

Space by Action

Exploring the Space-Producing Properties of the Unexpected
Human Uses in the Built Environment of Budapest

thesis booklet of PhD dissertation

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Introduction: Aims and topics of the research

In everyday life, one can often encounter situations when the surrounding objects are used differently from their originally planned functions. This phenomenon is observable in case of interior spaces of buildings as well: surely, all of us have witnessed such cases when, for instance, the rooms of a flat or a public building were used differently from its originally intended and accustomed purpose during a certain event. Entering into the urban realm, various publicly accessible areas may also provide similar experiences. To describe human acts that create such events, I employ the term *unexpected use*, which requires further specification. The adjective *unexpected* is to be interpreted in social context: it means the opposite of those accustomed rules, rituals and mental constructions through which things around us are interpreted and which dominate everyday life. These are produced by the society for its proper operation and are forced on its members, who adapt to them and thus become able to orient themselves in the world. Unexpectedness means deliberate or undeliberate counteraction toward this order. It is not possible to tell whether an event should be regarded as unexpected without taking into consideration the physical scene and the social order into which it is embedded. The term *use* refers to individual or collective human acts that rely on an object or territory in order to achieve a specific aim.

The fundamental questions of the research introduced in my dissertation refer to the relationship between unexpected uses and the built environment: **how does the appearance of unexpected use impact the physical and social context of the given site? How does the physical and social context of a site impact any unexpected use present?**

The topic has relevance in the context of current architectural and urban research.¹ By this research Budapest can also be integrated into these discourses based on the fact that in the last couple of years, numerous cases occurred where the effects of unexpected uses could be experienced in real circumstances. Fieldwork carried out at various locations provided answers to questions raised during the theoretical study of the topic through empirical research.

Regarding the method of research of the topic, a methodological dilemma arises: factors that seem to be very distant from each other must be considered simultaneously. First, specific sites with physical dimensions must be studied. Second, we are looking at people, who are acting autonomously within these sites, perform various spatial acts, gain experience and conceive thoughts. Furthermore, both the people practicing unexpected uses and the scenes of such events are part of a social context. It became necessary to develop a concept that would be able to unify these different fields. Considering all of the above, the theoretical background of my research was formed on the basis of the theories presented in *The Production of Space* written by Henri Lefebvre, first published in Paris 1974,² and on the approach of architectural and social researches inspired by his work.³ According to Lefebvre, society creates, or in his terminology “produces” its own space that simultaneously includes the built physical environment, the field of human thoughts and the construction of relations among people, in other words, the social context. Through the spatial aspect of this concept an inclusive theoretical approach can be developed, that is capable of integrating distant fields. The lefebvrian spatial aspect serves not just as an analogy but also as a conceptual basis, since unexpected uses could not be defined without the social aspects of spatiality. Social space in this context is interpreted as the concrete space of everyday life, of which social constructedness is a fundamental attribute. Since the first edition of Lefebvre’s book, a broad range of professional literature has been developed in various disciplines that improved, criticised, redefined and applied its spatial theory. By gaining insight of the notions of certain parts of that literature relevant to the topic of the

dissertation, I expect to become able to describe and observe the properties of unexpected use and the structure of its components.

One of the main challenges of the dissertation is the construction of a research framework, which relies on the concepts of the literature dedicated to the socio-spatial approach towards architecture and the built environment in general, and can be applied to analyse real cases of unexpected use. Through the examination of case studies executed according to the research framework, I expect to gain theoretical knowledge about the spatial effects of unexpected use.

The spatial approach of the dissertation represents a specific challenge as well, as it is an architectural dissertation. The concept of space has been a central issue in architectural discourses since the end of the 19th century. Since then various interpretations and theories have been developed concerning space and its relationship with architecture. The concept of space in the field of architecture is not only in use in academic context but in the everyday design practice as well, where space is commonly understood as a mental construction derived from physical reality, a method of communication about buildings. However, the realized architectural product becomes part of the “real”, social space. Furthermore, according to the theory of Lefebvre, since the act of design is also located in social space, the spatial communication used during the design phase is a product of social processes as well. This means that it is necessary for the discipline of architecture to recognize the socially constructed space and to find its place in it. Studying the topic of unexpected use serves to deepen this awareness, since unexpected uses are very specific examples of what happens to the consciously designed elements after they are realized and “incorporated” into everyday social reality, or in other words, after people start using them.⁴

Structure of the dissertation

After a general introduction, in chapter 2.1. I set the theoretical foundations of the dissertation by analysing theories that contributed to the emergence of the so-called **spatial turn** in the field of humanities and social studies in the last three decades.⁵ These theories originate from the works of three French authors from the 1960s and 1970s: Michel Foucault,⁶ Henri Lefebvre⁷ and Michel de Certeau.⁸ Based on their spatial concepts, I try to develop an understanding of unexpected uses. Based on my analysis I have come to the conclusion that there is a connection between unexpected uses and the alteration of social space. However, in order to understand this process and its further spatial implications, it is necessary to examine concrete cases. As a conclusion of the theoretical establishment I managed to describe the fundamental question of the research with spatial terms: **unexpected use is a phenomenon that is able to temporarily disrupt the dominant mode of production of the given social space. But is it able to contribute to the production of an alternative social space? Is it possible to attribute such properties and techniques to it that lead to the production of another space?**

Up to this point I only determined the spatial concept, in which unexpected use and its connection to the various aspects of social space are interpretable. Investigating the possible techniques of unexpected use is necessary in order to provide answers to the research problem. Such investigations however, require the introduction of further concepts that should help developing an understanding for the possible “space-producing” effects of unexpected use. Thus in subchapter 2.2 I propose to reach this by analysing such concepts in architectural theory that consider the issue of the social stratification of space.⁹ The reason for turning to architectural theories is that the aspects of social space usually appear in the field of

architectural thinking by emphasizing the use of physical space and creative aspects of human acts instead of aesthetic and formal issues. These concepts redefine the role of human activities in the process of the built environment's creation.

In subchapter 2.3 I extend the range of concepts dealing with the issue of use with Lefebvre's principles¹⁰ of taking over social space. To illustrate these principles I present theoretical and practical examples that show their further aspects: these are domination, appropriation, diversion and co-optation.

In chapter 3 I present an analytical framework with the application of concepts introduced in the topic of space and use. I then apply this framework for formulating the research perspective of the case studies in Budapest. In addition to this, I introduce the selection criteria of the cases and the methodology of the researches.

Chapter 4 presents the researches carried out at various locations of Budapest relying mainly on fieldworks. Based on their consequences the new scientific results are formulated. The aims of the case studies are to interpret the selected phenomena by using concepts of the international literature and to extend the theory of unexpected uses based on the analyses. In addition to these, the case studies confirm the applicability of the analytical framework produced with the use of existing theoretical concepts, which is also a scientific result of the dissertation.

About the selection of the case studies and the research method

The analytical framework presented in chapter 3 provides the theoretical perspective and research direction for the analysis of unexpected use, though it does not determine the exact methods that are to be used during concrete researches. Since the topic of unexpected uses is embedded in the space of everyday life that can be experienced in reality, it seemed adequate to choose an empirical method that mainly relies on fieldwork, so that the phenomena can be analysed at the proper site and time where and when they occur. As an obvious consequence of this, I decided to analyse cases that could be observed in reality during the time of the research. A further aspect of the selection of the cases was that the human acts initiating the observed events should match the criteria of unexpected use. In addition to the above, I deliberately searched for cases different in scale and motivation, since one of the dissertation's aim is to present the spectrum of unexpected uses. The main source of the research was first-hand experience collected by participatory observations. Daily site visit was a common element in every case study during the research period: I took photographs, notes and made sketches to document the operation of unexpected uses. The timeframe of site visits and the chosen form of documentation was depended on the circumstances of the specific case as well. Where it was possible and necessary, on-site data collection was complemented with comments from actors of the uses presenting their experiences on social media platforms. As additional sources, I also relied on media sources and publications, such as on-site reports about the events or relevant scientific papers.

The city of Budapest provided ample opportunity to investigate case studies, since various phenomena relevant to the topic were present during the time of the research. Furthermore, since the studies are based on the comparison of the conditions before and during the appearance of the unexpected use, it was important to choose events at such locations, the everyday state of which were familiar to me. This means that I already had previous experience related to the sites which I revisited during the presence of unexpected uses.

New scientific results of the dissertation

The new scientific findings of the present work are derived from the research of case studies executed between 2014 and 2018.

Thesis 1. Regarding the spectrum of unexpected uses and their space-producing properties

The unexpected uses of the built environment have the capacity to induce changes in conceived, perceived and lived layers of the socially constructed space, thus they possess space-producing properties. It was shown based on the analysis of the case studies that space-producing properties of unexpected uses are present in various scales. These are the micro-environment of people, buildings and urban public areas.

Related publications: [1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6]

For the explanation of this thesis I use the conclusions drawn from several individual and group research projects of mine that study the space-producing properties of unexpected uses in various physical scales. During the research I explored three scales: the micro-environment of people, buildings or building parts and urban public areas. I prove the existence of space-producing properties of uses through the examination of cases of each scale in Budapest. Thus this thesis is the summary of several of my publications.

Spatial alterations in the micro-environment of individuals were observed in 2014 during a joint research project conducted in collaboration with the Space Detournement Working Group and the System D Academy of the Sandberg Instituut (NL). While exploring the hidden, spontaneous places of leisure and rest made by the workers themselves at the industrial area of the Csepel Works, we showed that elements of the built environment were redefined through the acts of people: bicycle storages were turned into sitting surfaces and unused areas became community spaces. In 2015 we carried out fieldwork in the historic city centre of Budapest with the collaboration of students of architecture from the Budapest University of Technology and Economics: we studied, among others the case of ticket inspectors working at the entrances of metro stations: during their daily practices they create personal storages at areas secluded from passenger traffic. Ticket inspectors provide unexpected meaning to the niches of a complex built environment reinterpreting its conceived, perceived and lived aspects.

In the framework of a group research I analysed the space-producing properties of building-scale unexpected uses by exploring practices connected to the increasing presence of community lodgings in former prestigious civic residences in historic apartment buildings in downtown Budapest. We found that as a result of the intensified use brought about by hostels, shared spaces of apartment buildings became virtual extensions of the street, thus becoming similar to public spaces. This shift serves as an example to the space-producing properties of use. Another building-scale group research studied the informal extension of ground floor apartments with the formation of private gardens that used to be publicly owned land appropriated by residents themselves in the Újpalota district of Budapest. The residents built fences and planted bushes to mark the exact physical borders of their appropriated territory. In this case, the reuse of public green fields adjoining the balconies of apartments on the ground floor as private areas directly led to the redefinition of the shared territories as gardens.

Concerning the effects of unexpected uses on the scale of urban spaces I found that they can be defined as the accumulation of the space-producing phenomena of uses in people's micro environment. Unexpected uses affect the occupation of existent spaces, which I divide into three categories based on the

relevant literature: occupation of necessity, of autonomy and of control.¹¹ I continued the research focusing on the effects of unexpected uses on this scale and gained further information in this topic, which I present in the following theses of the dissertation. I managed to implement systematically the framework of research for the following case studies.

Thesis 2. Research framework created to explore the space-producing properties of unexpected uses

I set up a research framework that relies on the theoretical concepts of the social constructedness of space and the creative potential of use. The framework provides a practical research perspective for the exploration and spatial interpretation of the space-producing effects of unexpected uses on the built environment in the scale of urban public spaces. Case studies of the dissertation confirm this statement.

Related publications: [1, 2, 4]

Introducing spatial theories and principles of the formation of space in Chapter 2 was necessary for the creation of a framework that helps the study of human acts as phenomena capable of producing alteration in social space. This framework serves as the structure of the case studies presented in the dissertation. With the application of this framework and older and newer conceptual systems, I attempt to provide interpretations of public space occupations that happened in the recent years in Budapest and were covered extensively by the media, as well as less visible, everyday phenomena, all of which, however, are characterised by the presence of unexpected uses. These local cases are incorporated into a global context with the presented theoretical concepts.

The structure of the framework consists of three parts: first, I analyse the site in question before the appearance of the unexpected use. I present the concrete space based on Lefebvre's spatial triad: **this means that I map the conceived, perceived and lived moments of the chosen area.**

Afterwards I analyse the unexpected use according to the following aspects:

The aim of the unexpected use. First I explore the motives behind the unexpected use.

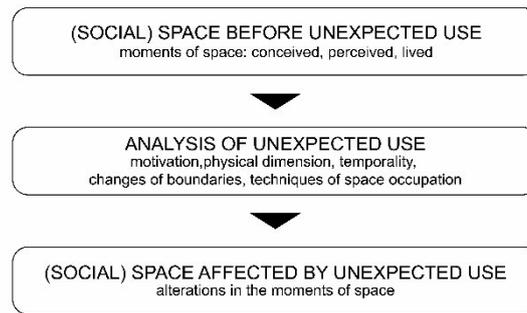
Physical dimension. This aspect describes the physical extent of the territory impacted by the studied use.

Changes of boundaries. Simultaneously with the dimension of the effects of unexpected uses in physical space, they create new boundaries or redefine existing ones. Exploring boundaries is especially important for the interpretation of unexpected uses as spatial phenomena, since the boundary is one of the basic manifestations of spatiality.

Temporality. Based on the studied theoretical background, space has been defined as a process, which means that temporality is a key attribute. Thus, temporal aspects of unexpected uses affect their spatial operation.

Techniques of space occupation. Within this aspect, I aim to explore which of the presented principles of taking over space can be attributed to the use in question.

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK TO EXPLORE
SPACE-PRODUCING PROPERTIES OF UNEXPECTED USES



The analysis of the site in its original state is followed by a second analysis, now under the effect of the unexpected use, following the same criteria as before its appearance.

From the use of this framework I expect the space-producing effects of unexpected uses to become more articulated. The framework is not intended to present a rigid model, rather a solid foundation, onto which researches adapting to the specialities of the specific case can be built.

Thesis 3: Regarding space-producing effects of unexpected uses motivated by necessity: from spontaneous occupation to organized social space

The elementary and at first, unorganized manifestations of necessity-motivated unexpected uses on urban public spaces have the ability to, over time evolve into a complex, organized social space with its own set of rules and infrastructure. In this produced space the early spontaneous acts are transformed into sets of services. Through these services the space becomes self-sustaining, dynamically adapting to changes in unexpected uses..

Related publication: [4]

The third thesis of the dissertation is based on the results of my research carried out at the informal, temporary refugee camp that was set up at Baross Square in Budapest during the summer of 2015. I analysed the conceived, perceived and lived aspects of the square before the appearance of the camp, then I studied its formation and its constant changes. Studying the phenomenon during its almost three-month-long existence I was able to confirm the capacity of unexpected uses to produce social space directly on the scale of urban areas, and I also gained information about the temporal evolution of this space. I was able to differentiate three periods in the evolution of the “camp space”: the first one is the *spontaneous, informal period* that lasted from the end of June till the beginning of August. The second period is called *attempts of formal control*. During this phase formal measures took place by the city leadership, such as the demarcation of Transit Zones, with which they attempted to provide order in the chaotic situation. By the beginning of September it became obvious that the capacity of the formal Transit Zones was inadequate to serve the increasing number of people on the square. During this period the number of voluntary activists and humanitarian organisations increased as well. Thus the informal activities at Baross Square induced the formation of a system of services that were able to adapt to the changing needs of exposed people. I refer to this phase as *established informal period*. In all three phases of the camp I explore the space-producing properties of the unexpected uses based on the criteria of the framework introduced earlier. In this case, the appearance of unexpected uses was motivated by necessity that is made up of four

factors: the need for shelter, for food, for sanitation and for information. During the research I explore how spatial practices motivated by these factors transformed Baross Square from a transport hub into an informal refugee camp during the observed period. Furthermore, I show that in addition to uses motivated by necessity, practices of everyday social life appeared and the camp even turned into the scene of intense political activity for a while in September.

In the chapter, by employing the set of aspects outlined above I explore in detail further types of uses that came to life as a result of the suddenly appearing mass of people using the square as accommodation. As a consequence of these uses, the square that became a temporary camp went through a process of evolution and over time evolved from a spontaneous occupation into a complex, organised, ad hoc system of services.

	Baross Square before the appearance of the unexpected uses	Baross Square with the appearance of unexpected uses
conceived aspect of space	One of the most complex transport hub of Budapest	A camp space, where various humanitarian services, accommodation and information are available.
Perceived aspect of space	The agora space is usually unused and empty. Most common practices are bypassing due to transfer from one type of transport to another, and waiting for a short period of time.	The area is crowded with people, where fundamental practices of encampment take place.
Lived aspect of space	Keleti railway station as one of the gateways to Budapest dominates the identity of the square.	The area became a memento of the European migrant crisis.

Thesis 4. Regarding the interplay between the everyday space and the alternative space produced by unexpected uses: the space of autonomy

The unexpected use of an urban public area motivated by attempts of autonomy has the ability to produce a community space that extends the usual scope of possibilities of use. The produced space is able to generate further activities that, in the long run incorporate it into the daily practices present at the area. During this process the community space and the everyday social space of the area interact with each other, which results in the originally spontaneously produced space adapting to the user needs and the rules of the formal order sustaining the operation of the area. At the same time the alternative space impacts the identity of the everyday space as well.

Related publication: [2]

The thesis summarizes the findings of the research on the alternative uses of Liberty Bridge (Szabadság híd) in Budapest between 2016 and 2018. I showed that unexpected activities can extend the scope of usability of an area and the initially spontaneous uses may become regular and become part of the accustomed spatial practices that belong to the site. In the case of the Liberty Bridge, the community use started to be incorporated into its social space.

During fieldworks I observed the improvement of the spontaneously produced community area at the Liberty Bridge. I studied the occupation of the suspended loadbearing structure of the bridge that was

present parallel to the everyday practices. In this activity the principle of appropriation could be found.

The next chapter of the research dealt with the events during the summer of 2016. Due to reconstruction works at Szent Gellért Square, the bridge was closed for cars and trams for three months. This situation provided the physical circumstances for the community use – normally forced to periphery by the dominant road traffic – to occupy the whole area of the bridge. I found that as a result of the spontaneous actions of people, Liberty Bridge turned into a diverted community space. Spatial practices related to the bridge changed: instead of a scene of commuting it became a destination, where various recreational, cultural and community programs took place without any institutional organisation.

In the following year a successful civil initiative was launched to close the bridge again temporarily, in order to induce the phenomenon of the previous year once again. As a result of this, the bridge became open to occupation by pedestrians and cyclists for four summer weekends. The designated time frames indicate that the space, which was created spontaneously in the previous year, was recreated within temporal and spatial restrictions. Separate territories of bicycle and pedestrian traffic were demarcated and physical obstacles were installed onto the loadbearing structure in order to ensure the safe use of the bridge, disabling people to climb above a certain height. In addition to this, a “house rule” was also created for the bridge. The act of co-optation could be observed in the sense that the organised space of the city started to incorporate the spontaneous, uncontrolled phenomenon into its regular spatial practices. I also found that unexpected uses contributed to the emergence of a space with unique identity, of which the physical characteristics of the bridge was a constitutive element. Community use gradually becomes the part of the bridge’s identity, at the same time, the bridge also merges into the space produced by the community practices.

	Liberty Bridge before the appearance of unexpected uses	Liberty Bridge with the appearance of unexpected uses
conceived aspect of space	Engineering structure fusing Buda and Pest sides of the city.	Community event space.
perceived aspect of space	Domination of car and tram traffic. View of the grandiose structure and city panorama.	The whole bridge was in pedestrian use. It turned to be a destination instead of a transit area.
lived aspect of space	One of the historic symbols of the city, the scene of social and personal stories.	Community use started to be incorporated into the identity of the bridge.

Thesis 5. Unexpected use as the space of control

The space-producing effects of unexpected uses do not necessarily contribute to the loosening of space, they may also generate such a spatial order that limits the possibilities of use, instead of expanding them. As a result of the emerged spatial practices, the ownership relations of the city are temporarily restructured, and the system of rules introduced by the space of unexpected uses are expanded to everyone present at the site.

Related publication: [1]

I conceptualised the thesis based on the research of annual bulky waste collections in the centre of Budapest in 2017. In order to study occupations of space motivated by control, I exposed unexpected uses

present during bulky waste collections and features of the space produced by them. It turned out that depending on the actual use, the objects placed onto the streets are attributed with various definitions, or in other words lived contents. During fieldwork I identified three types of unexpected use: these are *urban play*, *hobby scavenging*, and *professional scavenging*. These different uses are present simultaneously and they interact with each other. I found that the activities of professional scavenging transformed bulky waste collections into a work area and a spontaneous second-hand market, interfering with the other two types of use: urban play activities are marginalized and hobby scavengers are turned into customers of the pop-up markets. Waste heaps are transformed into private areas, where waste is turned into products to be sold. Unexpected uses appearing during bulky waste collections in Budapest thus produce an ecosystem, the users of which construct their own spatial practices, rules of operation and division of territory. All of these disappear at the end of the bulky waste collection period without any trace and the streets continue to serve as the scene of everyday life. However, in the following year, for a few days they go through the same metamorphosis again and become the space of the participants of bulky waste collection.

	Bulky waste collections before the appearance of unexpected uses	Bulky waste collections with the appearance of unexpected uses
conceived aspect of space	A collective service executed yearly.	Area of operation, potential source of valuable products.
perceived aspect of space	During the spatial practice of bulky waste collection elements of interiors fill the exterior public space.	Practices of systematic inspection, and occupation of waste heaps.
lived aspect of space	Through attributes of past eras and personal objects the streets are filled with traces of human life.	Waste heaps under control are turned to ephemeral second-hand markets.

Summary, benefits and further research directions

The research of the topic “Space by Action” in the field of the science of architecture complement the spatial studies of other disciplines. The case studies were aimed at widening the theoretical knowledge about the space-producing properties of unexpected uses and providing spatial interpretations of the chosen phenomena. Some of the cases have already been presented from architectural aspects before, however their comprehensive scientific spatial investigation is the novelty of this dissertation. It also turned out that the cases possess numerous spatial properties that provide relevant information for architects and other designers. They show that human use is capable of exploring such hidden opportunities of the built environment, the versatile manifestations of which are not possible to be completely predicted during design phases. This is not the shortage of design, but a factor necessary to be taken into consideration during architectural practice.

In addition to these, the cases also served as the testing of the framework of research constructed based on the relevant theoretical concepts. I concluded that through implementing its criteria and the comparison of the sites before and during the presence of unexpected uses, results were explored, which showed that unexpected uses were able to contribute to the production of space and to drive it into new directions. The framework could be an appropriate tool in architectural education to study the relationship of people and the built environment. Present issues of urbanisation, such as the intensification

of natural and humanitarian crises will probably increase the frequency of the appearance of unexpected uses, thus practical disciplines dealing with the spatiality of life (designers, strategic planners) will hopefully find the results and perspective of the present work beneficial.

Further benefit of the dissertation is its contribution to the integration of the socio-spatial perspective to the local architectural discourse, since it introduces many theoretical works and their concepts that are widely cited internationally but less known in Hungary.

Publications related to the theses

1: Hory, Gergely. "Ephemeral Metamorphosis of the City: Bulky Waste Collection in Budapest." In *Understanding Central and Eastern European Cities: Case Studies in Urban Design and Planning*, szerkesztette Melinda Benkő and Kornélia Kissfazekas, 66-81. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2019. ISBN 978-2-343-16182-2

2: Hory, Gergely. "Tértermelés a Duna fölött: A Szabadság híd alternatív használatának téri vizsgálata." *Metszet: építészet újdonságok szerkezetek részletek* 10, no. 3 (2019):38-42. / doi: <https://doi.org/10.33268/Met.2019.3.7> / ISSN 2061-2710/ Scopus

3: Benkő, Melinda, Regina Balla, and Gergely Hory. "Participatory Place-making in the Renewal of Post-Communist Large Prefabricated Housing Estates: Újpalota Case Study, Budapest." *Journal of Place Management and Development* 11, no. 3 (2018): 223-241./ doi: <https://doi.org/10.1108/JPMD-06-2017-0050>/ Scopus

4: Hory, Gergely, and Melinda Benkő. "The Urban Space of the Migrant Crisis: Analysis of the Spatial Evolution of an Informal Transit Camp at Budapest's Historic City Centre." *Architektúra & Urbanizmus* 60, no. 3-4 (2017): 126-143. / Scopus, WoS

5: Hory, Gergely, Zoltán Major, Péter Müllner, and Melinda Benkő. "Exploration of Spatial Design Issues at Backpacker Hostels in Budapest's Historic Center: Informality, Density, and Adaptability," *Frontiers of Architectural Research* 6, no. 2 (2017): 157-168. /doi.: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.foar.2017.02.005> / Scopus

6: Hory, Gergely. "[Fusi]city – Szereld meg Budapestet! A System D és a városi fusizás elmélete és gyakorlata." *Utóirat/Post Scriptum* 15, no.81 (2015): 42-44.

Notes

¹ The architectural relevance of the creative potential inherent in human actions can be found for instance in the following works published in recent years:

Jonathan Hill, *Actions of Architecture: Architects and Creative Users* (London UK, New York NY: Routledge, 2003).

Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till, *Spatial Agency, Other Ways of Doing Architecture* (Abingdon UK, New York NY: Routledge, 2011).

Daniel Maudlin and Marcel Vellinga, szerk., *Consuming Architecture: On the Occupation, Appropriation and Interpretation of Buildings*, (Abingdon UK, New York NY: Routledge, 2014).

The topic in urban scale:

John L. Chase, Margharet Crawford and John Kaliski, eds., *Everyday Urbanism* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1999).

Karen A. Franck and Quentin Stevens, eds., *Loose space: Possibility and diversity in urban life* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007).

Jeffrey Hou, ed., *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of the Contemporary Cities* (London: Routledge, 2010).

Sarah Hartmann, *Monuments of Everyday Life: Interplays of City, Infrastructure and Architecture in Sao Paulo* (Berlin, Routledge, 2019).

The topic in the territory of the micro environment of people:

Iain Borden, "Body Architecture: Skateboarding and the Creation of Super Architectural Space," in: *Occupying Architecture: Between the Architect and the User*, ed. Jonathan Hill (Routledge: London, 1998): 111-125.

Adaptive Actions, ed., *Heteropolis* (Montreal: Adaptive Actions, 2013).

² Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris, Éditions Anthropos, 1974). I used primarily the English translation of the book:

Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, ford. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford UK, Cambridge Mass.: Blackwell, 1991).

³ The following books deal with the contemporary redefinition of Lefebvre's theories in the field of architectural and urban research:

Kanishka Goonewardena et. al., szerk., *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

Łukasz Stanek, Christian Schmid and Ákos Moravánszky, eds., *Urban Revolution Now: Henri Lefebvre in Social Research and Architecture* (Surrey UK, Burlington USA: Ashgate, 2014).

⁴ Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till. "Beyond Discourse: Notes on Spatial Agency," *FOOTPRINT* [Online], no. 4 (2009): 97-112.

⁵ Viktor Berger, *Térré szöött társadalmiság: A tér kategóriája a szociológiai elméletekben* (Budapest: L'Harmattan – Könyvpont, 2018) 27-28.

⁶ Michel Foucault, "Eltérő terek," ford.: Miklós Sutyák, in Michel Foucault, *Nyelv a végtelenhez. Tanulmányok, előadások, beszélgetések* (Debrecen: Latin Betűk, 2000): 147–155. A tanulmányt Foucault 1967-ben írta, de nyomtatásban csak 1984-ben jelent meg.

⁷ Michel de Certeau, *A cselekvés művészete. A mindennapok leleménye 1*, ford. Sándor Sajó, Zoltán Z. Varga, Dávid Szolláth (Budapest: Kijárat Kiadó, 2010). Az eredeti mű 1980-ban jelent meg.

⁸ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

⁹⁹ Bernard Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1996).

Jonathan Hill, *Actions of Architecture*.

Awan, Schneider and Till, *Spatial Agency*.

¹⁰ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. 164-168, 368-369.

¹¹ Charlie Hailey, *Camps : a Guide to 21st-Century Space* (Cambridge Mass., London UK: The MIT Press, 2009).