

SOCIAL CAPITAL AS A FOUNDATION FOR POLISH SELF-ORGANISATION FOR WAR REFUGEES FROM UKRAINE

Aleksandra SKRABACZ^{1*}, Magdalena BSOUŁ-KOPOWSKA²

¹ Military University of Technology, Warszawa; aleksandra.skrabacz@wat.edu.pl,
ORCID: 0000-0001-5958-810X

² Częstochowa University of Technology; magdalena.bsoul-kopowska@wz.pcz.pl,
ORCID: 0000-0002-6167-6827

* Correspondence author

Purpose: The aim of this article is to verify the thesis on the importance of social capital in the self-organisation of Polish society. The subject of the study was aid activities for refugees from Ukraine. Social capital is understood as a set of basic ties and relations occurring between members of a given social group. It is cemented by such values as trust, honesty, fulfilment of contracts and obligations, and action for the common good.

Design/methodology/approach: The verification of the adopted thesis required the application of methodological pluralism using an analysis and synthesis of the literature on social capital. In-depth analyses were also made of the results of survey research on the aid activities of Poles provided to refugees in the period February-April 2022.

Findings: The results of the survey indicate that the massive influx of Ukrainian citizens has unleashed resources of bonding and bridging social capital in Polish society. In the first weeks of Russia's armed aggression against Ukraine, it was primarily individuals (informal capital) and then NGOs (formal capital) that rushed to help the refugees. During this time, the institutions of the state launched legal, organisational and financial procedures. The spontaneous, grassroots self-organisation of Polish society showed once again that Poles have a stock of social capital that is activated especially in emergency situations.

Originality/value: The findings are invariably relevant for further scientific work on the development of society's self-organisation skills. In emergency situations, when state structures are not yet ready for anti-crisis measures, it is society that assumes the burden of responding to threats. The accumulation of social capital makes these actions effective and serves the common good.

Keywords: social capital, self-organisation of society, war in Ukraine, refugees.

Category of the paper: research paper.

1. Introduction

The historical experience of the Polish nation shows that society has a special ability to self-organise in situations that threaten people's lives and health (Goryń, 2019). This is the ability of Poles, observed for generations, to self-organise socially in situations of misfortune or danger, which has been repeatedly trained in various political, military and social conditions.

Such historical experiences include the period of partitions (1772-1918), during which this society had to survive and fight to preserve its national identity in the absence of its own state for 123 years (Maślanka, 2020). The period of World War II (1939-45) was the time when Poles organised the Polish Underground State. It was a phenomenon of military organisation on a global scale (Davis, 2003).

Polish society's capacity for self-organisation and self-help (Brzezińska, 2011), often referred to as civic training (Strzembosz, Zakroczymski, 2021), resulted in the emergence of very numerous, spontaneously formed underground organisations in the first years of World War II, ready to fight the German and Soviet invaders.

Thanks to skilful behaviour, the tragic balance of almost 12 million war casualties was significantly reduced as a result of earlier preparation of the population for the war effort (digging anti-aircraft ditches, participation in firefighting, population dispersal operations and organisation of local defence) (Szmitkowski, 2012) and a resistance movement and underground state developed on a scale unprecedented in Europe.

Finally, the 'Solidarity' uprising initiated in the 1980s, which led to political, social, economic and military changes not only in Poland, but also in Europe and the world (Davis, 2004; Domber, 2008; Sussman, 2010). It is also worth mentioning the events related to the death of Pope John Paul II, which in April 2005 triggered a wave of unity and grief among the Polish nation after the loss of the great Pole.

In the modern history of Poland, a significant experience in terms of the preparedness of the state and the self-organisation of the population to act in an extremely difficult situation was the flood that hit the south-western provinces in July 1997. Shortcomings, indeed a lack of efficient organisation and coordination of activities, highlighted the backlog that had developed in Poland after a period of preparation to counter military threats only (National Security Office, 1997, pp. 18-20). The central and local government administration, the specialised services, inspections and guards, which in total numbered 75,000 and took part in the fight against the element, as well as thousands of flood victims, were put to a special test. The flood demonstrated that when organisational structures at the various levels of government fail, relying on external help from rescue services is unreliable, the most effective way is skilful and rapid self-organisation around saving the common good (Kitler, Skrabacz, 2010).

To historical conditions, one should also add geopolitical conditions, which result from the geographical location in the immediate neighbourhood of Russia and the age-old perception of Russia as an enemy not only of the Polish state and nation, but of the whole of Europe, as evidenced by historical and contemporary experiences (Yurgens, 2014; Czuperski, Herbst et al., 2015).

Thus, the experience gained in the course of warfare and during natural and technical disasters allows us to conclude that in any situation the civilian population suffers the greatest losses. Only skilful self-organisation for the common good of security and the readiness to take defensive action, which consists of triggering natural, instinctive human (social) actions in one's environment in the sphere of security (Defence Knowledge Society, 1997), make it possible to minimise the consequences of an incident and to limit the number of casualties and losses to property and the environment.

Based on the natural and trained readiness of Polish society to self-organise in an emergency situation, the grassroots community initiative to assist war refugees from Ukraine should not come as a surprise.

Since 24 February 2022, the beginning of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, more than 13.5 million refugees from Ukraine, mostly women and children, have crossed the Polish-Ukrainian border. A total of 11.733 million people have returned to Ukraine since the start of the war (Border Guard, 2023). As of June 2023, there were 872,000 people of Ukrainian nationality in Poland, of whom 39 per cent were women and 11 per cent were men of working age (Ukrainian in Poland, 2023).

This huge, sudden and unexpected influx of people of foreign origin, who, in the face of the armed aggression of another country, left their homes in panic and haste, taking only the most important and necessary things, released in Polish society unbelievable resources of social capital and unconditional social energy, which was channelled into various types of assistance for people in need. Suffice it to say that 70 per cent of Polish society became involved in helping the refugees, and the assistance took a variety of forms, ranging from financial and material support, to voluntary activities at bus and train stations and at reception and information points organised at the border, to making one's own homes and flats available to the war refugees.

Thus, by synthesising historical and contemporary experiences in the area of the Polish society's ability to organise itself into joint, grassroots and spontaneous actions in favour of those in need of support and assistance, the aim of this article is to demonstrate the importance of social capital in the self-organisation of society in an emergency situation. The subject of the research was social capital, the existence of which had a significant impact on the actions taken by Poles in support of war refugees from Ukraine in the first months of the war (February-April, 2022). The research problem was framed as follows: to what extent did the social capital, the accumulation of which took place in Polish society in the face of warfare in Poland's immediate neighbourhood, influence the self-aggrandisement of the aid provided by Poles to the Ukrainian population? On this basis, the authors put forward the thesis that social capital, understood as

a network of mutual relations based on trust and striving to create the common good, is a necessary and indispensable condition for social self-organisation, especially needed in an emergency situation threatening people's life and health.

2. Methods

In the course of analysing the literature on social capital, the authors noted that the interests of researchers are mainly maintained in the sociological research stream, while there is a significant gap on the importance of social capital in an emergency situation, such as the war in Ukraine and the exodus of Ukrainian citizens. As Izabela Rycerska points out, there is a lack of studies on this issue in strictly scientific journals, and researchers are left to explore materials posted mainly on internet portals (Rycerska, 2022).

In one of the few scholarly publications on the subject, Monika Wojakowska states that 'despite being surprised by the scale of war refugees, Polish society has passed the test of empathy, openness and willingness to help' (Wojakowska, 2022). Izabela Rycerska discussed the legal aspects of the assistance provided, pointing out that "immediate action was taken by ordinary citizens who, in a more or less organised way, helped the Ukrainians arriving en masse, providing them with food, clothing, shelter and transport, often to places far from the border, not only in Poland but also in Europe. To those who decided to stay in Poland, Poles made their flats and houses available" (Rycerska, 2022). Valuable information is provided by a report on the role of Polish society vis-à-vis wartime migration, in which a team of authors from the University of Warsaw, concludes that the behaviour of Poles was a reflex (imperative) to help in a situation described as very hurtful to the victims of Russian aggression (Fuszara, 2022). On the other hand, from the perspective of Ukrainian war refugees, the assistance offered by Poles was well assessed, as indicated by the authors of a study containing the results of empirical research among the Ukrainian population arriving in Poland. Volunteers, people working at reception points at the border and Polish uniformed services were rated highest (Długosz, Kryvachuk, Izdebska-Długosz, 2022). The creation of the image of refugees in the Polish press was addressed by Natalia Zawadzka-Palucka (2023), who pointed out the potential of the media in shaping positive attitudes towards refugees, as evidenced by citizens' accounts of Ukrainians.

International scholarly publications are dominated by works on the impact of the war in Ukraine on the international order. Insightful analyses are presented in a collective study on the global consequences of the war. The authors posit that the political, economic, economic and social consequences will be massive, far-reaching and lasting (Garicano et al., 2022).

A multifaceted analysis on Ukrainian refugees by Carmen González Enríquez (2022) is worthy of research attention. The author points out that the UN warned that the number of refugees leaving Ukraine could approach 4 million. After several weeks of war (3 April 2022), the UN refugee agency (UNHCR) reported that the number of refugees had reached 4 215 000. At that time, 2,451,342 people had arrived in Poland. The total number of refugees was the largest exodus in Europe since World War II and one of the largest in the world since then. In addition, the author points out that Ukrainians who left their country, overwhelmingly women and children, were met with open arms in the countries bordering the EU, which receive the majority of newcomers. They have been welcomed by a number of civic initiatives, both in the border states and in the rest of the EU.

In an effort to validate the research assumption made, interdisciplinary research methods were used, including an analysis and synthesis of the literature on social capital theory, its typology and research capacity. This made it possible to systematise the issues related to the research subject. Through the use of induction and deduction, it was possible to interpret the results of the research in a logical manner and to draw conclusions allowing for the formulation of conclusions. The empirical layer makes use of nationwide and European statistical surveys on the level of social capital and its components over recent years in selected EU countries, with particular emphasis on Poland. Using the results of survey research, the attitudes of Poles towards Russia's invasion of Ukraine are presented. The advantage of this method of empirical research was the systematic collection of information in a relatively short period of time, which allowed for in-depth analyses of the provision of aid by Polish society in specific time sequences. Particularly taken into account were the first months of the armed invasion (February-April 2022), when there was a massive influx of Ukrainian refugees into Poland.

3. Results

3.1. Social capital as an imperative for the organisation of society

When people form a given community, they interact with each other in certain ways, based on certain values and moral norms. These allow people to cooperate fairly and in partnership, as they are accepted and respected by all members of that community. Networks of mutual relations are thus formed, resulting in a certain level of social resources, called social capital.

The concept of capital itself has been extensively developed in the work of many scientific disciplines, and its understanding can most simply be put, based on the theory of the sociological sciences, as an individual resource used in the process of occupying and maintaining a social position. This resource can be inherited, created, exchanged for another or bought (Bartkowski, 2007). As far as the meaning of the word social is concerned, it can have

several meanings, including such meanings as (Polish dictionary, 2005): pertaining to society or a part of it; produced by society and owned jointly by it; intended to serve society; working disinterestedly for the good of some community; pertaining to the attitudes or actions of the majority of the members of society; organised by some community independently, without the participation of the state.

Social capital is identified alongside forms of capital such as human, physical, economic or cultural, and in the last 20 years there has been a marked increase in research diagnosing and forecasting the role of social capital not only among different social groups (Volpe et al., 2023; Bin Yu et al., 2023), but also in many professional settings (Medina, Sole-Sedeno, 2023). This is pointed out by J. Field (2003), who reports an exponential increase in the use of 'social capital' as a keyword in the international press in the following figures: before 1981, the term appeared a total of 20 times; between 1991 and 1995, these appearances were already 109. Between 1996 and 1999, the number reached 1003, and not only does the increase show no sign of abating, but one can even speak of an explosion of interest in the term among academics.

Social capital has therefore, as a subject of theoretical and empirical research, been of interest to sociologists, economists, psychologists and political scientists for many years. This is a result of its universal and interdisciplinary nature, which makes it possible and even necessary to study it in conjunction with other types of capital, both in the macro, meso and micro social dimensions (Sierocińska, 2011). This is because it constitutes a kind of foundation for the development of local and regional and national communities, without which even the richest societies and states with well-established democratic principles cannot function fully and well. In the opinion of L. Paterson (2000), this is because civil society is autonomous and the networks of social capital that embody it are primarily the independent bottom-up activities of citizens rather than the state.

The scholarly output on the subject of social capital has produced a number of studies by renowned international scholars, among whom it is worth mentioning: Pierre Bourdieu (1980; 1986), James Samuel Coleman (1988; 1990), Robert Putnam (Putnam, Leonardi, Nanetti 1995; Putnam 2008), Francis Fukuyama (2000), Alejandro Portes (1998, 2000) and Michael Woolcock (1998). Among Polish researchers, works by Andrzej Matysiak (1999), Janusz Czapiński (2008), Jerzy Bartkowski (2007), Piotr Sztompka (2016) and Katarzyna Sierocińska (2017) are noteworthy. The development of the security sciences, especially in terms of the social aspects of security, has led to an increased interest in social capital also in this social science discipline, with researchers highlighting its importance for the proper functioning of local communities, including the creation of security at local, regional and national levels (Urbanek, 2009; Gierszewski, Pieczywok, 2019; Skrabacz, 2023).

Building on the classical concepts developed by early researchers of the phenomenon, including Pierre Bourdieu, James Samuel Coleman, Robert Putnam, Francis Fukuyama and Alejandro Portes and Michael Woolcock, the following generalised and integrated definition was adopted for further research:

Social capital refers to a set of certain basic values and norms, such as trust, honesty, truthfulness, honouring contracts and keeping one's word, reciprocity in relations with others, and remembering one's duties and obligations.

Its source is social networks governed by moral or customary norms (and not, or not only, formal rules of law) that bind the individual to society in a way that enables him or her to interact with others for the common good.

The mobilisation of social capital resources is particularly important in emergency situations where there is a threat to human life and health, loss of property or environmental degradation.

Social capital is directly related to human capital as it refers to the stock of knowledge, skills, health and vital energy contained in each individual and in society as a whole. Human and social capital influence the level of economic (financial) capital, which determines the wealth of a country and its citizens.

Taking the above definition, three approaches to social capital can be proposed (Bartkowski, 2007):

1. A functional approach, which views social capital through the functions it performs, without, however, treating it as a universal phenomenon, occurring everywhere in an identical or similar form. Social capital consists of many elements of social life that are linked by their social effect, they serve to create individual or collective wealth, and social capital itself is revealed primarily in action.
2. An approach based on the paradigm of collective action, cooperation and networking. This framing focuses on the collective action, network and cooperation perspective, and social capital is defined as the moral-social infrastructure of interaction and coordination of human behaviour. Social capital refers to those features of social organisation that facilitate its development, as it enlarges the range of benefits obtained through cooperation and social exchange and increases the productivity of existing resources.

The structural approach, according to which social capital is closely and organically related to the social structure and is one of the three basic forms of capital in human communities, alongside economic and cultural capital.

The theoretical dimension of social capital thus outlined will provide a starting point for further research into its activation in the face of Russia's armed aggression against Ukraine.

3.2. Typology of social capital and its measures

Analysing the connections occurring in a given community, social capital researchers have distinguished at least several types of social capital, taking into account the quality of the relationships occurring between members of a given community and the entities in relation to which they occur (Woolcock, 1998; Działek, 2011).

The interpretation of R. Putnam, who distinguished between bonding and bridging capital, was taken as the basis for distinguishing different types of social capital. According to this researcher, bonding social capital refers to (highly) homogeneous ties, such as between family members, neighbours and close friends. Bridging social capital refers to heterogeneous ties between individuals and therefore includes ties between people from different social groups. Connective social capital refers to ties between communities that cut across status and similarity. In addition, R. Putnam makes a distinction between cognitive and behavioural social capital resources, i.e. those that result from the views of the individuals concerned and those related to behavioural tendencies (Putnam, 1995; Bartkowski, 2007).

Bonding social capital results from the ties that occur between family members or relatives. It is also referred to as informal-family capital, as opposed to informal-social-neighbourhood capital (CSO, 2020). As the name suggests, it occurs between members of a community who are linked to each other by relations of kinship, neighbourhood or acquaintance.

F. Fukuyama points out, however, that this comes at the expense of trust in people outside this nevertheless narrow circle, resulting in the formation of unhealthy relationships in which individual interests prevail over group interests (Fukuyama, 2000). Hence, R. Putnam, calling this type of social capital inclusive, argues that the creation of strong intracultural loyalty, can also create strong extracultural antagonism (Putnam, 2008).

A different form of social capital is bridging capital. It is also called associational because it occurs between members of third sector entities (CSO, 2020). It consists of cooperation between people who are not related to each other and even often do not know each other at all. Their cooperation stems from a willingness to act for the common good. R. Putnam calls this type of capital exclusive (Putnam, 2008), because social ties are outward-looking, linking individuals from different structures into heterogeneous groups, despite differences in values or different life experiences. Thus, this type of social capital - bridging (exclusive) - is a particularly valuable manifestation of civic activity, in which the creation of the common good prevails over the particular interests of individuals.

In the literature it is also possible to distinguish a third type of social capital, called linking by M. Woolcock, which occurs in non-horizontal but vertical relations between social strata in hierarchical power structures and various institutions (Woolcock, 2001).

The division into the aforementioned types of social capital presented here responds to the need to sort out its many forms, as there are many inconsistencies in this area. Some authors attribute capital of a bridging nature not to NGOs and other associations, but to people outside the family, i.e. acquaintances and friends. This is problematic insofar as different types of relations and network links occur among people who know each other (in the case of friendship and neighbourhood groups) and others among people who share a common goal of action (in the case of third sector entities).

M. Wojciechowska (2017), in turn, indicating the diversity of social capital, lists the following types: personal (individual) capital - collective (group) capital; bonding capital - bridging capital - linking capital; capital based on homophily - capital based on heterophily; capital based on inclusive relations - capital based on exclusive relations; formal capital - informal capital; positive capital - negative capital; structural capital - relational capital - cognitive capital. In adopting this division of social capital, it is worth noting that, although its complex typology results from the criterion used, the different types of social capital are identical to each other, as in the case of formal and informal capital and the corresponding binding and associative capital, as R. Putnam and M. Woolcock wrote about.

According to J. Bartkowski (2007), social capital has two levels: individual and collective. In the case of the former, one can speak of individual social capital, resulting from social or ethnic background, or accumulated capital in the form of an established network of relationships. In addition, social capital also has a collective aspect, as it is "carried" by a specific social group. Its elements are acquired and instilled in the course of socialisation, the adaptation of an individual to life in a group, and access to it is provided by group membership. The same author also proposes to consider social capital in a group-layer dimension, as a feature of specific internal groups, which are an intermediate level between the individual and society (micro and macro social system). The group-layer aspect is the problem of the differentiation of social capital resources within a collective. It can be grounded in the social structure of the group, but can also be a consequence of its ethno-cultural composition. The group-stratum level is clearly marked if social capital is shared by members of specific strata and the main mechanism for its acquisition or lack thereof is membership. All three of these levels arise depending on whether we analyse the effects of social capital from the side of the individuals themselves, or as a dimension of internal group stratification, or because of its operation in the community as a whole. These are not fundamentally different forms of it, but rather different aspects of the social capital phenomenon.

For the purposes of further research, based on an analysis and synthesis of the body of scholarly work on the different types of social capital, the following division was adopted in order to organise and generalise it:

- binding social capital, which refers to relationships within or between relatively homogeneous groups whose members are related to each other or live in close proximity to each other. This type of capital is also called exclusive, informal and unitary, homogeneous in nature. It can have a positive or negative colouring;
- bridging social capital, which refers to the external relationships that exist between people who want to cooperate with each other because of a common goal of action. It refers to people acting in associations of a formal nature and manifests inclusive and heterogeneous tendencies;

- linking social capital, which refers to the relationship between people or social groups and power at different hierarchical levels. Unlike the previous two, it is vertical rather than horizontal in nature. An example of this type of social capital could be the cooperation of residents with the municipal authorities in the implementation of the civic budget.

It is worth adding that in a well-functioning environment it is important that social capital is present in its many types, whether bridging, binding or connecting. A common feature is the building of bonds and relationships based on mutual trust, activity and cooperation for the good of the community, which becomes particularly important in an emergency situation. Hence, a community model in which all types of social capital are present, i.e. binding, bridging and connecting, seems ideal. This makes it possible, on the one hand, to protect the interests of all group members and, on the other hand, to control each other's actions and contain undesirable behaviour. In addition, strong bonds are formed in the relationship between the local authority and the inhabitants of the municipality, who trust each other while controlling each other's actions.

No less important than the differentiation of social capital is its measurement. The multitude of approaches in this matter leads to a broad presentation of measurement methods and yardsticks to be analysed. At the outset, it is worth pointing out that some of them cannot be taken into account in the Polish reality, if only because they will not constitute a reliable indicator. It should also be pointed out that, in the opinion of some researchers, social capital is a theoretical concept which finds no equivalent in empirical reality. As far as theoretical concepts are concerned, this is not unusual: it equates here with the concepts of power or social class, which retain a heuristic meaning even if they cannot be directly operationalised and measured.

Reviewing the methods of measuring social capital, the following concepts can be identified according to selected authors (Skrabacz, 2023):

1. Robert Putnam proposes to measure social capital by means of specific statistics, such as membership in voluntary groups or the number of such groups, voter turnout, the amount of charitable spending and magazine readership (Putnam, 2008).
2. Francis Fukuyama assumes a different way, namely to measure the lack of social capital, based on variables such as crime rates, divorce rates, suicide rates, the amount of drug and other stimulant use (Fukuyama, 2003).
3. Jean-Marc Callois proposes to use the following indicators to measure: the percentage of people who have not reserved their number in the telephone directory; the percentage of people who have written off amounts intended for donations in their tax return; voter turnout; the number of associations; the number of bars and cafés; the number of sports associations (Cannon, 2008).

4. Fabio Sabatini bases his measurements on the level of civic engagement, the components of which are the number of associations, civic awareness and political participation (Sabatini, 2005).

For the purposes of the research conducted on the issue of the influence of Poles' social capital on their readiness for social self-aggrandisement in favour of Ukrainian refugees, measures characteristic of Polish social reality were selected and will be presented later in the article.

4. Discussion

4.1. Putting poles' social capital to work for Ukrainian refugees

The starting point for analysing the stock of social capital necessary for social self-aggrandisement in favour of those in need is its division into bonding and bridging capital. The former refers to activities undertaken by individual people who are not affiliated to any non-profit entity. It was these individuals, with a sense of the humanitarian idea of helping people in need, who were the first to take action to alleviate the suffering caused by the war. A huge social energy was activated, thanks to which the activities related to intercepting refugees at the border, providing them with food, transport and organising temporary accommodation for them were taken over by individual citizens (Grabowska, Pięta-Szawara, 2023).

The highest intensity of Poles' activity was visible in the first three months of the war, during which 77% of adults became involved in the aid campaign.

A survey by the Centre for Public Opinion Research conducted in 2022 shows that almost two-thirds of respondents (63%) helped refugees from Ukraine. This was more often done by respondents with higher education (79%), managers and professionals (83%), technicians and associate professionals (80%), administrative and office workers (75%), respondents with the highest income per person in the household (PLN 3,000 or more - 76%) and residents of the largest cities (73%). Those most involved in religious practices also stood out in this regard (77%). The relatively largest number of respondents declaring commitment to refugees from Ukraine lived in the Kujawsko-Pomorskie (81%), Małopolskie (77%) and Podlaskie (72%) provinces (CBOS, 2022).

At this point, it is worth noting the pro-social behaviour of Polish society as expressed in the willingness to work in the form of volunteering. Why? Because volunteering in Poland is treated as an unpaid, conscious and voluntary activity for the benefit of others, going beyond family and friendship ties (Act on Public Benefit Activity and Volunteering, 2003). Numerous voluntary groups are able to dedicate their time and abilities to people in need, offering various

types of support and showing concern for the common good. The attitudes displayed by volunteers are based on a selfless will to serve other people and are not motivated by the desire to find a job and earn money. A volunteer's involvement is voluntary and therefore based on his or her goodwill and not on some binding norm (Bsoul, 2011).

In 2020, 92.6 per cent of registered non-profit organisations declared the use of community service, while showing approximately 2.5 million volunteers, of which 1.9 million were members of the organisation (Goś-Wójcicka, 2022). The average number of volunteers working at least once in 2020 was 29 people, while for half of the NGO-s it was no more than 8 people. The level of social activity, as well as its extent, is mainly related to the education and material situation of the respondents - the better educated they are, the higher the income per person in the family and the better their material conditions, the more often they engage in group social work. On the other hand, a difficult life and material situation and low education are generally not conducive to social activity. What is characteristic of Polish volunteering? Certainly, the fact that people are more willing to engage in disinterested help for the benefit of loved ones, family, relatives, neighbours - 22% of declarations, than for unknown persons - 5.8% of responses (Central Statistical Office, 2022). Thus, the essence of helping lies in who we want to help (Figure 1). It is also worth adding that the idea of helping within the framework of informal binding capital (family, colleague and neighbourhood relations) contradicts the statutory definition of volunteering, which emphasises actions for the benefit of others beyond the above-mentioned ties.

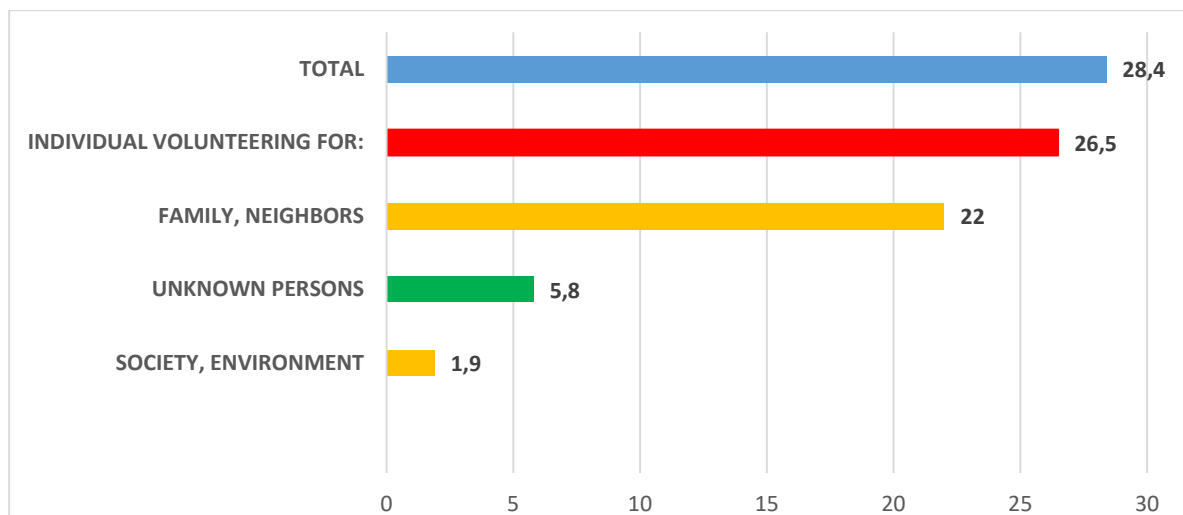


Figure 1. Percentage of volunteers in Q1 2022, by type of volunteering (in %).

Source: Central Statistical Office, Volunteering in 2022. Warsaw, 2022.

Furthermore, when we analyse volunteering by age group, we find that those aged 35-54 are the most active (Central Statistical Office, 2022). These are therefore adults of working age. On the other hand, looking through the lens of the development of social capital resources, voluntary activity is most expected in the pre-working age (young people) and post-working age (seniors) (Skrabacz, 2023). Why exactly there? Because adolescents entering adulthood gain social savvy during volunteering, become sensitive to the needs of others, learn to make

decisions, make choices, manage their own time, communicate effectively and build interpersonal relationships and solve problems. If they enter adulthood with this positive baggage, they will be more successful in both the private and professional worlds than those who have never gone through the 'school' of volunteering. Meanwhile, the rate of involvement of young people aged 15-24 was in 2022. 26.7% (Central Statistical Office, 2022).

Turning to the so-called 'silver volunteering', i.e. social activity of seniors, it is worth noting that social work in this age group provides an opportunity to maintain psycho-physical well-being, is an opportunity to make new friends, share work experience and achieve the satisfaction of feeling needed. The social activity rate in this age group (55-89) was 25.6% (Central Statistical Office, 2022).

Meanwhile, with the influx of multi-millionaire war refugees to Poland, volunteer activity rates rose sharply between February and April 2022, to the benefit of strangers (Figure 2).

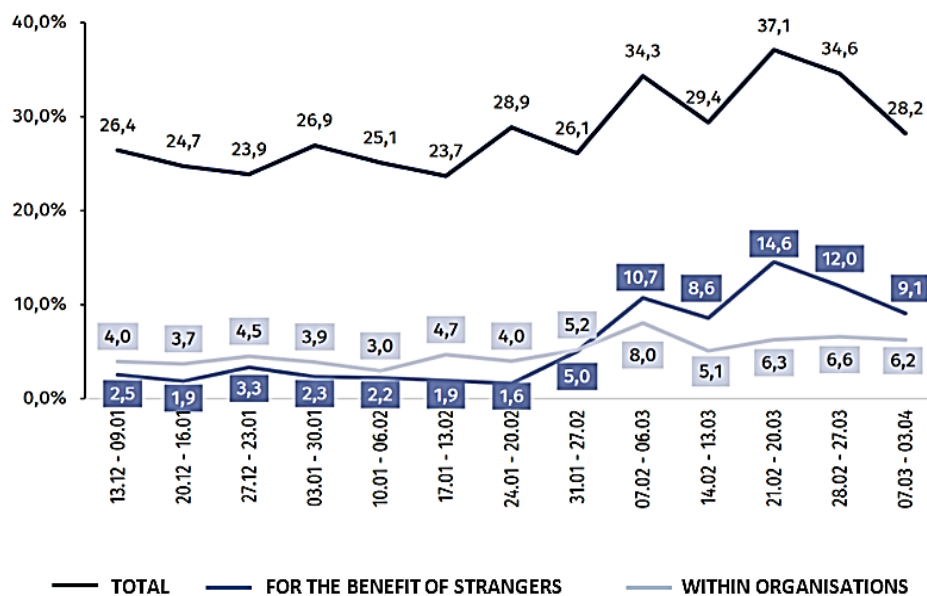


Figure 2. Percentage of volunteers in the time frame: 13.12.2021-03.04.2022.

Source: Central Statistical Office, Volunteering in 2022. Warsaw, 2022.

According to the data, between the beginning of February and the beginning of April 2022, the rate of volunteering activity at its peak was 14.6% for the benefit of strangers. To this should be added NGO-s activities (6.3%).

Along with the readiness for tangible aid activities, mass financial and in-kind collections also took off rapidly, testifying to the enormous generosity of Polish society. Based on data contained in a report by the Polish Economic Institute, it can be concluded that during this period Poles allocated around PLN 10 billion in financial support, with 36% of people allocating on average between PLN 100 and 499 per person, and 8% more than PLN 1000. It is worth noting that in the whole of 2021, Poles donated PLN 3.9 billion to charity (PIE, 2022). In addition to financial and in-kind support, 7% of Poles provided accommodation for refugees in their flats and homes. In summary, in 2022, the total value of Poland's support

for Ukraine amounted to PLN 40 billion, of which approximately PLN 10 billion was the cost of arms and ammunition, approximately PLN 6 billion was the cost of social services for refugees, approximately PLN 5 billion was due to educational services, and PLN 10 billion each came from local government bodies and private individuals (donors) (Żółciak, Osiecki, 2023).

Practically on a par with unaffiliated people, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) joined the relief effort. They became active both in the centres of the humanitarian crisis (on the Polish-Ukrainian border and in the border strip) and throughout the country. In the first days of the Russian invasion, their activities were spontaneous and uncoordinated, while already a few days later the first social crisis staffs started to be established to associate the needs of refugees and to improve communication between NGOs, Crisis Management Centres, public administration bodies and local governments (Grabowska, Pięta-Szawara, 2022). Large organisations with a national structure, such as the Polish Humanitarian Action, Caritas Poland, the Polish Red Cross, organisations of Ukrainian citizens, including the Society of Friends of Ukraine, and many others with a local reach, joined the effort and made a significant contribution to providing assistance primarily in the place of their territorial impact.

At this point, it is worth recalling that in Poland in 2020, 95.1 thousand registered non-profit organisations were active (Goś-Wójcicka, 2022). The most numerous group were associations and foundations, of which associations accounted for 66.7 thousand (70.1%) and foundations for 16.0 thousand (16.8%). The next most numerous group were rural housewives' associations - 8.5 thousand entities (8.9%). The number of economic and professional self-government organisations actively operating in 2020 was 2.1 thousand (2.2%), and social religious entities - 1.9 thousand (2.0%). In addition, 94.4 thousand entities belonged to the social economy sector, 9.3 thousand had the status of a public benefit organisation and 0.3 thousand were listed as social enterprises. The largest share of registered non-profit organisations in 2020 was located in the Mazowieckie Voivodeship (15.9%), specifically in the Warsaw Capital Region (10.7%). On the other hand, the smallest proportion of organisations was based in the Opolskie and Lubuskie Voivodeships (2.6% each respectively).

What is the condition of the NGO sector in Poland? Research carried out by the Klon-Jawor Association on the legal, organisational and financial situation of NGOs in 2002-2022 indicates that: - the number of registered organisations is increasing, although at the same time the share of those that are actively operating is decreasing; - the percentage of foundations established is increasing, while that of associations is decreasing; - associations and foundations are increasingly using the support of volunteers, but the number of people willing to do community work is decreasing; - the number of members in NGOs is decreasing; - organisations are increasingly paying for the work done for them; - organisations are increasingly less optimistic in their perception of their operating conditions in the near future (Charycka, Gumkowska, Bednarek, 2022).

What activities have Polish NGOs undertaken in support of refugees? These can be classified into several groups (Dudkiewicz, 2022): - provision of safe shelter for asylum seekers; - support for refugee hosts; - assistance for people with disabilities and dysfunctions; - support for LGBT+ people; - psychological support; - provision of legal aid; - coordination of volunteering; - Polish language teaching and educational counselling; - transportation of refugees; - assistance for animals; - collections of material and monetary donations.

The multifaceted assistance provided by NGOs required immediate action, which in the early days of the immigration crisis was implemented spontaneously, skipping the planning stage. Reality showed the condition of NGOs in the country, which, without waiting for "guidelines", "programmes" and "competitions", proceeded to act. Each to the best of their ability. An avalanche of cordiality and assistance was unleashed: transport, advice, collections. In the first few weeks, the assistance provided to people arriving from Ukraine was "well-organised chaos". As the situation developed, the aid was coordinated and targeted at specific communities and needs. Organisations divided aid tasks according to their scope of action, established cooperation horizontally (among themselves) and vertically (with governmental and local authorities), which contributed to the quality of the aid activities undertaken.

4.2. Assessing the social activity of poles in the area of relief efforts

Given the civic training that Polish society has undergone over the centuries, it should come as no surprise that Poles rushed to help war refugees with such commitment and comprehensiveness. Nevertheless, as the refugee crisis developed, its scale, form and intensity began to change. As mentioned - in the first period of the conflict, it was mainly the population that rushed to help, activating layers of informal, bonding capital (families, neighbours, work colleagues). As the situation developed, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), both local and national in scope, stepped in, activating the assets of formal, bonding (associational) capital. At the next stage, the number of local and governmental institutions that institutionally took over aid activities gradually increased, and thus the role of social initiatives implemented within the framework of civil society began to diminish.

In retrospect, how do Polish citizens assess the possibility of helping the Ukrainian people? By comparing the data presented in the reports of the Public Opinion Research Centre for the period from May 2022 to April 2023, it is possible to make a certain diagnosis and identify trends in this respect. Thus, the vast majority of Poles (78%) still support Poland's acceptance of Ukrainian refugees. One in seven Poles (14%) is against accepting refugees, and this result also does not change markedly over the period studied. Support for accepting refugees from Ukraine is more often declared by older respondents (86% in the age group of 65 or more against 72% among the youngest respondents (CBOS: May 2002, January 2023, April 2023).

As of May 2022, about half of Poles declared invariably that they or members of their households voluntarily and unpaid help refugees from Ukraine. In January 2023, there was a marked break in this trend, with two in five respondents (41%) declaring that they were helping Ukrainian refugees, which was as much as an 11-point drop compared to December 2022. It can be assumed that this was rather related to the deteriorating economic situation of Polish households, rising food costs and high inflation. All these factors forced Poles to be more frugal, regardless of their attitude towards Ukrainians themselves. The level of declarations of providing assistance to refugees from Ukraine in April 2023 increased slightly - to 46%, an increase of 5 percentage points. However, it is still noticeably lower than the 2022 results, which did not go below the 50% threshold.

As in previous surveys, refugees are more likely to be assisted by people living in larger towns and cities (65% in the largest cities vs. 40% in rural areas), better educated (58% among respondents with tertiary education vs. 37% with basic vocational education) and better at assessing their material conditions (51% among those assessing them as good vs. 36% among those assessing them as bad).

It is worth noting another trend, related to the assessment of the assistance offered by the Polish state to refugees from Ukraine. Namely, the majority of Poles believe (68% in April 2023 vs. 64% in December 2022) that the assistance Poland offers to refugees from Ukraine is sufficient. One in five respondents (22%) thinks it is too much, with this percentage from May 2022 to April 2023 remaining in the 22%-30% range, so this is not an atypical result (Central Statistical Office: May 2022; December 2022; April 2023).

Summarising the attitude of Poles as a whole towards Ukrainian refugees on the basis of the cited opinion polls, it can be concluded that 62% of Poles speak positively about them, every fifth respondent (21%) has an indifferent attitude and only every ninth respondent (11%) considers it negative (CBOS, April 2023).

One more predictor should be a prompt for further research. Namely, the Polish public's assessment of the actions of other countries in the area of assistance to Ukraine. Most positive ratings were obviously given to the attitude presented by Poland itself, followed by actions taken by the United States (82%) and the United Kingdom (65%). Countries at the other extreme are Hungary (54% negative) and Germany (43% negative) (CBOS, April 2023).

5. Conclusions

Members of Polish society, when providing comprehensive assistance to people in need, were guided by various factors. The most important ones include a spontaneous reaction to events happening beyond the eastern border of the country, the need of the heart, and the willingness of Poles to help people in need. The foundation of these activities was the

accumulation of social capital, which is a resource formed on the basis of relations and ties between individuals and social entities.

The idea of civil society presupposes the active participation of citizens in the life of the state. This activity is expressed not only in participation in elections to representative bodies, but also - or perhaps above all - in activities that society deems important, relevant and necessary. This motto can be encapsulated in the thesis: where the state cannot, society must.

This is reflected in the actual measures taken for refugees arriving from Ukraine. Before the state, and more specifically the public administration bodies, launched legal, organisational and financial procedures, it was society that was the first to come to the aid. By spontaneously organising help spots at information points at the border, at railway stations and finally in their own homes, they shared material and financial goods and psychological support. It was at this time that the social capital inherent in society became the glue and the foundation on which so much was accomplished for people in existential and emotional crisis.

The Polish people once again showed Europe and the world that in an emergency they can unite, organise from below and act together for the benefit of others and the common good. With the beginning of institutional action, under the aegis of governmental and international institutions, society returned to the mode of everyday action. However, the inherent resources of social capital in society are ready to be used in the next extraordinary event.

After more than a year's experience of war, it can be concluded that refugee assistance is being provided within the institutions of the welfare state system. The state carries out its mission not only for the citizen, but also for those who have found themselves legally on its territory. Hence, war refugees from Ukraine have access to social benefits, the health system or education on the same level and terms as Polish citizens. This requires the coordination of a number of public institutions whose role is to bridge social differences and tensions and to ensure social cohesion between immigrants and the host society.

References

1. Barczykowska, A. (2012). Pozytywny, negatywny czy neutralny? Pytanie o naturę kapitału społecznego (Positive, negative or neutral? A question about the nature of social capital). *Studia Edukacyjne*, 22. Poznań: Uniwersytet A. Mickiewicz. Retrieved from: <https://repozytorium.amu.edu.pl/server/api/core/bitstreams/39299535-796b-4b51-9d7b-fc71751e0a4c/content>, 12.10.2023.
2. Bartkowski, J. (2007). Kapitał społeczny i jego wpływ na rozwój w ujęciu socjologicznym (Social capital and its impact on development in sociological terms). In: M. Herbst (ed.), *Kapitał ludzki i kapitał społeczny a rozwój regionalny (Human capital and social capital and regional development)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, pp. 55, 69-71.

3. Bin, Y., Feng, Ch., Yang, X., Wang, Z., Zou, H., Jia, P., Yang, Sh. (2023). Roles of Social Capital in the Association Between Internalized Homophobia and Condomless Sex Among Men Who Have Sex With Men in Southwest China: A Four-Way Decomposition. *Int. J. Public Health*, 20 January 2023. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.3389/ijph.2023.1605202>, 17.09.2023.
4. Bourdieu, P. (1980). Le capital social: notes provisoires. *Actes Rech. Sci. Soc.*, no. 31. Retrieved from: [https://www.scrip.org/\(S\(i43dyn45teexjx-455qlt3d2q\)\)/](https://www.scrip.org/(S(i43dyn45teexjx-455qlt3d2q))/), 12.10. 2023.
5. Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In: J.G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood.
6. Brzezińska, A.I. (2011). Samoorganizacja i samopomoc jako warunki i efekty aktywizacji społeczności lokalnych. *Polityka Społeczna, numer specjalny: "Aktywizacja społeczna i rozwój społeczności lokalnych. Zasoby, kompetencje, partnerstwa"* (Self-organisation and self-help as conditions and effects of community activism). *Social Policy, special issue: 'Social activism and community development. Resources, competences, partnerships*, pp. 10-14.
7. Bsoul, M. (2011). Wolontariat jako aktywność budująca kapitał społeczny (Volunteering as an activity that builds social capital). *Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Częstochowskiej. Zarządzanie*, no. 3. Retrieved from: <http://bazekon.icm.edu.pl/bazekon/element/bwmeta1.element.ekon-element-000171441342>, 23.10.2023, p. 24.
8. Charycka, B., Gumkowska, M., Bednarek, J. (2022). *Kondycja organizacji pozarządowych. Trendy 2002-2022 (The condition of non-governmental organisations. Trends 2002-2022)*. Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Klon-Jawor.
9. Coleman, J.S. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, no. 94. Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Retrieved from: <http://www.reutinstitute.org/Data/Uploads/PDFVer/Social%20Capital%20Coleman.pdf>, 11.12.2022.
10. Coleman, J.S. (1990). *Fondations of Social Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
11. Czapiński, J. (2008). Kapitał ludzki i społeczny a dobrobyt materialny. Polski paradoks (Human capital and social capital versus material well-being. The Polish paradox). *Zarządzanie Publiczne*, no. 2(4).
12. Czuperski, M., Herbst, J., Higgins, E., Polyakova, A., Wilson D. (2015). *Hiding In Plain Sight: Putin's War in Ukraine*. Washington DC: Atlantic Council. Retrieved from: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/hiding-in-plain-sight/>, 14.10.2023.
13. Davies, R.T. (2004). The CIA and the Polish Crisis of 1980-1981. *Journal of Cold War Studies*, no. 3.
14. Davis, N. (2003). *Rising '44. The Battle for Warsaw*. London: Macmillan Publishers.

15. Długosz, P., Kryvachuk, L., Izdebska-Długosz, D. (2022). *Uchodźcy wojenni z Ukrainy - życie w Polsce i plany na przyszłość (War refugees from Ukraine - life in Poland and plans for the future)*. Retrieved from: https://depot.ceon.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/21387/Uchodzczy_wojenni_net%2814%29.pdf?sequence=6&isAllowed=y, 12.10.2023, p. 3.
16. Domber, G.F. (2008). *Supporting the Revolution: America, Democracy, and the End of the Cold War in Poland, 1981-1989. ACES Working Paper (Report), No. 8*. Retrieved from: <http://aei.pitt.edu/id/eprint/59042>, 7.10.2023.
17. Dudkiewicz, J. (2022). *Jak organizacje społeczne pomagają osobom z Ukrainy: przykładowe działania i informacje dla osób, które chcą zostać wolontariuszami (How community organisations help people from Ukraine: sample actions and information for people who want to become volunteers)*. Retrieved from: <http://bityl.pl/WjUBJ>, 15.09.2022.
18. Działek, J. (2011). *Kapitał społeczny jako czynnik rozwoju gospodarczego w skali regionalnej i lokalnej w Polsce (Social capital as a factor of economic development at the regional and local scale in Poland)*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
19. Enríquez, C.G. (2022). *The welcome given to Ukrainian refugees: some challenges and uncertainties*. Retrieved from: <https://media.realinstitutoelcano.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/ari31-2022-gonzalez-the-welcome-given-to-ukrainian-refugees-some-challenges-and-uncertainties.pdf>, 22.10.2023.
20. Feliksiak, M. (2022). *Polacy wobec uchodźców z Ukrainy (Poles towards refugees from Ukraine)*. Warszawa: CBOS. Październik 2022. Retrieved from: https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2022/K_062_22.PDF, 26.10.2023.
21. Field, J. (2003). *Social Capital*. New York: Routledge, pp. 3-4.
22. Fukuyama, F. (2000). *The Great Shock: Human Nature and the Reconstruction of the Social Order*. Warszawa: Bertelsmann Świat Książki.
23. Fuszara, M. (ed.) (2022). *Masowa ulga w masowej ucieczce. Społeczeństwo polskie wobec wojennej migracji z Ukrainy (Massive relief in mass flight. Polish society towards wartime migration from Ukraine)*. Retrieved from: http://www.isns.uw.edu.pl/pliki/wydawnictwa/Ukraina_WWW.pdf, 12.09.2023, p. 9.
24. Garicano, L., Rohner, D., Weder di Mauro, B. (ed.) (2022). *Global Economic Consequences of the War in Ukraine. Sanctions. Supply Chains and Sustainability*. Retrieved from: https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/222703/1/172987_global_economic_consequences_of_the_war_in_ukraine_sanctions_supply_chains_and_sustainability.pdf#page=191, 22.10.2023.
25. Gierszewski, J., Pieczywok, A. (2019). *Społeczny wymiar bezpieczeństwa człowieka (The social dimension of human security)*. Warszawa: Difin.
26. Główny Urząd Statystyczny (2022). *Wolontariat w 2022 roku (Volunteering in 2022)*. Warszawa.

27. Goryń, K. (2019). *Samoorganizacja społeczna na rzecz bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski w XXI wieku (Social self-organization for Poland's national security in the 21st century)*. Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Białymstoku.
28. Goś-Wójcicka, K. (2022). *Sektor non-profit w 2020 roku. Samorząd gospodarczy i zawodowy. Stowarzyszenia, fundacje, społeczne podmioty wyznaniowe (The non-profit sector in 2020. Economic and professional self-government. Associations, foundations, social religious entities)*. Warszawa/Kraków: CSO.
29. Grabowska, S., Pięta-Szawara, A. (2023). Polskie wsparcie dla uchodźców z Ukrainy w obliczu wojny w 2022 roku - wybrane aspekty (Polish support for refugees from Ukraine in the face of war in 2022 - selected aspects). *Journal Of Modern Science, tom 1/50*. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.13166/jms/161538>, 12.09.2023, p. 384.
30. Growiec, K. (2011). *Kapitał społeczny. Geneza i konsekwencje społeczne (Social capital. Genesis and social consequences)*. Warszawa: Academica SWPS.
31. Kitler, W., Skrabacz, A. (2010). *Bezpieczeństwo ludności cywilnej. Koncepcja. Organizacja. Zadania (Civilian security. Concept. Organisation. Tasks)*. Warszawa: TWO, pp. 167-168.
32. Kuchmacz, B. (2016). *Kapitał społeczny jako czynnik rozwoju lokalnego (Social capital as a factor in local development)*. Warszawa: CeDeWu.
33. Maślanka, A. (2020). Bezpieczeństwo społeczności lokalnych w okresie zaborów na przykładzie działalności organizacji społecznych (Security of local communities in the times of partition on the example of the activity of social organisations). *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia de Securitate, 10(1)*. Retrieved from: DOI 10.24917/26578549.10.1.11, 19.09.2023.
34. Medina, F-X., Sole-Sedeno, J.M. (2023). Social Sustainability, Social Capital, Health, and the Building of Cultural Capital around the Mediterranean Diet. *Sustainability, 15(5), 4664*. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.3390/su1505466413>, 12.09.2023.
35. Organisation For Economic Co-Operation And Development (2012). *The Well-Being Of Nations. The Role Of Human And Social Capital*. Retrieved from: <https://www.oecd.org/education/innovation-education/1870573.pdf>, 12.09.2023.
36. Paterson, L. (2000). Civil Society and Democratic Renewal. In: S. Baron, J. Field, T. Schuller (eds.), *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*. Oxford: University Press.
37. Polski Instytut Ekonomiczny (2022). *Pomoc polskiego społeczeństwa dla uchodźców z Ukrainy (Polish society's assistance to refugees from Ukraine)*. Retrieved from: Aid-pol-UKR-22.07.2022-D-1 - report.pdf, 15.10.2023.
38. Portes, A. (1998). Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology. *Annual Sociology, no. 24*. Retrieved from: <http://faculty.washington.edu/matsueda/courses/590/Readings/Portes%20Social%20Capital%201998.pdf>, 23.09.2022.
39. Portes, A. (2000). The Two Meanings of Social Capital. *Sociological Forum, no. 15*. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1007537902813>, 8.09.2022.

40. Putnam, R. (2008). *A lonely game of bowling. The decline and rebirth of local communities in the United States*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne.
41. Putnam, R., Leonardi, R., Nanetti, R. (1995). *Democracy in action: civic traditions in contemporary Italy*. Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy Znak.
42. Rycerska, I. (2022). Pomoc uchodźcom z Ukrainy w zapewnieniu godnego pobytu i bezpieczeństwa w Polsce przez jednostki samorządu terytorialnego w regulacjach prawnych (Assistance to refugees from Ukraine in ensuring a dignified stay and safety in Poland by local government units in legal regulations). *Studia i analizy nauk politycznych*, no. 2. Retrieved from: ejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.ojs-doi-10_31743_sanp_14411, 05.09.2023, p. 65.
43. Sabatini, F. (2005). *Does Social Capital Improve Labour Productivity in Small and Medium Enterprises?* Roma: La Sapienza. Retrieved from: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=828524, 24.09.2023.
44. Scovil, J. (2023). *Polacy wobec wojny na Ukrainie i ukraińskich uchodźców (Poles towards the war in Ukraine and Ukrainian refugees)*. Warszawa: CBOS, marzec. Retrieved from: https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2023/K_054_23.PDF, 24.09.2023.
45. Sierocińska, K. (2017). Kapitał społeczny. Definiowanie, pomiar i rodzaje (Social capital. Defining, measuring and types). *Studia Ekonomiczne*, no. 1.
46. Skrabacz, A. (2006). *Organizacje pozarządowe w bezpieczeństwie narodowym Polski w XXI wieku (Non-governmental organisations in Poland's national security in the 21st century)*. Warszawa: AON, pp. 78-80.
47. Skrabacz, A. (2023). Znaczenie kapitału społecznego w tworzeniu bezpieczeństwa społeczności lokalnych (The importance of social capital in creating local community security). *Rocznik Nauk Społecznych*, Vol. 15(51), no. 2. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.18290/rns2023.0018>, 12.10.2023, pp. 33-34.
48. *Słownik Języka Polskiego*. Retrieved from: <https://sjp.pwn.pl/slowniki/spo%C5%82eczny.html>, 10.10.2023.
49. Straż Graniczna (2023). Retrieved from: <https://www.strazgraniczna.pl/pl/aktualnosci/informacje-o-granicy-polsko-uk>, 25.10.2023.
50. Strzembosz, A., Zakroczyński, S. (2021). *Między prawem a sprawiedliwością (Between law and justice)*. Warszawa: Więź, pp. 58-58.
51. Sussman, G. (2010). *Branding Democracy: U.S. Regime Change in Post-Soviet Eastern Europe*. New York: International Academic Publishers.
52. Szmitkowski, P. (2012). System ochrony ludności w Polsce - historia i współczesność (Civil Protection System in Poland - History and the Present). *Colloquium Wydziału Nauk Humanistycznych i Społecznych*, 4. Retrieved from: <https://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.cejsh-62d6f117-0547-404b-b899-91e2b5ad554d>, 16.10.2023.
53. Sztompka, P. (2016). *Kapitał społeczny. Teoria przestrzeni międzyludzkiej (Social capital. A theory of interpersonal space)*. Kraków: Znak.

54. Towarzystwo Wiedzy Obronnej (1997). *Powszechna samoobrona (Society for Defence Knowledge)*. Warszawa: TWO, pp. 11-12.
55. Ukrainian in Poland (2023). Retrieved from: <https://www.ukrainianinpoland.pl/how-many-ukrainians-have-crossed-the-ukrainian-polish-border-since-the-beginning-of-the-war-current-data-pl/>, 23.09.2023.
56. Urbanek, A. (2009). *Bezpieczeństwo społeczności lokalnych*. Warszaw: Akademickie i Profesjonalne.
57. Volpe, E., Polmear, M., Simmons, D.R., Weisenfeld, D. (2023). Exploring the Role of Social Capital in Civil Engineering Students' Leadership Development. *Journal of Civil Engineering Education*, Vol. 149, Iss. 3. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1061/JCEECD.EIENG-1870>, 16.09.2023.