DEFENCE SCIENCE REVIEW

Pro-social activities and grassroots initiatives during Russia's attack on Ukraine - institutional field a in aid activities for Ukraine (the case of the "Wroclaw Railway Station")

Aleksandra Magdalena Perchla- Włosik [1,A-F]
ORCID 🆔 0000-0002-1866-4775

A – Research concept and design, B – Collection and/or assembly of data,
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[1] Institute of Sociology, University of Wroclaw, Poland

Abstract

Objectives: The aim of the article is to determine whether the formation of organisational structures appears in the transformation of grassroots initiatives "coming from the people", in the course of activities for refugees from Ukraine. How to relate the theory of the organisational field to them and what are the possible consequences of institutionalising these endeavours.

Methods: For this purpose, observations were made of social media dedicated to volunteer activities at the PKP Main Railway Station in Wrocław and in-depth interviews were conducted with the initiators of these activities and other volunteers. The analysis was also carried out with reference to secondary data results in the form of research reports and statistics.

Results: The case study shows that grassroots, spontaneous actions of individuals become networked and then organised, within an organisational field, and that they are not always spontaneous and independent. The article is set in the context of sociologically relevant theoretical paradigms.

Conclusions: The cooperation of social organisations with volunteers requires the constant motivation of those involved to continue their activities and the search for new people willing to engage in selfless activity for the benefit of another person. This activity requires knowledge and experience to influence people's decisions to get involved in a way that is appropriate to their beliefs and shared values. This allows us to see the difference between informal self-organisation of citizens and formal civic groups, as the functioning of the latter is specifically regulated by those in power, which influences the effects of their actions.

Corresponding author: Aleksandra Magdalena Perchla- Włosik, Institute of Sociology, University of Wroclaw, u. Koszarowa 3, 51-149 Wroclaw, Poland; email: a.perchla@gmail.com

Introduction

The potential, scale and quality of pro-social attitudes are related to the good or bad state and condition of a given society. There is currently a strong interest in post-materialist values such as social participation, ecology, tolerance and gender equality. At the same time, this is a response to the challenges of today's world, hence emerging campaigns on the good treatment of Ukrainian workers in Poland or understanding the phenomenon of refugees. Pro-social attitudes and actions are very important in the life of society. In the course of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, they become even more important as they enable refugees to survive on the level of fulfilling their needs - starting with the biological ones through a sense of security, social acceptance and even self-fulfilment. "Maintaining pro-social activities also carries a huge positive load of physical help, as well as psychological help, supporting the reconstruction and development of society" (Zurawski, 2021, p. 324). The choice of this thematic area is important because, in addition to the previously mentioned global social phenomena, one can also diagnose the resurgence of citizenship in both institutional (state) and normative (social) terms (Raciborski, 2010). One of the indicators of normatively understood citizenship is civic attitude defined as a set of values and behaviours of an individual relating to the citizen's awareness and perception of the community, nation or state as important. Thanks to the collective actions of citizens oriented towards the common good, a civil society can exist.

Russia's attack on Ukraine has unleashed the great resources of Polish society, ready to provide aid and solidarity to the citizens of Ukraine. Thousands of people who had not previously taken part in this type of pro-social action, as well as those who had previously engaged in aid, volunteering or charity work as part of important events and phenomena for Polish society (i.e. the pandemic, previous assistance to refugees, charitable actions carried out within non-governmental entities and local communities), became involved in helping. We are talking here about both volunteering and charity, which fall within the scope of the issue addressed here.

1. Volunteering and other types of pro-social behaviour and action - spontaneous action towards an organisation?

It should be noted that spontaneous actions of a voluntary, pro-social, grassroots nature can often become the basis for the formation of organisational structures. It is interesting to note here that many of the initiatives to help Ukrainians fleeing the war to Poland, during the course of this year, have taken on such a character. Will the organisational field as we consider

the organisation of volunteers around help for Ukrainians always or almost always develop into a specific organisational structure? In the following, reference is made to the motivations driving people that generate grassroots and spontaneous pro-social action and to some important sociological theories explaining and interpreting the phenomenon of organisational structure formation and institutionalisation.

Actions for the good of the environment, aimed at optimising the functioning, protection or development of other individuals, but also of institutions, groups, societies, ideas and organisations, are referred to as pro-social, because through them social interests are realised (Reykowski, 1979. p. 806).

As noted above, pro-social behaviour is extremely important for society, hence the strong influence on this sphere during socialisation.

An approach that involves a particular conception of human nature, reducing all motives of human conduct to those that control human behaviour so that it benefits the subject or protects him or her from losses is pro-social action, which is reflected in every action of the individual for the benefit of other people, even one that requires great effort, sacrifice on the part of the subject, unseen either by the object or by third parties, and may bring, in the case of success in achieving the goal, some benefit to the subject, at least intrinsic satisfaction. With regard to interpersonal relations, the provision of services to others is treated as a manifestation of 'social exchange', an effort to compensate for gains and losses, or an effort to protect or elevate one's own position (Jarymowicz, 1979, pp.21-22 in Basak, 2013, pp.141-161).

Different motives for taking pro-social actions. These can be divided into those that involve taking action in the expectation of rewards from the object, rewards from the environment, and those that involve taking pro-social action without the expectation of rewards, even in the form of intrinsic satisfaction, and whose implementation is simply accompanied by this intrinsic satisfaction. It is possible to point to situations in which pro-social action comes to fruition despite the absence of external rewards, but it is impossible to prove that the subject does not anticipate future internal satisfactions. The view seems correct that the key to distinguishing pro-social behaviour from other behaviour is whether the individual derives satisfaction from acting in pursuit of or achieving some benefit for himself or herself, rather than whether, at the time he or she undertook the activity for the benefit of others, he or she expected the activity to bring him or her satisfaction, or whether he or she did not think about it. The essence of pro-social action is reflected in a definition that defines it as: "actions

for the benefit of others without expectation of extrinsic rewards, which are also referred to as 'altruistic behaviour'" (Jarymowicz, 1979, pp.21-22 in Basak, 2013, pp.141-161).

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                    │ Pro-social activities│
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│ Volunteering -  │ │  philanthropy-  │ │ altruism - selfless │
│ help without    │ │ providing mainly│ │ self-directed       │
│ material        │ │ material support│ │ pursuit of the good │
│ contribution    │ │                 │ │ of others,          │
│                 │ │                 │ │ readiness to        │
│                 │ │                 │ │ sacrifice           │
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Fig. 1 Pillars of social action
Source: Own elaboration based on: (Pieniążek, Zielińska, p. 146)

Volunteering, which will be the subject of this discussion, is understood as a form of pro-social activity. Voluntary, selfless, unpaid activity undertaken for the benefit of others (Basińska, Jeran, p.15). According to the Act on Public Benefit Activity and Volunteerism, a volunteer is a person who voluntarily and consciously and without remuneration engages in work for the benefit of other persons, non-governmental organisations and also institutions operating in various social areas (Act of 24 April 2003 on Public Benefit Activity and Volunteerism). Voluntary activity is one of the important dimensions of civic attitudes, therefore an analysis of this phenomenon can give a description indicating the state and potential for the development of civil society as such. Volunteers involved in pro-social activities can fulfil their mission, helping the other person and the community, in various fields of social and public life, viz: Education, culture, care, ecology, public safety and health, religious life, spiritual life, charitable actions or organisation of leisure activities Gruszczyńska, Zacharska-Błaszczyk, 2016, p. 30). Being a good citizen requires both knowledge and certain skills through which individuals create a civic community through often individual actions. Volunteering is one of the manifestations of citizenship, which is important both from the point of view of society as such, as well as individual organisations (more and more often associated not only with the so-called third sector, but also with the business world) and, finally, all beneficiaries of voluntary activities.

Pro-social and therefore voluntary motives and actions can be distinguished based on the relationship between what the subject achieves as a result of the action and what others achieve, and can be divided into the following (Reykowski, 1986, pp.27-28):

- Altruistic - organised so that someone else (another person, a collective) benefits, while the subject sacrifices an important personal good (property, health, life, good name);
- Helpful - organised so that someone else benefits, while the subject only bears the natural costs of the activity (spends time, effort);
- Cooperative - organised in such a way that both the subject and others either benefit or do not suffer losses;
- Adaptive - aimed at benefiting the actor, but at the same time essentially devoid of links between the actor's activity and the benefits or losses of others;
- Egocentric - directed at the benefits accruing to the subject, any benefits or losses to others are spillover effects;
- Exploitative - organised in such a way that an entity benefits at the expense of others;
- Destructive - directed at the loss or damage of others, regardless of the cost to the entity.

Volunteers and their actions are polymotivated, so it is better to link them not to a single motive, but to a hierarchy of motives, which is determined by personality structure, social environment, biographical stage and situation (Górecki,1999, in Lalak, Pilch).

What, then, is institutionalisation and whether it is applicable to the issues discussed in this article. How to relate organisational field theory to them. Should one refer more to Naisbitt's theory of the process: "From institutional help to self-help", which may signify the phenomenon of escaping from "institutional help" to "self-help"? Naisbitt believes that in certain areas of social life there has been a crisis of institutional forms of meeting needs (Naisbitt, 1983).

The concept of institutions is one of the central sociological theories and the process of institutionalisation is one of the most fundamental social processes. Institutionalisation consists of "the perpetuation of specific behaviours or of rules concerning these behaviours. This fixation takes place more or less consciously. Least consciously, as it were, in a 'natural', spontaneous way, it takes place through a mechanism of routinisation aimed at an economy of effort or through imitation. The more conscious form of it is the participation of social control - formal or informal - in this process. The most conscious form of behavioural fixation, however, is the mechanism of socialisation, through which people internalise certain values, patterns and social rules. In contrast, the most effective form of behavioural fixation is the combination of internalisation and informal control that accompanies the internalisation

process" (Malikowski 1991, p. 137). The definition presented here is based on the concepts of R. Maclver, W. Bienkowski, J. H. Turner, P. Rybicki, K. Sowa, H. Mead and others (Maclver, Page, 1961; Bienkowski, 1966, p.121 -141; Turner, 1985, p.387; Rybicki, 1979, p.524 - 525; Sowa, 1938, p.80 et seq.). It should be noted that there are many theories and paradigms on institutionalisation that cannot be enumerated in this article. It should be remembered that the subject is close to the precursors of sociology, i.e. Spencer, Durkheim or Malinowski, Parsons and P. Blau.

In relation to the issues raised in this article, however, it is necessary to turn to the notion of the organisational field, which may be the key concept here related to the transformation of grassroots, voluntary, pro-social action into institutionalised action.

An organisational field is an area in which organised groups of actors shape their actions by relating to each other. Typically, fields emerge and disintegrate spontaneously. We infer the existence of an organisational field by the increase in the number of interactions between actors present in the potential (own subclause) field, the emergence of well-defined patterns of hierarchy and coalition formation, the increase in the amount of information that has to be assimilated by field participants, the development of the field participants' awareness that they are involved in a joint venture (Fligstein 2009, Powell, 2007 in T. Piróg, p. 144).

"Field theory" emphasises the importance of the social competence of individuals, which serves people to improve their position in the social structure or to defend it. "The idea of social competence is based on the fact that actors need to motivate others to cooperate. The ability to engage others in collective action is a social skill that turns out to be essential for the construction and reproduction of social orders" (Fligstein 2009: 274). The theory in question declares that individuals are able to engage in collective action, aimed at defending or changing the social practices occurring within a given field. Everyone is socially competent in this respect, although not to an equal degree. People acquire these skills in the course of socialisation - by learning to interact, build cooperation and develop a sense of identity.

2. Poles' attitudes and implementation of pro-social activities in the light of secondary data

In the past 24 hours, 25,000 refugees from Ukraine have crossed the border into Poland (as of 11.12.2022) This means that since the beginning of the war, almost 8.326 million people fleeing the war have already arrived in Poland (Twitter, Border Guard, 11.12.2022).

The dynamics of the war mean that Poland must be prepared for another wave of war refugees from Ukraine (statement to PAP by the deputy head of the Ministry of the Interior

and Administration, government plenipotentiary for refugees P. Szefernaker). Currently, however, despite Russian attacks on civilian targets and energy infrastructure and the resulting energy problems in Ukraine, the number of people crossing the Ukrainian-Polish border is not increasing significantly.

An analysis of the statistics shows that the wave of refugees immediately after the invasion began was exceptional. "Ukrainians did not know what the next weeks, months would be like. Recall that at the time Russian troops were advancing on Kiev, many people then moved towards the border, wanting to cross into Poland. Nowadays, it is unlikely to see such a large group in such a short period of time" (statement by government plenipotentiary for refugees P. Szefernaker to PAP)

According to estimates, there are currently around 1.3 million war refugees from Ukraine in Poland (as of 10.12.2022). Some of those who arrived in Poland at the beginning of the Russian invasion have gone on to Western countries or have returned to Ukraine.

According to a CBOS survey (CBOS, 41/2022) conducted between 1998 and 2022, the percentage of people who devote their free time to activities in some organisation, association, movement, club or foundation is increasing (it is about participation in the work of this (these) organisation(s), and not just about belonging to it). In the base year (2022), the scale of Poles' involvement in civic organisations is now similar to that of two years ago and the differences remain within the limits of statistical error. As in previous years, respondents most often devote their time to working in charitable organisations helping children (13.6%), as well as adults (11.3%), acting charitably for people in need - the old, the poor, the homeless, the sick, the disabled, victims of natural disasters, **victims of war**, etc. In the question on activity, the aim was to obtain a declaration of actual participation in the work of this (these) organisation(s), not just membership.

We can measure the strength of a society by the extent to which it cares for the most vulnerable or affected individuals. The pandemic has left its mark on all aspects of our lives. It has certainly curtailed those acting only in traditional ways, but many have not only not been bothered by it, but have even been prompted to increase the scale of their aid (e.g. another record for the amount raised by WOŚP11, which is at the forefront of the charitable activities cited by respondents). Fortunately, pro-social foundations are durable among Poles. Respondents do not divide pro-social attitudes into before, during and after the pandemic. They see people in need of help, they want to help them by improving their quality of life during a pandemic, moreover, they consider such an attitude "contagious". They know that sometimes large sums of money are needed, and in other cases, shopping and spending time with the person

will help. They tend to act impulsively, influenced by social networks, a TV spot or online communication. More organised and regular forms are playing an increasingly important role. The range of types of philanthropic activities undertaken is wide - from auctions, balls and charity runs, through aid portals and regular transfers to associations, foundations and task forces at work. Each brings help, and can be selected to suit your own preferences and abilities. Respondents would persuade others of this area mainly in the emotional sphere, less rationally.

The vast majority of respondents (84%) support Poland's acceptance of Ukrainian refugees, and this result represents a gentle break in the downward trend we have seen since April. Immediately after the start of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the percentage reached a record 94%, then fell every month by a few percentage points, and has now risen by two points (from 82% in June to 84% in July). CBOS only, 101/2022). Slightly more than half of Poles (53%) say they help Ukrainian refugees either personally or someone in their household does so. Helping Ukrainians is more than often declared by respondents aged 45-54 (66%), residents of the largest cities (63%), better educated people (65% of respondents with higher education vs. 38% of respondents with primary or lower secondary education), better educated (65% of respondents with tertiary education vs. 38% of those with primary or lower secondary education), better able to assess their material situation (59% judging it as good vs. 34% judging it as bad), more likely to engage in religious practices (62% among those practising several times a week vs. 45% among those not practising at all) and holding right-wing views (59% on the right vs. 51% on the left). The vast majority of respondents also believe that the Polish state should help Ukrainian refugees to support themselves during the first months of the war, as well as to find work.

According to another survey, Poles were thus periodically ready to accept and support refugees, but would now be more willing to welcome fellow residents on equal terms (and with similar responsibilities) if they took care of their own livelihoods. At the same time, fears about the impact of the war on Poland remain high, and acceptance of accepting Ukrainian refugees is gradually declining - the inference being that Poles care more about an effective resolution of the military conflict (although, according to other surveys, without Poland's direct involvement) than about efforts to organise a new, multi-ethnic society in the country (Polityka Insight August 2022). According to the Kantar report for UNHCR 2022. Poles overwhelmingly support the protection of the most vulnerable members of our society, regardless of their origin. Even more so, they agree that Poland should support people who are fleeing their country due to war and take in refugees. They also recognise that immigrants can provide an increase

in the labour force. Almost as commonly, respondents were convinced that accepting refugees could enrich cultural life and that they should be given the same opportunities as Poles.

3. Case study "Wroclaw Central Railway Station" as an example of transition from bottom-up initiatives to institutionalised action

For many years, studies on migration and related refugees have been carried out all over the world, primarily in the United States and Western European countries. Poland, as a country on the border between the Western and Eastern worlds, is gradually becoming an immigration state for Eastern Europeans, a destination to flee their own homeland. All the more so now, in view of the ongoing war in Ukraine, Poland's neighbour. In order to demonstrate the category of whether institutionalisation processes are applicable to the transformation of bottom-up initiatives "coming from the people", materials collected during the research process of the case study "Wroclaw Central Railway Station" were analysed.

Researchers using the case study method represent a positivist or interpretivist paradigm, which is reflected in the definitions they formulate of the case study, as well as in the construction of the research procedure. R.K. Yin (2003), representing the latter paradigm, defined a case study as an empirical investigation that examines a contemporary phenomenon in its actual context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not obvious. He highlighted the distinctive features of a case study: a situation in which there are many variables, the researcher relies on prior theoretical development of claims in order to then collect data and analyse them, obtaining evidence, relies on multiple sources, and the data should be triangulated.

The adoption of a particular scientific paradigm determines the function and type of case study. The two paradigms existing in the social sciences - positivist and phenomenological - are the reference points for the method under discussion. The assumptions of the positivist paradigm are the objective existence of an empirically knowable world, the determinism of phenomena (which can be known by measurement on the basis of a theory adopted a priori), as well as the adoption of an external (observer) perspective and axiological neutrality. This paradigm is reflected in the economic sciences by quantitative research. In contrast, the phenomenological paradigm, also referred to as the phenomenological paradigm group, is a doctrine based on human experience, according to which the object of observation is created subjectively through the interpretations of the observer (the observer is part of the object of observation). Phenomenology favours a holistic view of the phenomenon under study, and knowledge is generated from observation. This paradigm is characterised by the absence

of presuppositions and is based on reduction (the suspension of the belief in the real world and the suspension of the knowing subject). Within this paradigm, one can mainly distinguish between critical theory, constructivism and realism. The aforementioned paradigms and approaches are reflected in the research method of the case study. Its nature will vary depending on the paradigm adopted, and it can take a form that falls between inductive and deductive approaches. The case study escapes clear classification. The case study is an example of a method that has spread across different fields of study and, as a result, the conventions adopted vary. The case study method is called a research strategy. Often in practice, methodological pluralism with features of positivism and phenomenology is used in addition to traditional approaches. The implementation of the study, in the context of the method under discussion and within a single research project, would then involve two parts - inductive and deductive (Wojcik, 2013).

The case study "PKP Main Railway Station" was realised on the basis of observations of social media dedicated to the activities of volunteers at the PKP Main Railway Station in Wrocław and on in-depth interviews with one of the initiators of these activities and other volunteers. The essence of this research activity is to find out whether in fact grassroots, spontaneous activities are becoming the beginnings of the formation of an organisational structure and also how and whether specific organisational forms, norms and values have developed during these activities, whether any hierarchy and power structure has emerged and whether conflicts characteristic of these processes have started to appear. To what extent do these processes reinforce a sense of security.

Particularly relevant within the framework of the analysed case study is the observation concerning the organisational field mentioned earlier in this article, namely that it is also important for the organisational field that the activities of the actors in this field cannot be seen in isolation, and that reducing the analysis of the field to the sum of the links between the elements (vide exchange theory) would be an oversimplification (DiMaggio, Powell 2006 in: Jasinska-Kania, A., Nijakowski, L. M., Szacki, J., Ziółkowski , M., (eds), pp. 600-612). Therefore, it is important to remember that the field is 'the totality of relevant actors treated as a certain whole'. The causal actors in the field mutually constitute each other in a process of co-relation. This means that social inequalities and institutional governance in an organisational field are also, conditioned by changes in the set of actors present within it (Piróg, 2016, p.163).

The following analysis will identify the causal actors and mainly the actors of institutional change involved in assisting refugees from Ukraine at the main railway station in Wrocław.

The action to help the refugees began with a message to the PKP information office that Ukrainian citizens would be arriving en masse on special and regular trains to Wrocław. The station's management had to prepare for this exceptional situation, which it had not encountered before. As one of the initiators of the relief effort (W.J.) recalls, *"The main concern was to ensure the safety of both those arriving and those staying at the Station. It was also a matter of providing at least a minimum of care and assistance to those arriving in Wrocław"*. The Station's managers approached the 'Stacja Dialog' café located in the main hall of the PKP on this issue. The café had been run since 2021, by the Christian Association Aid to the Church in Need, (which is an international non-governmental organisation linked to the Catholic Church founded in 1947, with its headquarters in Königstein im Taunus in Germany and 23 national branches, including Poland). This took place in the first hours and days of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. As the 'Station Dialogue' was a missionary cafe, the desire to help was natural for those running the space. Before volunteers (people willing to help) came to the breast, 'Station Dialog' hosted refugees in need, serving drinks and providing temporary shelter. During this time, a facebook group and instagram PKP Wrocław Główny - Help for Ukraine were set up, transformed after the 'Ukraine Foundation' organised the PKP Wrocław Refugee Support Centre - facebook.

At the same time, a large number of people began to report to the main railway station, spontaneously offering their help. These were mostly "ordinary" inhabitants of Wrocław, who wanted to help with medical, nursing, psychological, food, provisions and other aspects needed at the time. The volunteers gathered around one of the priests (K. A.), who coordinated their activities. He became one of the first leaders, organisers, important social actors involved in the process of institutionalising activities in the organisational field. Other leaders who had been at the station from the beginning were also involved in organising the work. As one volunteer recounts in an interview: *'Activities were carried out on many levels. From the reception of arriving people by the so called 'platform people', giving them a word of encouragement, a warm meal, information on what and how they can use, handing out the most necessary things brought by the inhabitants of Wrocław at the request of the volunteers reporting the most important needs on an ongoing basis in social media, accommodation in the halls of the station, help in organising the place of stay, first pre-medical aid, help with luggage..."(W. O.)*.

It should be noted that hundreds/thousands of people a day passed through the station, who were provided with the indicated needs to the highest possible standard and in an extremely well organised manner despite the lack of an initial formal structure.

Later, volunteer recruitment was introduced, an action plan was created, people familiar with computer programmes created applications to collect and recruit volunteers, lawyers created documentation and forms for volunteers to legitimise their actions, also parental consent forms for children and young people, of which there were many at the time, and volunteer certificates were also issued." "The Dialogue Station became a place that united people in action. One of the volunteers (W.J.), the initiator of the activities, does not attribute any particular merit to herself or to "Station Dialogue" in this respect, stressing that "*they were just a space that united people who want to help.*"(W.J.). He also mentions that it is not possible to speak of one specific person who initiated all these activities for refugees. There were many people who "out of the need of the heart" came forward and initiated various activities and the actions of these people were indeed polymotivated (emphasis mine). However, as (W. J.) emphasises, it was "the people" who reacted first and "the city" joined in these activities later. At that time, the "Ukraine Foundation", which had more material resources at its disposal (e.g. cars and other means of transport as well as human resources such as translators), also emerged as an aid institution. According to one of the volunteers, who was also from the beginning, i.e. from 24.02.2022. (W. O.), the 'Ukraine Foundation' took the volunteers under 'its wings' after about 3 weeks, when it became clear that the helpdesk should be open 24 hours a day, every day. This resulted in a better organisation of the volunteers' activities but at the same time aroused a lot of controversy because many of the actors who had initiated this grassroots initiative did not understand the advisability of such an organisation.

The organisational structure at the stage of the largest wave of refugees was as follows:

– Leaders - people involved in the assistance from the beginning - were in charge of organising the work of the point, improving the activities and work of the volunteers, making important decisions;

– Coordinators - were responsible for a particular department, e.g. the 'platform' coordinator had to control the arrivals and departures of trains where Ukrainian refugees might be, and inform the volunteers of related tasks;

– Volunteers - assigned to a particular aid department according to their own preferences and skills.

The fact is that the necessity of issuing documents, accounting and transferring donations and funds, for which an authorised entity was necessary, "forced" in a way the involvement of an entity such as the "Ukraine Foundation", which could legitimise certain activities.

Another entity (actor) that appeared in the emerging bottom-up structure was the Municipality of Wrocław willing to join in the assistance. Due to legal restrictions, in the absence of an organisational and institutional structure with which it could enter into an appropriate agreement, this assistance could not take place together with volunteers emerging from below and spontaneously. Representatives of the Municipality of Wrocław started to cooperate in the field of refugee assistance with 'Station Dialog'.

After the end of the influx of the largest wave of refugees, all aid activities towards them were taken over by the 'Ukraine Foundation' as the institution best prepared for this, with provisions in its statutes to help Ukrainians. At the same time, "Station Dialogue", wanted to return to its original activities. "The Ukraine Foundation formalised its activities by obtaining a separate room at the Central Railway Station, where it has been carrying out its aid activities ever since, no longer on a strictly voluntary basis, but through employees paid for by the regional project.

Conflicts and 'power struggles' were embedded in the processes taking place during the organisation of aid activities. There were also actors who came into conflict with the 'Dialogue Station' regarding the exercise of power and decision-making with regard to, inter alia, volunteers' activities. According to a volunteer: "*Conflicts were part of the activities. There are always conflicts when dealing with a group of people from different backgrounds with different views and this is normal. People had different visions about the functionality of a department/place and could not come to an agreement. After time, paid posts also came in and where there is money there are arguments.*" (W.O)

At present, the aid needs are now much smaller. "Station Dialogue" has withdrawn to carry out its original activities while the "Ukraine Foundation", with its structure and resources, has remained the only significant provider of assistance to Ukrainian refugees. Due to the reduced influx of refugees from Ukraine, the point run by the "Ukraine Foundation" provides legal, psychological assistance and accommodation. It is also an information point for Ukrainians arriving in Wrocław.

Conclusions

The case study suggests that grassroots, spontaneous action by individuals is networked and then organised, which is reminiscent of the previously defined institutional field, but also confirms sociological theories relating to the sphere of influence of NGOs and their impact on the formation of the social system and civil society.

The cooperation of social organisations with volunteers requires the constant motivation of those involved to continue their activities and the search for new people willing to engage in selfless activity for the benefit of another person. This activity requires knowledge and experience to influence people's decisions to get involved in a way that is appropriate to their beliefs and shared values. It seems that such a driving force, unifying, fostering community and building networks and organisations in the case analysed, were the people working with 'Station Dialogue'.

T. Parsons perceived that human associations can be perceived in an incomplete and idealised way and that the operation of a social system consists in the interaction of four subsystems responsible for fulfilling the four functional imperatives (Parson, Smelser, 2006, in: Jasińska-Kania, A.,. Nijakowski, L. M., Szacki, J., Ziółkowski , pp. 390-403.)

In addition, according to T. Parsons' conception, we can distinguish three operational types of organisation of human relations (operative type of organisation): associational, market and bureaucratic relations. Each operative type of organisation has its own mechanism for coordinating individual action, which is based on the effects of social subsystems (solidarity, wealth, power). These effects jointly structure social relations. Associative relations are based on solidarity, which is an effect of the integration subsystem. In this subsystem, there are processes of linking 'cultural value patterns to the motivational structures of individual actors, so that the wider social system can function in a coordinated way and without too much internal conflict. This allows us to see the difference between informal self-organisation of citizens and formal civic groups, as the functioning of the latter is specifically regulated by those in power, which influences the effects of their actions. According to T. Parsons' concept, a clear distinction should be made between real associations and associational relations, which provide the social system with the necessary integration (Warren, 2011, pp. 48-56 in Piróg, p. 71). It cannot therefore be apriori assumed that human associations are voluntary and altruistic in nature. Helping the Ukrainian refugees involved, (at least in the first stage of the war) mainly NGOs and the so-called and above-described 'bottom-up initiative' of people, guided in their actions by different motivations, hence the above reference to theory.

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