where they perform some activities of eating, food selling, and food purchasing. There is an area in the neighborhood to be used for serving food, especially in the morning, because they think that the neighborhood will be very crowded if the cooking activities for producing satay and curry in the morning are performed simultaneously. The cooking activities are performed in the kitchen, mostly outside, and extend to the alley, thus blocking the alley in the morning. Therefore, the community had an agreement to manage a communal dining room, which is also another form of expansion of interior to the exterior space, to be used together for the whole community.

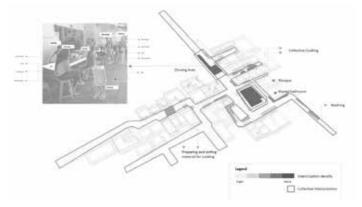


Figure 5: Collective agreement of interiorization in Kampung Bustaman Source: Author

Bringing the interior outside becomes one of the spatial strategies of the *Kampung* Bustaman community in dealing with the limited space. The interior conditions that are synonymous with intimacy could be felt when the interior activities are brought outside, and all residents consider it their shared interior space. The Kampung Bustaman community considers the space to have breakfast as a collective activity as the shared dining area. Regardless of its location outside, the space is understood as interior space in the urban neighborhood with the interior condition of collective intimacy. This indicates that the occurrence of this interiorization mechanism is based on close social knit, which becomes the identity of the community living in this kampung.

The discussion of the findings above demonstrates the interiorization processes that occur through three forms of mechanisms: the emergence of interior objects to the outside, the activities as the generator of the interior, and the collective agreement to create interior conditions. In Bustaman Kampung, most of the processes occur in the alley that plays a role as the interior extension. The alley is relatively narrow compared to the main street, and the community sees its potential for expanding its domestic area; thus, various interior activities are extended to the alley. In contrast, the main street is relatively wide as it is still used for public circulation; thus, the expansion of interior activities are more limited. Compared to the main street, the small alley in this *kampung* has more flexibility for interior activity expansion, in other words, more potentials for interiorization.

When interior objects appear on the exterior, the mechanism occurs through the object movement, as the mechanism of "inside-out: When objects inhabit the streets" (Coombs, 2015, p. 90). Objects that support daily activities in the interior appear on the exterior and change the quality of the exterior space to the interior. The emergence of interior conditions can be understood as a dualism between interior and exterior or inside-outside, depending on the observer's position (Atmodiwirjo et al., 2015; Attiwill, 2011a; Perolini, 2014). As stated above, the appearance of a particular object on the house's terrace is a form of interiorization by the homeowner. This interior condition only applies to the owner of the object. It does not apply to others even though there is an acknowledgement that the object's existence transforms the terrace into an expanded interior space. This finding expands on Coombs (2015) who stated that bringing interior objects out will provide a different representation and experience in a city space. The study adds an understanding that the interior representation and experience are attached to the individuals involved in these objects and their movement from inside to outside.

Mutual agreement to bring up particular interior conditions raises the collective subjectivity. Meanwhile, subjectivity arises from perceiving a condition in the atmosphere (McCarthy, 2005; Pimlott, 2018). The atmosphere of the interior condition lies in how the intimate feelings are interwoven and how sensory experiences become the basis for understanding urban interior conditions (Mace, 2014, 2015). The case of creating a shared dining area in Kampung Bustaman reflects an agreement to the subjective perception of the outside space to become a shared interior space that supports the everyday practice. This could be considered a form of collective subjectivity, an extension of collective individuation (Attiwill, 2018).

5. CONCLUSION

The findings of the interiorization process in urban space based on everyday practice suggest three forms of mechanism: the formation of the interior condition by the presence of objects; the formation of the interior condition by the layers of activities that determine the flexible boundaries between inside and outside; and the emergence of collective subjectivity due to a collective agreement in the use of the outside space as an interior. This paper expands the understanding of the interiorization mechanism revealed by Atmodiwirjo et al. (2015). Besides the mechanism of bringing interior objects out and expanding interior activities out, the finding of this study also indicates the role of the collective agreement in establishing interior conditions as an extension of the inside space. The findings from the everyday practices in Kampung Bustaman offer a perspective in understanding the process of interiorization in urban spaces, which further leads to an understanding that the quality of space can change based on the mechanism established by the everyday activities and the relevant objects.

This paper argues that the inside-outside separation in the discourse of urban space is no longer limited to the existence of physical boundaries, as boundaries could become more flexible and dynamic depending on the activities that occur in particular spaces. The everyday practice that keeps repeating leads to the appropriation of the exterior due to routine interior activities. This finding expands the understanding of the boundary temporality in the urban interior (Adams & Marlor, 2019; Atmodiwirjo et al., 2015; Attiwill, 2011b). The interiorization mechanisms found in this study suggest a deeper understanding of the quality of urban space by looking thoroughly at the mechanism of interiorization as the everyday spatial strategy of the community.

The findings of this study suggest the potential for interiorization as a spatial mechanism to become the consideration in designing urban spaces. Particularly in an urban context where the community has a strong social knit, an understanding of urban design must realize that such mechanism of interiorization is likely to occur in the community's everyday spatial practice. Therefore the elements of urban space need to be open for the possibility of interiorization. This can be done by redefining the space boundaries, utilizing the potential of the urban space elements, and seeing the potential of the urban exterior to become an expansion of interior space. The urban design approach that opens the possibility for interiorization would be an attempt to appropriately accommodate the socio-cultural aspects of everyday community life within the available urban living space.

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