



**KELETI RAILWAY STATION AROUND
1890 WITH A PARK IN THE FRONT**

ŽELEZNIČNÁ STANICA KELETI
OKOLO ROKU 1890 S PARKOM
V POPREDÍ

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The Urban Space of the Migrant Crisis: Analysis of the Spatial Evolution of an Informal Transit Camp in Budapest's Historic City Centre

Urbánný priestor migračnej krízy: Analýza priestorového vývoja neoficiálneho tranzitného tábora v historickom centre Budapešti

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Štúdiá skúma dôležitú kapitolu európskej migračnej krízy (Financial Times 2015), keď sa Barossovo námestie pred železničnou stanicou Keleti v centre Budapešti stalo od leta a začiatku jesene 2015 dočasným útočiskom pre tisíce ľudí, z ktorých väčšina utekala pred občianskou vojnou v Sýrii. Hoci sa neoficiálne, dočasné miesta migrantov objavili už skôr na iných miestach v Európe, napríklad v Calais alebo na ostrove Kos, v Budapešti bol tábor špecifický tým, že vznikol v historickom centre hlavného mesta a fungoval len počas troch mesiacov.

Výskum predstavuje priestorovú analýzu tohto mimoriadneho využitia verejného priestoru. V úvode sa venujeme historickému prehľadu početných rekonštrukcií Barossovoho námestia, ktoré ho postupne premenili na jeden z najrušnejších dopravných uzlov v Budapešti. Ďalej je táto istá lokalita skúmaná ako neoficiálny táborový priestor, ktorý vznikol z potrieb hľadania útočiska, hygieny, stravy a informácie migrantov. Terénny výskum na mieste odhalil proces vývoja od spontánneho osídlenia až po organizovaný komplexný systém služieb. Príspevok rozlišuje tri časové fázy existencie tábora. Tieto fázy sú podrobne opísané a ich rôzne priestorové organizácie sú prezentované aj na ilustráciách.

Prvý, spontánný, môže byť označený ako „skoré neorganizované neoficiálne obdobie“, ktoré trvalo od konca júna až po začiatok augusta v roku 2015. Dialo sa to vtedy, keď po prvýkrát prišli davy migrantov na stanicu a hľadali na Barossovom námestí dočasné ubytovanie. Spontánne obsadili priestory podjazdu, ktoré sa zdali, že sú bezpečné. Počas tohto obdobia žiadne úrady nevyňali ani formálne úsilie na zabezpečenie dôstojných podmienok pre stovky ľudí, ktorí trávili svoje noci vo verejnom priestore. Medzitým miestni obyvatelia, popudení vládnu nevíťavosťou k zlým podmienkam ľudí na námestí, začali organizovať humanitárne aktivity, ako distribúciu potravín a iných darov. Tak vznikla migračná pomoc. Keďže sa počet migrantov neprestajne zvyšoval, vedenie mesta si uvedomilo, že situáciu musí nejaká riešiť.

Druhú fázu nazývame fáza „tranzitnej zóny“, keď bolo v auguste uskutočnené oficiálne opatrenie na kontrolu tábora. Oblasť v agorickom priestore námestia bola určená za tú, kde by sa žiadatelia o azyl mali zdržiavať, kým nebudú môcť pokračovať v ceste do niektorého z oficiálnych utečeneckých centier. V nasledujúcich dňoch sa otvorili ďalšie dve tranzitné zóny v budapeštianskych železničných staniaciach Nyugati a Déli. Autobusová linka s názvom *Transit Line* poskytnutá Centrom

verejnej dopravy v Budapešti, ktoré zabezpečovalo prepravu žiadateľov o azyl z miest, kam dorazili do Budapešti na stanice, odkiaľ sa mohli dostať do jedného z otvorených utečeneckých táborov. V dôsledku toho bola oficiálne organizovaná mestská sieť táborov situovaných v centre mesta – z nich najväčší bol na Barossovom námestí – zameraná na vylúčenie obyvateľov mesta od tých z táborov.

Tretiu fázu možno identifikovať ako ustanovenie neoficiálnej fázy, keďže od začiatku septembra až do zrušenia tábora bola prítomná neformálna, ale vysokoorganizovaná operácia. Začiatkom septembra sa ukázalo, že veľkosť a kapacita oficiálnych tranzitných zón neboli dostatočné na to, aby uspokojili základné potreby ich obyvateľov. V tom čase sa účasť v samoorganizovanej migračnej pomoci významne zvýšila a aj ďalšie občianske organizácie ponúkli svoju pomoc. Vyvinul sa systém neformálnej humanitárnej činnosti, ktorý sa dynamicky prispôbil potrebám obyvateľov námestia.

Pri skúmaní vývoja tábora v troch fázach sme sa zamerali na rôzne meniace sa reakcie na uvedené základné potreby:

Prístrešok

Z pohľadu požiadavky na prístrešok možno vidieť, že počas tohto trojmesačného obdobia prešlo Barossovo námestie viditeľnou transformáciou: od podchodu, kde sa skupiny vyčerpaných ľudí zúfalo snažili nájsť útočisko, po formálne organizovaný a kontrolovaný tábor, kde sa stalo dostupným ubytovanie a mnohé ďalšie služby. Vzhľadom na to, že formálna infraštruktúra nereagovala na dynamicky rastúci počet migrantov, dominovali tu adaptačné metódy neformálneho využívania priestoru. Riešenie prístrešia sa v priebehu trojmesačného procesu zmenilo zo spontánneho konania zo strany migrantov na polooficiálne služby tábora na Barossovom námestí.

Hygiena

Počas rannej fázy tábora na Barossovom námestí mohli migranti využívať zariadenia mesta pre svoje potreby. V júli bola vedľa stanice umiestnená mobilná toaletná jednotka, ktorú prenajali a udržiavali miestni dobrovoľníci. Jej cieľom bolo poskytnúť migrantom toto základné hygienické zariadenie zadarmo. Po otvorení tranzitnej zóny na Barossovom námestí poskytol mestský úrad infraštruktúru na splnenie základných hygienických požiadaviek: v areáli podjazdu boli otvorené toalety, sprchy a priestory na prebalovanie detí. Tieto reakcie na hygienické potreby veľmi

dobre odrážajú proces „migračného priestoru“. Zariadenia boli k dispozícii len im, a súčasne boli vylúčení z možnosti využívať bežné služby mesta.

Potrava

Jednou z prvých služieb migračnej pomoci na Barossovom námestí bolo denné bezplatné rozdelenie potravín miestnymi dobrovoľníkmi, ktoré sa uskutočňovalo vedľa schodiska vedúceho k agore. Dĺžka radu každej popoludnie ukazovala, aký veľký je dopyt.

Vo fáze tranzitnej zóny bola pre dobrovoľníkov migračnej pomoci poskytnutá prázdna časť Barossovoho námestia. Tento skladový priestor sa stal miestom, kde boli dary pripravované pred ich distribúciou. Stabilná lokalita určená na rozdelenie potravín, reťaz darov a základné služby tábora mohli byť efektívnejšie. So zvýšeným počtom migrantov na Barossovom námestí začali tento systém využívať aj rôzne občianske organizácie a iní dobrovoľníci. Skladovanie darov si preto vyžadovalo viac priestorov. V treťom období boli v južnej časti námestia postavené pavilóny, kde bolo po celý deň k dispozícii ovocie a ďalšie potraviny.

Informácie

Počas raného obdobia tábora aktivisti pripravovali a distribuovali informačné letáky v siedmich jazykoch, aby pomohli migrantom právne aj priestorovo. Okrem poskytovania prístreška a bezplatného stravovania sa Barossovo námestie stalo aj vďaka tejto činnosti informačným uzlom.

Keď počet migrantov narástol, informácie sa museli čoraz rýchlejšie aktualizovať. Počas fázy tranzitnej zóny a predovšetkým počas obdobia ustanovenej neoficiálnosti boli letáky nahradené transparentmi a plagátmi visiacimi po celom námestí.

Fyzický prejav tohto systému zanechal neprijemný dojem. Týmto zásahom sa však podarilo udržať poriadok, lebo oficiálny

komunikačný systém zlyhal. Bolo to priame, spontánne a dočasné, ale dobre prispôbené potrebám migrantov.

Ako sa dá poučiť z prípadu tohto neoficiálneho tranzitného tábora? V lete roku 2015 sa ukázalo, že rozsiahle nevyužitý priestor na Barossovom námestí majú schopnosť uľahčiť život. Ak je daná infraštruktúra; stačí na vytvorenie špecifického priestoru len ľudská činnosť. V tomto prípade sa Barossovo námestie stalo priestorom tábora –, ktoré podľa Constant Nieuwenhuis „je formou, akokoľvek primitívnou, ale mestskou“.

Aktuálna štúdia je zameraná na priestorové aspekty tejto mimoriadnej situácie v mestách, ukazuje vývoj táborov v troch rôznych fázach s rôznymi prostriedkami priestorovej produkcie. V priebehu troch mesiacov bolo možno pozorovať proces formovania ľudskej osady – od spontánnej fázy až po organizovaný systém s rôznorodými priestormi a architektúrou. Prípadová štúdia v Barossovoho námestia ukázala efektívnosť neoficiálnych priamych akcií v tejto núdzovej situácii, lebo mali schopnosť rýchlo sa prispôbiť meniacim sa potrebám. Migranti a dobrovoľnícka aktivita zdola vytvorila alternatívny mestský priestor prinášajúci do existujúceho zastavaného prostredia nové významy a funkciu. Keďže tábor dočasne zmenil pôvodne navrhnutý účel námestia, prípadová štúdia slúži ako praktický príklad teórie slobodného priestoru (loose space) a jej cieľom je rozšíriť existujúce poznatky v oblasti núdzových situácií a prezentovať užitočné objavy pre pochopenie spontánnych, neformálnych priestorových praktík v historickom centre mesta.

Dúfame, že zistenia prezentované v textovej aj vo vizuálnej forme rozšíria vedecké poznanie krátkodobých núdzových táborov. Ďalej je však potrebný výskum s viacerými prípadovými štúdiami, aby bolo možné porovnávať údaje s cieľom lepšieho poznania toho, ako ľudské aktivity priamo vytvárajú priestor.

Introduction

This paper investigates an important chapter of Europe's migration crisis¹ from the summer and early autumn of 2015, when Baross Square in front of Keleti Railway Station in downtown Budapest became the temporary shelter for thousands of people, most of whom were fleeing the civil war in Syria. Though informal, temporary migrant² sites had appeared earlier in other places in Europe, for example in Calais or the island of Kos, the one in Budapest was special for its occurring, among other factors, in the historic centre of a capital city and its operating only for three months.

This research presents a spatial analysis of this extraordinary use of public space. Throughout the study it will be shown that Baross Square operated as a camp space that evolved through direct reactions to the demands of shelter, sanitation, food and information. The findings of the on-site fieldwork present a process of evolution from a spontaneous settlement to an organised complex system of services. Three separate periods will be determined in this process based on the camp's mode of operation. The first one can be labelled as the early unorganized informal period lasting from late June till the beginning of August. The second is called the "Transit Zone" phase, when formal measures were made during August to control the camp. The third one can be identified as the established informality phase, since from the beginning of September until the disappearance of the camp, we find the presence of an informal but highly organized operation. Visualizations of the physical manifestations of these operational modes are presented in this paper.³

Since the camp temporarily changed the originally designed function of the square, this case study serves as a practical example for the theory of loose space⁴ and aims to extend the existing

THE AGORA IN 1985

AGORA V ROKU 1985

Source Zdroj: Indafoto.hu,
by Elke Wetzig, 1985



knowledge to the area of emergency situations and provide useful findings for the understanding of spontaneous, informal spatial practices within a historic city centre.

The Historic Background of Baross Square in Budapest and Its Role in the Migration Crisis in 2015

To be able to clarify the spatial transformations to Baross Square brought about by the migration crisis, one needs to be familiar with its urban position, the original architectural characteristics and the properties of the square's ordinary usage.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Budapest became the hub of a star-shaped Central-European transport infrastructure⁵ as a result of the railway developments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Keleti Railway Station, now the biggest in the city, was built in 1884 at the meeting point of two highroads leading towards the centre of Budapest. The building was also designed as a landmark, occupying the end of a new boulevard: the main west-east axis of the historic urban core between the Danube and the station. As a result, the station's main facade physically opened onto a large new triangular space that functioned as a green public park.⁶

Nevertheless, due to the escalating urbanisation process and the development of public transport and car ownership, the square went through several transformations⁷ that turned it into one of the most important and busiest urban areas in Budapest. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the rapid expansion of tram lines determined the form and usage of the square. Its function gradually changed from a scene of civic society's public life to a place of transit, and the function of transportation became more and more dominant in the everyday usage of the space.⁸ This process continued as well after the Second World War. The construction of Budapest's Metro Line 2, the first modern line, started in 1950, and Baross Square was planned to be one of its main stations. In response to contemporary international urban development trends which prioritised traffic, Baross Square was transformed into a two-storey transport hub, separating vehicles from pedestrians vertically. The upper level was dedicated to car traffic, with the lower level dedicated to pedestrian traffic.

In 2008, the Metro 4 project began, bringing a new reconstruction project to Baross Square. Unlike the 1960s, contemporary designers sought to give pedestrians more space on the street level,⁹ which led to an increase in the intensity of pedestrian usage in front of the station.¹⁰ Since the renewed Baross Square opened in 2014, the multi-forking underpass, which still constitutes the core area, can be characterised as a place of uncertainty and emptiness. Uncertainty is meant here in a functional sense, because after reconstruction, its original function as a transit area became



BAROSS SQUARE IN 2014

BAROSSOVO NÁMESTIE
V ROKU 2014

Source Zdroj: Colas.hu, Retrieved from <http://colas.hu/work/18?subs=colas-alterra&lang=hu>

	DEVELOPMENT VÝVOJ	FUNCTION OF BAROSS SQUARE FUNKCIA BAROSSOVHO NÁMESTIA	NUMBER OF LEVELS POČET ÚROVNÍ
1880s osemdesiate roky 19. storočia	building of Keleti Railway Station výstavba železničnej stanice Keleti	public park, representation verejný park, reprezentácia	one jedna
1920s dvadsiate roky 20. storočia	building of several tram lines výstavba viacerých električkových trás	transport hub dopravný uzol	one jedna
1960s šesťdesiate roky 20. storočia	construction of Metro Line 2 stavba druhej trasy metra	transport hub dopravný uzol	two, pedestrian traffic at lower level dve, pešia doprava na spodnej úrovni
2010s desiate roky 21. storočia	construction of Metro Line 4 stavba štvrtej trasy metra	transport hub, unused agora dopravný uzol, nevyužitá agora	two, pedestrian traffic mainly at upper level dve, pešia doprava predovšetkým na vrchnej úrovni

HISTORY OF BAROSS SQUARE

DEJINY BAROSSOVHO NÁMESTIA

less important. Nevertheless, the underpass was not removed, but was given a contemporary look. Though there are some newly built retail spaces around the agora, they have no functional connection to it, since they are open to the covered side of the underpass, where the pedestrian flow has been directed.¹¹ The lack of street furniture and the absence of any activities strongly indicate that there is no official intention to give new meaning to the agora. Although refurbished as a transition passage, it remains devoid of passers-by. This phenomenon raises uncertainty about the role of the agora.¹²

This resulting uncertainty has a strong bearing on its other characteristic, i.e. emptiness. No new users have been attracted, and no one knows what that space can be used for. As a result, no one uses it. Finally, it has created, in the middle of the most crowded transportation hub of Budapest, a completely new square which in itself has become an empty leftover space. Meanwhile, the street level usage and physical appearance have changed altogether, with a true public space re-created in front of the station building. Such was the situation until the summer of 2015, when the square became a temporary shelter for a three-month period for thousands of migrants in transition between South-Eastern and Western Europe.¹³ The enduring civil war in Syria was the largest impetus behind the migration wave of 2015. Violence in Afghanistan and Iraq, however, also compelled tens of thousands to leave their homes. Migrants travelling by land toward Western Europe via the so-called Western Balkan Route¹⁴ were forced to pass through Hungary after Macedonia and Serbia. According to Frontex reports,¹⁵ this route became popular, since it was quicker, more economical and less dangerous than the route by boat through the Mediterranean. Crossing the Serbian-Hungarian border was the last obstacle before entering the Schengen Zone. Still, without valid visas, it could only be done illegally. When groups of migrants were caught (usually at the green border by the authorities), they had the opportunity to apply for asylum. The applicants' data were registered first as part of the admissibility procedure, which in theory takes a maximum of 30 days.¹⁶ Meanwhile, the applicant has the right to stay at one of the open refugee centres. After the asylum seekers were out of sight of the authorities, many of them continued their trek toward Germany. Others checked in at one of the open refugee centres in order to receive some sort of legal status. Both those who wished to leave for Austria as soon as possible and those who decided to go to the open refugee centres had to travel across Budapest first, on account of Hungary's centralised transportation system as mentioned earlier. Since international trains arrive and depart from

INTENSITY AND DIRECTIONS OF PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC AT BAROSS SQUARE.

(1) BUILDING OF KELETI RAILWAY STATION.

(2) ENTRANCE TO METRO LINE 4.

(3) ENTRANCE TO METRO LINE 2.

(4) ENTRANCE TO METRO LINE 2 AND 4.

(5) PEDESTRIAN BRIDGE ABOVE THE AGORA.

(6) SHOPS AT THE UNDERPASS

INTENZITA A SMERY PEŠEJ PREMÁVKY NA BAROSSOVOM NÁMESTÍ,

(1) BUDOVA ŽELEZNIČNEJ STANICE KELETI,

(2) VSTUP NA STANICU METRA LINKY ČÍSLO 4,

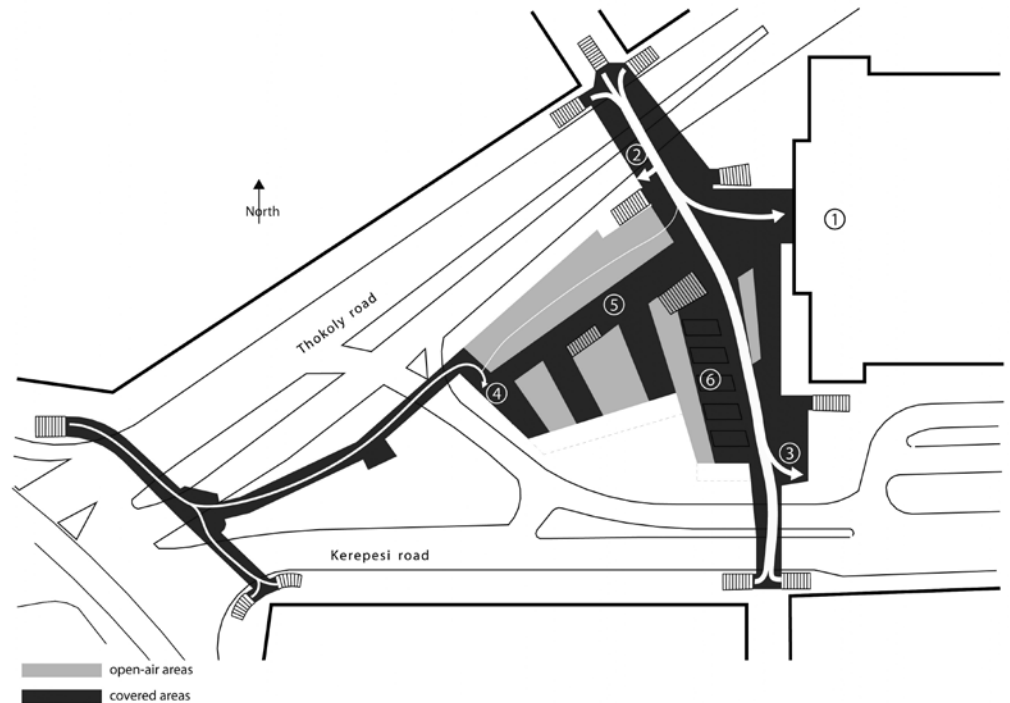
(3) VSTUP NA STANICU METRA LINKY ČÍSLO 2,

(4) VSTUP NA LINKU METRA ČÍSLO 2 A 4,

(5) MOST PRE CHODCOV NAD AGOROU,

(6) OBCHODY V PODJAZDE

Authors Autori: Gergely Hory, Melinda Benkó, 2015



Keleti, the area around the station, especially Baross Square, suddenly turned into a crowded transit hub for migrants. Some waited here to join with family members they had lost during the journey, or for a money transfer from a relative, or an opportunity to continue travelling. Consequently, most of the 108,085 people, who registered as asylum-seekers between July and September 2015¹⁷ spent a period, longer or shorter, at Baross Square. According to an on-site report, each family spent an average of 3 – 5 days at Baross Square.¹⁸ Simultaneously, hundreds of people used the underpass as temporary accommodation, most for a matter of days. The normally empty agora at Baross Square quickly became filled with people who used the space in the historic urban core as a temporary shelter.

Theoretical Background: The Camp as the Product of Loose Space

This research makes use of the international literature on space production by the use, appropriation and détournement of the physical environment, and the tension between formal and informal evolution of space, camp space¹⁹ and loose space.²⁰ Regarding Hailey's classification of camps, the spatial phenomenon at Baross Square can be identified as a camp of necessity. Within this category, there are multiple sub-types which apply more or less to Baross Square. Since most of the people who stayed at the square had previously fled their countries due to fear of persecution, the camp could be considered a refugee camp.²¹ However, for the people at Baross Square, the area was only a stop on their way towards their final destination, where they intended to seek refuge. Considering this, the category of Transit Facility Camp is more suitable. A Transit Facility Camp is part of a network of several camps that coordinates the movement of migrants to transitional settlements.²² The camp provides basic services and an opportunity to sleep overnight. In some cases, transit camps become more established when migrants cannot travel forward, since external reasons force them to stay for a longer period. Nonetheless, this category only applies to Baross Square in the Transit Zone phase, since it was a self-settled camp without any external coordination or formal service provision during the spontaneous period. The designation of the Transit Zone area's border only enhanced the informality already present; thus Baross Square bears some properties of a range of camp types without fitting perfectly into any one category. What makes this case special is the location and its informal operation. The camp space was produced spontaneously in Budapest's historic city centre by migrants and maintained through volunteers' bottom-up activities. With the designation of the Transit Zone area, some formal borders were designated, still, these were already

established informally. Although the formal system's infrastructure and facilities became available, processes and services were still handled by an informal organisation of volunteers, just as in the spontaneous period. When the capacity of the formal infrastructure reached its limits, informality still prevailed and became even more organised.

Besides its categorisation as a camp, the analysis also considers space as a product of everyday activities and social relations. In this sense, space is regarded as a dynamic, ever-changing phenomenon, an assemblage of relations.²³ Michel de Certeau writes²⁴ about space as a process that has temporality. In this sense, space is not a static volume, but more related to events that take place in time. The creative potential of use in the formation of the built environment has a wide literature in architectural theory²⁵ and other disciplines, such as the history of art and design, or philosophy. The formation of architectural space through acts is studied by Jonathan Hill in his work *Occupying Architecture*: "The architect and the user both produce architecture – the former by design, the latter by use."²⁶ The notion that architecture can be produced by use is dealt with in detail in Hill's other works as well. In *Actions of Architecture*²⁷, the term "creative user" is introduced for those who either create new space or produce new meanings for an existing environment. and five modes of creativity (mental, bodily, physical, constructional and conceptual) are defined. With a quite similar approach, Jeremy Till and his co-authors of *Spatial Agency*²⁸ work out a perspective of doing architecture by relying mainly on human activities and a wide range of social aspects. *Everyday Urbanism*²⁹ is another widely cited source about small scale, direct human activities that can change the built environment and produce new spaces. Uta Brandes' work³⁰ shows similarities to this concept in the field of product design: she regards the non-intentional use of objects as a form of design that brings about metamorphosis of things. The book *Disobedient Objects*³¹ also deals with the re-appropriation of everyday objects by human acts in the case of protests and other radical urban situations, revealing how people with their versatile aims and motivations alter well-established meanings of the physical surroundings. In the field of architecture, the creative potential of the human use of the built environment came forward especially from the 1960s, for example in the theoretical and practical works of John Habraken³², Herman Hertzberger³³ or Lars Lerup.³⁴ Almost all the concepts emphasizing the role of human activities in the formation of space rely on the thoughts of Henri Lefebvre discussed in *The Production of Space*, is the work regarded by Adrian Forty³⁵ as the most complex and comprehensive critique on space. According to Lefebvre, space is a social product that is continuously produced by the members of society through their everyday activities, thoughts and lived experiences.³⁶ He identifies various modes of production: *domination*, *appropriation*, *co-optation* and *détournement*³⁷, which also formed a central notion of the *Situationist International*. In addition to these concepts, the work of Karen A. Frank and Quentin Stevens³⁸ in the field of urban space theory is of great importance. They focus on the creative space-producing potential of human behavior in their exploration of the phenomenon of *loose space*. In their research, they study the spatial circumstances and situations that induce and encourage the appearance of looseness, distinguishing areas that are intentionally created to allow a variety of unplanned activities to happen (like streets, sidewalks, parks and plazas) from those that have no planned functionality (like places under bridges and highways) or cases where the intended primary function is lost (abandoned warehouses or unused piers, for instance). From this aspect, the latter category suits Baross Square the most. The agora can be seen as a leftover space after the reconstruction in 2014. Leftover spaces are usually not easily accessible and not maintained, kept out of the sight of everyday city-users. What makes Baross Square special is that, despite being an empty and unused space, here the situation is exactly the opposite. In this case, the square's transformation into a camp space is the product of "loosening", which can occur as a result of activities that are either necessary or optional.³⁹ At Baross Square, the camp space was produced through the necessity of migrants for shelter.

One must look beyond the spatial characteristics of a camp in general in order to study the more peculiar properties inherent in a loose situation within an urban environment. The camp and the idea of loose space have many features in common. Commonalities can be recognised if loose space is viewed as a product of human activities and interconnections.⁴⁰ Literature on the spatiality of camps, especially refugee and detention camps, usually relates its findings to the work of Giorgio Agamben, who describes the camp as a space of exception, where people are excluded from the rest of the population, stripped of political rights, and where their life is reduced to "bare life".⁴¹ Other scholars have criticised this notion, arguing that the constitution and inner operation of a camp is a complex phenomenon that cannot be understood by reducing it to a group of people excluded

from political rights.⁴² Adam Ramadan presents a theory of camp space, emphasising the interrelations of the many actors that constitute the camp. He notes that camp space is the product of people's practices and relations including individuals, families, institutions and organisations,⁴³ an idea rooted in Doeren Massey's conceptualisation of space as "a product of interrelations".⁴⁴ According to Massey, space is constituted by identities/entities, the relation between them and the spatiality that is part of them. This view bears similarities with the concept of loose space constructed by people and their practices, which together constitute space. Moreover, the concept of loose space is closely connected to urban areas.⁴⁵ Hence, in the case of a spontaneous urban camp, these theories provide background for practical analysis.

Methodology

The starting point for this study is the recognition that Baross Square operated as a camp space during the third quarter of 2015. In this instance, the camp took shape on an existing urban environment that was redefined; indeed, its usage was temporarily transformed by the existence of the camp itself. Data was collected via regular fieldwork during the existence of the camp. The authors spent two hours during the day and another two hours in the evening in average at Baross Square every day from 26 July till 15 September. During these site visits, the areas occupied by groups of migrants were observed. From the middle of August, when the activity of volunteers intensified, the authors themselves took part in their work for a few days. This direct participation in the operation of the camp and the regular checking of news in local and international media both helped the mapping of the camp's evolution. The on-site observations were documented in the form of notes and photographs. In order to gain additional knowledge about the operation of the camp, semi-formal interviews were made with two leading volunteers of Migration Aid, the bottom-up organization that helped the operation of the camp from the beginning of the crisis. Personal reports of further volunteers published on the closed Facebook group of Migration Aid were also important sources in the exploration of the camp's everyday operation. With these tools, the changing positions of people, interventions and events could be tracked. Three main formations could be identified during the three-month-long period, which are visualized in figures on pages 135, 137 and 138. The characteristics of these phases are negotiated in the next chapter.

The activities at Baross square produced new spaces and altered the existing one, thus to investigate the formation of the camp, it is necessary to focus on the main activities and their motivations on while processing data. Migrants who arrived at Keleti Railway Station were in need of shelter, sanitation, food and information. In addition to these needs, it turned out that their social and political activities also played an important role in the formation of the camp space. In consequence, during the analysis of the camp through the three phases, these factors will be granted still further emphasis.

Defining the Three Phases of the Camp

Regarding space usage and the evolutionary process of the camp, it is possible to identify three subsequent phases over the three-month period.⁴⁶ The first, from late June till the beginning of August, can be labelled as the "early spontaneous camp" period. This was the first time when crowds of migrants arrived at the station and sought temporary accommodations at Baross Square, spontaneously occupying areas of the underpass that seemed to provide protection. During this period, no authorities made any formal efforts to provide dignified conditions for the masses spending their nights in the public space. Meanwhile, local residents, exasperated by the government's ignorance of the miserable conditions for people in the square, started to organize humanitarian activities such as distributing food and other donations, leading to the formation of Migration Aid. Since the number of migrants kept increasing, the city leadership realised that they had to deal somehow with the situation. During this period, approximately two or three hundred people stayed daily on the square looking for shelter, food, sanitation and information⁴⁷.

The second phase began on 8 August, when the formal Transit Zone was opened at Baross Square. Toilets, showers and a mobile well for washing became available for migrants. An area in the agora was designated where asylum-seekers were supposed to stay until they could continue their journey to any of the open refugee centres. In the following days, two other Transit Zones opened in Budapest's Nyugati and Déli Railway Stations. A bus line named "Transit Line" was provided by the Centre for Budapest Transport to shuttle asylum-seekers from the point of their

NEEDS INDUCING SPACE PRODUCTION

 POTREBY OBSAHUJÚCE PRODUKCIU
 PRIESTORU

PERIODS OF SPATIAL EVOLUTION

OBDOBIA PRIESTOROVÉHO VÝVOJA

	early spontaneous period rané spontánne obdobie	Transit Zone period obdobie Tranzitej zóny	established informality ustanovená neoficiálnosť
Shelter Prístrešok	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • suitable areas at underpass occupied • blankets and cardboards placed onto the ground • mobile toilet rented by volunteers • obsadenie vhodných oblastí podchodu – dekami a kartónmi vystlaná dlažba • mobilné toalety prenajaté dobrovoľníkmi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • officially designated space • infrastructure adapted to needs: shower, toilets, mobile well • donations adapt to needs: mattresses replace blankets • infraštruktúra upravená podľa potrieb: sprcha, toalety, mobilná studnička • dary prispôsobené podľa potrieb: • matrace vystriedali deky	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tents provided by volunteers • tents where hygienic tools are available • stany poskytnuté dobrovoľníkmi • stany s dostupnými hygienickými pomôckami
Food Potrava	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • normal services of the city • volunteer group distribute free food at random locations • bežná ponuka mesta • na vybraných miestach distribuovala skupina dobrovoľníkov zadarmo potraviny	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • volunteer group distribute free food at permanent location • storage space provided by authorities • na stálom mieste distribuovala skupina dobrovoľníkov zadarmo potraviny • priestory skladov poskytli úrady	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • pavilion for non-stop food supply provided by volunteers • stánok s nepretržitým výdajom jedla prevádzkovaný dobrovoľníkmi
Information Informácie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • leaflets distributed by volunteers • smart phones • phone charging at random locations • letáky distribuované dobrovoľníkmi • smartfón • nabíjanie telefónov na náhodných lokalitách	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • leaflets distributed by volunteers • smart phones • phone charging at permanent location • letáky distribuované dobrovoľníkmi • smartfón • nabíjanie telefónov na stálych lokalitách	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • alternative signal system on vertical surfaces by volunteers • tent for mobile charging and free wifi provided by NGOs • alternatívny navigačný systém na vertikálnych povrchoch pripravený dobrovoľníkmi • stan na nabíjanie mobilov s free wifi prevádzkovaný občianskymi združeniami

REACTIONS TO BASIC NEEDS DURING THE THREE PERIODS OF THE CAMP

 REAKCIE NA ZÁKLADNÉ POTREBY
 POČAS TROCH OBDOBÍ EXISTENCIE
 TÁBORA

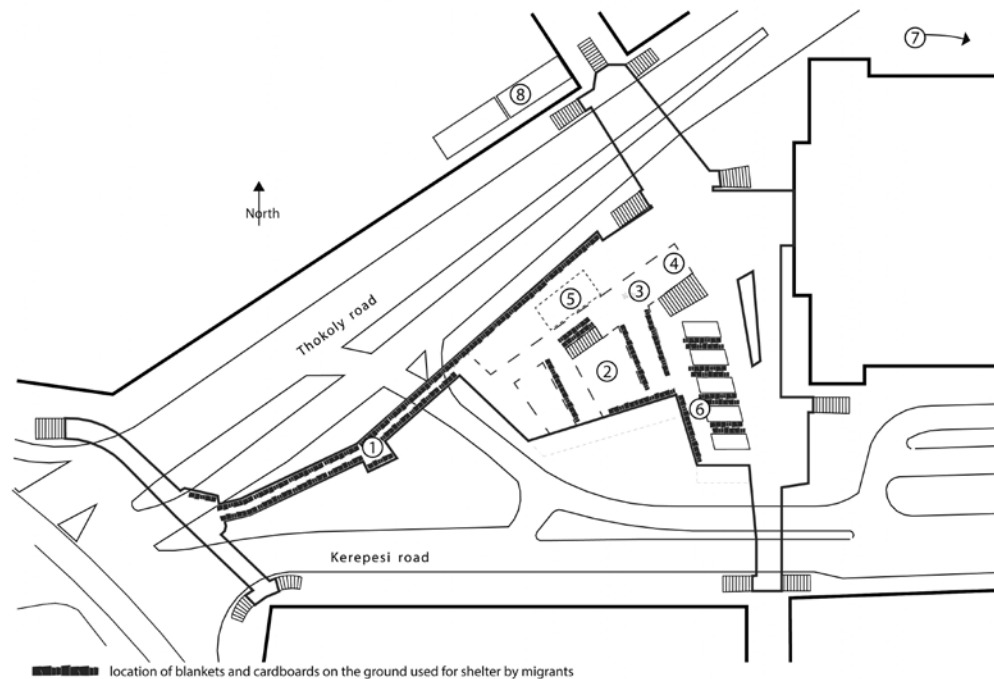
arrival in Budapest to the station, from where they could reach one of the open refugee camps. As a result, an urban network of camps situated in the city centre – the biggest at Baross Square – was formally organized and aimed at separating the population of the city from that of the camps. We shall label this phase “attempts at formal control” or the “Transit Zone” period.

By the beginning of September, the open refugee camps became completely overcrowded, and it turned out that the size and capacity of the official Transit Zones were inadequate to supply basic needs. By this time, membership in the self-organised Migration Aid had increased significantly, and other civil organisations also offered their help. The informal humanitarian activity evolved into a system that adapted dynamically to the needs of the square’s population. We shall refer to this third phase as the “established informality” period. The daily number of migrants at the square at this time, according to volunteers, reached two thousand. For an explanation of the sudden growth of migrants’ numbers, reasons can be found in national and international politics: on 24 August, Germany declared that all asylum-seekers from Syria welcome to remain in Germany regardless of which European country they entered first.⁴⁸ At the end of July, the Hungarian Defence Forces started the construction process of a permanent fence at the Serbian-Hungarian border which was completed by 14 September. These measures encouraged many migrants to start their journey to Germany as soon as possible, before the fence was built. In other words, political decisions at the highest levels did affect directly the situation at Baross Square, while at the same time events at the square affected European politics as well, since from the beginning of September it came under international media attention.⁴⁹

THE CAMP IN THE EARLY SPONTANEOUS PERIOD.
 (1) A COVERED UNDERPASS USED AS SHELTER.
 (2) THE OPEN-AIR AGORA.
 (3) VOLUNTEERS DISTRIBUTING INFORMATION SHEETS
 (4) VOLUNTEERS DISTRIBUTING FREE FOOD FOR MIGRANTS.
 (5) FOOTBALL PITCH.
 (6) SPACES BETWEEN EMPTY SHOPS ARE INHABITED.
 (7) LOCATION OF A MOBILE TOILET RENTED BY VOLUNTEERS.
 (8) FAST FOOD RESTAURANTS

TÁBOR V RANOM, SPONTÁNNOM OBDOBÍ,
 (1) KRYTÝ PODJAZD POUŽÍVANÝ AKO PRÍSTREŠOK,
 (2) OPEN-AIR AGORA.
 (3) DOBROVOLNÍCI DISTRIBUJÚ INFORMAČNÉ LETÁKY
 (4) DOBROVOLNÍCI DISTRIBUJÚ BEZPLATNÉ POTRAVINY PRE MIGRANTOV,
 (5) FUTBALOVÉ IHRISKO
 (6) PRIESTOR MEDZI PRÁZDNYMI OBCHODMI JE OBYVANÝ,
 (7) UMIESTNENIE MOBILNEJ TOALETY PRENAJATEJ DOBROVOLNÍKMI,
 (8) REŠTAURÁCIE RÝCHLEHO OBČERSTVENIA

Authors Autori: Gergely Hory,
 Melinda Benkő, 2015



Loose Space in Practice, Adaptation to Needs

Shelter was the primary need for the people who occupied Baross Square, and the formation of shelter space was the fundamental activity that determined the development and spatial manifestation of the camp. The locations and other spatial characteristics of humanitarian services and social activities, which appeared as reactions to the migrants' ongoing presence in the square, were all affected by aspects of the area's function as shelter. Thus, to study the spatial organisation and evolution of the camp, the process of creating shelter should be investigated first. Afterwards, we shall deal with the spatial aspects of resulting services such as sanitation, food and information supply, as well as social activities.

Formation of Shelter at Baross Square The Early Spontaneous Period

In the following section, we shall detail how and where migrants found shelter in Baross Square.

The map,³⁰ based upon on-site observations, shows the areas that were used as temporary sleeping sites in the first weeks of July. In this early period, covered areas with two side walls were occupied, typically the square's corridors and the spaces between empty shops. For the most part, the temporarily inhabited areas were not heavily frequented by pedestrians. Relatively speaking, the built setting and the rarity of regular usage seemed to provide the highest extent of protection. A single unit of accommodation for a group travelling together (a family or a group of young men) consisted of one or two blankets (or, in the absence of that, a piece of cardboard) laid on the floor just next to the wall. According to R. M. Schindler,³¹ the basic requirements for a camper's shelter are "a protected back, an open front, a fireplace and a roof", thus it is no surprise that the areas that provided these features in Baross Square were sought after by migrants. Elements in the environment with flat surfaces – including those that were intended to control behaviour, such as railings and security cordons – offered a possibility for storing belongings and drying wet clothes.³² Such advantages, as perceived by migrants in need of shelter, endowed these pre-existing features with looseness.³³

By the second half of July, the corridor spaces had become overcrowded. Due to the high density of people and the lack of proper ventilation during a very hot summer, the adjacent agora space began to be inhabited instead. The walking bridge and cantilevers could still provide a "roof", and the poles and sidewalls served as a protected back. The camp became exposed to higher visibility due to the central location of the agora; however, this part of the square was least affected by



**INHABITING THE UNDERPASS
SPONTANEOUSLY**

SPONTÁNNÉ OBÝVANIE PODCHODU

Photo Foto: Gergely Hory,
Melinda Benkó, 2015



SLEEPING IN THE TRANSIT ZONE

SPÁNOK V TRANZITNEJ ZÓNE

Photo Foto: Gergely Hory,
Melinda Benkó, 2015

pedestrian flow. In this period, a spontaneous occupation of Baross Square took place without any external intervention or coordination. The unmarked territory commandeered for shelter gradually shifted from the covered underpasses to the open agora space. A zone was found where, thanks to the absence of any regular usage, the activity of camping could take place.

The Transit Zone Period (Signs of Formalisation)

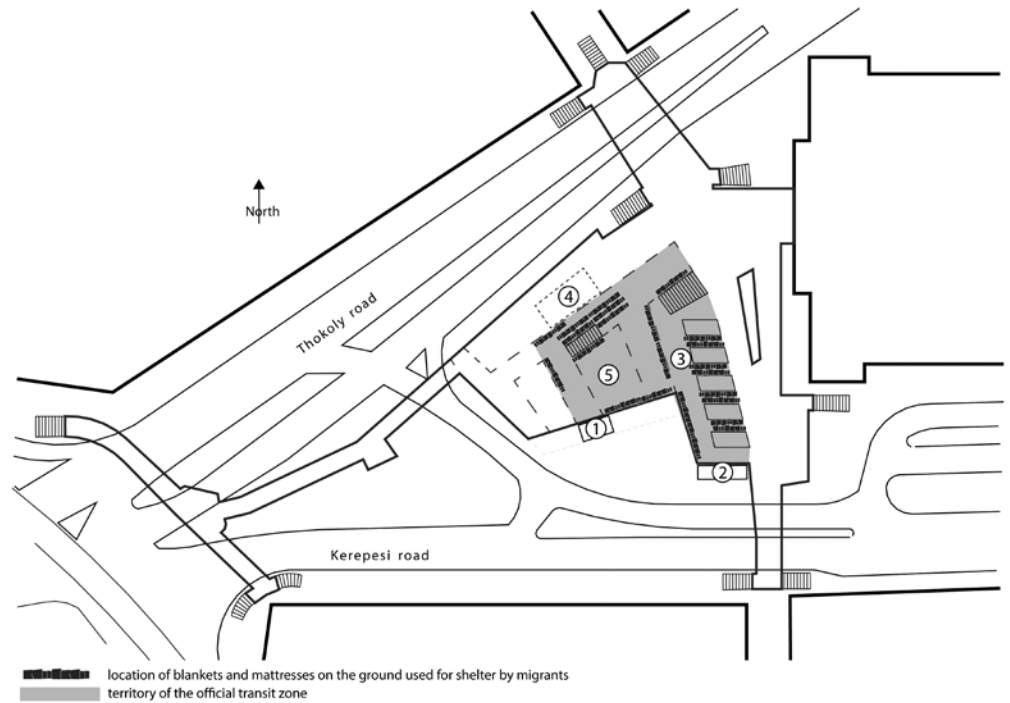
The map shows the area of the officially designated Transit Zone, which was opened in Baross Square on 8 August 2015.⁵⁴ Territory that had already been occupied informally was now incorporated into a formal system. The area between the pedestrian bridge and the southern side of the agora was now marked with Transit Zone signs, which introduced an element of control into the usage of the space. The Transit Zone was not closed; anyone could walk in and out at any time. Still, a definite border was established, demarcating the “migrant space” created with the aim of strictly segregating migrants from the everyday residents of Budapest.⁵⁵ As communicated by the

THE TRANSIT ZONE PERIOD.

- (1) STORAGE SPACE OF MIGRATION AID.
- (2) TOILETS, SHOWERS, BABY CHANGING STATIONS.
- (3) MOBILE WELL.
- (4) FOOTBALL PITCH

- OBDOBIE TRANZITNEJ ZÓNY,
- (1) ÚLOŽNÝ PRIESTOR MIGRAČNEJ POMOCI,
- (2) TOALETY, SPRCHY, PRIESTORY NA PREBALOVANIE DEŤÍ,
- (3) MOBILNÉ STUDNIČKY,
- (4) FUTBALOVÉ IHRISKO

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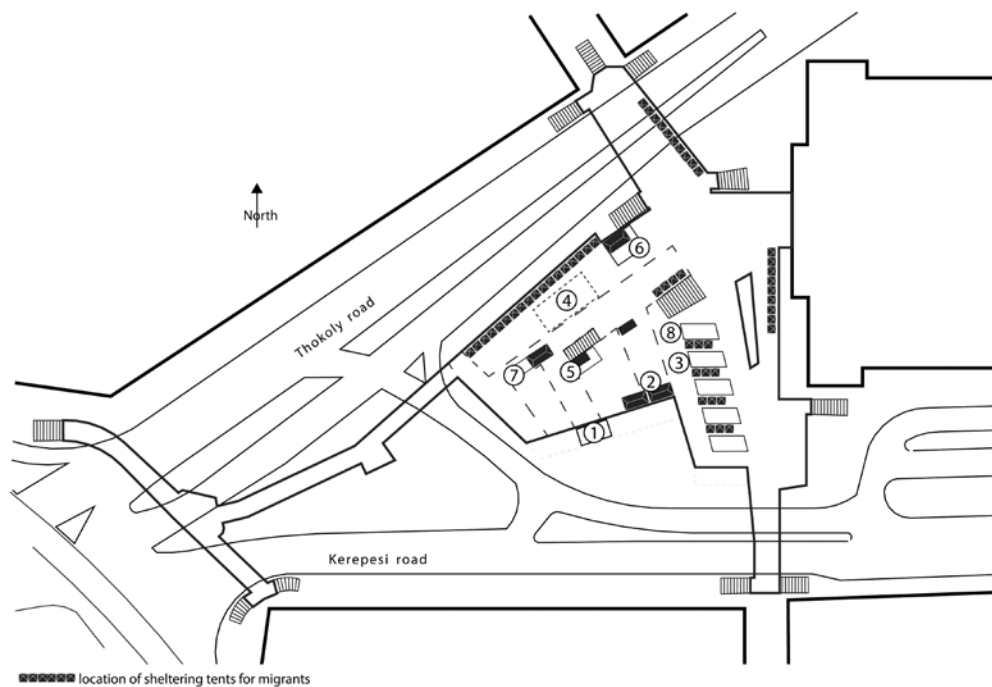


city leadership: “Transit Zones were made to provide migrants with the basic necessities in order to be able to continue their travel and leave the city as soon as possible. (...) The Zones are intended to protect residents of Budapest from anarchic conditions.”⁵⁶

Migration Aid was provided with a storage space inside the Transit Zone, where donations of goods could be processed and distributed. Before that, activists turned up randomly at the square with bags full of donations. The opening of the Transit Zone – together with its infrastructure, which was made available – contributed to an improvement in the bottom-up organisation of local volunteers. Granting them space, which can also be regarded as a form of shelter, made it possible to coordinate humanitarian activities more effectively. Moreover, the volunteers maintaining a permanent presence at the square could react more quickly to the changing needs of migrants. The results of this improved informal humanitarian activity were visible in the changing physical elements that constituted temporary living units. Blankets and cardboards were replaced by polyfoam, mattresses, carpets, baby beds and sleeping bags, all of which began to carpet the Transit Zone area. While the process of providing shelter had already existed informally, formal interventions during the Transit Zone period provided a definite infrastructure. While this second period ushered in the formal Transit Zone at Baross Square, complete with physical frontiers, the spatial organisation conformed to the first phase of informal space-making. In addition, authorities provided special infrastructure to serve basic needs; yet this also served to exclude migrants from the everyday urban realm.

The Period of Established Informality (Post-Formal)

As the number of migrants staying in Baross Square continued to grow, the capacity of the official Transit Zone reached its limit by the beginning of September. By then, temperatures at night fell significantly in comparison to the summer months. Because of the cold night-time weather, mattresses and blankets under covered areas were not enough to provide shelter anymore. Tents appeared as new elements, and with their use the camp took another step toward creating its own built environment.⁵⁷ Tents were mainly supplied by donors, so unlike the blankets brought by the migrants themselves, the tents became permanent elements of the camp. They were placed⁵⁸ at points previously occupied in a spontaneous manner for sleeping, yet now, by contrast, the designation of the shelter units was coordinated by Migration Aid. The area of the camp exceeded the official boundaries of the Transit Zone. Its spatial territory included almost the entirety of Baross Square, similar to the early spontaneous period. The difference, though, is that the camp evolved into an organised informal system without clear, definite borders. Under this system, separate



THE ESTABLISHED INFORMAL PERIOD.
 (1) STORAGE SPACE OF MIGRATION AID.
 (2) TENTS WHERE FREE HYGIENIC PRODUCTS ARE AVAILABLE.
 (3) MOBILE WELL.
 (4) FOOTBALL PITCH.
 (5) AND (7) TENTS WHERE FREE CLOTHES ARE DISTRIBUTED.
 (6) FREE WIFI AND PHONE CHARGING ZONE.
 (8) DAY-CARE FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN.
 (9) PAVILION WHERE FREE FOOD IS AVAILABLE

USTANOVENÉ NEFORMÁLNE OBDOBIE,
 (1) ÚLOŽNÝ PRIESTOR MIGRAČNEJ POMOCI,
 (2) STANY, V KTORÝCH SÚ K DISPOZÍCII VOLNÉ HYGIENICKÉ VÝROBKY,
 (3) MOBILNÉ STUDNIČKY,
 (4) FUTBALOVÉ IHRISKO,
 (5) A (7) STANY, KDE SA DISTRIBUOVALO BEZPLATNÉ OBLEČENIE,
 (6) BEZPLATNÉ WIFI A NABÍJACIE ZÓNY NA TELEFÓNY,
 (8) DENNÁ STAROSTLIVOSŤ O DETI MIGRANTOV,
 (9) PAVILÓN, KDE JE K DISPOZÍCII BEZPLATNÉ JEDLO

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 Melinda Benkő, 2015



A TENT CAMP APPEARED AS THE TEMPERATURE DROPPED

KEĎ KLESLA TEPLOTA, OBJAVIL SA STANOVÝ TÁBOR

Photo Foto: Gergely Hory,
 Melinda Benkő, 2015

functions received their own space. In addition to accommodation areas, tents were erected where medical support and basic hygienic supplies were available. At other locations, clothes and further necessities were provided. Moreover, areas also appeared for various social activities, which we shall investigate in greater detail.

Throughout that three-month period, Baross Square underwent a visible transformation: from an underpass where groups of exhausted people desperately tried to find shelter, into a formally organized and controlled camp where accommodation and numerous services became available.⁹⁹ Nonetheless, due to the failure of the formal infrastructure to react to the rapidly growing number of migrants, more adaptive methods of informal space usage again became dominant. Over the course of this three-month-long process, the formation of shelter changed from a spontaneous act on the part of migrants into a semi-formal service of the camp at Baross Square.

Spatiality of Humanitarian Services and Social Activities at the Camp Sanitation

The issue of sanitation is closely connected to the need for shelter, since the function of protection cannot be sustained without the provision of basic hygienic conditions. During the early period of the camp at Baross Square, migrants could still use the city's facilities for their needs. They had the same options as any user of that area: lavatories at the station or at nearby fast food restaurants. As the flow of migrants increased, some fast food restaurants forbid them from using their lavatories. In July, a mobile toilet unit was placed next to the station, rented and maintained by local volunteers. Intended to provide migrants with this basic facility for free, the toilet unit was one of the first informal measures to provide service and space especially for migrants. With the opening of the Transit Zone at Baross Square, the city authorities provided infrastructure to fulfil basic sanitary requirements: toilets, showers and baby-changing stations were opened in the premises of the underpass. Capacity was increased through the use of mobile toilets as well. At the same time, some volunteers regularly offered bathrooms in their homes for migrants. These reactions to sanitary issues reflect the process of "migrant space" formation very well. Facilities were made available only for them, while also excluding them from the city's normal services.

Food

The city's ordinary available services were adequate to supply the necessary food. However, this interaction came with conflicts in some cases. There were shop-owners who refused to serve migrants for fear of scaring off local customers. One of the earliest services provided by local volunteers Migration Aid at Baross Square was the daily free food distribution, which took place next to the stairway leading to the agora. The length of queues every afternoon showed that there was a demand for it.

In the Transit Zone period, an empty lot inside Baross Square was provided for Migration Aid volunteers. This storage space became the site where donations arrived before being processed and distributed. As a result, a fixed location was designated for food distribution, as a basic service of the camp, and the chain of donations became more concentrated. As the number of migrants at Baross Square increased, so did the presence of various civil organizations and other volunteers. And, as the donations required extra space, pavilions were built at the southern part of the agora where fruits and other foodstuffs were available through the day. There were separate tents for clothes and others goods, where shoes were available. The whole agora acquired the atmosphere of a market.

Through the development of the food distribution service, the camp began to assume its unique shape. While in the beginning migrants relied on the city's average services as volunteer humanitarian activity intensified, the camp's own system of food supply underwent various changes. There was a veritable evolution in the space for food supply, constantly adapting to the changing needs.

Information

For people travelling through several countries, valid and up-to-date information was at least as important as food; still, it was much harder to obtain.⁶⁰ A lack of information about geography, means of transport and legal rights made people vulnerable to smugglers. Providing proper information for people on the move was declared as a basic aim of Migration Aid. During the early period of the camp, activists edited and distributed info sheets in seven languages to help orient migrants both legally and spatially. In addition to providing shelter and free food, Baross Square also became an information hub as a result of this activity.

As the number of migrants grew, information needed to be updated with increasing frequency. During the Transit Zone period and especially the established informality period, individual leaflets were replaced by transparencies and posters hung all around the square. The poles of the pedestrian bridge and other vertical surfaces served as adequate bulletin boards where information was shared. At the underpass and also at the station, an alternative system of signs was developed to aid in the orientation of camp users, using both hand-written cardboard sheets and live verbal information.⁶¹ Though the physical manifestation of this system left a messy impression, this intervention nevertheless managed to provide order, because the formal signage system failed to communicate with migrants. The system was direct, spontaneous and temporary, yet well adapted to the needs of migrants. Through these informal bulletins, the camp developed an alternative information



VOLUNTEERS USED LOUDSPEAKERS AND HANDWRITTEN INFORMATION SHEETS AT THE PLATFORMS TO HELP THE ORIENTATION OF MIGRANTS. THE PICTURE DEPICTS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL SIGNAL SYSTEM

DOBROVOLNÍCI POUŽÍVALI REPRODUKTORY A RUČNE PÍSANÉ INFORMAČNÉ LISTY NA NÁSTUPIŠTIACH, ABY POMOHLI ORIENTÁCII MIGRANTOV. NA OBRÁZKU JE ZNÁZORNENÝ ROZDIEL MEDZI OFICIÁLNYM A NEOFICIÁLNYM SIGNÁLOVÝM SYSTÉMOM

Photo Foto: Gergely Hory, Melinda Benkő, 2015

ecology, which represented a new temporary layer on the existing urban ecosystem available for migrants – and equally, a significant defining element of the camp space.

In addition to the volunteers and the information system they established, smart phones turned out to be the most important source of information. Attracting many migrants were the areas around Keleti Railway Station equipped with free wireless internet connection and plugs, where devices could be charged. In fact, these were fast food restaurants and other stores near the station. In the Transit Zone period, the storage space provided for Migration Aid also functioned as a free mobile phone charging spot, where up to thirty devices could be charged at the same time. Those who took advantage of this service were given a number with which the phone could be identified and thus returned to its rightful owner once charging was complete. In this way, mobile charging developed into an organised service. As the number of migrants grew significantly in September, the capacity of Migration Aid’s storage space reached its limit. As a result, in the established informality period, NGOs built a tent at the northern part of the agora, where mobile phones were charged, and a wireless network called “refugee wifi” was made available. The pavilion was equipped with benches and pillows to provide a comfortable waiting area. Development of the mobile phone charging service provides an example of how an activity to fulfil a need – in this case, the need for information – is capable of producing its own physical space.⁶²

Social and Political Life in the Camp

In addition to the previously outlined functions, other services and social activities were also present in the area, which further extended the spatial complexity of the camp. Beginning in the Transit Zone period, when volunteer activity increased, the volunteers started to provide day-care service for migrant children. This service did not have a permanent location; however, in the established informality period, the area next to the stairway to the agora was usually an active day-care centre. Also in the agora, there appeared a barbershop, where migrants could have a haircut for free. Sport activity was present, even in the early spontaneous period. The underused pedestrian passage at the northern part of the agora was often transformed into a soccer pitch by young migrants, who simply marked the goals with plastic bottles. Throughout the three-month period, that area often served as a playing field for various sports.⁶³ All of these instances show the temporal qualities of space, and how the existence of specific spaces depends upon the performance of the activities that produce them.⁶⁴ The open space in the pit, the agora, became the centre of social life, a public space



EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE CAMP
KAŽDODENNÝ ŽIVOT V TÁBORE

Photo Foto: Gergely Hory,
Melinda Benkó, 2015

with opportunities for encounters and exchange. Instead of helping pedestrians move from one point to another (its original function), Baross Square became a place to stay.

In September, due to government interventions, the station was closed, and migrants could not travel to Austria. As a result, the population in the overcrowded square began to demonstrate demanding the opening of the station. Areas in the agora that had previously served as sites for sport and other activities became forums for political expression. The geometry of the agora made it possible for crowds to gather and make their voices heard. Consequently, Baross Square received unprecedented international media attention. As a result, Austrian volunteers started to organize caravans to transport stranded migrants to Austria. This demonstrative act was different from other functions of the camp, and not only because of its political content. In the Transit Zone period and the subsequent phase of established informality, the camp space was organized by volunteers and humanitarian NGOs. Even the function of shelter – which, in the spontaneous period, was the collective work of migrants – became a service provided by activists. By contrast, the demonstrations in the beginning of September were the product of the efforts of migrants themselves, who organized within their group, performed an activity and loosened space once more.⁶⁵ From people reduced to bare necessities⁶⁶, they became active agents of the camp.⁶⁷

Once the fortification of the Serbian border in Hungary was complete in mid-September, no more migrants arrived to Budapest. The camp in Baross Square suddenly disappeared, and the agora resumed its former nature as an empty urban no-man's-land.

Conclusion

What can be learned from the case of Baross Square? Situated at the edge of Budapest's historic core, the square and its formal design has always been configured to follow contemporary international urban engineering practice. First, there was a green park in front of the station, then a dense public transport hub with several tram lines, and finally the realisation of the metro with a vertical spatial division to facilitate the movement of cars on the upper level and pedestrians underground. In 2014, the latest renewal process preserved the modern design of the lower level while returning the surface level to the pedestrian. Consequently, the underpass in Baross Square became a vast, abandoned wasteland in the middle of the historic city centre. In the summer of 2015, events proved that this loose space has the capacity to facilitate life. If the infrastructure is given, then only human activities are needed to produce a space that is specific. In this case,

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Baross Square became a camp space – which, according to Constant Nieuwenhuis, “is a form however primitive of a city”⁶⁸ (1970).

The present study focused on the spatial aspects of this extraordinary urban situation, showing the evolution of the camp space in three different phases with different means of space production. In the early period, migrants spontaneously transformed the underpass into a site of temporary accommodation; while in the Transit Zone period, authorities attempted to create a transit camp with definite borders. Finally, in the established informal period, self-organised volunteers built and sustained a complex system of services that manifested in the form of a densely populated camp. Throughout the three months, the process of a human settlement’s formation could be observed – all the way from the spontaneous stage to an established system with versatile spatiality and architecture. The Baross Square case study demonstrated the efficiency of informal, direct actions in this emergency situation since they had the capability to adapt to changing needs rapidly. Migrants and bottom-up volunteer activity were able to create an alternative urban system by bringing new meanings and functionality to the existing built environment. Hopefully the findings presented here both in textual and visual form contribute to the scholarly knowledge about the production of short-lived emergency camps. However, further research with more case studies are needed to be able to compare data for a wider understanding of the phenomenon.

1 *Financial Times*. *What is the European migrant crisis and how has it evolved?* [online] 2015 [Accessed 4 Sept. 2015], Available at: <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/2/cdd88362-524e-11e5-b029-b9d50a74fd14.html#axzz415qv6kFG>.

2 In order to clarify the terminology, we should note here that throughout the paper, the term migrant refers to all people on the move who have yet to complete the legal process of claiming asylum. This group includes people fleeing war-torn countries (likely to be granted refugee status), as well as people seeking jobs and better lives (likely to be labelled economic migrants by governments). Source: BBC.co.uk. *Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in seven charts*. [online] 2015 [Accessed 18 Feb. 2016], Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>.

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EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE CAMP
 KAŽDODENNÝ ŽIVOT V TÁBORE
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