

Passage Territories: Reframing Living Spaces in Contested Contexts

Kristanti Dewi Paramita^{1,2}, Tatjana Schneider²

¹Universitas Indonesia
Indonesia

²University of Sheffield
United Kingdom

Abstract

This paper investigates the concept of 'passage territories' (Sennett, 2006), defined as living spaces constructed from one's passage of movement from one separate space to another, and how it extends the discussion of interiority in contested contexts. Through observations of living spaces and the narrative accounts of dwellers' in Kampung Pulo and Manggarai neighbourhoods of Jakarta, this study draws attention to the interiority of dispersed and layered spaces occupied by the kampungs' dwellers. In this context, passage territories are driven by a) a limitation of space that, in turn, triggers the need to acquire more space; b) the occupation of a dweller that necessitates different types of space; and c) the limited access to infrastructural resources that influence the extent of a living space's dispersal. Through the use of drawings, this study reveals the complete interiority of living spaces consisting of spaces with diverse spatial ownerships and scales. The boundaries of passage territories tend to be defined by the frequency and length of time needed for an activity instead of the relative proximity between certain spaces. Furthermore, the way objects are placed also shapes the boundaries of passage territories, both for permanent and temporary use of space. This paper then discusses the impact of this knowledge on the interiority of passage territories, proposing to use mechanisms of 'patches' and 'corridors' to shape the interior of territory that cross, share, and change into one another.

Keywords: territory, movements, infrastructure, kampung, Jakarta

Introduction

This paper explores the notion of 'passages' in extending the understanding of the interior territories in the context of *kampung* neighbourhood in Jakarta, Indonesia. It is positioned within the growing discussion in the interiority discourse that challenges the static and bounded meaning of territory, with the need to "make it live and move beyond space that is immobile, closed and organised" (Smitheram & Woodcock, 2009, p. 10).

This paper focuses on how passage territories lie across spatial scales and social hierarchies, constructing an interiority of living spaces that alternate between private and public interior. The territory then, despite often portrayed to emerge from a process of exclusionary (Smitheram & Woodcock, 2009), is instead complex and layered. Massey (2005) argues that space is a "product of interrelations", an "existence of plurality" and that it is "always under construction" (p. 9). Space, in her reading, is never a self-contained, standalone entity. The interior is then configured and reconfigured by its inhabitants, creating a continuous process of transformations, "where space is not assumed as pre-existing but produced" (Attiwill, 2011, p. 1).

This paper is situated within the context of urban *kampung* in Jakarta, which, with limited space and services, has extensively developed collective spatial practices that produce, appropriate and transform spaces based on social relations (Yatmo & Atmodiwirjo, 2013). It is argued that these strategies produce a different understanding of interiority for its inhabitants, particularly as the inhabitants transgresses across divisions of space (Dierwechter, 2002). Representing such differences of interiority might provide further insight into the future development of urban *kampung* neighbourhoods that are appropriate for such communities.

We begin with a theoretical exploration of passage territories within interior architecture discourses and subsequently address methodological challenges for researching such occurrences in contexts where space and infrastructural services are limited. This exploration is followed by a contextual overview of the case studies presented in this paper, which focus on domestic environments within the riverbank neighbourhoods in Kampung Pulo and Manggarai, East Jakarta.

Explorations of two case studies of passage territories observed within these neighbourhoods are then presented. Finally, this paper concludes on the critical elements that shape the occurrence of passage territories in contested context and discusses its implications on the knowledge of interiority.

Constructing an Alternate Understanding of Territory

Coined by Richard Sennett (2006) in an essay entitled *Housing and Urban Neighbourhoods: The Open City*, passage territories can be described as spaces that are both physically defined as well as mentally constructed by one's experience of passage through and between spaces. He argues that such territory is inherently open, defined by characteristics such as "ambiguous edges," "incomplete form," and "unresolved narrative" (Sennett, 2006, pp. 8-12). Sennett suggests that planning should encourage ambiguous edges in the form of a border (instead of the boundary) as the permeable periphery of the territory where people can move and interact. Furthermore, he argues that incomplete form allows changes and adaptation, leading to planning based on unresolved narrative instead of linear based development (Sennett, 2006).

Sennett's understanding of passage territories resonates with Forty's (2004) articulation of buildings. Forty argues that buildings, unlike bodies, are not bounded entities but have much more in common with 'respiratory' systems. Yet, he also points out that such concept of space production is challenging for architects and planners, stating that

...'respiration' has not caught on, for the reason, one suspects, that it would make buildings into open systems, with indistinct boundaries, a prospect altogether too messy and too disturbing for most architects and building owners to want to be troubled with. (Forty, 2004, p. 94)

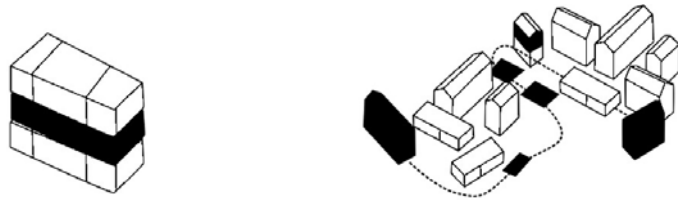
Looking at the notion of territory as something that is open emphasises the acknowledgement of interrelations, experiences and broader interactions with the surrounding environments. Our common understanding of territory as a unified, compact whole may also shift; and territory may also emerge instead from dispersed spaces connected by one's living experience. Nevertheless, such openness also creates a question of how it defined one's experience of interiority.

The experience of interiority is investigated by Pimlott (2018) within his explorations of the "condition of interior" (p. 6). He argued that dispersed spaces in an urban environment could project similar experience of interiority. These similar experiences create continuous processes of colonisation shaped by the spaces' "structure and stricture" as part of the condition of the interior (p. 8).

Other than between dispersed spaces, passage territories also acknowledge the complex layered of interiority within a space. Pimlott defines the different experience of interiority for the public

and domestic interior, where an individual may feel a sense of freedom in public interior while another individual may feel subject to codes of behaviour if the settings are more familiar (Pimlott, 2018). Such interiority is produced by inhabitants' experience of the condition of interior regardless of spatial ownership; for example, both private and public spaces can have a public interior (Poot, Van Acker, & De Vos, 2015). Nevertheless, there is less discussion on how space can provide both public and domestic interiority dynamically for its inhabitants.

Figure 1
Living space
territory as
bounded (left)
and living spaces
as passage
territory (right)



An example of interiority projected by the inhabitants' experience in a more dynamic way can be seen in the study of "outside interior" in Jakarta *kampung* neighbourhood (Atmodiwirjo, Yatmo, & Ujung, 2015). This study explores the collective interiority of *kampung* community that appropriate spaces around the neighbourhood, and often traverse boundaries between inside and outside. Different individuals can experience the same spaces differently, creating a layered territory driven by the focus on "occupying multiple temporalities" (Attiwill, 2011, p. 3) instead of a static definition of space. The occupation that traverses such boundaries also often reflects the connection between multiple inhabitants, as the urban environment is often structured in parallel with the social relations around it (Yatmo, Atmodiwirjo, & Paramita, 2013).

These ways of occupying space emphasise micro understandings (Poot et al., 2015) of interiority constructed by fleeting elements, such as temporary and movable spatial elements and structures, which can be as unassuming as newspaper racks (Alexander, 1965). Furthermore, it also points out the important role played by bodies in activating such spatial structure, rendering the "interior as a sort of performance" (Hollis, 2018, p. 34).

An urban interior activated through bodily movement is further explored by Dovey and Polakit (2009) in their Bangkok street space study, conceptualising it as "looseness of form":

Looseness of form is primarily linked to the loose parts which move around this neighbourhood with a high level of flexibility – food stalls, hawker trolleys, chairs, tables, washing, retail goods and vehicles. The looseness of its function is closely linked to the loose parts, the manner in which the

same space is used for a multiplicity of functions either at the same time or different times. One function may slip into another or be camouflaged..." (Dovey & Polakit, 2009, p. 114)

In Dovey and Polakit's example, the movements of things create different territories of space that are based on multiple and varying arrangements of loose parts, which in turn construct more or less fleeting interiority through such arrangements.

The configuration and timing of such urban interior dynamic may be influenced by other experiences and external events. This occurrence is explored, for example, by Sinuraibhan (2011) in the study of Room Hoob Market, Bangkok. The market is located directly on the railways and needs to be taken down every time a train comes by, leading the author to comment that "[t]he stalls and temporary structures designed by locals are essentially affected and formed by the movement of trains..." (Sinuraibhan, 2011, p. 139). There, approaching trains are announced by sounds, signals and track vibrations which are known and sensed by the street vendors who respond to the event by temporarily shifting stalls away from the railway tracks, only to re-established them moments after a train has passed. The way the structure is activated in response to the incoming flow of train demonstrates what Pimlott (2018) describes as how the interiority responded to the forces of "systematisation of the urbanised environment and its infrastructures" (p. 16). In the case of the market, the territory is formed around the railways. The boundary of such interiority is not fixed, it expands and contracts based on the specific timing of incoming train flows, and – to use Forty's (2004) analogy – breathes in and then out again.

The railway line, along with other complex networks or infrastructural systems that distribute, for example, water supplies or energy across cities influence how one can activate their spatial structure dynamically, and therefore shape the interiority that emerges within the territories. Inhabiting is about "connect[ing] to the numerous supply systems of the contemporary urban fabric" (Habraken, 2000, p. 112), creating a "territorialisation of flow" (Smith & Ballantyne, 2010, p.22). The presence of infrastructure, as Kärholm (2007) demonstrates in the discussion of a closed-down public bathhouse, continues to have an impact on keeping a territory even when they are no longer functioning. He states that "(p)eople might use a local bathing place even though the local authorities have closed it down and removed signs, bathing huts, and so forth... Still, the material conditions for bathing remain" (Kärholm, 2007, p. 444).

The above paragraph reflects the growing discussion that defines infrastructure as a lived process instead of a formal closed system

(Graham & McFarlane, 2014), and it is argued that such discourse expands the territorial dynamic constructed actor's passages of movements in accessing infrastructure. We argue, that this conception of the notion of territory is particularly evident in the contested spaces of the *kampung*s, which have limited space and often inadequate access to 'formal' infrastructural resources. By exploring passage territories within such context, we begin to outline possibilities for an alternate reading of interiority constructed by either dispersed or layered spaces, with emphasis on the fleeting structures and temporal dynamics of the infrastructural process.

Context of Study and Methodology

While the previous study of *kampung* neighbourhood has been focused on collective territory, this paper explores individual's domestic living spaces to identify the different experience of interiority emerges from dwellers passages within the neighbourhood. This study takes place in two urban *kampung*s in Jakarta Indonesia: Kampung Pulo, East Jakarta and Manggarai, South Jakarta. Their locations within the territory of Jakarta are illustrated in Figure 2. Both neighbourhoods are densely occupied, with uneven access to water and sanitation facilities. At the same time, they are at risk of environmental perils and often get flooded during the rainy season.

The selection of Kampung Pulo and Manggarai for the detailed study was initially driven by their particular location as the targeted areas of Ciliwung River regeneration, which has been actualised in Kampung Pulo in 2015. It is argued that the way the project was carried illustrate the one-dimensional understanding of space as something that is fixed and, literally, containable, leading to the massive relocation of local dwellers by regional authorities. The overall research was therefore driven by a desire to understand the dynamic spatialities and the actors' movement within them, which is seen as key for comprehending of such contested contexts (Dierwechter, 2002).

This framework led to initial explorations of both sites through observations and the subsequent detailed study of the dwelling spaces of 100 people, their everyday practices and passages of movements. As informed by the study by Poot et al. (2015), this paper employed micro-spatial analysis in order to understand how dwellers use their spaces, those spaces' elements (surface, objects, and so on), the form of infrastructural resources they had access to, and the dwellers' and elements' movements within the spaces. Data collected from these observations and enquiries were used to build

the discussion of how dwellers operate within, use and mobilise their domestic living spaces and construct the passage territory.

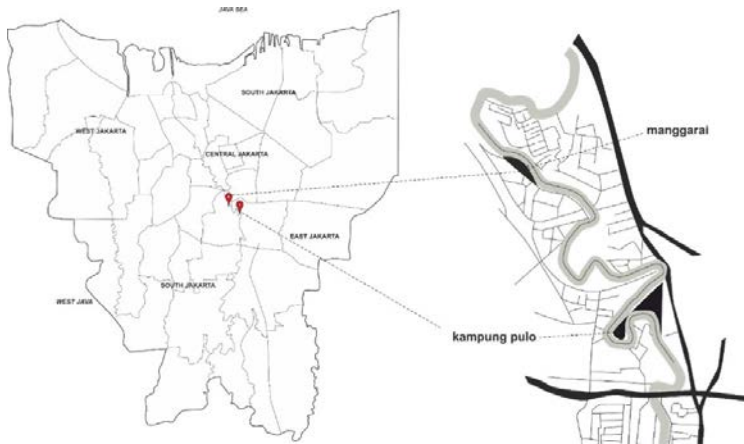


Figure 2
Locations of
Kampung Pulo
and Manggarai,
Jakarta

For this paper, narratives of two particular dwellers have been selected for a more comprehensive discussion, here identified as Dweller F from Kampung Pulo and Dweller S from Manggarai. These dwellers have been chosen based on the complexity of their living spaces, particularly the extent of dispersal and layered temporality of spaces that they occupy. The following passages provide some details on their living spaces within the neighbourhood.

Dweller F

F and his family lived in Kampung Pulo, near one of the main gates to the settlement (Figure 3). He owned a food stall selling *soto babat*, a form of traditional meat soup. The stall was located within the hallway of the gate and consisted of several tables and chairs next to the narrow passage wall. The stall's kitchen was within a small 3x4m dwelling located close by the river, where F's wife would cook, prepare and reheat the soup.



Figure 3
Dwelling spaces
of F

In front of this dwelling was a small space that F used to wash the dirty dishes and pans from the shop. It was found later on that F had another house, further down the *kampung's* passage, where his mother lived in a bigger two-storey dwelling. There, the whole family could sleep, do their laundry and prepare larger food items. This larger family home was also equipped by its toilet, so the family didn't need to use the public toilet. Figure 3 illustrates the dwelling space of F (from left): the corridor for food stall, kitchen (orange house), and the mother's house located further away from the path.

Dweller S

Dweller S lived in Manggarai, South Jakarta, and worked as a repairman outside the neighbourhood. His house, which he shared with his son, was located in the middle of the neighbourhood at the corner of a street and next to the neighbourhood's public toilet (Figure 4). S's dwelling primarily only consisted of a small room with a bed, which he also shared with his son, and some open space in front and to the side of this room. This open space belonged, officially, to the neighbourhood, but was filled with S's objects to be used for multiple activities: sitting, cooking, washing, eating, and so on. S's house was not equipped with a separate kitchen space; only a corner of his room was used to plug in appliances such as rice cooker. S also did not own a toilet within his dwelling, so he typically used the public toilet next to his house. Figure 4 illustrates the dwelling space of S (from left): shared water source and bathroom, sitting space, S's rented room, kitchen space and public toilet.

Figure 4
Dwelling spaces
of S



In performing the analysis of both dwellers' territories, this paper argues that the process of redrawing dwellers' living spaces using axonometric drawing projects the complete experience of interiority that was initially seen as hidden or only partially exposed. The drawing is not only used to represent spaces but also to enhance the experience, by emphasising the temporary relationships and fluid spatial entity (Petrescu, 2012). Essential instances are also drawn as part of the microanalysis of space, which pays attention to spatial accessibility, permeability and configurations (Poot et al., 2015). Informed by the findings, this paper then draws the schematic configuration of interiority emerged from the findings of the study.

Mechanisms of Passage Territories

Observations and interviews highlighted that certain elements influence the specific perception of interiority shaped by passage territory. The following paragraphs discuss these elements and how they occur within the two dwellings.

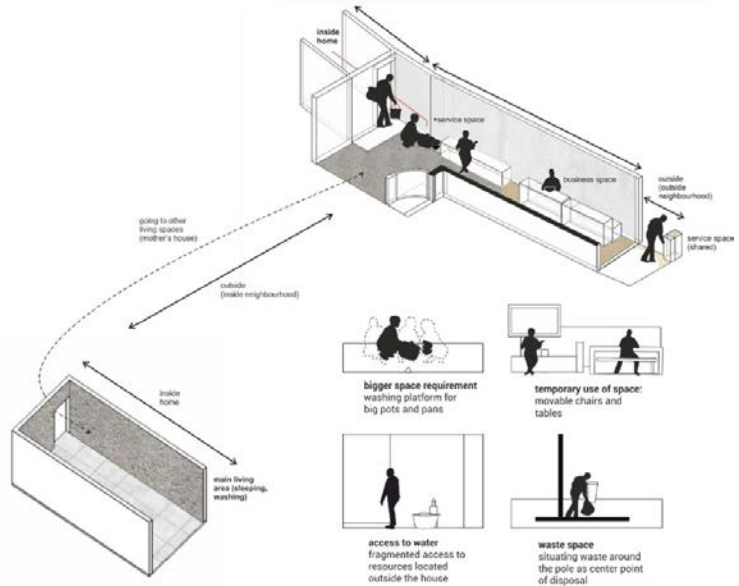
Dweller F's living spaces consisted of a series of separate dwellings and spaces: a smaller one, a larger one as well as the corridor in front of the space which he uses for selling his meat soup. The smaller dwelling was used for more elaborate cooking activities and the preparation of food items to be sold; the bigger dwelling accommodated extensive family use and domestic activities, such as washing, ironing, and sleeping; and the corridor was used for F's home business. In this sense, F's (living) spaces were dispersed within the neighbourhood: a dwelling that had been repurposed for business production, a house that was used by the extended family, and a neighbourhood alley – which had been appropriated into an eating area.

On the other hand, Dweller S's living spaces also consisted of a series of interrelated spaces, which largely occupied the shared neighbourhood spaces beyond his rented room. Other than his room that was used for both sleeping and cooking, S washed his laundry and cleans his dirty dishes at the nearby public water source, which was shared by the community. Next to the public water source, there was a public bathroom that he regularly used and a community sitting space, which directly bordered S's room. He used the public toilet for his sanitary needs. In this sense, S's living spaces consisted of his dwelling, the open space in front of his dwelling that had been claimed by him for his own needs, and the community shared space with access to water and sanitation that he regularly used.

In both cases, passage territories were defined by the needs of F and S for a bigger space, which was obtained by appropriating other spaces: the area in front of one's house, public neighbourhood spaces, or the private spaces of a family relative. The dweller's living needs became an important starting point for creating passage territories that defined the characteristics for the space that is sought out and later appropriated. Dweller F, the meat soup seller, rented a room to be his kitchen and occupied a public corridor nearby as a temporary eating space. These spaces were located in a safer area within the neighbourhood so that he could still do his economic activities if the lower area of the neighbourhood is flooded (including his mother's house). On the other hand, with his small dwelling, Dweller S needed to extend his living space to

areas around his rented room for cooking, hanging out, and storage. Different from F's temporary neighbourhood space occupation, S' occupation was much more permanent.

Figure 5 Dweller F's spaces distributed across two houses and a neighbourhood corridor used for his home business.



The dynamic of each dweller's passage territories was further influenced by their respective access to infrastructural services. For example, F's small dwelling did not have a water source and sufficient space to clean the cooking utensils, pans and pots used in the food preparation process as well as the dirty plates. However, a water tap and an elevated platform in front of his house, though located on the neighbourhood corridor, could be used to wash larger objects. In Dweller S's case, the overall dispersal of directly accessible amenities was much greater. Contrary to Dweller F, he neither had access to his own toilet nor his own water source. His passage territory was therefore defined by the connection between his house to the spaces where he could access public amenities and water supplies. Whilst this limited personal access was trying, those services were located in the immediate vicinity, making them feel to be part of his own amenities.

Driven by the dimension of personal spaces, occupations, and fragmentation of infrastructural services, there are some important points to note regarding the interiority of a passage territory. Proximity between spaces, for example, is not necessarily considered important but rather depends on the intensity of activities associated with each space, determined by the frequency and length of time needed for an activity in a particular space. As an example, Dweller

F needed a water source and a space for cleaning dirty dishes close to his food business, as the pots, pans and plates were continuously used throughout the day. However, it was tolerable for him to use the toilet at his mother's house, which was 200m away, as he only used it at a much lower frequency.

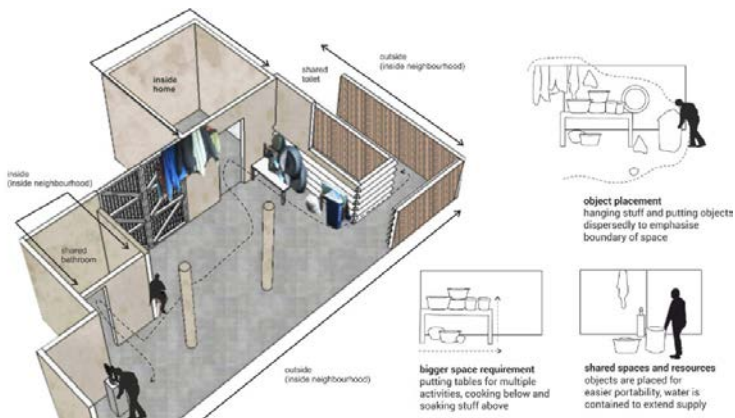


Figure 6
Dweller S's
house: one
room and an
open space
with nearby
community
amenities

A further insight from the study shows that the placement of fleeting objects is important to create a boundary and signify its function – both for permanent and temporary use. For example, Dweller S's occupied the space in front of his dwelling space as his kitchen, marked through elaborate stacks of buckets and kitchen utensils placed on a table which is hard to shift or remove. He also marked his territory by hanging personal items and clothing onto the walls outside his dwelling space. This dispersed arrangement of stuff indirectly projected and enlarged his private space's boundary beyond his original one-room dwelling.

While S used objects to turn an otherwise public space into a permanent space of his own, in temporarily appropriated space, objects were arranged in such a manner as to preserve practicality for shared use. Dweller F, for example, used stackable chairs and tables and – when the stall closed in the late afternoon – removed those from the corridor to create more space for people to move through. In Dweller S's case, who shared certain public amenities with others, a system had been established that minimised the disturbance caused to others while using the main infrastructure, e.g. the water source. Here, each family owned a big bucket, which had a double function: it was used to transport items to the public water source, was then utilised as an extension of the water source by serving as a container to do, for example, one's washing up, and was afterwards used again to transport items back to a dweller's house.

Beyond the strategic use of objects in space, and the extension of

infrastructural systems into smaller portable objects, bodily comfort also influenced the placement of objects in space. Dweller F, for example, needed an ample space to wash his bulky pots and pans. His other spaces were not convenient for this activity, which was why he had appropriated the elevated surface in front of his smaller dwelling to become the dedicated space for cleaning those items, which he did in a squatting position that was much more convenient than doing it inside his dwelling.

Drawing Passage Territories

Specific activities, the placement of objects and bodily comfort, as discussed above, inform the experience, lived and perceived, of the interiority of a passage territory. The drawings produced throughout the study speak of how such spaces are formed, used and appropriated by different users, objects and activities. Instead of being bound, these drawings show how spaces are dispersed and/or layered with one another, have multiple uses and different meanings for diverse actors. They also demonstrate how some spaces that seem to be private are being crossed and used by other people throughout the day. Understanding of passage territories makes it no longer relevant to define the configuration of space based on categories such as private and public, or based on ownership and tenure – particularly within the observed context.

Based on the findings of this study, this paper therefore proposes to reframe the conception of interior spaces that constructs passage territories in contested contexts in Jakarta. We propose a lens that pays closer attention to the micro-use of space, redefining space as the ‘patches’ and ‘corridors’ created by actors’ movements. These terms are first used by Gouverneur (2015) to articulate spatial elements in the larger scale urban design proposition. This paper proposes to mobilise them to rethink the way in which people experience space on a micro level. In line with the research conducted, we define a ‘patch’ as a place where people conduct their activities, which does not always consist of a bounded spatial unit (e.g. a room), but can consist of mere spots and nooks where certain activities are done. A ‘corridor’, then, is defined as a space utilised to get from one patch to another, which can be a street or defined path but can also be a space that is simply crossed, or “trespassed” - to use Pink’s terminology (Pink, 2012).

Patches and corridors that construct configurations of the passage territories of Dweller F and S are represented in Figures 7 and 8. These drawings demonstrate both dispersal and temporal layers of interiority within both dwellers territories. Space dispersal

happens to a various extent, from simply extending the patch by occupying space around it to the occupation of spaces in the further distance as reflected in both passage territories. Dispersal has been part of the process of occupying better space or better access to infrastructure. The dispersal of living spaces creates an extension of familiar domestic interiority, constructed by corridor between living patches. In turn, it is argued that this extended interior creates possibilities for additional patches for each individual, such as how F preferred to dispose his waste in the edge of the corridor instead of in one of his dwellings as he occupied the neighbourhood alley nearby regularly. Or, consider the area between S's dwelling and the public toilet which was the community sitting space, which was also used by S to park his motorcycle.

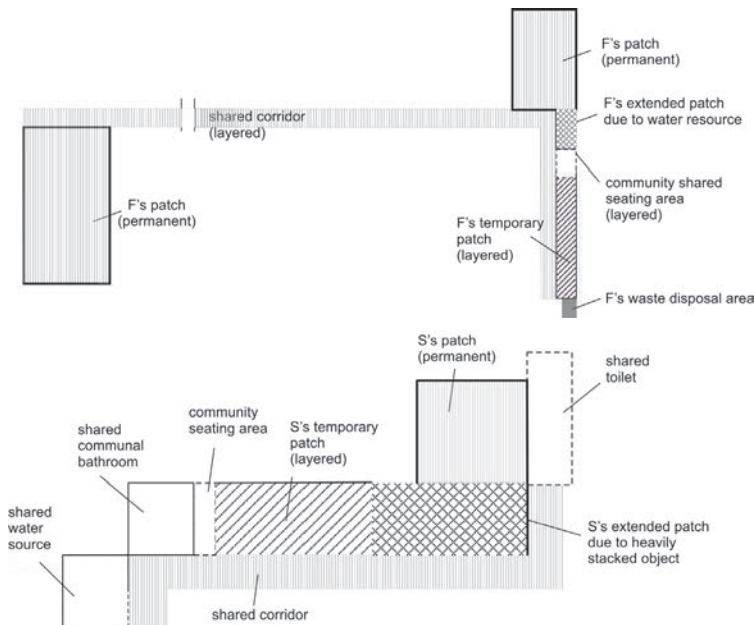


Figure 7
Interiority
configuration
of F's passage
territories

Figure 8
Interiority
configuration
of S's passage
territories

The layered experience of interiority is shown when someone's corridors can also be someone else's patch and vice versa. In Dweller F's case, the area where people ate the food he had prepared was his temporary patch—made of removable sets of chairs and tables—while for others, it was simply the neighbourhood corridor used to move from one location to another. The placement of objects could temporarily or permanently mark and extend a patch, creating an intensity of boundaries that determine the individual's layer of interiority.

The notion of space that is constructed in these instances depends on an actor's passage of movement and actions, creating a more dynamic sense of territory. Produced dynamically through the in-

teraction of personal needs and infrastructures, passage territories span across spatial scales and formal ownership.

Conclusion

This paper proposes an alternate understanding of territory as built through individual passages of movements, which is part of the growing discussion that aims to redefine the interiority beyond static perceptions of borders and boundaries. The examination of dwellers living spaces in Kampung Pulo and Manggarai neighbourhoods has circumvented such classifications, driven by adaptation strategies due to a lack of infrastructure or economic means.

The theoretical investigation of such forms of territory had highlighted that passage territories have open characteristics. They are linked to the existence of infrastructures and rely on an interrelationship between adjacent spaces across spatial hierarchies. Further empirical work – through observations, interviews and drawings of two cases (Dwellers F and S) highlighted the interrelation of practices with space creating dispersal and layers of activities across a more extensive territory. The study emphasised the importance to represent the complete sense of interiority emerged from dwellers' occupation of diverse spaces in the neighbourhood despite spatial ownerships.

Lack of space and fragmentation of access to infrastructural resources has repercussions on formation and articulation of passage territories. Firstly, proximity is not the sole aspect that determines where (living) spaces of a dweller are located. Instead, available social relations or shared access to services, in addition to the frequency of use and length of time needed for a particular activity determine possible locations that can be occupied despite distance and ownership. In this sense, passage territories do not aim for a compact and excluded sense of territory. Instead, it encourages the dispersal that creates the opportunity for more options of spaces but with less cost; to meet changing needs and availability. Secondly, passage territories are not necessarily defined by hard perimeters but can be demarcated by soft markers such as objects. While it might seem that objects can only ever indicate a temporary use, some arrangements of objects can lead to the creation of much more permanent boundaries.

Informed by the study of Dwellers F and S, this paper argues that the interiority of passage territories extends Pimlott's (2018) explorations regarding the condition of interior discussed at the beginning of the paper. This paper demonstrates passage territories as a form of

territories that are made and re-made alongside actor's activities with their movements and object arrangements. This movements and object arrangements create the conditions of interior that allow dispersal and layers of the public and domestic interior. This paper suggests that representing the complete interiority of dwellers living spaces shaped by such conditions has the potential to reveal the multiple perceptions and uses of space across the neighbourhood.

Redefining occupied spaces as patches and corridors enables the understanding of the overall territories. The drawings that represent configurations of patches and corridors demonstrate diverse kinds of spaces and temporality appropriated by dwellers in creating the interiority of their living spaces, which might be useful for future *kampung* neighbourhoods development that value such complexity. Nevertheless, in the case of Kampung Pulo and Manggarai and their position within the city of Jakarta's wider re-development programme, it is argued that the intervention carried within both neighbourhoods has yet to address the intricate relationships between people and space as offered by readings of passage territories in this paper. Further research will be necessary to understand the implications of such understandings for interventions in contested spaces – and beyond.

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