

## THE CHANGES OF RITUAL PRACTICE IN THE POST-SOCIALIST CITY OF DUNAÚJVÁROS

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### Abstract

*This paper deals with the transition of Dunaújváros in Hungary from a planned socialist city to a post-socialist city. Based on the designed implementation of festivities in the urban plan of planned socialist cities, the study tries to reveal the relationship between planned ritual, ritual practice and space, and tracks its change between 1950 and 2012. The systematic documentation of festivities that took place over this period of time and their location within the city depicts the political and societal changes and allows for understanding the role of public space in each time period.*

*The paper starts with a definition of socialist and post-socialist cities and deals with the role of rituals as a part of socialist city planning. It touches upon the question what role rituals play in the production and re-production of social structures. A table with an overview of the major festivities in Dunaújváros during the last 60 years is used as the basis for the categorisation of rituals, their content, social organisation and their relation to space. The data is retrieved from local newspapers. A selection of festivities is then analysed in detail over time. Their relation to space is studied on a local and on the global scale of the whole city, using spatial configurational models that are drawn of Dunaújváros in different points in history. Isovist analysis and a set of space syntax measures are used in order to understand and describe the relation of ritual practice and space and its change. The study further deals with the question how formal use of space corresponds to the formality or instrumentality of space.*

*The aim is to add a new way of measuring and understanding change of a post-socialist city to the existing body of literature on this subject, which mainly focuses on spatial restructuring on a larger scale as a result of political, economic and social influence. Examining rituals as indicators of political, economic, social and ideological change allows a closer investigation of these processes in relation to public space on both larger and smaller scales. The chosen methods enable the understanding of the effect that space has on these processes as an active element.*

**Keywords:** space syntax, Hungary, socialist city, ritual

**Theme:** Urban Space and Social, Economic and Cultural Phenomena

## 1 Introduction

Post-socialist cities have recently been part of a major discourse. Almost 25 years have passed now since the fall of the iron curtain. While politics, economics and everyday life have changed rapidly, cities are adapting in a slower pace to the new situation. This also involves public space and therefore public life. The following paper focusses on the change of ritual practice in the Hungarian city of Dunaújváros with a population of today 48,000. Founded in 1951 next to the small village of Dunapentele, it was built together with a new steel factory located south from it. What makes this place an interesting case study is the fact, that it was fairly realised as an ideal socialist city, which should serve as the main motor in creating a new kind of society. However, in 1989 suddenly these ideals disappeared and this city was exposed to the same forces as other cities under democracy and within a free market economy. At the same times the old, organically grown village of Dunapentele was existing next to the planned new city of Dunaújváros without any major building interventions.

Mass festivities and political parades were part of the newly founded city from its beginning. The paper tries to discover the city's rituals and festivities since its foundation during the 1950s. Considered as a potential indicator of political, economic and social change, rituals are retraced with their change of location and form of celebration over the last 60 years. Methods are developed that reconstruct the use of public space by rituals to understand their function as an active element between the production and reproduction of space and society. The paper starts with a section, which deals with the characteristics of planned socialist cities and their relation to public festivities. Further on, it explains some theories on the nature and role of traditions and rituals. It introduces the terms of production and reproduction of social structures used by Anthony Giddens and reviews Bill Hillier's theories on instrumental and symbolic towns. Changes in ritual practice are then studied on the basis of local newspaper articles from the beginnings of the new town. Three festivities are selected for an in depth study of their changes in process and their syntactic relation to the city. These studies are compared to some measures resulting from space syntax analysis in order to understand the relationship between ritual and public space both in the old and new town.

## 2 The Socialist City and its public space

After 1949, when Hungary adopted a communist regime under the influence of the Soviet Union, several cities were undertaken a major restructuring and 12 new cities were built in the whole country. Cities were seen as the 'necessary environment for achieving the perfection of a socialist society' (French & Hamilton 1979, p. 7). The clear separation of functions, the organization into self-sustaining neighbourhoods and equal access to resources were typical characteristics of the ideal socialist city (French & Hamilton 1979, pp. 7-9). Trade played a minor role. Public space was a major design issue, since it should both 'represent the Socialist system' and 'inspire a Socialist way of living together' (Engel 2006, p. 167). All open space should be public, whereas the word 'public' had a particular meaning under an authoritarian regime, which strongly determined and controlled public life (Engel 2006). Numerous festivities and political parades were an integral part of both the citizens' calendar and of the urban plan, which implied large open spaces for such occasions (Engel 2007, p. 288). Collective action was happening in the course of festivities, but also in everyday life – during work, during lunch, during sport etc., where large groups of people came together. At the same time individual behaviour or activities were rare.

The sociologist Robert Bockstaele stresses the effect of rituals in bringing members of a group together, making them 'aware of their membership'. They also serve for 'reminding people of

the basic values which the group rests upon, and renewing commitment to these values on the part of members' (Bocock 1970, p. 288). What he mentions is the experience of ritual as an 'action' that creates an awareness of a group that would not exist otherwise. (Bocock 1970) This suggests that in order to create such awareness it is necessary to be able to perceive the other members of a group doing the same ritual.

Therefore it seems that the spaces in which rituals are happening are fundamental to this experience. The role of space must be also inquired on how socialist cities 'represented' the socialist values and 'produced' the socialist life according to Engel and how this relationship between the individual and the collective was established. Consequently, if we want to understand the socialist and later on the post-socialist city it is fundamental to see how the collective comes together in public space and how space creates a collective and therefore produces the notion of the 'socialist society'.

### **3 Rituals and the production and reproduction of social structures**

The sociologist Anthony Giddens values the 'routines of day-to-day life' as 'fundamental to even the most elaborate forms of societal organization' by encounters and 'interaction with others who are physically co-present' (Giddens 1984, p. 64). Bill Hillier takes a similar standpoint by saying, that 'social differences play no role in the street. In this sense, streets do not reflect society, but act in a contrary sense by putting together in space what society divides' (Hillier 2009, p. 19) Julienne Hanson and Bill Hillier use the idea of co-presence and relate its occurrence to spatial circumstances. (Hillier & Hanson 1984) The probability for such coincidental encounters is influenced by the frequency of people's movement through space. They call this kind of relationship 'generative', since it allows the production of new social ties. Another form of relationship is occurring in 'conservative' spaces, where existing social structures are 'reproduced' (Hillier & Hanson 1984). Hillier and Vaughan describe the difference between 'generative' and 'conservative' spaces as a matter of spatial configuration (Hillier & Vaughan 2007). Giddens states that social structures need to be constantly produced and reproduced in order to exist. (Giddens 1984) According to Hillier et al. space is a fundamental basis for this dynamic. At the same time rituals are a form of social interaction, which, according to Bocock is stabilising and therefore reproducing existing social structures. In the case of the socialist city it could be supposed that it was both: the design of public space and the establishment of rituals, which were used to produce and strengthen social structures.

As earlier mentioned, Engel differentiates between two types of urban environments in the socialist city: the centre, which represented the ideals of the socialist system and the neighbourhoods, where these socialist principles should be lived. (Engel 2006) A link could be established here to Hillier's idea of symbolic and instrumental spaces. Hillier relates to a statement by Mary Douglas, who wrote that '[...] greater space means more formality, nearness means intimacy' (Douglas 1996, p. 76) and concludes that rituals are necessary to overcome large distance. Hillier suggests two types of spaces: symbolic spaces, which are representing an existing social structure and instrumental spaces, which are generating new social structure. 'Social reproduction, [...] requires symbolic forms of space, social production instrumental forms of space.' (Hillier 1996, p. 177) These types of spaces can be found in two kinds of towns: ones 'which act as centres for the processes by which society produces its existence by making, distributing and exchanging goods, and those which act as centres for governing institutions, regulating bureaucracies and dominant ceremonial forms, and through which society reproduces its essential structures' (Hillier 1996, p. 171). The disrupting characteristic of socialist cities is that trade and therefore the exchange of goods was hardly part of public life. What Hillier keeps open to some extent is what 'ceremonial forms' could be and in what way

symbolic space supports the reproduction of social ties.

To sum up, socialist cities were planned to be the perfect background for the establishment of the new 'socialist society'. Festivities and rituals appear to have played a major role during this process and were also embedded in the urban plan, which provided enough space for such occasions. After the change of political regime in 1989 the same cities were suddenly the basis for different patterns of use with less political control. This study looks at ritual practice and how its relation to the city changed. Instead of defining spaces of more or less formality according to an a priori spatial analysis (Hillier 1996) it takes the factual use of space for festivities as the starting point for spatial analysis. The method of historical analysis that is developed here should add a new layer to the existing body of literature on socialist and post-socialist cities, which lacks in studies that deal with the relationship between ritual practice and the city.

#### 4 Research methods

The following analysis focusses on the transformation of ritual practice in Dunaújváros and its relation to the city between 1951 and 2012. Basic research material is a set of historic maps (1959, 1964, 1974, 1983), which were produced by the national cartography corporation (Kartográfiai Vállalat, Budapest) and provided by the local library in Dunaújváros. The latest city map from 2010 was provided by the office for planning and environmental protection of Dunaújváros (Főépítési és Környezetvédelmi Osztály) and updated with the help of 'Google Maps' aerial photographs.

In order to study the relationship between ritual practice and the city and consequently between society and space within a certain time span, some theories and methods of space syntax are used. Space syntax considers space as an 'intrinsic' aspect to human activity (Hillier & Vaughan 2007, p. 208) and understands the city as a cohesion of spaces which are all highly related to each other, which means that they are 'configurational' (Hillier & Vaughan 2007). This makes it possible to either see the city how it works as a whole, but also how its parts relate to this whole and to each other.

Due to the configuration of the urban grid some spaces have a higher potential for human movement and some have less. In space syntax theory this phenomenon is called 'natural movement' (Hillier et al 1993) and can be measured by integration on a global and local level, which expresses the potential of a space for being a destination; and it can be measured by the value of choice on a global and local level, which indicates the potential of a space as a route for through-movement (Hillier et al 1993). In order to make the mentioned measures possible, space needs to be represented in a certain way. For the study at hand an axial map was drawn, which consists of the longest and fewest straight lines that are necessary to pass through all convex spaces (Fig. 01) (Hillier & Hanson 1984, p. 17). On behalf of a more detailed analysis, segment maps were used, which are derived from the axial model. The historic axial maps were created with the help of a method that was developed by Paulo Pinho and Vitor Oliveira (Pinho & Oliveira 2009), which takes the present-day's map as a basis and adapts it to earlier stages of the urban grid. A geographical information system software (QGIS) is used for drawing these maps.

The study also looks at the changes in the calendar of festivities in Dunaújváros, considering these continuities and changes as indicators of social and political shifts. This data is retrieved from local newspapers (Dunaújvárosi Hírlap, Székesfehérvári Hírlap, Dunai Vasmű Építője) dating back to 1951, which is available at the local library in Dunaújváros. A selection of three different festivities is then further studied in depth. Angular step depth is used in order to relate the relevant places of these festivities to the whole city. Isovists identify the immediate space and its shape

related to the festivity. An isovist is the field that is visible from a given point (Benedikt 1979).



**Figure 1** Axial map with different parts of Dunaújváros in 2012

## 5 The relation of festivities in Dunaújváros to space and time

Rituals in a newly founded city for a new form of society did not yet exist and needed to be imported or 'invented'. The historian Eric Hobsbawm writes about the 'contrast between the constant change of innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant' (Hobsbawm 1983, p. 2) through the 'invention of tradition'. In the case of the socialist city this innovation was also accompanied by the break with old traditions mostly connected to religion practiced in the old villages. The communist regime considered the rural way of life as backward and uncivilised. The old population of Dunapentele consisted of farmers, fishermen, tradesmen and craftsmen. They were living in small single family houses with gardens, growing their own crops and often ranching their own animals. With the introduction of industry and the creation of new cities, people should become civilised and should not have to produce their food on their own anymore. The new population of Dunaújváros was arriving from all over the country, often originating from rural backgrounds. This new 'urban society' also had to leave behind their old traditions that were rooted in the traditional rural life and religion. The fact that rituals are planned and repeatedly take place makes it possible to observe and compare them over a period of time. What was then the role of ritual within a city that was based on functionalist, rationalist planning?

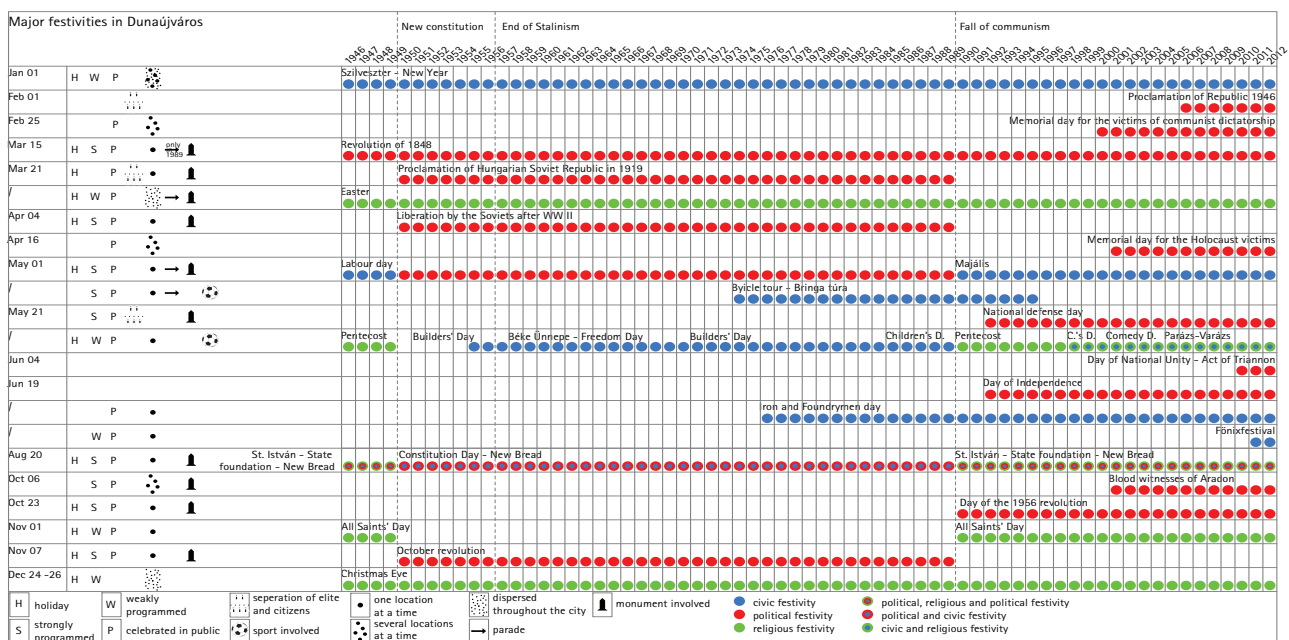


Figure 2 Calendar of festivities in Dunaújváros

The table of major festivities in Dunaújváros (Fig.02) gives an overview of an annual calendar and a chronological time span of about 60 years. Coloured dots, distinguishing between religious, political and civic festivities indicate the happening of a celebration at a point during the year and in history. The table shows, how civic festivities seemed to be rather constant, while religious festivities sometimes kept their date but were celebrated under a different theme. Political festivities have undergone the most changes. Especially the years 1949 and 1989 were points of change. Hobsbawm states that 'revolutions and 'progressive movements' which break with the past, by definition, have their own relevant past [...]' (Hobsbawm 1983, p. 2). New festivities in Dunaújváros were often celebrated as if they had a long history or existing occasion for celebration were re-interpreted, attaching a new line of history to them.

A good example combining religious, political and civic festivities is August 20<sup>th</sup> as one of the most important national holidays in Hungary. It has always been celebrated, but with very different rituals and meanings. While this festivity was originally dedicated to holy St. István, first emperor and nation founder, the communists put emphasis on another tradition for August 20<sup>th</sup> which was the day of the bread, celebrating the first bread made out of the crops of the first harvest. The symbolism of this festivity was enriched by official meetings between farmers and industrial workers, exchanging the new bread and showing good relations between these two groups.

What the table also indicates is what kind of relation each festivity had with the city. This information was retrieved from local newspapers (Dunaújvárosi Hírlap, Sztálinvárosi Hírlap, Dunai Vasmű Építője) dating back to 1951, which are available at the local library in Dunaújváros. The comparison showed that 9 out of 14 political festivities involved a monument. Religious (1/5) and civic (1/5) made far less use of monuments. This means that political festivities were often clearly located at the specific spot in the city. On the other hand most of the civic festivities like the May 1st recently or the Iron and Foundry Men Day take place at the Danube banks in the nature, outside the urban environment. The following analysis takes a closer look at the character of these changes to understand their relation to the city and its spaces.

## 6 May 1<sup>st</sup> – the spatial relationship of a political parade

The celebrations on May 1<sup>st</sup> commemorate the victims of the workers' movement in Chicago, who achieved the introduction of the 8-hour-working day (Hobsbawm 1983, p. 283). This day was also celebrated in Dunapentele, however with a different motive, when the inhabitants would erect May trees decorated with long paper strips. The communists adopted this festivity as the day of the international workers' movement. The first of May was usually preceded by an evening for the youth who would walk through the city with torches to the water tower in the South where a firework display took place. On the next day people would wake up early by the sound of musicians and get ready for the May parade. The citizens met up in groups, organised into different collectives, guilds or other organisations at different spots in the city. The parade was followed by sporting events, cultural performances and further entertainment in the afternoon. In the evening street balls and concerts were taking place at different places in the city. The cultural and sports programme would usually continue the following day. The first celebrations of May 1<sup>st</sup> in the new city from 1951 to 1953 took place on the first street that was built: Május 1 utca. During this time people met up relatively far outside the city centre either in the factory or in the barracks where the builders of the city were temporarily housed to begin their marches. The inhabitants of the *Óváros* (old village) were also asked to come to the new city as a separate group. 1954 was the first year when the celebrations could take place along the main street (Vasmű út), which was originally planned to be the route of the festive May parade. Politicians and other people of great importance would sit on a decorated tribune

located in the middle of Vasmű út between the future main square and the future stadium. The politicians on the tribune would watch the crowd and assign prizes to the best presented groups. From then on people would assemble in different streets in the city from which they followed a pre-determined route to the intersection of Vasmű út and Dózsa György út. From this point they would march south, passing the tribune until they reached the end of the street. The final meeting point was the amusement park located further south on Vasmű út.

This pattern of movement shows an interesting similarity with the processions that took place during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century in Sheffield. Griffiths describes, how the participants of the procession would walk from the city centre to parks at the edge of the city, where these 'urban events' would end. He describes the parks as large 'bounded convex spaces' (Griffiths 2008, pp.390-394). It appears that both the processions in Sheffield and the May marches in Dunaújváros began with more formal ways of celebration and ended in spaces that were more appropriate for 'informal social interaction'.

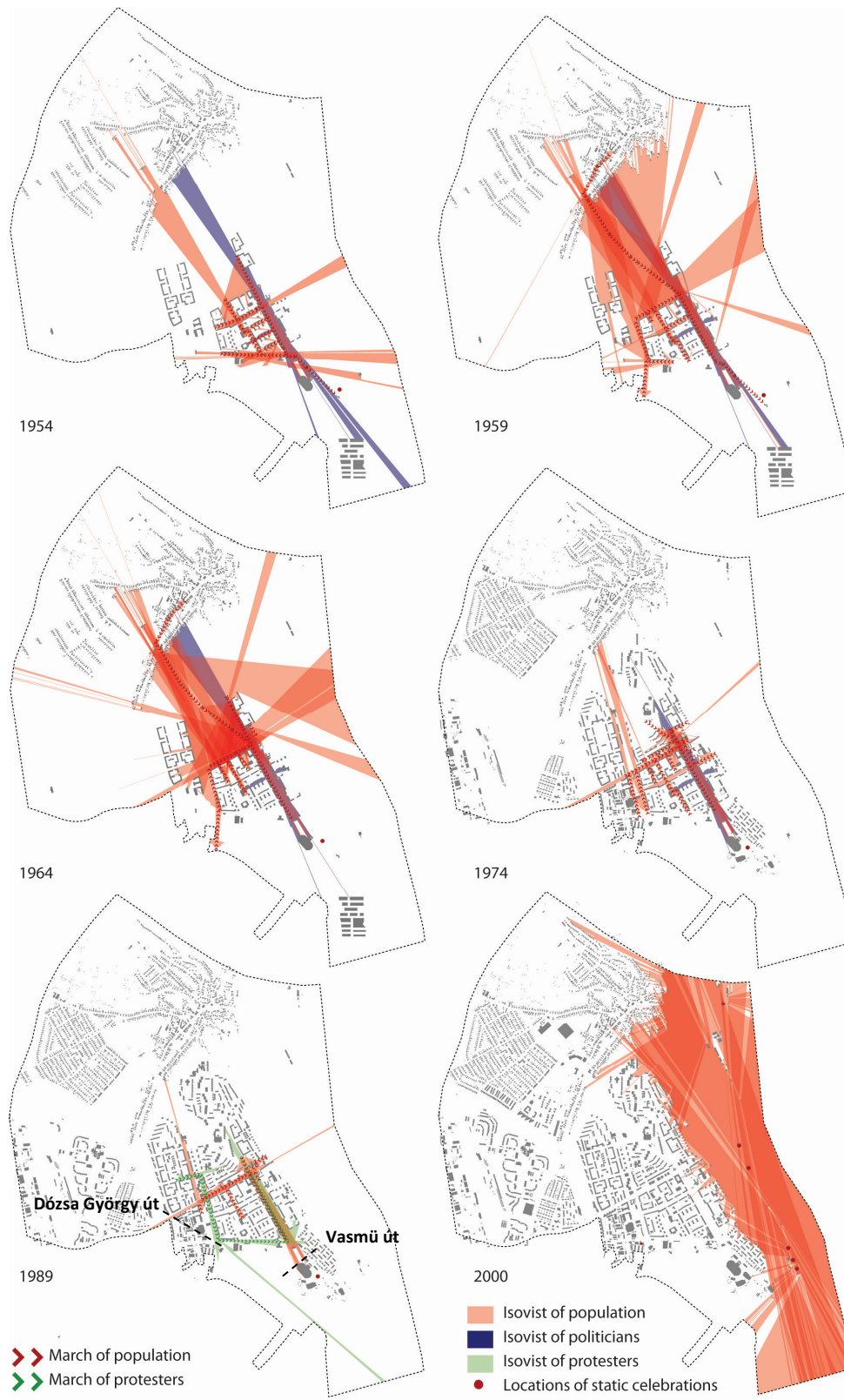
The meeting points and routes of the May 1<sup>st</sup> parades remained similar every year (Fig. 03). These repeated movements through the city made it possible to directly compare the city each year and to see the building progress. The newspaper always used this festivity as an occasion to stress the progress the city had made from last years' celebrations. At the same time the parades were initially taking place in streets that were still under construction. Even the main square, which is located at the crossing point of Vasmű út and Dózsa György út was only finished in 1964 (Horváth 2004). This delay of construction was mainly caused by disputes on the appropriate architectural style (Weiner 1959).

A major shift happened in 1989, when for the first time the parade was not organised centrally and when people were free to choose if they wanted to take part. A group of about 300 people and 300 spectators tried to celebrate the day the same way, they had done before, but without a politicians' tribune. At the same time a group of young people decided to do a protest march and chose a different route through the city (Fig. 03). Their demonstration ended on Vasmű út walking in the opposite direction to the other marches. This was the last year in which the parade took place.

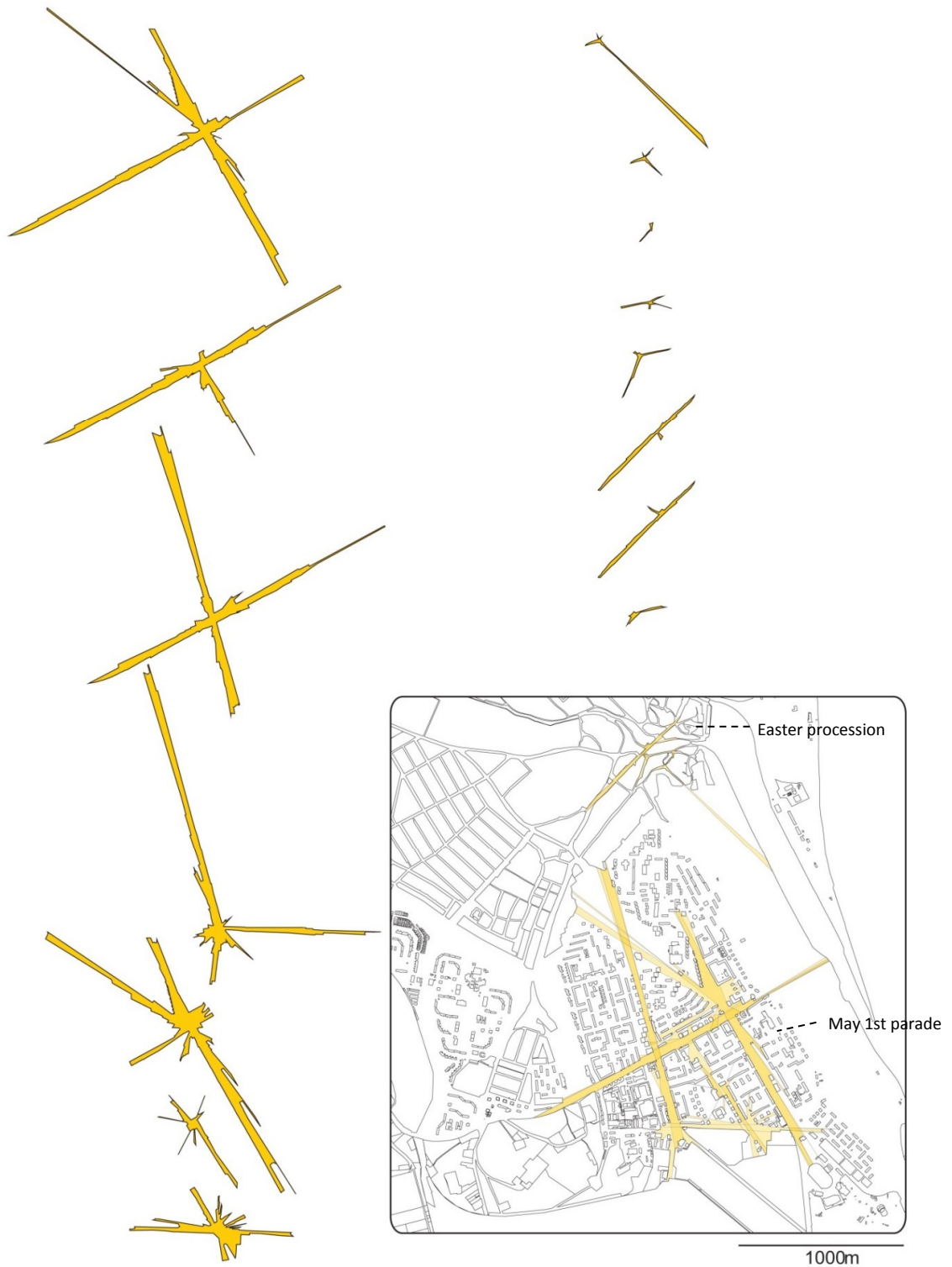
The following years the festivities of May 1<sup>st</sup> moved to the Danube island in the north, to the Danube banks and to the sports fields, all located on the edges of the city. The programme was filled with entertainment, sports and cultural events for every age group. The emphasis was on the communal and free celebration of this holiday. During the last years these celebrations declined and in 2011 and 2012 May 1<sup>st</sup> was only celebrated in the neighbouring villages.

A comparison of isovists following the people's movement shows how the views along the routes became more and more defined by new buildings during the years. Their patterns became more directional, approximating a visual axis. What the map of isovists also reveals are the areas that remained constant in the transformation of the visual field along the parade routes. These are shown as dark red patches in Fig. 03. A comparison across the years shows the transformation of the most overlays of isovists from a wider visual field to a more linear visual axis. It is possible to say that the view was becoming more controlled. However, the route of the parade remained more or less the same. This indicates that the ritualistic practice of the May 1<sup>st</sup> celebrations followed a spatial pattern that was pre-determined and absent in space. The spatial pattern of the ritual existed before the creation of that space. It demonstrates the prevalence of mental representation of space over space itself. The translocation of the celebrations to the bank of the Danube removed this celebration from the space of the city and therefore also from any spatial formality. Due to the significant height difference between the city and the Danube, the city cannot be viewed from the banks of the river.





**Figure 3** May 1<sup>st</sup> parades in Dunaújváros in different years showing routes of movement with isovists and static locations of celebration

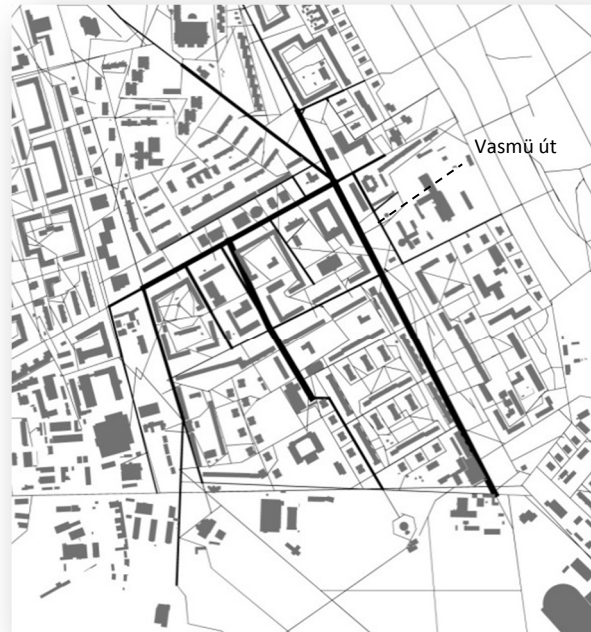


**Figure 4** Point isovists on the route of May1st-parade (left) and point isovists on the route of Easter procession (right)

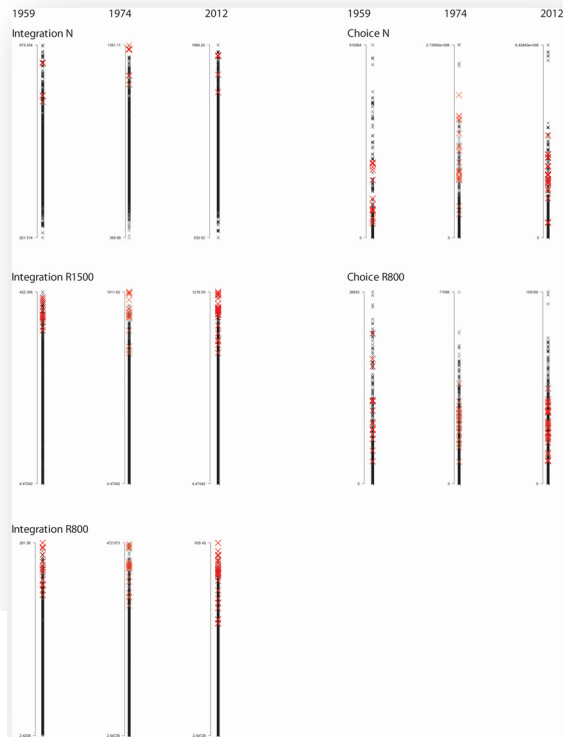
Easter Processions in the old village before and after the socialist regime also took a specific movement route. They started at the catholic church and ending at a crucifix placed at a street junction. Fig. 04 shows a set of point isovists with 360° which were recorded at every turn of the easter procession-route (right) and of the May 1<sup>st</sup> route (left). The most obvious difference is the large size of the May 1<sup>st</sup>-isovists in relation to the isovists taken in the old village. The left

column of isovists shows less convexity and more axuality in comparison to the second set of isovists. While the shapes along the easter-procession vary a lot, the isovists in the new town have the tendency of stretching into four directions at an angle of 90°. The lower three isovists were taken at the beginning of the route which was located in the oldest part of the new town. It is noticeable that these three are much smaller and have a higher convexity compared to the isovists at later points on the route.

Certain streets and segments were used almost every year for May 1<sup>st</sup>-parade's route. Fig. 05 shows an overlay of every year's route, indicating the most frequently used segments for the parade with thicker black lines. Segments on Dózsa György út and Vasmü út are most frequently involved and could be therefore called as most symbolic in the context of this festivity. These segments are indicated as red crosses in the following chart (Fig. 06), which gives an overview of local and global choice and integration measures of all segments in the years 1959, 1974 and 2012. It turns out that most of the segments that were most frequently involved in the May 1<sup>st</sup> parades had relatively high local and global integration values from the 1950s. Especially the high integration values indicate that even though these segments had an important role for this festivity and therefore a high symbolic value, they also had the potential to work instrumentally. The choice values of the selected segments show a high variance.



**Figure 5** Segments most frequently involved in May 1<sup>st</sup> parades shown as thick black lines



**Figure 6** Local and global choice and integration values for all segments of Dunaújváros (black) and of most frequently involved segments during the parade (red)

## 7 The spatial relationship of monuments and churches as places for static rituals

### 7.1 Religious rituals and their relation to space

Religious festivities were not officially welcomed during communism. Since the local newspaper was following the prescribed opinion, not much can be found there on religious festivities from 1951 until 1989. However, it is conspicuous how religious festivities like Pentecost were often replaced by civic celebrations or were transformed into traditions without any religious reference. (Fig. 02) On Easter 1974 the local newspaper *Dunaújvárosi Hírlap* writes, 'The traditions survived their gods' (12.4. 1974, p. 8). Still the people did not seem to be able to detach these festivities from their original meaning. As the new city neither had a church nor a cemetery, people used to go to the old part of the town to visit the church on Easter or Christmas or to attend funerals (Horváth 2004, p. 51), taking the risk of being denounced as 'politically unreliable elements' (Pittaway 2005, p.82, quoted from Fejér Megyei Levéltár (letter archive of the county of Fejér) 1955:1-6). After 1989 three new churches were built.

The following analysis shows how the different churches relate to the city in terms of distance. In space syntax theory there are three ways of measuring distance: metric, topological and angular. Studies have shown that compared to the fewest turns (topological) and least metric distance the least angle is the parameter which influences human navigation and the perception of distance most (Hillier & Iida 2005). For this analysis angular step depth is generated from the segments that are located next to the churches. This measure indicates the linearity of a set of connecting segment lines. The gradient colours in the angular step depth analysis show a distance of three steps, where the furthest step highlights segments that are a maximum turn of 90° away from the building (Fig. 07). The three oldest churches of the city are located close to the old city's main street, Magyar út, which locally has the highest integration and choice value in *Óváros* and also to the street which is leading to the cemetery. The churches therefore are all close to both the ceremonial axis leading to the cemetery and to the instrumental axis across *Óváros*. They are all one or two turns away from these streets. Hillier observed a similar relation of St. Paul's cathedral in London, being slightly placed away from a close long axial line without a direct visual link. (Hillier 1996, p. 177) The angular step depth analysis starting from the segments next to the churches built after 1989 (Fig. 07) show different patterns. While the Evangelic and the Baptist churches are close to the new residential areas of the 1990s and to parts of *Óváros*, the new Roman Catholic Church placed on a triangular island between major traffic routes is close to *Óváros* as well as to the socialist part of the city. It also connects to Vasmű út only by one turn. All three churches mentioned here are only one turn away from globally highly integrated segments.





**Figure 7** Angular step depth from old churches (left) and new churches (right)

## 7.2 The political monument in relation to the 1848 festivities

Reuben Fowkes demonstrates using the example of Budapest how the communists tried to control public space with monuments during the Stalinist era. Both the systematic destruction of existing and the erection of new monuments were highly political actions. The expansion of communist ideology in public space through the placement of symbols was running in parallel with their gain of influence in Hungarian government. New statues were often replacing old ones, using the same location and trying to shift the symbolic meaning of a space. Fowkes explains this symbolism through the meaning of the monuments, their historical context and the symbolism of the location of placement through its history (Fowkes 2002). Consequently, he only peripherally mentions what the role of space and the spatial relation to the city does to construct this symbolism.

Numerous monuments were erected in Dunaújváros during communism and after 1989. On every 15<sup>th</sup> of March Hungary is celebrating the revolution against the Habsburg reign in 1848. This festivity was celebrated before, during and even more after the communist era. Besides different rituals one of the main acts on this day was laying a wreath in front of a board on an institutional building in Óváros and in front of a stone next to a school in the socialist part of the town, which was erected in 1974 for this celebration. This ceremony involved a festive programme at these locations. In 1991 a new monument was erected at a different location in the city, which became the place of celebration. Today, this monument is also used for other major festivities as on every May 21<sup>st</sup> and every October 6<sup>th</sup>.

The angular step depth analysis starting at the closest segment to the monument from 1974 shows how only with a minimal angle turn the axis of Vasmű út is reached (Fig. 08). The monument from 1991 is located at the corner of two streets. The lines with the smallest angular turns branch into three directions and are able to reach both the old town and the socialist part of the town. This result indicates that the new monument serves more as a navigational element on a city wide scale than the old monument does and could be more part of the people's awareness.



**Figure 8** Angular step depth from old monument (red) and the new monument (green). Both monuments are represented by a triangle.

## 8. Results and discussion

This paper has dealt with the change of ritual practice in Dunaújváros during its shift from a socialist to a post-socialist city. As the reviewed literature suggested, rituals were meant as a basic instrument for the establishment of the new 'socialist society' and an integrated part of urban life. Public spaces were planned in a way so that they could afford large assemblies and festivities. The study picked two different kinds of celebrations which have a very distinct way of relating to urban space: one is the parade or procession, which involves movement on a planned route through the city and the other one is the static location of a building (church) or monument, which define the spot of the celebration. This allowed for pinpointing places with frequent ritual use, in order to then understand their relation to the city. It turned out that these places were not necessarily separated from what could be called the instrumental centre of the city. On the contrary: the parade for May1st marches took place on segments that according to syntactical spatial analysis had the highest potential for to-movement on a local and a global scale. This means that these segments seem to have both a conservative use and a generative potential in terms of Hillier.

The study tried to detect symbolic spaces through the location of rituals. A further step after this study could be to analyse the spatial characteristics of these spaces with measurements of symbolic spaces as developed by Hillier (1996) and Frederico de Hollanda (1997) and compare them with the actual ritual use. A larger number of festivities could also get a clearer result on how rituals are linked to the city and in what way this relationship has changed. However, this method of collecting historic data from newspapers only allows for collecting information on official festivities. Informal gatherings or informal use of public space was not documented there.

One of the initial questions of this study was, how rituals were able to have an influence on the establishment of the new 'socialist society' and on the creation of an awareness of a group of members. What the parades showed was the clear spatial arrangement of the different groups that took part in the parade. The people from the old village had to always walk as a separate group a long way to the centre of the festivity on Vasmű út. The spatial difference between ceremonial spaces of the old village and the new town also becomes visible in the comparison of the point isovists on the May1st route and on the route of the Easter procession. The second ritual produced much smaller and fragmented isovists, which would not make it possible to see a huge crowd at once. The isovists on May1st on the contrary were rather axial, stretching very far, allowing to overview almost the whole crowd.

In the change of ritual practice a move of festivities away from axial lines into parks could be observed. Civic festivities in Dunaújváros always tended to be celebrated at the Danube banks or the amusement park. Since 1989 several festivities had changed their programme and transformed into something else. So did May 1<sup>st</sup>, which also moved down to the banks of the Danube. This phenomenon indicates that there is a shift from a more formal to a less formal way of celebrating. Another evidence for this is the programme of each festivity, which became much more open compared to the strict protocol that festivities had during socialism. Another explanation for this new spatial situation could be that people are still very much affected by history and the bondage they had to suffer from under the regime and therefore preferred a change of location.

The comparison of angular step depth between two monuments also revealed how the space of ritual during the communist period related to the new city. The 1848 monument erected by the communist regime was much closer to the new part of the city than to the old village in terms of angular step depth. As a contrast, the new monument was positioned next to a segment

which is close in terms of angular step depth to both the old and the new part of the city. A similar phenomenon could be identified with the location of the new churches. It seems that such symbolic elements as the church or the monument are now bridging the gap between the old and the new part of the city, which are separated partly due to topographical reasons and partly due to political decisions of city planning.

What emerges as a question here is if it can be stated that at the beginning of Dunaújváros, it was the the city in combination with rituals should support the construction of a new society and that now it is the positioning of ritual spots like churches or monuments that are used to knit back the old village to the new socialist city. In both cases the ritual would be something like a pioneer, which is happening much faster than a city can grow and develop.

However, one needs to be also critical about the fact if the regime was successful indeed in establishing a new 'socialist society', which is difficult to proof in the end. What the regime imagined as a society was probably something else than what could be called a 'western society'. What mass festivities were probably able to convey was the relationship of the individual to the mass and to the politicians – a strongly hierarchical relationship. The spatial layout and the rituals were most probably able to create awareness of the crowd and of the city's community as a whole. What remains a question is if this community could also be lived in everyday life on a trans-spatial level.

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