

## The Sociological View of a Residence for Ukrainian Women Run by Pallottine Priests in Ołtarzew near Warsaw. The PPPIW Research Report Based on Application of the Youth Studies Approach

Socjologiczny obraz domu dla ukraińskich kobiet prowadzonego przez księży pallotyńców w Ołtarzewie k. Warszawy. Sprawozdanie z badań PPPIW w perspektywie aplikacji analiz jwentologicznych

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Received: 30 Apr 2023  
Revised: 29 May  
Accepted: 12 Jun 2023  
Published: 30 Jun 2023

**Abstract:** This text presents sociological research conducted by sociologists from the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in 2023 in the Pallottine Centre “Future for Ukraine”. Taking into consideration social characteristics of the research sample consisting of the Ukrainian women – war refugees – the researchers adopted qualitative methodology based on the semi-structured interview technique. The paper-based interview scenario was a research instrument, and the respondents replied via written essay directly on the sheets handed out to women. All the questions were translated into Ukrainian. The Ukrainian women who stayed in Ołtarzew described experience and attitudes towards eight spheres: specificity of the place, adaptation, safety, religiosity, emotions, problems, losses, plans, and dreams. Ultimately 28 women who had lived in the Centre participated in the research. They were characterised by social-demographic heterogeneity that allowed to show complexity of their life in the current situation.

**Keywords:** Ukrainian women, Ołtarzew, war, adaptation, safety, emotions

**Abstrakt:** Niniejszy tekst stanowi informację o badaniach socjologicznych przeprowadzonych przez socjologów z Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w 2023 r. w pallotyńskim Centrum „Przyszłość dla Ukrainy”. Z uwagi na charakterystykę społeczną badanej próby, która składała się z ukraińskich kobiet – uchodźczyń wojennych – zdecydowano się na aplikację jakościowej metodologii opartej na technice wywiadu częściowo ustrukturyzowanego. Narzędziem badawczym stał się papierowy scenariusz wywiadu, a formą udzielania odpowiedzi esej pisemny udzielany bezpośrednio na rozdanych kobietom kartach – warto dodać, że wszystkie pytania przetłumaczono na język ukraiński. Przebywające w Ołtarzewie Ukrainki opisywały swoje doświadczenia i postawy odnośnie ośmiu obszarów: specyfiki miejsca, adaptacji, bezpieczeństwa, religijności, emocji, problemów, strat oraz planów i marzeń. Ostatecznie w badaniach wzięło udział 28 kobiet – mieszanek Centrum – o heterogenicznych charakterystykach społeczno-demograficznych, co pozwoliło na oddanie wielowątkowego obrazu ich funkcjonowania w obecnych uwarunkowaniach.

**Słowa kluczowe:** ukraińskie kobiety, Ołtarzew, wojna, adaptacja, bezpieczeństwo, emocje



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## INTRODUCTION

Russian Federation's military aggression that intensified on February 24, 2022 triggered human movements of migratory and refugee character. Significant numbers of the defenceless victims of the war conflict, especially women and children, found refuge in Poland. One of the asylums for the Ukrainian women was the "Future for Ukraine" Centre run by Pallottine priests in Ołtarzew near Warsaw. Previously, in that place there was a well-known sacral site (theological seminary and parish) with a long and interesting history. The meeting in Ołtarzew of the two radically different groups as regards their social, gender, national, status, structural, confessional, and other characteristics opened a fascinating field for research undertaken by the members of the Research Laboratory of the Polish Values and Attitudes Measurement (Polish: Pracownia Badawcza Polskiego Pomiaru Postaw i Wartości – PPPiW)<sup>1</sup>, affiliated to the Institute of Sociological Sciences of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw.

### 1. INSPIRATION FOR THE RESEARCH

The constantly incoming news about the development of military actions and the brutality of Russian forces caused a great stir in the Polish public debate. The Polish society almost immediately adopted a supportive attitude towards the refugees arriving from beyond the eastern border. Among them there were predominantly women, children, the elderly, and those whose physical abilities did not allow them to engage in armed combat with the Russian occupier. A pro-social orientation focusing on granting asylum was also adopted in the Society of Catholic Apostolate, i.e., the congregation of Pallottine priests in Ołtarzew, decided to adapt facilities previously used by clerics for the needs of those currently most in need. These actions were part of the historical traditions of hospitality in Polish homes, especially in difficult, extraordinary situations, such as the armed conflict in the east.

The team of sociology researchers from PPPiW decided to take a closer look at this situation – the entire spectrum of life of Ukrainian women in conditions that were completely new to them. When describing the sociological conditions of the meeting of Ukrainian women with the Polish Pallottines, which took place on the Polish soil, the circumstances of this specific contact are worthy noting in relation to the characteristics of both collectivities. In the realities of a sacral site (seminary), this meeting took place under significantly differentiated conditions. Both parties basically in every socio-demographic characteristic (demographics) represented completely different statuses, and therefore the resulting social roles. The extreme heterogeneity of the two collectivities (Pallottine staff and Ukrainian residents) can therefore be considered typologically, as a difference in nationalities, but also in ethnic and linguistic terms (Polish-Ukrainian), group (us-them), gender

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<sup>1</sup> Rich archive of the research, conference and publishing activities is available on the internet page: <https://is.pppiw.uksw.edu.pl/>.

(men-women), religions (Catholics/Orthodox or Greek Catholics), and status/class (clergy-priests / secular women with children). It has inspired an interesting cognitive contrast and the need to establish and further typify mutual contacts.

The PPPiW team was also aware of the uniqueness of the situation – the women staying in Ołtarzew were characterized by high rotation and variability in their numbers during specific periods, e.g. during religious holidays. Therefore, the research activities went extremely smoothly – the conceptualization of the project was implemented during the early spring of 2023.

## 2. METHODOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH AND DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH SAMPLE

The first, introductory meeting of the team members with potential participants of the study – the Ukrainian residents of Ołtarzew – took place on April 5, 2023. During this meeting, all general issues were discussed, the idea of the research was explained, and participants were encouraged to participate. The next meeting, held on May 25, had clearer topic, all technical issues were explained, including how to fill in the part with socio-demographic data (demographics). Efforts were also made to encourage Ukrainian women to participate in this project, explaining to them the significance of their statements and the scientific importance of the sociological image of their daily reality. On May 31 – during another visit – a paper research instrument was distributed, i.e. an interview scenario with questions. Answers were finally collected during the last visit – on July 5. During all these field meetings in Ołtarzew, basically all members of the research team spoke up. They explained in detail the purpose of the research, its principles and ensured about anonymity and exclusively research use of the obtained information. Moreover, during these meetings, the Ukrainian women asked questions and seemed interested in that initiative. It should also be mentioned that the PPPiW team consulted with the Pallottine administrators of Ołtarzew, agreeing on the next stages of research activities and received a great support and understanding. Together, it was possible to carry out the entire research procedure, i.e. field research of a qualitative character.

The PPPiW team initially assumed that the research group would mainly consist of young women – mothers of small children or those without offspring – as people who were most at risk due to the cruelty of war. Finally, 28 women with diverse social characteristics participated in the study. Their age ranged from 18 to 70 years – the four youngest participants declared an age from 18 to 22 years, nine identified themselves as thirty-year-olds (range 30-37), six women declared the age of forty (range 40-48), two indicated 51 years, while the five oldest participants in the study declared an age range from 61 to 70 years. In addition, two women did not share their age at all. Thus, almost half of the women participating in the study can be described as young. Education also turned out to be different (three women declared it as basic, nine vocational, six secondary, and the remaining ten as higher).

The Ukrainian women come from the following regions: Kharkiv (five), Zaporizhia (five), Dnipropetrovsk (four), Khmelnytskyi (three), Sumy (three), Kyiv (two), and one each from Volyn, Poltava, Ternopil, Mykolaiv and Lviv. In addition, one of the women did not provide information about her origin. Marital status can be described as follows: seven single women, 11 married women, two women in partnerships, three divorced and five widows. Most women declared having children, except for five. Seven women declared having one child, nine women – two children, and six women having three. One of the women stated that she had six children. Having a job was declared by slightly more than half of the women participating in the study – 15 out of 28. The majority – 24 women – professed faith, two expressed the opposite position, and another two did not provide information about their religious attitudes. Thus, the sample has been diverse that would allow obtaining cross-sectional data from women coming from different environments, additionally representing different lifestyles and structural characteristics.

Ultimately, eight thematic areas appeared in the research instrument. They represented the basis for the essay-type answers provided by female respondents. The qualitative sociological methodology was applied. The technique was an indirect interview, and the research instrument was an interview scenario that was to be completed by the respondents on their own. At the end of the research instrument, the already mentioned fragment with socio-demographic data was included, so that the basic characteristics of the analysed community could be reconstructed. The document was translated into the native language of the women, i.e. Ukrainian. The PPPiW research team decided to implement this specific type of research instrument due to the need to ensure anonymity, but also the accuracy and reliability of the answers given. The real-time interviews with the Ukrainian women had been considered as well, but the participation of a third party – a Ukrainian language translator – proved problematic, as the statements obtained might not fully reflect the actual attitudes of women. Therefore, a collection of anonymous essays and the translation of handwritten statements was in this particular case an authenticated action – thanks to this, it was possible to preserve all dimensions of anonymization of the research material.

The future essays consisted of eight issues: specificity of the place, adaptation, safety, religiosity, emotions, problems, loss, and plans and dreams. These issues were described with the help of guiding questions. The area in perspective was quite extensive, and the intention of the research team was to show the fullness of the “new life” of the Ukrainian women, whose life was marked by armed conflict. Military aggression resulted in emigration, which is turning into a story of increasingly longer life abroad, with a full spectrum of adaptation or its lack in many areas. Individual threads were not detailed in the dispositions (questions) directed to the Ukrainian women, as the subjects themselves decided on the scope of the content in their essays, they independently determined their meaning and the number of presented narrative threads. The study represented a non-directive request to share the thoughts on residential situation of the Ukrainian women in the centre run by the Pallottine priests.

### 3. SELECTED THEMES FROM THE STATEMENTS OF THE SURVEYED WOMEN

Below, there are only some of the statements obtained from the collected content-rich essays. The first distinguished area of reference was the specificity of the place. This particular topic is characterized in sociology by a large number of references (Siciński 1992, 9). The Ukrainian women staying in Ołtarzew described significant elements influencing their residence in this specific location. They referred to their life situation, commented on amenities, but also difficulties in caring for their children or commented on the organization of everyday life. Below there is one of such statements.

“Currently, I live in the Pallottine Centre in Ołtarzew. It is a very nice place, beautiful trees, flowers, near the church where you can pray, close to the Centre there is a wonderful park where you can rest and walk. Near the Centre there are benches where you can sit and gather your thoughts. Think about how to live on. I like to write poems and music. I really like it in the Centre. My daughter and I have a separate room with all amenities. We prepare concerts and feel needed. We perform at them and give people positive emotions, that despite the war in our country we are not alone. Many people support us and do good for our children and for us. It is a blessed place where we were accepted as a family and surrounded with care to make our life easier during the war. I am very grateful to them for that. I want to end with my poem.

*Now we are all waiting for a miracle from life,  
When the war will end and silence will reign again.  
Our children will not hear explosions or alarms,  
Peace will reign all over the world, a hundred roads will be open”.*

These are a few sentences from my poem. Sponsors from different countries and the Polish government come to us. I am very grateful to everyone for the gifts for our children. It’s nice to see the smile of our children” (K5, 65)<sup>2</sup>.

The account of a 65-year-old widow that had a vocational education level and declared having three children shows the emphasis on characteristic features of nature (trees and flowers in the park). The very place therefore encourages praying and contemplation. She emphasizes good living conditions and appreciates her new place of residence. She even describes it as “blessed”. She also expresses gratitude for the support received – stating that they were accepted as if they were a family and provided with care. The woman also mentions that she has artistic abilities, so she organizes concerts with her daughter also staying in Ołtarzew. Her reflectiveness can also be seen in the poem with which she illustrated her statement. In the end, she emphasizes the smile that appears on the faces of Ukrainian children, which is a living proof of their well-being in the Polish asylum.

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<sup>2</sup> Although in the qualitative sociological research researchers move away from typical designations of specific respondents (used in the description of respondents in the quantitative research). However, as to the subject statements, it was decided to introduce rather brief signs – the designation K5 means the fifth woman (out of 28), who decided to share her opinions, while the second number indicates age.

Another area of research exploration was the issue of adaptation. It was interesting to examine whether the descriptions of the house in Ołtarzew coincide with the process of general adaptation to the conditions that Ukrainian women encounter.

“During this period, since I live here, I have already got used to it enough. In winter we had various performances – scenes, concerts, over which we worked with other mothers which brought us closer to one another. Every resident of our building – its integral part, and now, when for one reason or another several people have left the centre, there is such a feeling as if I let go of some dear, close person, without whom life is not so colourful. The Pallottine priests always greet us with a smile and warmth, every time they say warm, kind words, they care, ask if everything is okay. It’s very pleasant. Father Krzysztof is particularly friendly and kind-hearted, Rector Father Mirosław and Father Piotr want to help, advise, support as best and as much as they can. And these collective trips, they renew a lot. Of course, I miss home, my loved ones very much. Since the beginning of the war, I haven’t been home at all. But in Poland, I came back to life. Even in Ukraine, I didn’t feel the way I do here. This oppression, Sovietism, which prevailed in us, in my behaviour gradually left and here I started to acquire other values” (K6, 32).

The above statement of a 32-year-old married woman with higher education and declaring having six children indicates a positive course of adaptation, i.e. getting used to the conditions of the Pallottine house. She also emphasizes the disturbed integrity of the entire centre, when people who have lived here so far left, which was the sad experience for her. She emphasizes the great role of the Pallottine priests in the positive course of adaptation, pointing to their diverse support (smile, warmth, help, kind words, involvement in the well-being of women staying in the centre). In addition, she expressed longing for home, however, noting that only in Poland did the woman herself “come alive”, as she experienced other values than – as she admits – rooted in Ukraine “Sovietism”. Certainly, the values acquired in the Pallottine centre will allow her to look at her life and the current situation from a slightly different perspective than before.

Another issue, no less important from the point of view of staying in a specific place and in a specific situation, is the feeling of safety. Probably for everyone it seems obvious that in a situation of existential threat, a condition that provides comfort of life without any threats seems desirable. The sense of security, as the American psychologist A.H. Maslow wrote, is one of the main needs of a human being. This category in his hierarchy of needs is located just after physiological ones (Maslow 1990, 76). In turn, according to L. Korzeniowski, it is an objective condition of lack of threat, which is subjectively perceived by individuals or groups (Korzeniowski 2000, 432). In the presented study, this area contained the following questions: Do you feel safe?; In what respect?; What does it result from? Below, two statements were quoted, which are similar in terms of content to the confessions of other women.

“Yes, of course I feel safe here, because it’s a different country and the war is far from here. There are no sirens here, the lanterns shine at night, you can walk in the park, now you can sunbathe by the river, go with the children to the playground, in short, live normally and not be afraid that you may not wake up in the morning, because a rocket flew in, or a window was blown out and it can hit your head, or again a rocket to the house where the children are sleeping, and then fragments of their bodies are collected on nearby roofs and there is nothing to bury” (K3, 35).

“Yes, here I feel safe, because here there is, first of all, my mother, and second, the atmosphere of this place creates a sense of security, a gate, the Centre is fenced, there are cameras. The feeling that people here are surrounded by care. Besides, the room can be locked, that’s also important. The laughter of children gives a sense of being able to breathe calmly, relax, enter your room and do what you want without instructions and time constraints, so it can be called freedom” (K2, 30).

Just these two statements of two thirty-year-olds with respectively basic vocational and secondary education are a testimony to the condition of lack of negative emotions. It confirms that the Pallottine house provides appropriate conditions for experiencing well-being, which consists of a sense of economic stabilization and a guarantee of protection for oneself and children.

Despite the need to defend oneself, the loved ones, the property and above all the homeland come to the fore, asking questions about religion, about faith in God, about His presence in the face of daily threats also seem to be justified in a situation of existential threat due to war actions. This is a situation that the American sociologist P.L. Berger described as a borderline situation, as it threatens human existence. Therefore, in the research instrument, a segment on religion and religiosity was included. In addition to the demographic questions, that concerned confession and declaration of faith as well as involvement in religious worship, this problem area was determined by the following three questions: How does your religiosity express itself?; Has the war changed your religiosity, and if so, to what extent?; Does religion give meaning to your life? Below, some of the statements were quoted, especially those indicating the impact of war on religiosity.

“The war did not change my religiosity. I know there is God in this world. He is with us, the truth is with us! And all these monsters will be punished for their atrocities. Thanks to our strength, our faith in God, in justice, we have become an incredibly strong nation. We are so united and mobilized! We have become true brothers and sisters, who will surely survive this war, return all their lands, survive all this sorrow and build a new, independent state. I believe in Us, I believe in our future! God is with us! God is in the heart of each of us!!! God will give us the strength to survive all this!!!” (K10, 41)

“The war has changed not only my religiosity, but my whole life. Faith in Almighty God is everything that can always be in the heart, regardless of circumstances. It has only increased and strengthened my faith. Everything happens by the will of God. I am a Christian and I have no intention of changing my faith. I never stop thanking God for everything, because with faith we went in an unknown direction and did not know what awaited us. Nowadays, I can rely only on Almighty God” (K2, 37).

These two statements alone show that war can both strengthen individual religiosity and weaken or even destroy it. The latter attitudes, however, are less numerous. From other, quite extensive statements, it turns out that the religiosity of the people studied was mainly shaped in the family circle or in a place of worship (Catholic or non-Catholic churches). Hence there is an attachment to religious practices. This is a religiosity characterized by individual prayers, adherence to tradition and customs, observance of holidays and sometimes contacts with the clergy.

The sense-making dimension of religious faith, which was also referred in the study, deserves individual attention. In the borderline situations, a person seeks a reference point, an authority, which in his belief can allow him to survive and overcome sometimes traumatic moments. Believers often turn to religion, seeking support in it. Analysed evidence shows that religion allows to survive and conveys hope. In this case, only religious faith, the deep one, becomes a conveyor of support, hope and finally a sense of security (Zaręba 2008, 230). The following three statements seem to confirm this view.

“I believe in God, it hasn't changed. Yes, it creates a meaning” (K24, 18).

“Me and my family do not see the meaning of life without close ties with the Church, without its teaching, position and creating an appropriate image in our minds” (K25, 40).

“Faith is always with me. Without faith there is no meaning in life” (K19, 51).

It can be assumed that the religious identity of the women surveyed has its anchoring in the centuries-old tradition, which is present in the daily life of the Ukrainian society. Religion is located rather high in the axiological hierarchy. Its value is appreciated. The study shows that the professed religion – whether Orthodox or Catholic – conveys the sense of meaning in life, fills with hope and expands the scope of Transcendence in the life of quite a few people, especially in a situation of existential threat.

And finally, the issue of emotions, either positive or negative, that always accompany people, regardless of the situation in which they are currently found. As L. Golińska notes, “negative emotions (fear, regret, a sense of injury) last until the situation undergoes a clearly favourable change. Sadness lasts and does not disappear, time alone is not enough to stop feeling it; for fear, regret, a sense of injury to give way, an objective or subjective change in the situation is needed” (Golińska 2002, 29). Hence, among the questions in the structure of essays, the following issues were found: What emotions did you experience when the war broke out?; What do you feel now? And again, there are a few examples of statements.

“No words in life can express the emotions that were born in us when the war began” (K10, 41).

“These emotions cannot be expressed. Since the beginning of the war, we lived in the basement of a kindergarten. It was very scary and very dangerous. It's a pain, a fear for people. Children and adults were very scared” (K12, 45).

“Emotions... It was very terrifying, because you don't know what to expect,

what to do, where and how to sleep, and it's better not to fall asleep, to react immediately if something happens. What things and documents to pack into this evacuation backpack, where to put it, so as not to forget about it on the run. To go to work or not to go, because the children will be left alone at home, and if something happens, they can get scared and they can be in fear and not be able to do anything... But you still go to work hoping that everything will pass quickly, because you need money, you have to feed the children somehow. There at work, when the sirens start, you run to the phone and call your older son to hurry with his brother to the corridor in the house, because there are no windows there, at least the glass will not fall, because there is no basement, the corridor is the only safe place. And in such a way five, ten times a day. You are always in fear because of that damned Zaporizhzhia Nuclear Power Plant, because it is seven kilometres from our city and you think, what if it suddenly explodes and then it's the end for everyone. Then you still can't stand it and you go to another country in search of safety. At home, the old grandmother stays because she doesn't want to go anywhere, then you worry about her. And now I have the impression that my life is in suspense, and you are waiting for everything to end, to just start living!!!" (K3, 35)

For example, the account of a 35-year-old mother of two children, with secondary education, refers to the study of emotions, extreme feelings evoked by the threat of war. In this particular case, emotions are "amped up" additionally by the close location of the nuclear power plant, and the threats resulting from this type of energy acquisition are particularly well remembered in Ukraine due to the already historical catastrophe in Chernobyl. The woman emphasizes the permanence of tension, pointing to the "evacuation backpack" denoting a certain package of the most necessary things, further she gives a testimony about the difficult combination of fear for loved ones with the mundane – but how true even during the war – need to work and provide oneself and one's children. Work is anyway intermittent, because there is always a fear of how, for example, in the case of bombing, the children will behave and whether they will definitely go to some kind of asylum, that is, the corridor, which the woman defines as the safest, due to the lack of windows and averting the possible injuring oneself with shattered pieces of glass. Emotions and fear for loved ones do not cease even when leaving Ukraine – the woman's grandmother stayed there. Therefore, the woman's current existence is "life in suspense", waiting for real life, without any traumas and threats. In this particular case, the tempo of the statement itself is certainly noteworthy, the threat and the resulting emotions are directly given by the dynamic narrative intensifying the unstable mental state of this particular woman, who collided with borderline experiences. The threat to her own life and her children can be definitely considered as such.

At the end a certain sociological feature of observation is worth noting. Namely, apart from the collected empirical material – which became the basis for the analyses – the organisational meetings themselves provided additional and very interesting observations. The observation of the surveyed women revealed,

among others, that only some of them spoke during organizational meetings, sharing their experiences so far from staying in Ołtarzew. These were usually rather younger of the Ukrainian women. At the same time, one could not help feeling that one is dealing with lost, withdrawn people with the characteristics typical for migrants. They were even a bit distrustful of the researchers. Despite assurances of full research anonymity, the lack of some data in the demographics, and sometimes giving very “poor”, laconic and truncated answers to key questions in thematic areas seem just to confirm these observations. It probably resulted from the far-reaching caution or distrust, or even fears about their life and the lives of their loved ones, especially husbands or partners fighting on the front. Nevertheless, the women were grateful for the hospitality and social assistance shown, most were convinced to participate in an anonymous study and share their experiences so far, emotional condition and plans for the future (Zaręba, Mejzner and Kawińska 2023).

## SUMMARY

The comments of the Ukrainian women are diverse, they emphasize their personal perspective of references to war, wandering, Poland, the Polish people and specifically Ołtarzew, generally the situation in which they are currently found in Poland. Even the essays collected from one person contained significant differences in the approaches to specific areas, e.g. on the one hand, it may be the appreciation of the place of residence itself – the Pallottine “Centre for Ukraine” – and on the other hand, general difficulties in adapting to the conditions that arose after February 2022, in which they had to live outside of their *habitat*. An equally wide range of references can be seen in the area of emotions, where there is a gratitude, on the one hand, but also a frustration, on the other, due to the ongoing war and the inability to return to their native land.

Since this is not a quantitative study, it is not possible to directly state a statistical relationship between variables – e.g. age and religiosity, gender and appreciation of the residence in Ołtarzew, etc. However, it can be seen that the two youngest (eighteen-year-old) participants in the study showed their desire to stay in Poland and develop, e.g. one of them wants to open and run a “circus studio for children”, thus demonstrating her optimism and striving to realize her youthful dreams. On the other hand, it is precisely the youngest categories that have been affected extremely painfully by the war. The same woman has experienced the loss of three close people.

The analyses have therefore revealed a large cognitive potential of this particular community and some optional research plans for the future. Among them, there is a need to pay attention to children and young people, i.e. two generational categories of Ukrainians, for whom the war and the associated stay in Poland are significant experiences from the perspective of their biography – both in the near and distant perspective. The role of adaptation of youth to new conditions

will certainly be crucial here, which may – but does not have to – turn into assimilation into Polish culture and life practices. Therefore, serious consideration of conducting a similar type of research exclusively with young people is necessary to see if their statements are characterized by a specific – youthful optics.

Furthermore, the collected statements of Ukrainian women – along with a comprehensive sociological commentary – will be published at the turn of 2023 and 2024 in a research publication edited by Sławomir H. Zaręba, Mirosław Mejzner and Martyna Kawińska. The work will be published by the UKSW Academic Publishing House. The elements raised earlier, such as the heterogeneity of the research sample, but also the individual statements of the research participants, represent attention-grabbing empirical material, which can be an inspiration for other sociologists to research communities migrating to Poland and their attitudes towards the host country. This topic is therefore extremely relevant and in years to come will be a document of social life of the specific time – shelter given to the Ukrainian nation by Poles during the Russian war invasion.

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