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## STATE OF WAR AS A FACTOR CONDITIONING THE SENSE OF SECURITY

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Each war has its purpose, most often political, additionally it remains a kind of armed clash of states and international coalitions, bringing at the same time the breakdown and destruction of societies. Modern wars often become so-called «non-contact wars», leading to an advantage by breaking the state's economy and disrupting its essential functions. The aim of the undertaken analysis is to show war as a significant carrier of security disturbances not only in the international context, but above all in the local context, in connection with the conflict between Ukraine and Russia and related unrest in Poland. For this purpose, issues related to security and definition problems of this concept were presented. War is shown as a carrier of social unrest in relation to the local population. On the basis of periodically presented research published by CBOS and other research units, such as the Political Poznan Laboratory, the sense of security of Polish women and men was shown, with particular emphasis on the inhabitants of the borderland. It turned out that young people who are fighting for their good future are most afraid of war. They are the ones brought up in the world of dynamic civilizational progress, who value peace more than freedom, life than death. In general, Poles present a moderate level of war threat from Russia. However, they fear an economic war that will contribute to the emergence of worrying economic phenomena. It can be said that the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, which has been going on for some time, even if it ends soon, has become an important catalyst for dynamic changes not only in the context of international cooperation, but also in building a sense of security in the context of active grassroots social initiatives.

*Key words:* security, sense of security, war, threat to security, conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

## **Introduction**

War and fight is always conducted to achieve a number of various goals, most often political ones, and the success in a war is the result of revolutionary changes in the war trade itself, which in turn is closely linked to the development of society. In modern classical approach, the war as such is a kind of extension of the policy implemented by some states, which through various means of pressure is to lead to achieve an expected goal. It can also be said that it is a kind of armed clash of states or international coalitions. Thus, the genesis of any war waged in the world can be reduced to its few basic features: some kind of political goals, means of pressure as well as forms and methods of combat carried out in specific conditions [18]. It is believed that not only now, but also in the future, we will more and more often experience the so-called «non-contact war», aimed at violating or even breaking the economy of the state, disturbance of its essential functions, such as the leveling of the sense of security of its inhabitants or even the categorical elimination of the possibility of fighting due to difficulties in the field of command on the way to gaining information advantage - information warfare [13, 20]. The aim of the undertaken analysis is to show war as a significant carrier of security disturbances not only in the international context, but above all in the local context, in connection with the conflict between Ukraine and Russia and related unrest in the border area.

### **Sense of security: security - definitional conditions**

Security does not have a uniform and simple definition, the more so that the term is used by many scientific disciplines. In the interdisciplinary discussion, however, one can see a common aspect indicating that it is a kind of objectivity in which there are no threats in the assessment of both individuals and groups. Its opposite, therefore, is a sense of danger. So here we have a clash of two different states, the objective (external conditions) and the subjective (individual experiences) [21]. The sense of feeling secure is controversial in the context of the scale it should cover. Global, international or ultimately local and even individual security is taken into account here [6]. Many sources are looking for an appropriate borderline between freedom and security, indicating the prospects and proportions for its limitation at the expense of obtaining the highest possible level of security [1].

Currently, social or economic conditions in the aspect of perceiving security are increasingly noticed. In the literature on the subject, various definitions are presented. For example, a given nation is safe when it does not have to completely sacrifice its key values, even in the event of a threat of war, and finally, in the event of a war, it can fully defend these values [9]. The second concept shows security in the objective sense, indicating it as a specific measure of the lack of potential threats to already acquired values, and in the subjective sense, as the lack of fear of those who could disturb these values [16]. As a generalization, security can be shown as the ability of a particular state to maintain its identity or integrity in the course of its activities [2].

Individuals feel really safe when they do not deprive other people of this feeling.

The emancipation process can be considered in this way, which is pointed out by many researchers of this issue [5]. The multitude of definitions and theories related to security does not make it easier to choose a specific concept, however, in the psychological sense it will be a feeling of peace and lack of a sense of threat [19]. The security of the population is a derivative of many different factors closely related to the level of state security. The need to feel safe is the foundation of all other individual needs. Therefore, the main task of the state is to prevent all dangers, because each individual will present a high level of security in a state of peace and quiet, having the means to live and meet higher-order needs. War or armed conflict, in which its citizens participate through belonging to a state, is an important factor that destroys the sense of security, not only in the context of the citizens of this state, but also in the neighboring areas. Currently, the activity of the state does not focus only on the issues of ensuring military security, but takes into account many scales and planes, somehow combining values that are important for society, among which peace, justice and social or economic balance stand out in the first place. It can therefore be said that it is a kind of balancing process that allows for the development of the state and society at the same time. However, it is extremely important to recognize the complexity and multidimensionality of this issue. The challenge of waging war certainly disturbs the shape of global, international, national and, in a special way, local or neighborly security.

### **War and its impact on the sense of security**

The Russian-Ukrainian war, which escalated in 2022, is now being waged on a large scale. Russia's attack on Ukraine disturbed and then destroyed the sense of security of the inhabitants of both countries, and what is worse, it still has a wide impact on the security makeup of the world. The desire to expand the sphere of influence of the Russian authorities has led to the fact that this Russian imperialism has now taken a form that has not been seen for a long time. The sovereignty of an independent, free state was disturbed, with robbery and invasion of civilians. It caused a huge panic in all the neighboring countries and a change in the implementation of policy towards Russia, but what is important in the considerations conducted here, it affected the sense of security not only in the context of individuals or groups, but above all societies [8, 10].

Residents of border areas with Russia, both from Ukraine and other countries, including Poland, noticed the specificity of the location of this region as a place where various divisions meet, including geographical, political or generally referred to as civilization issues. At the state level, this led to a kind of freezing of relations with Russia, which many researchers associate with a number of difficulties related to, for example, the issue of NATO enlargement, the perception of the United States as the guardian of international security, or Poland's support for the «orange revolution» in Ukraine [11, 12].

The outbreak of the conflict so close to Poland in terms of location led to a dynamic increase in the sense of threat among the population, and even to building a wall of fear against Russian actions [4].

Research carried out at the end of 2019, related to the threat to Poland's security caused by the implementation of the expansive foreign policy of the Russian Federation, has unequivocally confirmed that one of the main bases of their activities is the destabilization of the region, aimed at breaking the still unsettled cohesion of the EU and NATO [3].

The described studies, later confirmed by Madej and Świeżak, additionally indicated the intensification of aggressive activities in the described region, focused on initiating various international tensions, discrediting the role and importance of the country in neighborly relations, taking advantage of the differences and stereotypes existing among individual countries, implementing activities that disrupt security in cyberspace, which are intended to cause disinformation or destabilization of the region, as well as a decrease in the defense potential of the state [11, 12, 14, 15].

The analysis of the literature and research related to security and the sense of social security identified areas that may particularly affect the assessment of society in the face of war. In this sense, the energy sector, elements of critical infrastructure were indicated. Cyberspace was distinguished taking into account the role and importance of central and local centers of power, especially those located at the conflict areas [11, 12]. Currently, there is an increased process of increasing the threat to social security, which is associated primarily with the dynamic, unexpected increase in the prices of energy resources, such as coal, electricity or gas, which dramatically increased the cost of production and living, which in turn resulted in economy weakening and a decline in the standard of living in Poland [8]. The collapse of many small businesses and craftsmen or closing down of trade in border areas as a result of the war additionally deepened the indicated difficulties. An issue that intensifies the described problems is the building of a policy of denying the crimes of communism, as well as the religious crisis and the resulting growth of anti-national mass culture, which deepens the destabilization in the context of cultural security [8, 10].

The analysis of expert forecasts, research and literature on the subject gives grounds for the claim that changes in European security are accompanied by dynamic transformations of the sense of social security. At the same time, attention should be paid to the fact that the aim of the war is not to occupy Ukraine, but to change the architecture of world security, in favor of moving away from the established unipolar division of the world, and the decline of the importance of the West in determining this order. It has been confirmed in many places that Russia is not ready to start a fight against NATO at this moment, at the same time it has failed in a quick offensive in Ukraine, while international societies are watching the implementation of a destructive war. This fact intensifies the societies fears as to the escalation of the war to larger areas, primarily in the economic and broadly understood social context.

To sum up, it should be stated that the issue of Poland's limited resources compared to the potential of Russia makes its security dependent on clever unilateral and allied actions, also aimed at bottom-up social initiatives. Significant importance should be attributed to the USA, however, the verification of support assurances is difficult to define,

defense activities, at all levels and levels, without disregarding the local social potential.

### Assessment of the war in Ukraine through the prism of a sense of security

The prolonged war in Ukraine as well as the dynamically changing situation at the front make the eyes of the world focused on the subject of international European security. Research related to this issue, conducted by CBOS, reveals that Poles are concerned about their safety, although these analyzes did not indicate any specific type of socio-demographic differentiation, nevertheless, a greater percentage of concerns are presented by women over 65 compared to men.

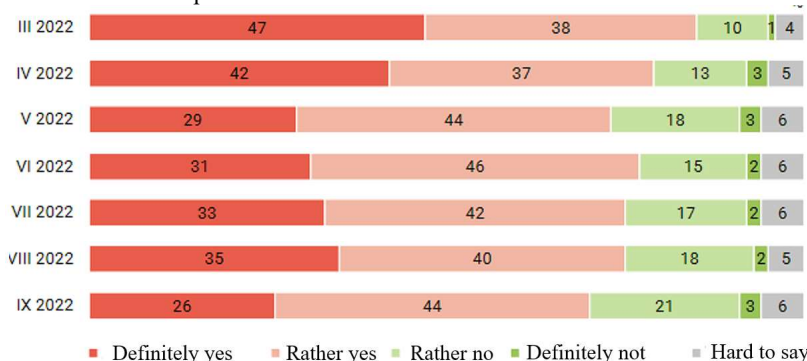


Fig. 1. Security threat in the face of the war between Russia and Ukraine [8, 10].

Most Poles hold the opinion that Ukrainians should continue the fight against Russia (60%) without making any concessions. ¼ of the respondents declare that they should aim at signing a truce as soon as possible in order to obtain peace. This attitude is more often confirmed by women, for who peace and tranquility seem to be of significant personal importance, and by residents of small towns, who usually live peacefully in small communities [8].

In the research carried out in September 2022, Poles in 50% of cases had a feeling that the war in Ukraine would spread to other European countries, a claim that has been growing over the analyzed period. When asked about how long the described conflict will last, respondents are of the opinion that it will be a war to hold out and finish off the Ukrainians, while its duration was set at several months - 84% of respondents. The belief that the war would end quickly was more often expressed by men than women [8].

Poles, despite fears for their own security, support Ukraine's efforts to join the European Union (88%). This result remains at such a high level throughout the entire period of military operations. Similar tendencies were observed with regard to the need to support Ukrainian refugees, which remained with a slight decrease of 4 percentage points throughout the period in question (90%).

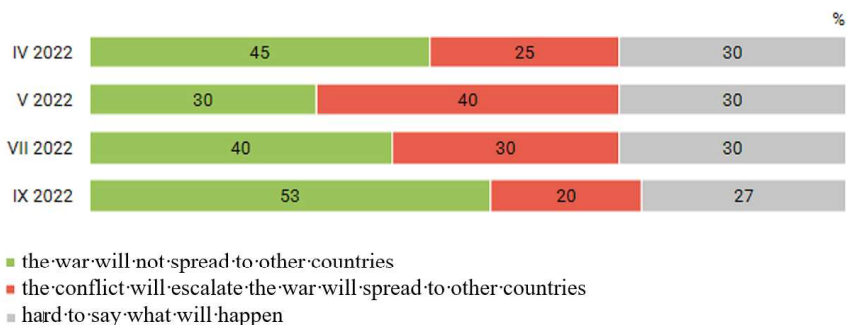


Fig. 2. Opinion on the length of the conflict in Ukraine [8, 10]

In the opinion of 73% of the respondents, Poland can count on the commitment of its allies related to the active, but probable, defense of the state borders and the external border of the EU. In the same study, every third respondent stated that the actions of NATO structures in the face of the war in Ukraine are too cautious in relation to the real needs of this country.

In the face of military operations in Ukraine, Poles are mostly concerned about their economic well-being. They are afraid of the economic crisis and the collapse of public finances. Researchers associate this fact with the costs of operations and Poland's share in the costs of support in connection with military operations in Ukraine [7].

The ongoing war in Ukraine has an impact on the perception of citizens towards each other and strangers in the country. The attitude towards the Ukrainians seen as victims of warfare as well as the Russians perceived as real aggressors remains extremely interesting. In Empathy Index studies, Russians were shown the least sympathy and support who were perceived through the prism of the imperialist leader. A completely opposite level is presented in relation to Ukrainians whose results remain at a similar level as in their own group, i.e. Poles.

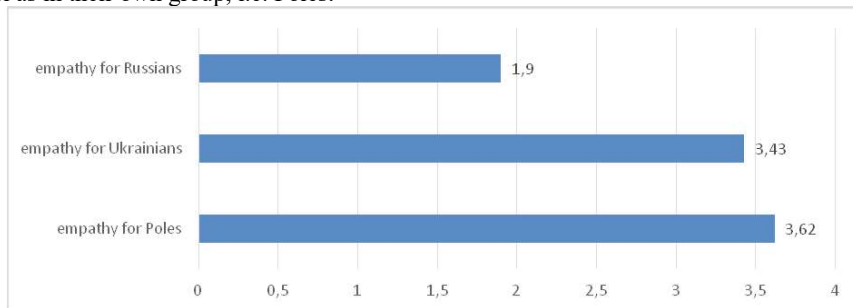


Fig. 3. The level of empathy towards your own compatriots and "strangers", for N=633 [17].

Poles are not indifferent to the fate of their neighbors. More than half of the respondents feel concern for Ukrainians, additionally expressing a willingness to care or any support towards this particular group.

In the Kremlin message available in the world media, Ukrainians are shown as preachers of evil, puppets of the West, while Ukraine is shown as a state without history and the right to self-determination. This propaganda is already escaping any control, the war information is based on false material, fake news and propaganda narrative. In turn, the supporters of Ukraine chose jokes and cabaret as a way to fight the invader. As a way of dealing with fear, the Ukrainians chose a joke which resulted in a positive reception of their fight against the invader in the opinion of international observers.

To sum up, it should be stated that the wartime reality beyond the eastern border was reflected in the sense of security of the inhabitants of Poland, which was lower in small border towns. Poles fear the deterioration of their health more than war. They also see the issue of migration and refugees, considering these phenomena in the context of fear for their own lives. A large part of Polish citizens see the conflict in the east as a threat to the national economy, which translates into the state of family finances. Thus, in general terms, the war does not pose a threat in the context of a sense of security, but its impact on the country's economy, for example, it causes great anxiety. The group that declared the highest level of concern were the youngest respondents, while the lowest were seniors over 60 years of age. It turned out that the war intensifies the younger generation's fears about the safety of their children, which further postpones the decision to become parents. Young people strive for prosperity even accepting the loss of freedom. It seems that this is a more general European trend for the entire generation described, because they experienced a sense of constant threat in their lives, first related to the pandemic, and then to the war. In general, it can be said that Poles experience a moderate level of threat, or a decrease in the level of security to a moderate level related to the war in Ukraine. In addition, they emanate warm feelings towards their neighbors, supporting them in the fight for their territory.

### **Conclusion**

In the face of warfare in the east, the issue of security or building a sense of security has become extremely important. New challenges have arisen in the context of the fight for peace and tranquility, social justice or civil rights, which has become something of a desire of citizens. The war in Ukraine led to a certain re-evaluation of a number of values, social solidarity and altruism. Some impulses, unheard of in times of peace, suppressed in everyday life by ordinary human egoism, were also noticed.

Certainly, war always brings death, destruction and the destruction of societies. Peace, therefore, will be real when individuals give up the desire of possession and switch to mere being, duration. The civilizational progress observed over the analyzed period built the freedom of individual actions, and on the other hand, made them dependent on each other. Therefore, a modern man is not entirely free, while the sense of security is a kind of balanced state of making desires real. Security, in a way, is the creator of peace understood as a fair division and use of resources possessed by states. Modern man wants such security, but not everyone can have the chance to experience such security.

The increase in international economic ties leads to civilizational development, enhancing the importance of the need for security and peace, while recognizing various socio-social factors, international partnership cooperation and harmonization of development of individual countries and regions. Seen through this prism, the community of values, norms and development priorities gives hope for the strengthening of the idea of global security, which will translate into a sense of security for the inhabitants in the near future.

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## **ВІЙСНИЙ СТАН ЯК ФАКТОР ОБУМОВЛЕННЯ ПОЧУТТЯ БЕЗПЕКИ**

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Кожна війна має політичну мету і, крім того, є збройним зіткненням держав і міжнародних коаліцій, несучи при цьому руйнування суспільств. Метою проведеного аналізу є показати війну як суттєвий чинник порушень безпеки не лише в міжнародному, а, насамперед, у локальному контексті, у зв'язку із російською агресією проти України та пов'язаними з цим подіями в Польщі. Розглянуті питання безпеки. На основі досліджень опублікованих СВOS та іншими дослідницькими підрозділами проаналізовано почуття безпеки польських жінок і чоловіків, з особливою увагою до мешканців прикордоння. Виявилось, що найбільше війни боїться молодь, ті, хто вихований у світі динамічного цивілізаційного прогресу, хто цінує мир більше за свободу. Загалом поляки побоюються економічної війни, яка сприятиме виникненню деструктивних економічних явищ. Загострення війни в Україні істотно вплинуло на відчуття безпеки населення Польщі, зокрема, в контексті активних низових соціальних ініціатив.

*Ключові слова:* безпека, відчуття безпеки, війна, загроза безпеці, конфлікт між Росією та Україною.

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