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Working Class Peripheries or State Bureaucracy Settlements? Case Studies of Social Democratic Parties Electoral Support in Capital Cities of Hungary and Poland*

Peryferia klasy robotniczej czy osiedla biurokracji państwowej? Studia przypadków poparcia wyborczego partii socjaldemokratycznych w stolicach Węgry i Polski

• Abstract •

The text aims at the electoral strongholds of social democratic parties in the capitals of Poland and Hungary in the 21st century. Despite the similar history and political strategies of the two former communist parties, they were characterized by a different structure of electoral support. In Budapest, the Hungarian Socialist Party achieved its best results in districts traditionally associated with the working class and the social democratic party of the interwar period. In Warsaw, contemporary centre-left had an unhistorical profile, winning votes in districts associated with the post-World War II military and police bureaucracy.

Keywords: social democracy; working class; Poland; Hungary; SLD; MSZP

• Abstrakt •

Tekst poświęcony jest twierdzeniom wyborczym partii socjaldemokratycznych w stolicach Polski i Węgry w XXI wieku. Pomimo podobnej historii i strategii politycznych obu byłych partii postkomunistycznych charakteryzowały się one odmienną strukturą poparcia wyborczego. W Budapeszcie Węgierska Partia Socjalistyczna osiągnęła najlepsze wyniki w dzielnicach tradycyjnie kojarzonych z klasą robotniczą i partią socjaldemokratyczną okresu międzywojennego. Natomiast współczesna centrolewica w Warszawie miała profil niehistoryczny i zdobywała głosy w okręgach kojarzonych z powojenną biurokracją wojskową i policyjną.

Słowa kluczowe: socjaldemokracja; klasa robotnicza; Polska; Węgry; SLD; MSZP

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1. Introduction

Social democratic parties in Western Europe are interesting research subjects from the electoral geography perspective. Many of them are parties that have been in existence for decades, which is related to, among other things, the processes of a continuation of electoral behavior. Some regions, cities, or urban districts in Europe can be described as electoral strongholds of social democratic parties, where they have won most or even all free elections in history (e.g., Floridsdorf, Favoriten, and Simmering in Vienna, Molenbeek, Saint-Gilles in Brussels, Puente de Vallecas in Madrid).

The political history of Central and Eastern Europe is much more complicated when considering the workers' movement and social democratic parties. The lack of political democracy after the Second World War (and in many cases earlier) and varying social and economic determinants has caused most of the social democratic parties operating after 1989 in the countries of the former Soviet bloc to be groups formed as a result of the democratic transformation of the former communist parties. While throughout the communist period, they became distant from the experience of the revolutionary stream of the workers' movement and intermingled into the state bureaucracy.

After 1989, the field of research on electoral geography did not develop as dynamically in Central and Eastern Europe as it did in Western countries. One of the reasons for this state of affairs was the instability of the electorates' preferences in the emerging democratic party systems (Giugal, Johnston, & Constantinescu, 2011, p. 143).

The study presented here examines the results attained by social democratic parties, with links to two historical traditions of the left – social democracy and communism. In Poland and Hungary, the main left-wing parties of the 21st century – the Democratic Left Alliance (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej – SLD), and the Hungarian Socialist Party (Magyar Szocialista Párt – MSZP) – are both interesting case studies. On the one hand, the successful transformation of communist parties turned them into leading social democratic groupings. On the other hand, there was a transition from the position of predominant parties on the Polish and Hungarian political scene to forces that, at most, could be junior partners in future governing coalitions.

This paper deals with the identification of areas of permanent overrepresentation of social democratic parties in the capital cities of Poland and Hungary. The core of the analysis centers on the outcomes of elections within the administrative boundaries of these cities, broken down by individual districts. The so-called

nationalizing approach adopted in studies of voting behavior and geography takes into account the voting preferences of the electorates of individual parties against the backdrop of nationwide results, highlighting areas of overrepresentation (Woolstencroft, 1980).

The analysis intends to identify Warsaw and Budapest districts where left-wing parties achieved the highest support in the city in three consecutive parliamentary elections in 2006–2015. During this period, both parties were going through a time of internal transformation. The instability of their support will identify the location of electoral strongholds in terms of the amount of support and its durability.

The concept of electoral strongholds is present primarily in German and French studies. However, we cannot talk about developing broader theoretical foundations (de Nantois, 2010).¹ One of the methods used was to compare the results of a single party in a single area with the average support throughout the country. In order to study diversity in urban areas, this paper presents the electoral results in individual districts concerning the results in the city as a whole.

An analysis of the peculiarities of urban space and groups of electorates limited by territory will help clarify which cleavage may apply. Fundamental are the socio-economic characteristics of the territory. In the context of the impact of the historical background and the legacy of the labor movement, it was essential to analyze the nature of neighborhoods in terms that divide urban space according to the social composition of residents and economic functions (R.J. Johnston, Pattie, & L.C. Johnston, 1988). For the question of the dividing cleavage according to attitudes toward pre-1989 state authorities, information on the presence in each area of the headquarters of pre-1989 state institutions that are the basis for the exercise of power, especially the military and police, may be necessary. The people employed in such institutions, living in the neighborhoods in a given area, constitute the electorate of the post-communist left in many countries.

The comparison of Polish and Hungarian social democracy is due to the similarity of the entities being compared and the close conditions of their activities. Both parties were the reformed, mainstream former Communist Party, and both were formed under authoritarian regimes of a similar nature. Poland, especially after 1956, was the most liberal state in the Soviet bloc. After the tragedy of 1956, Hungary also embarked on a path of internal liberalization in the next decade

¹ In 1991, in one of the pioneering texts for the issue of continuity and change in voting behavior in Central and Eastern European countries, Czech researchers used the concept of “areas of stable electoral support”, i.e., “areas in which, in a certain way, the traditional, social and cultural climate determines the orientation towards the political forces that are closest to him with their programmatic line” (Jehlička & Sýkora, 1991, p. 84).

through János Kádár, following the principle of “he who is not against us is with us” (Grabowska, 2021, p. 111). The party systems of both countries, both in the interwar period but also after 1989, were shaped by the reality of similar cleavages at an equal time; in the first half of the 1990s, post-communist social democratic parties received high electoral support, despite the earlier strong delegitimization of communist parties in society (Herbut, 1997). The Polish and Hungarian Social Democrats adopted similar political tactics, avoiding coalitions with populist parties and orienting themselves toward a strategic agreement against the right, of which the anti-communist liberal-democratic parties would be a part. In the Hungarian case, this alliance came to fruition as late as the last decade of the 20th century (Grabowska, 2021, p. 253). From the middle of the first decade of the 21st century, MSZP presented liberal views on the economy and accepted the concepts of Blair and Schröder’s Third Way, which also aroused interest in Polish social democracy (Hloušek & Kopeček, 2013). In both cases, agreement-oriented tactics with the liberal center contributed to political defeats and the loss of a considerable part of the electorate, especially from the periphery and less affluent groups of citizens. In Poland, it happened after a series of scandals after 2002 (Grabowska, 2021, p. 295), and in Hungary, after the fall of the leftist government in 2009 (Hloušek & Kopeček, 2013).

2. Materials and methods

Most territories are a culturally complex mosaic with, for example, different collective memory (R.J. Johnston et al., 1988). Electoral geography aims to study, among other things, the spatial diversity of the distribution of votes and the influence of spatial factors on the distribution of votes (R.J. Johnston & Pattie, 1989). The problem of such analyses would be determining individual voting behavior based on data on the collective. Thus, the purpose of the research should be to explicate the variability of local collective behavior rather than to study the causes of individual voter decisions (Kouba, 2007).

The basis for the interpretation was a combination of statistical data analysis with historical and sociological knowledge. In the presented research on electoral behavior, the so-called “neighborhood and friends effect” was present. Political socialization through the local environment, family contacts, school, work, and party affiliation influences electoral behavior (R.J. Johnston & Pattie, 2004). The issue of housing, building ownership, time of occupancy, etc., may also be relevant in the electoral geography research (Cutts & Fieldhouse, 2009). The history of

a district in the context of industrial development and the workers' movement activity, the district's post-war functions, and the housing construction issue will be compared.

The electoral campaigns of SLD to the lower chamber of parliament and the electoral campaigns of MSZP to the National Assembly after each country's accession to the European Union were analyzed to ascertain the stability of voting behavior in a given area. In the case of Hungary, the authors took into account the results of candidates supported by the Hungarian Socialist Party in the first rounds of elections based on single-member constituencies, with numerous parties taking part in the elections. For the 2014 elections, the votes from individual constituencies were counted to obtain support percentages in Budapest's districts.

In order to examine the spatial differentiation of electoral support and to identify districts in which support for left-wing parties is permanently above the average, a modified index of dissimilarity was used. This indicator, which has been used in relevant studies, primarily surfaces in sociological and social geography research (Šimon, 2015), most frequently to assess the uneven distribution of, for instance, migrants in cities. It has also been used on many occasions in electoral studies, e.g., for the study of volatility comparison of results at the local and national levels (Schakel & Dandoy, 2017, p. 6). It should be added that in the cities discussed, left-wing parties after 1989 have been permanently minority parties (in Budapest, where for a long time the left had won the elections, preferences also have changed, to the disadvantage of MSZP). The dissimilarity index compares different groups in terms of their segregation (an uneven distribution of a given group with regard to a given feature). Existing studies mention categories of overrepresentation and underrepresentation (Roberto, 2024). This paper compares the spatial distribution of support for left-wing parties citywide and in particular districts to identify areas of overrepresentation.

Typically, the index is given as the following formula:

$$ID = 0.5 \sum_{i=1}^n |X_i/X - Y_i/Y|$$

Where:

x_i – number of persons in group x living in district i ,

X – overall number of persons in group x living in the city,

y_i – number of persons in group y living in district i ,

Y – overall number of persons in group y living in the city.

The formula represents a modified index of dissimilarity used in this paper:

$$ID = 0.5 \sum_{i=1}^n |X_i - Y|$$

Where:

X is the percentage of votes in the district i cast for the party under consideration in the campaign n ,

Y is the percentage of votes cast for the same party citywide in campaign n .

The modified index of dissimilarity used to analyze the electoral space of a city means that if a given party is supported by 15% of voters citywide and 15% of voters in a given district, the index amounts to 0. If the party received all the votes validly cast in a given district and no votes in the remaining districts, the index would reach its peak.

The ID was calculated for four districts where, in all of the three campaigns, $X > Y$. This demonstrates the correlation of the continuity of support with overrepresentation.

When using the indicator, the principle of organizational equivalence was taken into account. Areas serving similar functions and with a similar size were compared. Also, the principle of not taking into account size was applied – what mattered was the proportion to the total and not absolute figures of metrics such as the number of voters or turnout. Additionally, the principle of not taking into account composition was applied – what mattered was the spatial distribution of voters and not their share in the total number of those entitled to vote.

3. Old working-class area as a main electoral stronghold of MSZP: The case of the 13th district

3.1. Socialists' electoral strongholds in Budapest

Budapest consists of 23 districts. Until 1929, the city was divided into ten sections and later into fourteen. When surrounding localities were incorporated into the city in 1950, the city grew to 22 districts. District 23 was created in 1994.

Among the districts of Budapest, three districts achieved the highest rates of overrepresentation in three consecutive elections – districts 13, 19, and 20. The importance of the 2014 elections should be stressed here as Budapest was returned to single-member constituencies, resulting in electoral changes.

It should be noted that in the 2006 and 2010 elections, under the previous division into constituencies, the support for MSZP was above the city average in the districts mentioned and in districts 10, 15, 18, and 21. In 2014, in all of these

districts, socialists were only a few votes short of the city average. The case of District 15 is specific, as before 2014, the overrepresentation of support for socialists was significant there. Therefore, the 13th district should be considered the main electoral stronghold of MSZP.

Table 1. Results of MSZP in District 13

	Elections 2006	Elections 2010	Elections 2014
Results of MSZP in Budapest	43.78%	28.02%	38.06%
Results of MSZP in District 13	52.83%	40.37%	47.67%
ID	4.56	6.32	4.80
Average ID	5.22		

These statistics are compiled from the following sources: *Országgyűlési Képviselő Választás...*, 2006, 2010; *Országgyűlési Képviselők Választása...*, 2014.

3.2. 13th district and the workers' movement

The central part of District 13 has been part of the capital city since 1873. District 13 was historically strongly associated with the development of industry. It is no coincidence that its coat of arms, which combines symbols representing individual parts of the district, includes a gear wheel. The central part of Angyalföld remains one of Budapest's most industrial areas (Tamás & Tibor, 2016). Thousands of Hungarians came to Angyalföld, particularly repatriates from Slovakia.

Moreover, German and Slovak workers also came to work in industry. The development of industry and the demographic boom also meant an eruption of social issues. Around 1910, Angyalföld became one of the most densely populated parts of the city. In the second half of the 20th century, in addition to the metalworking industry, a range of other industries developed there – electrical, textile, and – since the interwar period – the automobile industry. In the interwar period of 1938, further areas were incorporated into Angyalföld. There was a rapid development of infrastructure, including education. In the new political realities, social policy focused on work establishments, which were present in Angyalföld in large numbers (*Geschichte des bezirks – Budapest 13*, n.d.). After the war, 10 out of 18 of the largest factories in the city were located in District 13 (Locsmánd, 2008). After the political transformation of 1989–1990, District 13 was subject to gentrification. Numerous work establishments went bankrupt, but the district's proximity to the city center attracted investors.

Historically, in Hungary, Pest was the main development center of the labor movement. Revolutionary ideas were promoted significantly in the 19th century by large numbers of German workers in Budapest (Kovrig, 1979). In elections in the interwar period, social democrats scored poorly nationwide (a maximum of 11% in 1931 and a minimum of 3.4% in 1939). Against that backdrop, the results of two local authority campaigns in Budapest were impressive – in 1930, MSZDP (Magyarországi Szociáldemokrata Párt) obtained 27.4%, and in 1935, this share was 21.27%.

This power was indicated by the high union density among workers and their self-organization. Also, there was a cultural unification of the working class and the integration of subsequent generations of proletarians of German and Slovak origin (Ignác, 2007). In socio-political terms, the city was divided among three main political orientations – national-conservative, liberal, and social democratic. The authoritarian rule in the country brought together social democrats and those of a liberal-democratic orientation (Ignác & Feitl, 2010). The social democrats were deeply rooted in the working-class milieu, whereas the communists constituted an attractive reference point for lower-class people facing social exclusion (Molnar, 1987). The tendency to vote for the left was displayed more often by workers of private establishments (Szabó & Ignác, 2014).

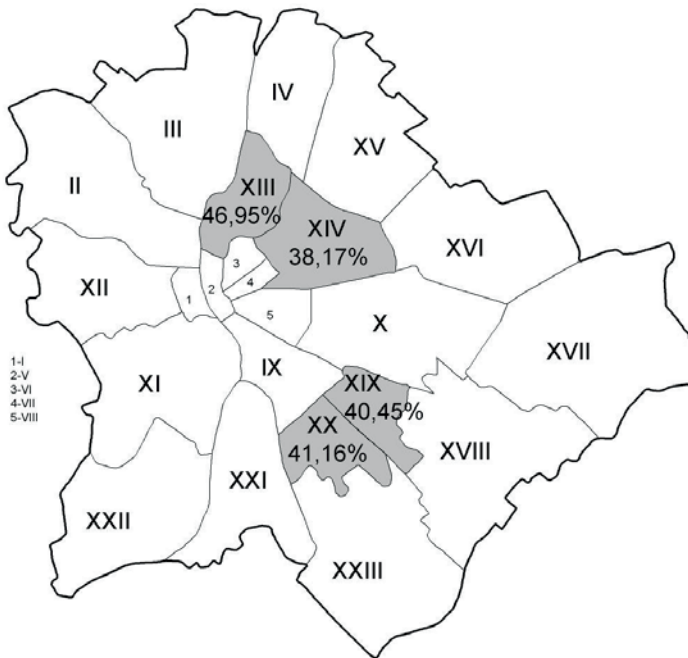
In November 1945, the last democratic elections before the Stalinization of the country were decisively won by the Independent Smallholders' Party, which obtained 57% of the vote. Communists and social democrats gained approximately 17% of the vote each. The Smallholders' Party also secured a victory in Budapest (50.51%), but the unified communists and social democrats achieved a better result than the national average (43.26%). In the municipal elections in Budapest, which took place earlier (in October), the Smallholders achieved 50.51%, and a joint list of communists and social democrats received 42.79% of the vote. It is striking that the overrepresentation of support for the left concerns mostly the areas that supported social democrats before the war (Ignác, 2007).

After the war, the Communist Party experienced a period of rapid development. After liberation, the Party rose to a million at the end of 1945. The working class and some of the peasant population joined the structures of the new state authorities on a mass scale (Kovács, 1984). An increasing number of military people have become party members. After the absorption of social democrats in 1948, half of the Hungarian Workers' Party members were industrial and farm workers, and many of them, in this way, became members of the political and economic authorities. The year 1956 was a significant turning point. Revolution, the Soviet intervention, and the death of Imre Nagy (1958) led to the dissolution of the party and the

establishment of a new one – the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The share of workers and intellectuals decreased, while after 1956, the number of people related to the security apparatus increased. In the 1970s, only a quarter of party members were factory workers (Kovrig, 1979).

Angyalföld is a symbolic place for the development of the Hungarian labor movement, constituting a historical epicenter of its development. The concentration of work establishments and their workers in a small area and the poor living conditions of thousands of workers contributed to the popularity of left-wing parties and trade unions and the creation of a local working-class and left-wing subculture. At the same time, migrants were assimilating quickly, and a local slang emerged (*Geschichte des bezirks – Budapest 13*, n.d.). Compared to the rest of Budapest, the origin of the district's residents was exceptional: half of them were born in the capital city, and 18% in the district (Moser & McIlwaine, 1997). Even before World War I, Angyalföld was an epicenter of strikes and protests, notably in 1912 (Gyáni, 1994). After the period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, residents suffered from major repression, and numerous activists had to flee Hungary. In the interwar period, Angyalföld was a political stronghold of social democrats. In 1945, workers who strongly identified with the neighborhood and the jobs within it spontaneously secured factories from destruction. In October 1945, a coalition of left-wing parties achieved the best score citywide here – 63.89%.

Similarly, in November, this coalition gained 63.78% of votes (Ignác, 2007). A symbolic figure for Angyalföld was one of the communist politicians most important in the history of Hungary – János Kádár (1912–1989). As a young worker, he was employed in an umbrella factory, was active in the circle of textile workers, and belonged to the communist party. After World War II, despite performing various functions in the party and for state authorities, he was formally still a member of the district structures of the communist party in District 13 of Budapest. As its secretary, he organized annual meetings with textile workers from his old factory. Under his rule, the slum housing estate commonly known as Tripolis was closed down (*Angyalföld, the (working class) Land of Angels*, 2008). Kádár supported one of the symbols of Angyalföld and District 13 – the Vasas (“Metal Worker”) Sports Club, which was established by workers of steel works and metal works and was traditionally perceived as close to social democracy; the club played an important role in Hungarian sport after the war (Hadas, 2000). A notable figure in the subculture of Angyalföld was Lajos Kassák (1887–1967), a famous poet, writer, and painter who worked in the district from the beginning of the century, was engaged in social democracy and stood for election in 1946. In 1929, Kassák wrote a short story entitled *Angyalföld*, outlining a vision of the future of the district (Ildikó Melis, 2001).



Average percentage of the vote for MSZP: 36,62%

Figure 1. The Highest Percentage of the Vote for MSZP in the Districts of Budapest (Marked with Roman Numerals)

3.3. Specificity of housing construction in the 13th district

The post-war housing stages in capital city of socialist Hungary can be described as a stage of post-war modernization (1947–1950), socialist realism (1950–1953), “the long 1960s” (1956–1970), the “panel era” (1970s and 1980s), and housing as the “swan song of the state” (1980s and 1990s) (Kanczlerne Veréb, 2012). In the interwar period, the capital city of Hungary suffered from overpopulation. Post-war, three-story blocks of flats from the time of socialist realism did not solve that problem. As a result, a plan was adopted to construct one million flats nationwide, including a quarter of a million in the capital city, mostly in housing estates around the city center. In 1975, a subsequent plan to build a further 1.2 million flats was announced (Egedy, n.d.).

Consequently, over 17% of Hungarians live in such buildings today. Since the 1960s, sizeable concrete panel blocks were built, inspired by the USRR and Denmark.

Today, over 30% of Budapest housing is made up of panel buildings, mainly from the 1970s and 1980s. This was linked to the influx of rural people who took up work in industrial plants. They mainly settled in the outlying districts located at the city's periphery. The development of modern housing estates involved neglecting proletarian and petit bourgeois districts close to the city center (13th, 8th, 9th).

Angyalföld has numerous historical tenement houses from the first half of the 20th century (Moser & McIlwaine, 1997). Another part of the 13th district, the Danube estate housing of Vizafogó, is similar in nature. Since the end of the 19th century, beginning with a well-known match factory, the industry began developing in the region, and the housing estate became known for railway sidings and slums.² Újlipótváros historically constitutes a district of the haute bourgeoisie. To this day, the intellectuals and the middle class have lived there in tenement houses built in the 1927–1944 period (*Angyalföld, the (working class) Land of Angels*, 2008).

Regarding the age of buildings and flats, the housing structure indicates a visible prevalence of buildings from before 1946, more significant than the city average (38.13% compared to 31.76%). Gentrification has resulted in the fact that what ranks second here are buildings from the period after 1990, particularly from the 21st century (more than one-fifth, against a citywide average of 15%). The number of buildings constructed after World War II and before 1960 is above the average. The smallest share of buildings comes from the 1960s. Firmly below the average are also buildings from the 1970s (*2011 Évi Népszámlálás – 12. Lakásviszonyok*, 2014). Large concrete panel buildings began being constructed in the 1980s. The historic nature of the district, in particular its industrial part, has resulted in the fact that the average floor area of a flat is the smallest in all of Budapest (Moser & McIlwaine, 1997).

4. Postwar estate housings as a main electoral stronghold of SLD: The case of Mokotów district

4.1. Electoral strongholds of social democracy in Warsaw

Before World War II, the capital city of Poland consisted of 26 administrative units. The city was divided into seven districts for most of the Polish People's Republic. In the 21st century, Warsaw was divided into twenty districts. The present districts were

² After the war, the seat of a paramilitary sports Society of Fighters for Freedom, linked to the communist party, was located there.

formed due to outlying areas from most of the districts becoming separate districts. Since 1989, the left, through the Democratic Left Alliance, has performed worse in Warsaw than on the national average in all three elections analyzed in this study. The capital has been a place of permanent overrepresentation of liberal parties. In the period covered, five districts showed results above the average – Mokotów, Bemowo, Rembertów, Śródmieście, and Ochota. The highest coefficient concerns Mokotów.³

Table 2. Results of SLD in Mokotów District

	Elections 2007	Elections 2011	Elections 2015
Result of SLD in Warsaw	13.29%	8.13%	9.30%
Result of SLD in Mokotów	16.77%	9.91%	11.30%
ID	1.74	0.89	1.0
Average ID	1.21		

These statistics are compiled from the following sources: Wybory do Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej zarządzane na dzień 21 października 2007..., n.d.; Wybory 2011 do Sejmu i Senatu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej..., n.d.; Wybory do Sejmu i Senatu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2015..., n.d.

Mokotów is a territorially large and the most populous district in Warsaw (217,000 inhabitants), adjacent to the city center from the south. Most of the district area was incorporated into the city in 1916. It consists of several different parts. The housing estates – Czerniaków and Sielce – were workers' suburbs before the war broke out. Before and after World War II, housing estates for officials and the headquarters of various state institutions were located along Puławska Street (Drozdowski, 1968). Much of Mokotów was also inhabited by officials and intellectuals. During the Warsaw Uprising, Mokotów was the central area of fighting south of the city center, and its historic buildings were destroyed to a large extent. As a result, except for parts of the housing estates located in the north and west of the district, it is structurally completely new, with numerous housing estates constructed around it in the 1960s and 1970s. The social composition of the district is linked to the presence of many vital institutions, such as public television and radio. Parts of the district, Czerniaków and Służew, are enclaves of less-educated people (Stępiak, 2014). It gained its current administrative shape in 2002. Mokotów is an affluent and comfortable district, the residence of many of Warsaw's intellectuals and officials. The support for left-wing political parties is asymmetrical and is reflected primarily in the central parts of the district – Stary Mokotów, Wierzbno, Ksawerów, and Wyględów.

³ The ID values can be explained in the case of Budapest by the fact that for the Hungarian socialists the capital of their country was the place of electoral overrepresentation on a national scale.



Average percentage of the vote for SLD: 10,24%

Figure 2. The Highest Percentage of the Vote for SLD in the Districts of Warsaw

4.2. Mokotów district and the workers' movement

The capital city of Poland was a vital center of development for the labor movement until 1945, but not the most important one. Warsaw's lower and middle classes actively participated in the Polish uprisings against Russia in the 19th century. During the 1905–1907 revolution, they were the starting point for strikes and fights and one of the most essential nationwide protest elements. In 1918, the socialist movement in the capital city played a vital role in rebuilding statehood. In general, socialists were one of the three most significant political movements in Warsaw in the interwar period – in the democratic parliamentary elections in the 1918–1930 period and municipal elections in the 1930s. The support for the party ranged from 14% in the 1919 parliamentary elections (with 20.7% in 1922, and 14% in 1928) to 25% when socialist movement obtained votes mostly in working-class districts adjacent to the city center from the west and south,

as well as on the eastern bank of Vistula. The support for the weak communist movement was irregular – it was considerable in the second half of the 1920s and concerned mostly the Jewish population living north and northwest of the city center.⁴ The destruction of Warsaw by the Nazis involved the extermination of its residents. Most of the populations in the two important socialist strongholds in the west – Wola and Ochota – were murdered by the Nazis at the beginning of the Warsaw Uprising. In the 1944–1948 period, the results of elections in Poland were fraudulent. Although it performed administrative functions, Warsaw was an important site of anti-government demonstrations in October 1956, with the active participation of the working class, as well as student demonstrations in 1968 and demonstrations of various social groups between 1980–1989.

Before the war, the territory of what is now Mokotów was divided into several districts. The labor movement was influential in what is now Czerniaków, and Sielce won widespread support there, higher than the average for the entire city, only just before the outbreak of World War II. In Mokotów proper, from the second half of the 1920s, workers' slums were gradually replaced by significant bourgeois investments. There was only one enclave, centered around a tram depot, whose workers constituted the political avant-garde of the left (in Rakowiecka Street). In addition, in the local PPS (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna) structures, local railwaymen and workers of small industrial establishments were active. This was different from the situation of the leading industrial strongholds of PPS (Dąb, 1987). The support for PPS and the communist party on the territory of what is now Mokotów (Mokotów, Czerniaków, and Sielce precincts) was evidently lower than the city average (Drozdowski, 1968). No continuity can be identified there. At the time of the Polish People's Republic, the National Police Headquarters and numerous blocks of flats for employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the accompanying infrastructure (such as the facilities of the Gwardia sports club) were located in Mokotów. This was where the support for the left was overwhelming in all elections. In addition, in some regions of that district, individual military facilities were located (barracks in Czerniaków Fort, the housing estate in Sadyba). Therefore, the support for the left was linked to a post-war administrative and police factor and not to the continuity of attitudes among the working class.

In the case of Mokotów, there was no continuation of the traditions of working-class culture because – after the wartime hecatomb – the working class was, to a significant extent, created from scratch: from migrants present in the city for reasons often related to the reconstruction of the city. Administrative limitations to

⁴ The most popular party among the Jewish proletariat was Bund (Drozdowski, 1968).

settling down contributed to the petrification of the higher status of inhabitants. In the housing estates dominated by blocks of flats, people from various social backgrounds settled, and the distance between them narrowed (Nowakowski, 1988).⁵

4.3. Specificity of housing construction in the Mokotów district

The capital city of Poland experienced profound changes throughout the 20th century. Warsaw was a multifunctional city, including industry, with numerous small and medium-sized plants. The war brought about substantial human losses and resulted in the cultural homogeneity of the city, whereas its multifunctional nature did not change. As a result of the post-war wave of industrialization, large establishments were built on the edges. The city's reconstruction was very enthusiastic, with the wide support of the population (right after the liberation, in January 1945, there were only 162,000 inhabitants in Warsaw, i.e., ten times less than before the war). The pre-war population level was exceeded in the 1970s. The specificity of the situation led to a vast mix of architectural styles, with buildings of different ages standing next to one another. The nature of housing can be described as a mosaic (Stępiak, 2014). This correlated with a mixture of population and the blurring of differences (which were profound after the war) between migrants and those who had lived in Warsaw in the pre-war period (Nowakowski, 1988).

The architecture of Mokotów is varied. There are very few preserved buildings from the pre-war period, mainly in Sielce and Stary Mokotów, and these are accompanied by large blocks of flats from the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s (Stegny – the first panel building estate in Warsaw, Służew, southern Służewiec), with a diversified social composition of its residents. Industrial areas, including electrical and electronics plants, were primarily located in Służewiec Przemysłowy (which today hosts modern office buildings). This was accompanied by post-rural enclaves of detached housing with low population density and varied social backgrounds (Siekierki, Augustówka, part of Służew). When compared to the structure of the entire city, Mokotów sees a visible underrepresentation of housing from the period before 1945 (particularly until 1918), a small, less than one percent, overrepresentation of buildings from the 1970s (Sadyba, Stegny, Służew nad Doliną, and Domaniewska housing estate), and an underrepresentation of housing from the following decade. At the beginning of the 21st century, as many as half of the buildings were constructed in the period 1945–1979 (50.26% compared to 32.64% citywide) (*Panorama dzielnic Warszawy*

⁵ Workers with pre-war backgrounds survived mostly on the far peripheries, on the right bank of Vistula.

w 2007 roku... (2008). During the first stage of the city's reconstruction, housing estates were built in the districts around the city center. In the case of Mokotów, these were Wierzbno, Sielce, Służewiec, and Stary Mokotów.

5. Conclusions

The main electoral stronghold of the Hungarian socialists is an old industrial district. In contrast, in the case of Warsaw, the electoral stronghold has become a district with a strongly diversified social composition, with a strong ethos of the intelligentsia as social strata and a tradition of residence by officials. It can be added that other districts of Budapest that can be considered electoral strongholds of the MSZP (especially 19th, 20th) had an industrial history. However, unlike District 13, they have an above-standard percentage of apartment blocks built after World War II.

Angyalföld was the primary place for developing the workers' movement in Budapest and throughout Hungary – support for the post-communist socialist party is a continuation of electoral behavior in the 13th district. In the case of Warsaw, there is a lack of continuity – the post-war district and the majority of its inhabitants, especially in housing estates with an overrepresentation of support for the left, were not associated with the ethos of the working class. In the interwar period, the equivalent of the 13th district in Warsaw was Wola, which was associated with the metal industry and located in the western part of the city.

The housing structure of the 13th district had an overrepresentation of pre-war buildings, as well as from the first years after the war and from the 1980s, which is the opposite of the experience of Mokotów in Warsaw.

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