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#### Michał Byczyński\*

#### The World Health Organization: Following the Values in Unstable Times

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#### Abstract

The aim of this article is to show the environment in which the World Health Organization operates. The article discusses the basic issues related to the global health care system, and then the statutory aims and purposes of the Organization. The last part analyses the indicated goals in the context of the realities, primarily the political ones, paying attention to the coronavirus pandemic, which undoubtedly has affected the functioning of Organization. The article shows various types of problems that the WHO encounters in the course of its activity, which illustrates the complexity and comprehensiveness of the phenomena that occur in the area of operation of international organisations.

#### Keywords

coronavirus pandemic, World Health Organization, law and values, law and politics, health law, global governance \* University of Łódź, e-mail: mbyczynski@lodz.adwokatura.pl, <u>https://</u> orcid.org/0000-0001-6856-0627



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organisation.<sup>13</sup>

	It must be noted that most of these early organisations had objectives and philosophies that were not in line with the liberal principle of improving global health. The way major players were acting could have rather contributed to maintaining inequality while combating inequalities. <sup>7</sup> In other words, it could be claimed that maintaining the neo-liberal order was essential to the establishment of institutions for global health. The behaviour of states started to take place around the 1940's; the WHO Constitution was adopted in July 1946 at the International Health Conference by representatives of 61 nations (51 UN member states plus 10 additional governments), but it would not go into effect until 7 April 1948. As the Organization has grown, the WHO now affiliates 194 member countries and two associate members. <sup>8</sup> The guiding principles of the WHO, like those of its forebears, are not so easily summarized in terms of the neo-liberal order.	<ul> <li>7. M. Peters, S. Hollings, B. Green, et al., <i>The WHO, the global gover-</i> <i>nance of health and pandemic politics</i>, "Educational Philosophy and The- ory", 2022, 54 (6), pp. 707–716. DOI: 10.1080/00131857.2020.1806187</li> <li>8 J. Lidén, <i>The World Health Organiza-</i> <i>tion and Global Health Governance:</i> <i>post-1990</i>, "Public Health", 2014, 128 (2), pp. 141–147. DOI: <u>10.1016/j.</u> <u>puhe.2013.08.008</u></li> </ul>
Aims and pur- poses of the World Health Organization	The WHO's core functions are outlined in its Constitution, which also classifies them into three groups: (1) normative functions, which include creation of international conventions and agreements, regulations, non-binding standards and recommendations; (2) directing and coordinating functions, which include the organization's activities related to health for all, poverty and health, essential medicine, and specific disease programs; and (3) research and technical cooperation functions. <sup>9</sup>	<ul> <li>9. G.L. Burci, C. Vignes, World Health Organization, Kluwer Law International 2004, p. 119.</li> <li>10. G. Walt, WHO under stress: Im- plications for health policy, "Health Policy", 1993, 24 (2), pp. 125–144. DOI: 10.1016/0168-8510(93)90030-s</li> </ul>
	The WHO has prioritised some aspects of these categories over others in the course of the last years, and its progress in doing so has been analysed and criticised. <sup>10</sup> In a series of articles published in the British Medical Journal in the mid-1990s, Fiona Godlee, for instance, criticized WHO management, effectiveness, policy selections, headquarter-regional negotiations and power struggles, and the organisation's lack of operational capacity in one of the most thorough analyses of the WHO. <sup>11</sup> At about the same time, a self-study commissioned by the WHO examined the organisation's efficiency in carrying out its fundamental duties and led to reform recommendations, with a particular emphasis on enhancing its technical capability, global health, and coordinating tasks. <sup>12</sup> In addition, the WHO Executive Board held special meetings in 1996 to review the Constitution and made recommendations for changes that would emphasize coordination, health policy development, norms and standards, promoting health for all, advising, and technical cooperation as the core functions of the	<ul> <li>11. F. Godlee, WHO in retreat: is it losing its influence, "British Medical Journal", 1994, 309 (6967), pp. 1491–1493.</li> <li>12. WHO, Report of the Executive Board Working Group on the WHO Responses to Global Change, <u>https://apps.who.</u> int/iris/handle/10665/142401, (access 10.12.2022).</li> <li>13. WHO, Review of the Constitu- tion and regional arrangements of the World Health Organization, Report of the special group, https://apps.who. int/iris/handle/10665/78112, (access</li> </ul>

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	A retreat on "Enhancing the Performance of International Health Institutions" was held in Pocan- tico, NY, in 1996. The purpose of the retreat was to examine whether the institutional framework in international health was adequate for interdependence of global health in the 21st century. The Pocantico report arrived at the following conclusions: "WHO should be the 'normative conscience' for world health"; "WHO should assume leadership in achieving more coherence and equity in the system"; "the emphasis on technical assistance has often come at the expense of the normative role." <sup>14</sup> There was a very clear focus on the global functions of WHO, with a goal for the WHO to become an unquestionable leader in the field of global health. <sup>15</sup> There is certainly a burning need for an effective global governance mechanisms in the field of human health. This kind of need seems obvious con- sidering that the majority of new global health players focus primarily on operational tasks, which increases the demand for WHO's core global operations. <sup>16</sup>	14. See: Po the perform institution 1996.15. See also Knaul, Inte tion in heat and ration (9101), pp. 6736(97)1116. J. Ruge: the World Health Go17. WHO, V who.int/ab 10.03.202218. P. Huar The World https://www. soda/2020is-who-am 10.12.2022
F	The WHO has always tended to depend on soft law instruments rather than hard law standards since they strive to give technical and scientific recommendations based on the best available data. <sup>19</sup> In contrast to active epistemic authority, which is an authority that is exercised on the basis of "knowledge and science" (through a legally binding instrument) WHO prefers to rest on epistemic elements exercised through non-legal instruments (such as guidelines and recommendations). <sup>20</sup> Seeing that the WHO has been effective in extending its interventions to a variety of fields, including the elimination of malaria, tobacco control, and breast milk replacements, <sup>21</sup> leads	19. G.L. Bu ent and Fu on Global B. Toebes, 2018, pp. 4 20. J. Klabl Internation

Pocantico Retreat: Enhancing rmance of international health ons, The Rockefeller Foundation

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#### Asking instead of commanding

to the argument that acting through such a passive epistemic authority may be effective, at least to a certain extent.



Criticism of the Organization	The WHO has been criticised for 'lack of effectiveness' <sup>72</sup> generated by its often weak leadership, budgetary issues and extrabudgetary funds (how they will be used and who gets to decide) <sup>23</sup> and having no power under international law to enforce their legal instruments (which is linked to the Westphalian principles of state sovereignty). Some authors <sup>24</sup> are, however, of the opinion that the globalisation of public health changes and undermines the definition of a 'sovereign state', conflicting interests and influences of member states and private donors. The COVID-19 pandemic, both as a significant organisational challenge and as a chance to dem- onstrate leadership and assert influence in the global health sector, constitutes a useful lens through which the WHO can be observed. Its performance has been usually questioned. <sup>25</sup> The WHO has been accused of working with China to downplay the severity of the outbreak during the early stages of the pandemic. <sup>26</sup> It has also come under fire for its allegedly tardy declaration of a public health emergency of international significance (PHEIC) and for several other allegedly inadequate or tardy recommendations (such as those on face masks or travel restrictions). <sup>27</sup> Recently, the academia has focused on the uncomfortable cohabitation of knowledge and politics has started <sup>28</sup> , it has grown much more intense recently. For instance, Benvenisti has drawn atten- tion to the contrast between political cooperation issues (procedures guaranteeing compliance) and issues considering technical coordination (not requiring such mechanisms). <sup>29</sup> In this regard, he has argued that if global health generally presents a number of cooperation or coordination challenges, the WHO is the only one having the authority to address these issues.	<ul> <li>21. D.P. Fidler, International Law and Global Public Health, Articles by Maurer Faculty, https://www.repository.law. indiana.edu/facpub/652, p. 15, (access 10.12.2022).</li> <li>22. S. Andresen, Leadership Change in the World Health Organization: Poten- tial for Increased Effectiveness?, FNI Report 8/2002, The Fridtjof Nansen Institute 2002, pp. 1–35.</li> <li>23. T.M. Brown, M. Cueto, E. Fee, The World Health Organization, op. cit., pp. 62–72.</li> <li>24. D.P. Fidler, The future of the, op. cit., pp. 1079–1126.</li> <li>25. See also: L. Gruszczyński, M. Melil- lo, The uneasy coexistence of expertise and politics in the World Health Organi- zation: Learning from the experience of the early response to the COVID-19 pan- demic, 2021, Available at SSRN: https:// ssrn.com/abstract=3786300, (access 10.12.2022).</li> <li>26. H. Feldwisch-Drentrup, How WHO Became China's Coronavirus Accomplice, www.foreignpolicy.com/2020/04/02/ china-coronavirus-who-health-soft- power, (access 10.12.2022).</li> <li>27. T.J. Bollyky, D.P. Fidler, It's Time for an Independent Coronavirus Review, Eoreign Affairs, https://unuwu foreignaf-</li> </ul>	Volume 8 Issue 4 (2022)
	innovative structure such as the Access to COVID-19 Tools Accelerator). <sup>30</sup> Some writers are of the		



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Political backlash	The WHO was placed at the centre of the global political stage when COVID-19 started to dem- onstrate a pandemic potential and was expected to provide prompt and efficient solutions to common concerns. Voices of global discontent soon began to emerge. One of the WHO's harshest	28. J. Siddiqi, World health and world politics: the World Health Organization and the UN system, University of South Carolina Press 1995.
	opponents was former President Trump, who repeatedly accused the agency of making "inaccurate or deceptive" assertions, including applauding China for its openness and the public health initia- tives it implemented. <sup>34</sup> He frequently criticised the WHO for being China-focused and denounced the purportedly tardy establishment of a PHEIC <sup>35</sup> However, this situation was an attempt to find a new target to blame for the pandemic that plunged the world, rather than a meaningful criticism of	29. E. Benvenisti, <i>The WHO - Destined</i> <i>to Fail? Political Cooperation and the</i> <i>COVID-19 Pandemic</i> , "American Journal of International Law", 2020, 114 (4), p. 590. DOI: <u>10.1017/ajil.2020.66</u>
	the mechanisms running the organisation. <sup>36</sup>	30. M. Kavanagh, R. Singh, M. Pillinger, Playing Politics. The World Health Or- ganization's Response to COVID-19, in: Coronavirus Politics: The Compara-
	Lions agreed, as did a number of professionals and observers who believed the WHO might have done more <sup>37</sup> . This criticism appears to support the notion that the expectations were perhaps too high for the people who were familiar with the WHO and its difficulties. <sup>38</sup>	<i>tive Politics and Policy of COVID-19</i> , eds. S.L. Greer, E.J. King, A. Peralta-Santos, E.M. da Fonseca, Michigan University Press 2021, pp. 34–50.
	Some authors, e.g. Gruszczyński <sup>39</sup> , believe that the WHO's attitude towards China was a strategy rather than passiveness. The necessity to ensure access to as much information about the outbreak as possible furthered the WHO's general propensity to adopt a cooperative approach and to alleviate the existing political tensions as regards the COVID-19 pandemic. <sup>40</sup> This was initially made	31. J. Alvarez, <i>The WHO in the Age of the Coronavirus</i> , "American Journal of International Law", 2020, 114 (4), pp. 579–585. DOI: <u>10.1017/ajil.2020.70</u>
	possible only through ongoing cooperation with China. The Emergency Committee's initial statement emphasised the significance of having access to the pertinent data, <sup>41</sup> but from the WHO's point of view, praising China rather than criticising it may be seen as the best way for it to carry out its re- sponsibilities as an epistemic authority, allowing it to assess the risks currently present and ensuring	32. S.E. Davies, C. Wenham, <i>Why the COVID-19 response needs International Relations</i> , "International Affairs", 2020, 96 (5), p. 1227. DOI: <u>10.1093/ia/iiaa135</u>
	that the global community had access to as much information as possible. The WHO just adopted a political strategy to carry out one of its tasks, instead of being lenient. This was obviously a political choice. <sup>42</sup>	<ul> <li>33. Ibidem, pp. 1248–1249.</li> <li>34. Donald Trump's tweet of 19 May 2020, <u>www.twitter.com/realDon-</u> aldTrump/status/126257758071839539</li> </ul>
Final remarks	From the very beginning of the existence of international bodies involved in protection of public health, they have experienced similar problems. As can be seen from the above reflections, the environment in which the WHO operates does not always generate comfortable working conditions.	3?s=20, (access 10.12.2022). 35. Donald Trump Coronavirus Press Briefing Transcript April 14: Trump Halts WHO Funding, https://www.rev.
	The WHO must deal with all kinds of problems related to political pressures, funding, lack of capacity	<u>com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-</u>



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	to make legally binding decisions. Each step must be carefully calculated from the viewpoint of not only statutory goals, but also political calculations. The organisation, especially recently, has been heavily criticised for its passive approach to China at the beginning of the coronavirus pandemic; however, some representatives of the doctrine perceive such action more as cold calculation rather than passivity. The WHO should be assessed at all times taking into account the social and economic conditions under which it must operate. Only looking at this organisation with the full picture of the world in mind will allow meaningful conclusions to be drawn about its existence.	<ul> <li>coronavirus-press-briefing-transcript- april-14-trump-halts-who-funding, (access 10.12.2022).</li> <li>36. M. Shear, <i>Trump Attacks W.H.O.</i> <i>Over Criticisms of U.S. Approach to</i> <i>Coronavirus</i>, https://www.nytimes. com/2020/04/07/us/politics/cor- onavirus-trump-who.html, (access 10.12.2022).</li> </ul>
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#### Krzysztof Paweł Kądzielski\*

The Idea of Social Participation. A Study of the Activities of the Stocznia Foundation under the Od Diagnozy do Strategii Program

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#### Abstract

This paper aims to answer the question: Through what activities the *Stocznia* Foundation ensures the idea of social participation in society? That idea assumes that social groups actively participate for the benefit of social development in cooperation with municipal authorities and third--sector organizations. *Stocznia* is a non-governmental organisation and an aid institution providing services in the areas that improve building a conscious, safe and wise society, actively involved in the activities for the common good. The *Od diagnozy do strategii* project organized by the *Stocznia* Foundation, is the document that describes the citizens' participation in public projects and the process of planning an effective strategy for achieving selected goals. The Foundation is an integral part of the preparation strategy for civic participation, which is based on the analysis of the practical involvement of stakeholder groups in the creation of real plans for the development of the local environment. This article is part of the research devoted to the *Stocznia* Foundation and its activities for the

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benefit of the society, especially the idea of social participation and the security sphere related to it.

#### Keywords

societal security, third sector, society, social participation, social innovations, strategy

#### Introduction

The *Stocznia* Foundation operates under the provisions of the Foundations Act of 6 April 1984<sup>1</sup> and the provisions of its statute. Its main objective is "to develop and implement social innovations, support the development of civil society and civic participation,<sup>1</sup> use the scientific achievements and methodology of social sciences to create knowledge useful for diagnosing the needs and solving social problems as well as designing and implementing pro-development projects, especially at the local level, and creating and widely disseminating knowledge and information resources, in particular as regards diagnosing problems and stimulating social activity."<sup>II</sup> These assumptions are aimed at increasing public awareness, modeling a higher standard of living for the citizens, as well as their active involvement in creating the common good.<sup>2</sup>

O ne of the important tasks carried out by this Foundation is participating in the collective life of the people. Active participation in the life of the community and building mutual relations means that we can identify with other individuals to a greater extent than if we remained in the passive sphere. The process of participation enables conscious changes in socio-political life, thus taking care of one's personal interests and those of the community. Considering the area of social participation from the society's perspective, attention should be paid to the participation of the elderly and people at risk of exclusion (social or technological),<sup>3</sup> who, due to their health condition or insufficient knowledge about the possibility of participation, are involved to a small extent. That area is important for the *Stocznia* Foundation, which is indicated in its statute.<sup>4</sup>

The importance of the *Stocznia* support activity is evidenced not only by the implementation of tasks aimed at counteracting social exclusion, but also by the dimension of its assistance in en-

1. Ustawa z dnia 6 kwietnia 1984 o fundacjach, Dz.U. 1991 nr 46, poz. 203, [The Foundations Act of 6 April 1984, Journal of Laws 1991, No. 46, item 203].

2. Statut Fundacji Stocznia, § 6, https:// stocznia.org.pl/statut/, (access 05.07.2021). The common good in the literature on the subject is defined as the common value achieved by human communities, which are related to the development of the natural capabilities of their members, the satisfaction of interests and respect for the rights of individuals while caring for greater social integration around specific goals.

3. See: A. Skrabacz, Uwarunkowania tworzenia bezpieczeństwa społecznego w XXI wieku, in: Bezpieczeństwo społeczne: pojęcia, uwarunkowania, wyzwania, eds. A. Skrabacz, S. Sulowski, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa 2012, pp. 53–57.

4. Statut Fundacji Stocznia, op. cit., § 6.

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suring security of social relations,<sup>5</sup> which is manifested in the issue of certainty. As Jerzy Stańczyk says: "The essence of security based on guarantees of inviolable survival and developmental freedoms of security is certainty. It is a condition of both components and may be objective or subjective. Security in a synthetic sense can therefore be defined as the objective certainty of the guarantee of inviolable survival and development freedoms."<sup>6</sup> This issue is expanded by Janusz Świniarski, who - apart from "certainty of existence" - also includes "balance with the inherently conflict-inducing environment" and "life in prosperity and satisfaction"<sup>7</sup> among the positive values of security.<sup>8</sup> As regards societal security, the adjective societal plays a key role, which *in the strict sense* indicates the human being as the central object of interest. Taking into account the conceptual spectrum, one can distinguish different theoretical schools (Copenhagen school,<sup>9</sup> Japanese school<sup>10</sup>) that influenced the contemporary understanding and perception of societal security as well as the related fields.<sup>11</sup> The essence of human identity in the understanding and perception of collective life was brilliantly captured by Roman Dmowski in Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka (Thoughts of a Modern Pole) referring to the concept of a citizen and the need to feel closeness with society: "I am one not only because I speak Polish, but others who speak the same language are spiritually closer to me and more understandable to me, that some of my personal affairs unite me more closely with them than with strangers, but also because, apart from the sphere of personal and individual life, I know the collective life of the nation of which I am a part [...]."<sup>12</sup> The determinants of societal security and its perception also depend on the current state (environment) in which it is located.<sup>13</sup> It is possible to distinguish a state of normal understanding of this concept over time as absence of social threats,<sup>14</sup> where all social protection systems function properly. However, the situation is different during the situations of crisis and related social conflicts, affecting specific social groups and state structures.<sup>15</sup> Due to the article's subject matter, the author leaves out the situations other than the situations of its proper functioning.

Social participation in the document entitled: Od Diagnozy do Strategii

The idea of social participation is one of the forms of social involvement in making informed decisions in social life. Active participation makes it possible to create a common vision of the future and strive to raise the current social level. Due to the universality of this idea, it is not intended for specific groups of stakeholders who uphold specific moral values, ideological, and religious views, or social status and education. Active civic participation is a way to getting acquainted with the planning sphere, establishing contacts with other social groups showing similar concern for social issues at the local level.<sup>16</sup> An important function is also the willingness of public and civil authorities to act together,<sup>17</sup> as well as an appropriate culture of consultation.<sup>18</sup> It is possible as a result of the involve5. U. Beck, Społeczeństwo ryzyka. W drodze do innej rzeczywistości, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar 2002, p. 33.

6. J. Stańczyk, Współczesne pojmowanie bezpieczeństwa, Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk 1996, p. 15.

7. J. Świniarski, O naturze bezpieczeństwa. Prolegomena do zagadnień ogólnych, ULMAK 1997, pp. 173–174.

#### 8. Ibidem.

9. One of the leading persons who represented the Copenhagen School is B. Buzan, who details the concept of "societal" security (*societal security*) and its significance in the post-Cold War era. See: B. Buzan, *People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*, Wheatsheaf Books Publisher 1983; 2<sup>nd</sup> reviewed edition: B. Buzan, *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, Harvester Wheatsheaf 1991, pp. 7–12.

10. The Japanese school was based on the concept of 'freedom from needs' in the sense of the guarantee of the inviolability of human and civil rights, the freedom to profess religion and conscience. W. Czajkowski, J. Piwowarski, *Japońska koncepcja kreowania bezpieczeństwa*, "Kultura bezpieczeństwa: Nauka – Praktyka – Refleksje", 2016, No. 22, pp. 358–360; K.P. Marczuk, *Bezpieczeństwo społeczne: potrzeba szerokiego ujęcia. Implikacje* 



ment of the participating parties through whom "citizens and their groups can articulate their interests, exercise rights and fulfill their duties, as well as mediate on contentious issues"<sup>19</sup> to facilitate the coordination of the process. Social innovation that is mentioned in this document plays an important role in particular in those sectors where the current innovation system is unreliable.<sup>20</sup>

Public participation in the creation and implementation of the idea of innovation can take the form of measuring user satisfaction (reviews) in projects that are carried out. A different though equally important role in terms of existing social problems is played by stakeholder groups, which, based on their knowledge and noticing dilemmas from a close perspective, can suggest ways to solve them. They may have an open character, where social groups express the preferences of their members in relation to the ideas presented by local government bodies, or a closed character, based on specific options. It should be noted that this improves the quality of public services by eliminating defective elements in the innovation cycle. The situation is slightly different when in this process providers of social services are the citizens themselves or the organizations at the head of them. Orders are provided either by local authorities or upon the initiative of stakeholder groups, e.g. when a local government is unable to fulfill the functions entrusted to it in this area for the benefit of the society.

The idea of social participation is visible in one of the projects implemented by the *Stocznia* Foundation under the name *Od diagnozy do strategii*<sup>21</sup> (*From diagnosis to strategy*). This document aims to bring closer the very essence of the process that takes place during participatory management. It consists of a detailed analysis of available data in the area of social innovation, collected by designated persons, the results of which were then transferred to the area of public intervention.<sup>22</sup>Also, the document was to develop and test a model tool to strengthen the capacity of local governments in the field of defining public service standards and planning their development-creating strategies. The project was implemented in all boroughs of Warsaw and several communities neighboring on the capital, in cooperation with the Centrum Komunikacji Społecznej (Social Communication Center).

In the Od diagnozy do strategii document, the participants' selected techniques of data collection and their analysis (processing) of information<sup>23</sup> resulted in the preparation of a seven-stage assessment, of persons who were both directly and indirectly involved in the implementation of projects to support local innovation – such individuals are called stakeholders.<sup>24</sup> The opening stage was the identification of interested social groups by establishing a set of characteristics that can be influenced by short- and long-term strategies. On this basis, two attitudes were distinguished: negative dla Polski, in: Bezpieczeństwo społeczne: pojęcia, uwarunkowania, wyzwania, eds. A. Skrabacz, S. Sulowski, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa 2012, pp. 26–52.

11. P.H. Liotta also mentions environmental safety (*environmental security*) which it classifies as so-called alternative concepts of security, based on the ecosystem, society or societies and individuals. See: P.H. Liotta, *Through the Looking Glass: Creeping Vulnerabilities and the Reordering of Security*, "Security Dialogue", 2005, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 49–70. DOI: <u>10.1177/0967010605051924</u>

12. Pol. "Jestem nim nie tylko dlatego, że mówię po polsku, że inni mówiący tym samym językiem są mi duchowo bliżsi i bardziej dla mnie zrozumiali, że pewne moje osobiste sprawy łączą mnie bliżej z nimi niż z obcymi, ale także dlatego, że obok sfery życia osobistego i indywidualnego, znam zbiorowe życie narodu, którego jestem cząstką", See: R. Dmowski, *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka*, Wydawnictwo Zachodnie 1943, p. 26.

13. W. Kitler, Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP: podstawowe kategorie, uwarunkowania, system, AON 2011, pp. 103–104.

14. J. Gierszewski, Bezpieczeństwo spoleczne: studium z zakresu teorii bezpieczeństwa narodowego, Difin 2013, pp. 268–277.

15. See: K. Kądzielski, Social conflicts during of the operation of state structures in crisis situations in Poland. Securological and legal approach, "Polish

and positive. A negative attitude can lead to the emergence of destructive relationships, aimed at creating conflict situations – posing a greater or lesser challenge (threat) to achieving a significant interest for the benefit of the society as a whole. The opposite (positive) attitude leads to the existence of partnership relations, thanks to which there was cooperation in the area of implementation of the main assumptions. Another element of the procedure was the assignment of these entities according to the type of role in relation to the strategy. This allocation was made by following a detailed analysis.<sup>25</sup> At the third stage of the project, the authors classified each of the stakeholders from the viewpoint of their impact on the organizational and social sphere of the planned strategy. For this purpose, the data obtained in the first two stages of the proceedings were used, along with the following questions: "What is the status (professional, social, age-related, etc.) of the stakeholders?"; "How are the stakeholders organized?"; "What is the structure of their organization, how are decisions made?".<sup>26</sup> The fourth stage referred to the attributes specific for the stakeholder groups as well as those that they share.<sup>27</sup> No less important information was provided by the fifth stage, dealing with the sensitivity that occurs towards entities, and matters concerning: the attitude to the problem of environmental protection, discriminatory behaviour and people at risk of technological and social exclusion, issues relevant to current community policy and gender equality. The interviews were aimed at focusing on the degree of sensitivity of stakeholders to issues related to religion, ideology and interest in environmental issues (e.g. animal protection). Collections of such questions were designed to help in evaluation, determination of a given level of awareness and the degree of influence on matters that "by their general nature determine choices and decisions in a specific dimension, consequently knowledge in this area makes it possible to limit potential conflicts".<sup>28</sup> The sixth stage was crucial due to the assessment of potential and interpersonal skills, and knowledge about the factors that may determine (influence) the point of view from the perspective of the ongoing work on the strategy.<sup>29</sup> The last stage took the form of a summary of previous findings, which served as recommendations for the effective implementation of the adopted strategy.<sup>III</sup>

The Od diagnozy do strategii project assumed the diversification of the sources of data acquisition (interviews, surveys); therefore the persons responsible for the implementation of the project participated in the evaluation of the obtained data, which were used to determine the accuracy of the decisions made in the strategic planning process.<sup>30</sup> The evaluation is based on the identification of the state of the environment and related spheres (dimensions) of projects, using the PESTLE<sup>IV</sup> and SWOT methodology. The PESTLE analysis makes it possible to examine those dimensions that may have a significant impact on the implementation of the project, e.g. legal and economic, environ-

Journal of Political Science", 2021, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 23–49.

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16. Zarządzanie w samorządzie terytorialnym: najlepsze praktyki, eds. M. Zawicki, S. Mazur, J. Bober, MSAP 2004, pp. 11–24.

17. See: J. Kwiatkowski, *Partycypacja społeczna i rozwój społeczny*, Agencja Wydawniczo-Reklamowa MT 2003, pp. 9–14.

18. See: D. Długosz, J. Wygnański, *Obywatele współdecydują. Przewodnik po partycypacji społecznej*, Stowarzyszenie na rzecz Forum Inicjatyw Pozarządowych 2005, pp. 23–24.

19. K. Gralak, *Partycypacja społeczna i jej znaczenie w rozwoju turystyki*, "Zeszyty Naukowe. Turystyka i Rekreacja", 2018, Vol. 1, No. 21, p. 156.

20. G. Mulgan, S. Tucker, R. Ali, et. al., Social innovation: what it is, why it matters, how it can be accelerated, The Young Foundation 2007, pp. 33–39, http://youngfoundation.org/publications/social-innovation-what-it-is-whyit-matters-how-it-can-be-accelerated, (access 08.07.2022).

21. A. Bartosiewicz, J. Herbst, Ł. Ostrowski, et al., *Od diagnozy do strategii*, https://stocznia.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/oddiagnozydostrategii. pdf, (access 07.07.2021).

22. Entities participating in the intervention have an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the project as-



mental-spatial, social, political and technological areas.<sup>31</sup> The SWOT method, which complements the first one, focuses on identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the strategy and the opportunities and possible threats that exist for the success of the operation.<sup>V</sup> In the project *Od diagnozy do strategii*, two main possibilities for implementing the planned strategy were adopted: the resultant strategy – integrating the *strengths* of the parties with emerging *opportunities*, which combination is more effective in achieving a positive result,<sup>32</sup> and the conversion strategy – based on the reduction of the *weaknesses* of the parties, as well as the *threats* that they face, and then try to transform them into the first scenario (resultant strategy). The method which also works for the presented example in the effective planning of activities of the idea of civic participation is PCM (*Project Cycle Management*),<sup>33</sup> largely used during the conceptual stage of programming projects within the EU. One of the phases of *Project Cycle Management* is the use of a logical matrix that shows cause-and-effect relationships taking place at the level of analysis. Thanks to this, it is possible to use adequate resources (forces and means) in the actions taken.

The analyzed methods correspond with the goals and mission set by the *Od diagnozy do strategii* project, the purpose of which is to determine the directions of public intervention, where it is assumed to highlight the reasons for which the institution was created. In addition to the substantive and intellectual value<sup>VI</sup> of the organization, an important role is played by the people working in it and the public services and goods they provide. The adoption of such values is "the highest hierarchical point of reference and verification of all intentions of the strategy,"<sup>34</sup> which motivates society to participate in initiatives and identify the relevant factors.

Implementation of the project assumptions was possible thanks to the establishment of social relations among the participants in the task, which helped them identify their resources and then use them to increase the quality of their activities. The fundamental challenge as regards activation of society, as well as establishing partnerships, is the issue of participation in the decision-making process of public projects included in the strategy program. Given the possibility of problems occurring at any stage of executing the document, the participants must be able to think creatively and develop ideas that enable actors to overcome the impasses encountered.<sup>35</sup> A multifaceted and holistic approach to the exchange of information between entities in the field of cooperation was a key element influencing the outcome of the intervention planned in the document, which was also based on the principle of effectiveness.<sup>36</sup> sumptions, on the basis of which basic assumptions, as well as related objectives, can be developed. In addition, the parties submit important reasons for themselves through the implementation of the strategy, which is the last stage of work before undertaking supervision and verification of progress contained in the project document. Ibidem, p. 86.

23. Ibidem, p. 99.

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24. M. Stachowiak-Kudła, Wartościowanie decyzji publicznych metodą konsultacji z interesariuszami, in: Prawo administracyjne w ujęciu interdyscyplinarnym, ed. B. Opaliński, Oficyna Wydawnicza Uczelni Łazarskiego 2014, pp. 51–68.

25. People in a group must converge on their status, the set of potential resources they have or may have, as well as their gender, and their possible impact. A. Bartosiewicz, J. Herbst, Ł. Ostrowski, et al., *Od diagnozy...*, op. cit., p. 99.

26. Ibidem, p. 100.

27. Having similar interests by individual interested persons may or may not influence or lead to the formation of internal groups in relation to other participants in the strategy. Ibidem, p. 100.

28. Ibidem, p. 100.

29. This part of the preparation of the strategy paper, as the fourth stage, was implemented with the help of a set of previously developed questions: "What

During the launch of the strategy under the *Od diagnozy do strategii* project, an important role is played by the verification of progress as regards implementation of the idea of participation in the area of social life, as well as supervision, which consists in monitoring and evaluating a given public intervention.<sup>37</sup> Monitoring is used to collect data and carry out a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the obtained information<sup>VII</sup> on the elements influencing the strategy, which are an inseparable part of the project topic. In order to ensure smooth functioning of the financial system and transparency of spending (cost-effect), it is necessary to carry out evaluations and determine the value of public intervention. Based on information obtained at the first five stages of the strategy, it is possible to apply such a methodology which will enable the development of principles, criteria and standards<sup>VIII</sup> in the axiological field. The authors of the document also point out that the main elements (features) accompanying the evaluation to increase the effectiveness of planning are: reliability of observations, analytical approach to the chosen research techniques, regularity of the planned process, usefulness of information, as well as precise concentration of resources on challenges.<sup>38</sup>

During the final phase, the person responsible for evaluating the strategy (evaluator) should consider the correctness of the logic of the implemented action due to the effects: *deadweight*, shift and substitution.<sup>39</sup> The first effect usually occurs as a result of incorrectly used mechanisms - or more precisely, their inadequacy in the strategic process. The reason for this situation is poor interpretation during the diagnosis phase or selection of inadequate intervention tools, which results in redirecting the resulting benefits to the wrong group of recipients (stakeholders). The effects of a shift and substitution are interconnected because both refer to the negative impact of the benefits obtained, which were achieved at the expense of other people or social groups.

Synthesizing the process of the idea of social participation, which is the subject of interest of this article, six subsequent stages are observed that make up the continuous process: defining the main objectives, developing the implemented assessment and its detailed scope, developing an analysis of the existing environment, establishing transparent measures, using gatekeeping<sup>40</sup> in relation to the information collected (obtained through the monitoring system), as well as the presentation of the framework for the plan of the assumed work.<sup>41</sup> An equally important element of the analysis is the section on recommendations, which consists in removing those factors that may adversely affect the assumed effects of the activities carried out. Failure to take into account these components would indicate a low level of efficiency in the time spent on making efforts, strategies, material resources and resources in terms of people who contributed to the execution of the document.

is their potential contribution on which the strategy can be based?"; "What are their limitations and weaknesses that need to be taken into account in the planned intervention of the strategy?". Ibidem, p. 100.

30. Ibidem, p. 101.

31. Ibidem.

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32. Ibidem.

33. PCM (Project Cycle Management) – is a way of implementing projects whose key assumption is to improve efficiency in the provision and organization of assistance. The main conclusions from the evaluation of the European Commission's work within the OECD Development Committee included: incompetent project management; projects have a low degree of attractiveness for potential beneficiaries; disregard for the factors underlying the source or cause hazards and thus affecting viability of the project; and ignoring the experience gained from similar ventures. Podręcznik - Zarządzanie Cyklem Projektu, Ministerstwo Gospodarki i Pracy 2004, p. 6, http://pokl. wup.kielce.pl/files/podr\_zarz\_cykl\_ proj.pdf, (access 04.08.2021).

34. A. Bartosiewicz, J. Herbst, Ł. Ostrowski, K. Starzyk, J.J. Wygnański, *Od diagnozy...*, op. cit., p. 103.

35. The cooperating parties should maintain a continuous exchange of information with each other, as well as show mutual respect and respect for a



#### Summary

The idea of civic participation enables the population to engage actively in the process of implementing innovations that have a significant impact on the local environment. It is also an effective tool with the use of which citizens can directly shape social policies of state authorities and speak out on issues important to them from the viewpoint of citizens. The key element of effective execution of the document being developed is to determine the content of the individual stages of implementation of strategic plans. Equally important from the viewpoint of the usefulness of such plans is to make a conscious and detailed analysis of the environment in which this innovation is to be implemented. The foundation of each strategic document based on social participation should be a diagnosis of social needs at the initial stage of work, without which further implementation of projects would fail the assumed effectiveness of the idea of civic participation. Considering the diagnosis as an early analysis of the environment allows for a precise perception of the needs and expectations of local stakeholder groups. Of course, the above analysis contained in this article is based on reliable administrative data and questions about the essence of public innovations contained in numerous surveys.<sup>IX</sup>

In response to the research thesis, the *Stocznia* Foundation, as part of its activities (based on the *Od diagnozy do strategii* project), promotes the idea of social participation, as well as encourages various social groups to participate actively in implementing new social innovations. The Foundation's involvement of the citizens in decision-making in the area of development not only increases their awareness, but also shapes their worldview as regards such behavior in the future. Due to the fact that stakeholder groups involved in the idea of participation are the entities co-implementing the projects described in the analyzed document *Od diagnozy do strategii*, they best know the current social needs as well as the weaknesses of social policies. Creating and delivering social innovations, visible in the activities of the *Shipyard* Foundation for the activation of society in line with the aforementioned idea, meet the expectations of citizens and indirectly contribute to the sphere of societal security.

The analyses presented in this article are a continuation of a series of works on the activities of the *Stocznia* Foundation for the development of and assistance to the society, as a result of which the level of societal security increases.

different approach to the tasks carried out in the institutional and material areas. Ibidem, p. 105.

36. Ibidem, p. 106.

37. Ibidem, p. 110.

38. Ibidem, p. 111.

39. Ibidem, p. 112.

40. Concept *gatekeeping* used by D.M. White is used in sociological sciences in order to specify selection of information, based not only on objectivity but also on experience. See: E. Maigret, *Socjologia komunikacji i mediów*, Oficyna Naukowa 2012, pp. 22–39, 40–68.

41. Final result of the evaluation is to write detailed recommendations in relation to the analyzed document, because they determine its usefulness in the long run and the achievement of the assumed goals. One of the most important principles when presenting recommendations is their feasibility of implementation, and therefore the possibility of applying in practice (also during implementation). A. Bartosiewicz, J. Herbst, Ł. Ostrowski, et al., Od diagnozy..., op. cit., p. 113.



#### Explanatory footnotes

I. In the literature on the subject, civic participation and social participation are used synonymously.

II. The statute of the Stocznia Foundation was drawn up on 06.02.2009, under the number Repertory A No. 337/2009.

III. The acquired information base directly translated into taking steps to withdraw a specific social group as implementers of the strategy or their inclusion in the work. The element included in the described stage is the correlation that occurs between decisions while showing the relationships in the long term.

IV. PESTLE/PESTEL Analysis (Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Legal and Environmental).

V. The SWOT method expands the range of research based on PESTEL, because it gives weight to the essence of the subject's component and their personal scope in a time perspective. As a result, such activities generate data on the importance of the characteristics forming the basis of the chosen strategy.

VI. This may include objectives, projects, undertakings and ongoing research and cooperation between stakeholders and other groups that meet the objectives pursued by the foundation or the civil society. This may lead to: an assumed increase in the level of trust, development of the area of activity, as well as greater broadly understood benefits.

VII. In order to use the collected information, it is necessary to base it on reliable reporting systems, which will allow for eliminating information that concerns institutions or persons in the implementation process and contains erroneous data.

VIII. The desire to abide by both the criteria and standards is based on the following principles: relevance (as regards social needs), efficiency and effectiveness (adequacy of the planned measures for the tools available) and sustainability (to complete implementation of the strategy and achieve a long-term impact).

IX. Surveys are designed to provide information as to which needs are preferred more than others by the stakeholders, as well as to obtain people's opinions on the innovations carried out.



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#### Michał Tkaczyk\*

The Attitudes of the University of Warsaw Students towards Selected Nationalistic and Fascistic Symbols in Public Sphere

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#### Abstract

The use of symbols in politics is an important topic that is subject of many research projects. From the viewpoint of political science, man creates various signs to which certain values and meanings are attributed. The article describes the results of a survey of the University of Warsaw students' opinions concerning the presence of selected nationalistic and fascistising symbols in the public sphere. It also presents the current state of research concerning in politics, research questions, the formulated hypotheses and the research methods used. The article also describes selected symbols used by national, nationalistic and fascistic organisations. The article also outlines how the symbols associated with the extreme right are perceived by the young people in Poland and what significance it could have in the context of the current political trends. The author underlines the importance of public opinion polls concerning nationalistic and fascistising symbols, especially in the context of the growing wave of nationalism and the extreme right in Europe. The survey, carried out in 2021-2022, revealed

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	that the majority of the respondents negatively appraised the selected nationalistic and fascistising symbols, such as the black sun, the falanga or the Celtic cross. At the same time, some respondents found it difficult to identify individual symbols, which point to the need for more educations as regards the history and ideologies associated with those symbols. The conclusions drawn from the survey indicate the need for more education and greater sensitivity to those issues among young people, who are the future of our society. Keywords symbol, symbol in politics, nationalism in Poland, semiotics, fascism, social su- rveys, strategy	
Introduction	In recent years, Poland has been a state where a phenomenon linked with the expansion of nation- alist and extreme right movements in public space could be observed. As an example, one could mention the 2020 March <i>Katowice is the city of nationalism</i> , <sup>1</sup> the accusations of promoting hate speech and fascism <sup>2</sup> by the participants in the march <i>German crimes unsettled</i> under the celebrations of the 76 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising <sup>3</sup> or the anti-Semitic march in Kalisz. <sup>4</sup> All those events were organised by small groups from politically marginal milieus os radical nation- alists such as, among others: Młodzież Wszechpolska [All-Poland Youth], Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny (ONR) [National Radical Camp], Ruch Narodowy [National Movement], Autonomiczni nacjonaliści [Autonomous Nationalists], sympatycy Wojciecha Olszańskiego [Wojciech Olszński's sympathisers] or Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodległości [Independence March Association]. Despite, it would seem, low agency of the above-mentioned groups, their presence on the Polish political arena seems to be well established, and sometimes even makes its way to the main discourse. The aim of the article is to present and discuss the results of a survey concerning the level of knowledge and opinions of Polish students as regards the symbols used in the public space by the extreme right milieus. This effort is aimed at both describing a certain phenomenon as well as utilising the survey results in practice.	<ol> <li>A. Kazimierczul ców. "Katowice m https://www.rp.pl art8872421-mars wice-miastem-na 18.07.2021).</li> <li>Ł. Starzewski, J wanie i pochwala ratura Krajowa u statystyki za 202: gov.pl/pl/content/ agowanie-i-poch prokuratura-kraju ujawnila-rpo, (acc 3. M. Mazzini, "Tę nia narodowcy zn https://www.politi tyka/kraj/196608</li> </ol>

I. A. Kazimierczuk, *Marsz narodowców. "Katowice miastem nacjonalizmu"*, <u>nttps://www.rp.pl/spoleczenstwo/</u> art8872421-marsz-narodowcow-kato-<u>wice-miastem-nacjonalizmu</u>, (access 18.07.2021).

2. Ł. Starzewski, Jak ściga się propagovanie i pochwalanie faszyzmu. Prokuratura Krajowa w końcu ujawniła RPO tatystyki za 2020 r., https://bip.brpo. gov.pl/pl/content/jak-sciga-sie-propgowanie-i-pochwalanie-faszyzmuprokuratura-krajowa-w-koncuujawnila-rpo, (access 20.10.2021).

3. M. Mazzini, *"Tęczowa zaraza". 1 sierpnia narodowcy znów nieśli nienawiść*, https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/kraj/1966086,1,teczowa-zaraza-

The article formulates the following research question: What is the attitude of the University of 1-sierpnia-narodowcy-znow-Warsaw students to the nationalistic symbols or symbols referring to fascistising contents or niesli-nienawisc.read, (access organisations that are encountered in public space or on the Internet? In connection with those spe-01.08.2020). cific issues, several hypotheses were put forward in the research, namely: The majority of the UoW 4. M. Zaborowska, Antysemicki marsz students value judge the researched symbols; According to the UoW students there are more of the w Kaliszu. Jest zawiadomienie do researched symbols present on the Internet than in public space. The negative attitude of the UoW prokuratury dot. niedopełnienia obostudents is greater towards the symbols which are more recognisable. wiązków, https://www.rmf24.pl/fakty/ polska/news-antysemicki-marszw-kaliszu-jest-zawiadomienie-do-The basic research method was a quantitative study un the form of an online interview. The results prokuratur,nId.5656023#crp\_state=1, L of the Computer Assisted Web Interview (CAWI) have been analysed and synthesised in this ar-(access 19.11.2021). ticle. The research involving the University of Warsaw students or other groups of young people may 5. W. Kopaliński, Słownik wyrazów obconstitute a suitable point of departure for comprehending the phenomenon of growing popularity of cych i zwrotów obcojęzycznych z almathe extreme right-wing groupings in Poland and elsewhere in the world. The focus on young people nachem – symbol, Rytm 2007, enhances the possibilities of the predictive function of science since it is exactly this group of voters pp. 551-552. and members of future ruling elites that will have a decisive influence on the political landscape in their respective states. The t is hard to imagine human civilization without symbols. They have accompanied man since time theoretical Limmemorial in all conceivable aspects of life. Just like language, they are an indispensable part of human life, social interaction and all forms of communication. Owing to their universal presence and background interdisciplinary nature, symbols have been a subject of interest for many thinkers, philosophers, and outline of scholars or journalists. After Władysław Kopaliński, the initial dictionary definition of a symbol may the present be adopted, namely that a symbol is: "an object or sign replacing, representing, denoting, reminiscing status of the (by convention, mental association) a notion, an act, or an object; especially, a material object that represents something invisible; (...)."<sup>5</sup> research t is worth emphasising how broadly the notion that is of interest to us may be interpreted. A symbol is not merely an object; it is definitely closer to an instrument. This is exactly the point of view

bol is not merely an object; it is definitely closer to an instrument. This is exactly the point of view that underlies this analysis. It should be noted that the notion of a symbol is in this article defined in a concrete, narrowed down meaning, as it has been done by Radosław Walczak. Therefore, in this paper a symbol will be understood as: "a material creation whose meaning for its holder exceeds the sum total of the physical characteristics of this object. It may be interpreted by the people surround-

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> ing the holder as a confirmation of belonging to a certain group or an evidence that its user has been equipped with certain social or personal qualities."<sup>6</sup> However, one more significant distinction needs to be made, since in light of the research carried out by Walczak the scope of the definition had to be narrowed down to: "a material creation". The scholar who conducted similar research concerning the perception of people using various symbols for image-related reasons<sup>7</sup> needed to restrict a symbol to a specific object owing to the absence of distinction into a material (public) space and virtual space. Can the graphic used as an element of someone's profile on social media or any given form of representation or use of the researched symbol online be called a material creation? For the needs of this article it will be appropriate to define a symbol as a material or virtual creation whose meaning for its user exceeds the sum total of the physical properties of that object, while it may signal to the user's surroundings the confirmation of their belonging to a certain group or constitute an evidence that its user has been equipped with certain social and personal qualities

A ccording to Michał M. Bukowski, a political symbol means words, phrases or other verbal and nonverbal signs the use of which in the political discourse has been intended by the user to evoke specific responses of the addressee.<sup>8</sup> It is also worth adding after Bukowski that with respect to form a symbol sends the addressee from *signified* to *signifier* - concept and reference,<sup>9</sup> thanks to which a symbol may be treated as a kind of a bridge between material and nonmaterial contents. It should neither be forgotten that the social and political content is the key for the occurrence and functioning of a given political symbol.<sup>10</sup> That is why placing selected signs in a cultural, social and cultural content will allow for their in-depth analysis and verification of their knowledge by the University of Warsaw students.

Symbols are investigated in the area of most of the humanities and social sciences, and even specialised disciplines have emerged for this purpose. Semiotics is divided into several categories. We may deal with very specialised, more narrow semiotics, e.g. in linguistics or logic. There is also semiotics of a more interdisciplinary nature, which is described as a set of analytical techniques for the analysis of sign phenomena.<sup>11</sup> This academic discipline may be recognised as broad and continually developing. For the needs of this article and the research, I shall limit myself to broader semiotics of an interdisciplinary nature. This discipline is also used in marketing research, e.g. the semiotic analysis of the message of the content of outdoor advertising carried out by Krzysztof Kubiak.<sup>12</sup> This is worth mentioning since visual advertising is a similar communication tool that uses a certain socially accepted code,<sup>13</sup> like a symbol within the meaning of this paper. Its interdisciplinary nature 6. R. Walczak, Percepcja wizerunku polityka rozszerzonego za pomocą społecznie akceptowalnych symboli, in: Mity symbole i rytuały we współczesnej polityce, szkice z antropologii polityki, ed. B. Szklarski, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar 2015, pp. 168–175.

7. Ibidem, p. 170.

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8. M.M. Bukowski, *Czynniki różnicujące symbole polityczne – perspektywa globalna*, in: *Mity symbole i rytuały we współczesnej polityce, szkice z antropologii polityki*, ed. B. Szklarski, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar 2015, pp. 127–138.

9. Ibidem, p. 127.

10. Ibidem, p. 128.

11. K. Machtyl, Od znaku do interpretacji: o hermeneutycznej próbie poszerzenia granic semiotyki: na przykładzie pojęcia symbolu, "Studia Kulturoznawcze", 2013, 1 (3), pp. 29–43.

12. K. Kubiak, *Reklama outdoorowa* – *semiotyczna analiza przekazu*, in: *Reklama wizualna*, eds. A. Wiśniewska, A. Frontczak, Wyższa Szkoła Promocji 2013, pp. 10–23.

13. Ibidem, pp. 10–11.

brings semiotics closer to politology, which is also an academic discipline combining contents of all social sciences. Reference to the semiotic accomplishments will strengthen the definition of a symbol adopted in the article, though in view of the problem discussed in this paper as well as having restricted symbols merely to the form of a nonverbal sign, any reflections in the area of the communications theory will be omitted.

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The main research problem, namely what is the attitude of the University of Warsaw students to the nationalistic symbols or symbols referring to fascistising contents or organisations that are encountered in public space, requires one more clarification as to the underlying reasons for picking up the adequate signs belonging to the selected specific group. The context and the substantiation for using the term "fascistising" are explained by Stanley G. Payne's typology.<sup>14</sup> A symbol which is specified with the adjective *nationalistic* will be the sign used by political groups, movements or organisations describing themselves as nationalist, i.e. such whose members (as members of a given nation, in this case the Polish nation) put first the national identity and undertake actions aimed at seeking or maintaining self-determination for their nation.<sup>15</sup> In this case, three nationalistic symbols have been selected for the research, namely: the Sword of King Bolesław I the Brave (Illustration 1), the cross of the National Armed Forces (Illustration 2) and the Falanga (Illustration 3).

The shape of the first sign refers to the semi-mythical coronation sword of first Polish rulers. The Sword of King Bolesław I the Brave was designed and used by the nationalistic milieus during the interwar period. It is nowadays used by, among others, the National Radical Camp or the All-Poland Youth. The latter of those organisations uses the Sword of King Bolesław I the Brave in its logo and in its promotional materials.<sup>16</sup> The use of this symbol by football fans at matches has been banned by Football Against Racism in Europe.<sup>17</sup>

On the other hand, the sign of the National Armed Forces was created during World War II and belonged to one of the Polish clandestine military organisations fighting against the Nazi occupiers. The cross represents the Polish national emblem with the Sword of King Bolesław I the Brave behind the eagle, which may be recognised by the characteristic hilt and cross guard. The symbols is associated with the controversial public discussion regarding the charges of crimes committed by members of the organisation during World War II and immediately after the its end, as well as the possible collaboration with the Third Reich.<sup>18</sup> Also because of its extreme right origins, the NAF has been frequently accused of anti-Semitic attitudes within its ranks.<sup>19</sup> At present, the cross is exten-

14. S.G. Payne, A History of Fascism, 1914-1945, Taylor & Francis e-Library 2003, <u>https://www.scribd.com/</u> doc/234364642/A-History-of-Fascism-1914-1945-pdf#, (access 14.11.2021).

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15. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, *Nationalism*, <u>https://plato.stan-</u> ford.edu/entries/nationalism/, (access 26.02.2021).

16. *Młodzież Wszechpolska*, <u>https://</u> <u>mw.org.pl/</u>, (access 14.11.2021).

17. D. Uhlig, *Na Euro mieczyk Chrobrego zakazany jak swastyka*, <u>https://wyborc-</u>za.pl/7,75398,5319418,na-euro-mieczyk-chrobrego-zakazany-jak-swastyka. <u>html</u>, (access 17.06.2008).

18. M. Kozubal, *Kontrowersje wokół rocznicy utworzenia brygady NSZ*, https://www.rp.pl/historia/art1188721kontrowersje-wokol-rocznicy-utworzenia-brygady-nsz, (access 10.08.2021).

19. S. Pawlina, Narodowe Siły Zbrojne, wojsko skrajnej prawicy, <u>https://</u> www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/ <u>historia/1722052,1,narodowe-sily-</u> zbrojne-wojsko-skrajnej-prawicy.read, (access 03.10.2020).

sively used commercially in the form of imprints on patriotic clothes, scarfs, etc. Nowadays, it is used by nationalistic groupings, veterans, sympathisers and historical reconstructors.

The falanga was created in the early 1930s as a response to the ban on using the Sword of King Bolesław I the Brave introduced by the government. The sign represents a characteristically drawn schematic arm wielding a sword. Usually it is depicted against a green or black background. Nowadays, it is the official symbol of the National Radical Camp and the National Revival of Poland. The falanga is also one of the most commonly used nationalist symbols in Poland. The use of this symbol by football fans at matches has been banned by Football Against Racism in Europe.<sup>20</sup>

symbol denoted as *fascistising* will be a sign used by political groups, movements and organisa-Ations which - according to Stanley G. Payne's typology - may be classified as being in the spectrum of attributes of fascism.<sup>21</sup> This spectrum includes the organisations and movements whose identity may be described with the following attributes: demagogy, populism, anti-liberalism, anticommunism, statism, authoritarianism, specific fascist symbolism or opposition to the international capital, which we would now termed anti-globalism.<sup>22</sup> Using such a broad formula is justified as it is hard to find nowadays in Europe and in Poland any neo-Nazi or fascistic party or legal organisation. From the legal and political point of view, such groups should not have existed in other than history textbook spaces. Alas, there are many informal associations or milieus which exploit and invoke in their messages outlawed political currents and use their symbols. An example may be the National Revival of Poland party, which despite its lawfulness has in its programme a sufficient number of features corresponding with the above quoted Payne's typology (anti-globalism, anti-liberalism, anticommunism, populism or finally calling for *a national revolution in the world*,<sup>23</sup> which is a reference to the programme of Italian philosopher Julius Evola,<sup>24</sup> who was the thinker of the esoteric extreme right in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, in this case we deal with a grouping, which despite being close to the fascistic contents cannot be named as such. The reason being, *inter alia*, that in such a situation an adequate court verdict is required. Similar is the situation of the National Radical Camp. In its verdict of 17 February 2021, the Supreme Court found that the movement could be called a fascistic organisation.<sup>25</sup> However, this information does not resolve the problem which has arisen since the existence of parties or groupings of a fascistic character is barred not only in the Constitution of the Republic of Poland,<sup>26</sup> but also in the Polish Penal Code.<sup>27</sup> This means that the official existence of such groupings is not possible, at least from the legal point of view. For the above reasons, in the research the term "fascistising" has been used, which does not definitively denotes the

May 2016, in: https://www.farenet.org/ wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Fare-Signs-and-Symbols-Guide.pdf, (access 26.02.2021).

20. *Monitoring discriminatory signs and symbols at UEFA Euro 2016*, Raport Fare network, fourth updated version,

21. S.G. Payne, A History of Fascism..., op. cit., pp. 6–7.

22. Ibidem, p. 7.

23. A. Gmurczyk, *Deklaracja Trzeciej Pozycji*, <u>https://www.nop.org.pl/deklaracja-</u> trzeciej-pozycji/, (access 17.11.2021).

24. J. Evola, *Revolt Against the Modern World*, transl. G. Stucco, Inner Traditions International 1995.

25. D. Sitnicka, Sąd Najwyższy: można nazywać ONR organizacją faszystowską. "Sami na siebie ukręcili ten bicz", https://oko.press/sad-najwyzszy-mozna-nazywac-onr-organizacja-faszystowska-sami-na-siebie-ukrecili-tenbicz/, (access 26.02.2021).

26. Artykuł 13 Konstytucji Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 2 kwietnia 1997 r., Dz.U. 1997 nr 78 poz. 483, [Article 13 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997, Journal of Laws 1997, No. 78, item 483].

27. Artykuł 256 Kodeksu karnego z dnia 6 czerwca 1997r., Dz.U. 1997 nr 88 poz. 553, [Article 256 of the Penal Code of 6 June 1997, Journal of Laws 1997, No. 88, item 553]. selected symbols as fascistic, but as signs that are in the spectrum of the attributes of fascism. Those symbols originate from the fascist or Nazi symbolic traditions or are used by members of groups or milieus drawing on the fascist contents. Hence, I selected three fascistising symbols for my research, namely: Celtic cross (illustration 4), black sun (illustration 5) and toporzeł (illustration 6).

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The first sign is the form of a solar cross of pre-Christian origins. In many variants this symbol is universally used nowadays by numerous milieus (*inter alia*, Neopagans, nationalists, national minorities, skinhead movements, etc.). A cross with a circular ring around its axis is also one of the most frequently encountered symbols used by neo-Nazi and racist groups (e.g. white pride movements). In Germany, it is illegal to use this symbol because it is exploited by neo-fascistic organisations in order to market their presence, mainly in the streets. Despite its negative connotations and how the Celtic cross is used for the promotion of racism in other European countries, in Poland this symbol can be used without any significant risk of legal sanctions because it has been entered in the register of political parties as the symbol of the National Revival of Poland.<sup>28</sup> This sign may be spotted as a graffiti on buildings in many Polish cities. The use of this symbol by football fans at matches has been banned by Football Against Racism in Europe.<sup>29</sup>

The black sun is a Nazi solar symbol of obscure origins. It is unknown whether the original arrangement of the sign included twelve *Sig* runes or three swastikas; in the opinion of certain researchers the symbol could not have referred to the sun but to the Arthurian legends (e.g. Knights of the Round Table).<sup>30</sup> Thanks to negligible recognisability, limited knowledge and no broader use during World War II or by the fascistising parties, the symbol is nowadays very popular with neo-Nazi groups. It is not generally penalised. It can been seen at the parades of so-called *autonomous nationalists* and other radical right-wing groups and has been used by, *inter alia*, by the Ukrainian Azov Brigade. At present, it is being popularised online in the form of mems and is not subject to any broader censorship. The use of this symbol by football fans at matches has been banned by Football Against Racism in Europe.<sup>31</sup>

The toporzeł is a sign designed by Stanisław Szukalski in 1935 as a proposition for a new emblem of the Second Republic of Poland.<sup>32</sup> Graphically, it is a combination of a schematic depiction of a twoedged axe and an eagle. The symbol has been used historically and nowadays by the milieus which draw on the activities of the pre-war Zadruga (e.g. "Niklot" Association for Tradition and Culture)<sup>33</sup>, or by nationalistic neo-pagan groups. The use of this symbol by football fans at matches has been banned by Football Against Racism in Europe.<sup>34</sup> 28. Ł. Starzewski, Policja: "krzyż celtycki" to prawny symbol NOP. Dochodzenie ws. marszu pamięci "żołnierzy wyklętych" w Hajnówce umorzone, https://bip.brpo.gov.pl/pl/content/ policja-krzyz-celtycki-prawny-symbolnop-dochodzenie-ws-marszu-pamiecizolnierzy-wykletych-umorzone, (access 01.10.2018).

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29. *Monitoring discriminatory signs...*, op. cit.

30. R.R. Sala, *Krytyczny słownik mitów i symboli nazizmu*, Wydawnictwo "Sic!" 2006, p. 225.

31. Monitoring discriminatory signs..., op. cit.

32. NSZ Zadruga Podlasie, *Toporzeł – nasz symbol, nasze godło,* <u>http://ns-zadruga-podlasie.blogspot.</u> <u>com/2015/03/, (access 27.03.2021).</u>

33. Stowarzyszenie na rzecz Tradycji i Kultury "Niklot", <u>http://www.niklot.org.</u> pl/, (access 26.11.2021).

34. Monitoring discriminatory signs..., op. cit.





situ of Warsaw students to those signs is a currently much needed undertaking. A semiotic analysis of selected symbols and verification what emotions are aroused by the signs laden with political and ideological contexts. which have their connotations and place both in history and in culture, may allow to discern a piece of the political reality around us. Such research is of special values in that it compare the opinions of young people with those of commentators and journalists. Thus, it will be possible to ask the students whether they share the fears that are present in the

Source: Own work.

texts and opinions of certain commentators warning against fascisistization<sup>35</sup> of social and political life in Poland. Or perhaps the interviewees will reveal different opinions, perhaps the number of presented symbols will prove to be minimal and therefore posing no greater threat, marginal or imperceptible?

The choice of the above listed symbols was conditioned primarily by the commonness of their presence in public space. Radical right-wing organisations have an extremely broad assortment 35. A. Gmiterek-Zabłocka, J. Leociak. "Polska brunatnieje" - mówi ekspert, który tematyką zagłady zajmuje się od wielu, wielu lat, Twój Problem - Moja sprawa, https://audycje.tokfm.pl/ podcast/108268,-Polska-brunatniejemowi-ekspert-ktory-tematyka-zagladyzajmuje-sie-od-wielu-wielu-lat, (access 03.07.2021).

of symbols and signs that they can use, depending on their sympathy with other groupings, ideo-

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36. K. Korzeniowska, D. Uhlig, Marsz Niepodległości. Jak zrozumieć wieloznaczne symbole skrajnej prawicy [IN-FOGRAFIKA], https://biqdata.wyborcza pl/biqdata/7,159116,27781781,marszniepodleglosci-wieloznaczne-symbole-skrajnej-prawicy.html, (access 09.11.2021).

87. Google Forms software, <u>https://www.</u> google.pl/intl/pl/forms/about/, (access 09.11.2021).

	logical current, etc. A presentation of the most radical symptoms, neo-Nazi signs or others used by extremist groups would render the research pointless with a view to marginal or no recognisability. For this reason, selected were the symbols which may be considered frequently used and visible at mass event or public gatherings (such as e.g. the 11 November Independence March), as graffiti in urban space, as clothing accessories (e.g. pins, badges, T-shirt imprints, etc.) and on the Internet (e.g. in the form of posts, graphics, mems, etc.). All of the researched symbols made their presence at the Independence March in 2021, <sup>36</sup> which was the largest and most recent event of that type at the time of carrying out the survey. For the abovementioned reasons, the selected signs stand – in my opinion – the greatest opportunity to be present in the awareness of the surveyed group – students, as they could and can encounter them not only during the celebrations of the national holiday as its participants, but also as onlookers standing in the vicinity of a rally or any other public gathering. The interviewee could also observe them during more prosaic encounters when using social media or even riding on public transport to the university.	36. K. Kor Niepodleg znaczne sy FOGRAFI pl/biqdata niepodleg zne-symb (access 05
Methodology	The survey was conducted as a Computer Assisted Web Interview (CAWI). In order to acquire the research materials, a selected group of respondents – students of various faculties of the University of Warsaw – was asked to fill an online questionnaire to verify the hypotheses that had been put forward and answer the research questions asked in the first chapter. Apart from the survey per se, a pilot survey was prepared to verify the formula and effectiveness of the main survey questionnaire form. The main tool used was Google Forms software. <sup>37</sup> The application serves for formulating and carrying out surveys in a respondent friendly online formula.	37. Google google.pl/ 09.11.2021
Description of the research sample	The survey took six months – from 5 December 2021 to 21 May 2022. That period may be divided into two phases: the pilot survey and the gathering of responses to the questionnaire queries as such. The pilot survey lasted from 5 to 7 December 2021, whereas the proper part of the survey from 9 January to 21 May 2022. During the first stage, the questionnaire was filled by 11 respondents, whereas in the second, longer one – 89 others. All in all, 100 University of Warsaw students took part in the survey (N = 100).	

# B asing on the fiche data it is possible to give a more detailed description of the interviewees. The questionnaire was filled by 50 women (50% of respondents), 45 men (45% of respondents) and 5 non-binary persons (5% of respondents). The age of the students was in the 19-28 bracket. The average age of the respondents was 21.29 years. The most numerous age group was formed by 20- and 21-year-olds (51%); the next most numerous group included students who at the time of taking part in the survey were under 21 year of age (35%). The youngest respondents at the age of 18 and 19 were the least numerous group (14%).

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The overwhelming majority of the respondents live in the cities of over 500 thou. inhabitants (69%). The least represented are medium-sized towns 50 thou. to 500 thou. inhabitants (5% and 6%), whereas smaller localities, that is villages and town up to 50 thou. inhabitants came in second and third (9% and 11% respectively). The above data correspond with the group the survey was dedicated to, that is the stereotype image of a student, who is a young adult<sup>38</sup> living in or in the vicinity of large urban centres, where universities are located.

A nother interesting variable describing the research sample was the line of study according to the classification of scientific domains and disciplines in Poland after 2018.<sup>39</sup> The most numerous group were representatives of social sciences (58%), followed by students of the humanities (21%) and those studying exact sciences (17%). It should be also noted that four students decided not to answer this question, that is in the results there is a variable: *no response* (4%).

The last significant variables in the fiche were the views of the respondents and the question about voting in the 2019 parliamentary elections. Due to the fact that during the last parliamentary elections almost one-half of the students (45%) was not yet eligible to vote, did not vote or otherwise gave no answer, it was decided to focus on declarative political views of the respondents. In the course of elaborating the results, responses on the Likert scale were codes in such a way so that ultimately centrist, rightist and leftist views were presented. The largest number of interviewed students declared leftist views (44%), closely followed by the representation of centrists (39%), with the respondents declaring themselves as having the rightist world outlook at the end (17%). These results are reflected in the research on political views of young Poles, according to which the leftist world outlook is most popular with the youngest electorate.<sup>40</sup>

38. Central Statistical Office, *Polska w liczbach 2022*, <u>https://stat.gov.pl/ob-</u> szary-tematyczne/inne-opracowania/ <u>inne-opracowania-zbiorcze/polska-</u> *w*-liczbach-2022,14,15.html, (access 30.05.2022).

39. Biuro Obsługi Badań UW, *Klasyfikacja dziedzin i dyscyplin naukowych w Polsce*, http://bob.uw.edu.pl/klasyfikacja-dziedzin-i-dyscyplin-naukowych-wpolsce/, (access 10.03.2022).

40. CBOS, Zainteresowanie polityką i poglądy polityczne młodych Polaków na tle ogółu badanych, Research report no. 16/2021, <u>https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.</u> <u>POL/2021/K\_016\_21.PDF</u>, (access 10.03.2022).





#### The pilot survey

**B** efore carrying out the main survey, a control group comprising 11 students was prepared. This was aimed at verifying the effectiveness and transparency of the main research tool that had been prepared. Randomly selected respondents belonged to the main survey group – they were students of the University of Warsaw. The difference between the control and the research group was a form distributed to 11 persons after they had filled the main questionnaire The pilot survey comprised sic questions concerning the degree of comprehension, length, attractiveness of and potential reservations concerning the questionnaire. With a view to the type of questions, the pilot survey tool may be divided into two parts. The first one, comprising closed questions the respondents were obliged to answer, and the second one, comprising non-mandatory open questions.

Given a homogeneity and positiveness of the results it was possible to conclude the first, closed stage of collecting the filled questionnaires. The next step involved implementation of the earlier assumed plan to disseminate the questionnaire on student social media. The main aim was to collect as many responses as possible in the time available for carrying out the survey.

#### The basic research tool

The second, main stage of the research consisted in carrying a survey among the University of Warsaw students. The respondents filled the questionnaire anonymously. The name of the survey on the questionnaire form was: "The analysis of selected political and historical symbols in public space". The research tool was made up of ten compound main questions and a fiche. The order in which the selected symbols were presented was identical as in the illustrations found earlier in the article. In the first six questions each symbol was presented separately. In the following sections the selected signs were shown in groups, according to the classification adopted in the study and the division into nationalistic and fascistising symbols. Thus, in questions no. 7 and 8 the first three symbols mentioned above are shown, ehreas in questions no. 9 and 10 – the second group of signs. The first six questions had the same form. That section served first of all to verify the knowledge of the students as regards each of the symbols therein. Additionally, the questions examined the respondents' associations with subsequent signs. Each section comprised a graphic representing one of the six symbols and the following question: "Do you recognise the symbol shown in this picture?" The response could be affirmative or negative. This part of the sections was also supplemented with the following questions questions are shown in the section with the following question.
tion: "What is your emotional attitude to this symbol? (What sensation does it arouse?),", the aim of which was to acquire material in order to verify the hypothesis: "The University of Warsaw students value judge the researched symbols." The responses fit into the Likert scale supplemented with the following options" "Do not know", "Hard to say", which at the further stage of processing the acquired research material were coded as: "No answer".

I f a respondent answered the first question in the affirmative, that they recognised the symbol represented in the picture, they acquired access to the second half of the section – questions 1 to 6. This part was marked, respectively: "Question 1. 2, 2. 2", etc. The coded section included three additional open questions: "Do you know which organisations or groups have created it? If so, write down which," "Do you know which organisations or groups use it nowadays? If you do, write down which," and "what are your associations with this symbol? (Optional question)." That section served to verify in-depth the knowledge of the students as regards the history and present use of the researched symbols. The last question in this section, in turn, served to acquire a thorough answer to the hypothesis as to how did the UoW students value judge those signs. The responses such as: "Do not know" or no answer in the third questions were coded or interpreted as: "No answer". If the respondent marked that they did not recognise the symport shown in the picture, they were referred to the following question, leaving out the section with questions verifying in-depth the student's knowledge concerning the selected symbols.

The second part of the questionnaire, that is questions from 7 to 10 concerned the occurrence of given symbols. The contents of sections 7 and 9, as well as 8 and 10 were the same. The sole distinction were the changing groups of graphics – nationalistic or fascistic symbols. The above mentioned division of that section concerned the distinction of the space in which the symbols did occur. In this manner, sections 7 and 9 concerned the actual occurrence of given symbols in public space, whereas questions 8 and 10 – in virtual reality. Having reached the issues concerning the occurrence of specific symbols in reality, the respondent was asked whether they encountered them in public space, how often, and how they value judge the occurrence of those symbols. "1. Do you encounter the above symbols in public space? (E.g. as graffiti in the streets, on clothes, during marches and other event). If you encounter only some of them, write down in an open answer the number or numbers of those symbols." "2. How often do you encounter the above symbols in public space?" "3. What is your emotional attitude to the occurrence of those symbols in public space?" "3. What is your emotional attitude to the occurrence of those symbols in public space?" Only the first question was an open one, thanks to which the students could specify in detail what signs they actually saw. The



**Results** 

	subsequent elements of the section were based on the Likert scale. Sections 8 and 10 differed – as it has been mentioned earlier – by the type of space involved. Those questions were more specific	
	since they concerned the occurrence of the selected symbols only on the Internet. The structure of questions in sections 8 and 9 was identical save for the above described change, as in the case of two preceding groups of questions. In this case, the respondent dealt with the following contents:	
	"1. Do you encounter the above symbols on the Internet? (Eg. on social media, in posts, as mems, etc.). If you encounter only some of them, write down in an open answer the number or numbers of those symbols."	
	"2. How often do you encounter the above symbols on the Internet?"	
	"3. What is your emotional attitude to the occurrence of those symbols on the Internet?"	
	A fter the responses had been collected, the data were analysed with the use of statistical tests and the maximum error of the estimate. In order to verify interdependencies between the se- lected variables Person's chi-square and Cramer's V tests were applied to the constructed cross ta- bles, and the maximum standard error of the estimate was calculated, which amounted to 10%. All calculations, tables, results and annexes are found in files of the research project under which the survey was carried out. <sup>41</sup>	4
,	O ne half of the signs was recognised by the majority of the respondents. The most popular symbol was the falanga (as much as 74% recognisability). On the other extreme was the toporzeł (recognisability at the level of 25%). Interesting is the result of the National Armed Forces (NSZ), the recognition of which could have seemed poor, given not only Poland's historical policy but also the high school curriculum. The subject of the NSZ was included in the general curricula of both the 3 <sup>rd</sup> and the 4 <sup>th</sup> educational level. The division into educational levels from before the 2017 educational system reform was selected for this comparison purposefully, since it was the very system the interviewees had been educated in. Therefore, it may be concluded that the history teaching programme and the historical policy of the state could not be fully successful considering that it concerned the knowledge of one of the main Polish clandestine organisation during the times of World War II. The	u s z h (a

responses to the in-depth questions verifying the students' knowledge of the selected symbols were

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41. M. Tkaczyk, Stosunek studentów Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego do wybranych symboli nacjonalistycznych oraz faszyzujących w przestrzeni publicznej, 2022, https://apd.uw.edu.pl/diplomas/212064/, (access 06.07.2022).

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aggregated to the binary form ("I know", "I do not know"). The respondents recognised some of the selected symbols, though the majority of interviewees has only partial knowledge of them, if at all any. It should also be emphasized that the students had the greatest knowledge about the falanga, which after a comparison with other variables confirms that the falanga is one of the most recognisable nationalistic symbols in Poland.

A nother set of collected data defines the emotional attitude to the selected symbols. The responses were aggregated from the original form based on the Likert scale in order to get a more transparent triad – "positive", "negative", "no answer". The first important observation is the fact that the majority of the respondents value judges all of the presented signs. In no case the number of students who did not given an answer exceeded the number of those who chose the option of value judging the symbols covered by the questionnaire. This phenomenon confirms one of the hypotheses that have been put forward. Of interest in also the arising information that the level of knowledge about the symbols does not coincide with the degree of value attached thereto. The only similarity may be observed when comparing the degree of symbol recognisability, but this parallelism is based only on the trend plane. An interesting conclusion arises therefrom that some of the students value judge the symbols without having any knowledge about them, and in some cases – not even recognising them.

During the analysis of the results attention is also drawn to the fact that the majority of symbols are not judged negatively. In this case, most negative points went to the falanga (76%) and the Celtic cross (66%). It is possible that the associations with radicalism, nationalism and violence had an impact on the above shape of the results. Attention is also drawn to the issue of the NSZ sign. It is the only case when the majority of the respondents valued the symbol positively (38%) rather than negatively. Perhaps its special positioning by Poland's historical policy and educational system had an impact on this phenomenon. This result may be also interpreted otherwise, namely that as compared with the symbols of more radical origins or contents the students approvingly valued the NSZ sign due to its significance in the patriotic context.

A fter the chi-square tests had been run it turned out that there the views of the students corresponded with their value judgments of the signs. Out of six tests, only one did not reveal any statistical significance. It happened for symbol no. 5 – the black sun, though in this case no interdependence may be an effect of poor recognisability and knowledge of this symbol, the confirmation of

which is found in the earlier paragraphs of this chapter. The students' gender as well as their lines of study had no statistically significant impact on their attitudes.

	The analysis of the collected responses also showed that the students who had declared ex- treme rightist views constituted an overwhelming percentage of those who had a posi- tive attitude towards the researched symbols. In some cases, such as the toporzel or the falanga, a positive attitude was shown exclusively by those who identified themselves with the right. It is worth noting case of the NSZ sign, which again came as a surprise. As many as 23% of the re- spondents declaring their view as leftist and 21% as centrist positively valued that symbol. The stu- dents declaring leftist or centrist views scored top results as having no opinion in three cases. Those declaring themselves as the right form a group of least undecided respondents. One should not forget either that this confirms the stereotype conjecture that leftist persons would least favourably view the selected symbols. This group is in the forefront in the line of responses coded as: <i>negative</i> .
	The next discussed section of the results obtained are the issues contained in questions 7-10 con- cerning the occurrence of the symbols in public space with the distinction into virtual and factual reality. The interviewees much more often encounter nationalistic than fascistising symbols, and this takes place on the street rather than on the Internet. Another information is of special importance, since it changes one of the research hypotheses, one of the assumptions of which was that there was a greater number of the researched symbols on the Internet than on the street. It should be also underlines that according to the data the majority of the students do see and encounter the selected symbols in public space. Combining this with the earlier results, a conclusion may be formulated that despite the limited knowledge and partial recognition of the symbols associated with nationalistic and fascistic milieus, the UoW students encounter those symbols during their daily movements. Less often when they are using the Internet.
Discussion of the results	The paper presents at least a partial picture of the awareness of the University of Warsaw stu- dents, that is young citizens who in the forthcoming future will have the main influence of the shape of the political scene in Poland. It has been shown that the respondents were able to recog- nise the selected symbols, though the overwhelming majority of them had no knowledge what they were. The research confirmed a part of the assumed hypotheses, whereas others were modified. It was shown that the majority of the University of Warsaw students value judged the researched sym-

bols and, what is interesting, some of the respondents did it while having no knowledge about them or sometimes not even recognizing them. Such a perspective may be inspiring for further research concerning interdependencies between formulating evaluations and judgments on one hand and the amount of knowledge on a given subject on the other.

Then analysing the material associated with verification of the hypothesis as to the more frequent occurrence of those symbols in virtual space rather than classically understood public space, very surprising results were obtained which forced a change of that view. According to the University of Warsaw Students students there are more of the researched symbols present on the Internet than in public space. The respondents clearly showed in their responses that they more frequently encountered the selected symbols on the street than on the Internet. There was also a visible trend that the signs from the group of the nationalistic ones (the sword of King Bolesław the Brave, the NSZ sign and the falanga) were more frequently encountered than those from the fascistic group. In this context, an optimistic conclusion may be drawn that the symbols close to or actually identified with the fascistic contents are encountered least frequently or not at all. In order not to fall into the trap of a single possible interpretational path it may be added that, on the other hand, rare occurrence of fascistising symbols on the Internet may prove the correctness of the phenomenon of the so-called "information bubble", i.e. the closed environment created by social media, in which the vast majority of the interactions we participate in and the information we receive are consistent with our views.<sup>42</sup> This would mean that the first look at the collected and above presented results may prove erroneously interpreted. Taking into account the contemporary virtual reality and the mechanisms underlying social media, it is not possible to draw the conclusions as to the scale of the occurrence of fascistising or fascisist symbols in the Polish-language segments of the Internet on the basis of the research sample I gathered. Those issues require further research.

The negative attitude of the University of Warsaw students is greater towards the symbols which are most recognisable. This tendency overlaps the division adopted in the articles into nationalistic and fascistising symbols since one sign from each of the categories aroused the greatest negative attitude. The original position assumed that there is an interdependence between ideological connotations of given symbols and their evaluation. Ultimately, however, the relationship between recognisability of the signs and their evaluation proved to be stronger. 42. B. Malinowski, Jak Facebook zamyka nas w bańce informacyjnej. Algorytm filtrujący newsfeed a zjawisko filter bubble, "Zarządzanie mediami", 2016, 4 (1), p. 20. DOI: <u>10.4467/23540214ZM.15.002.5212</u>

	When the research, the results of which have been discussed above, was being carried out, the world changed. On 24 February 2022, with its invasion of Ukraine, the Russian Federation led to the outbreak of a war which, after the pandemic that had lasted two years, will and already does affect the economy, the international order and the lives of millions of people. History has provided us with sufficient examples that radical ideas and movements of any hue win over the greatest number of followers at moments of crisis. Meanwhile, as a result of the above mentioned tragic events, experts worldwide prophesise that the world is standing at the threshold of yet another serious economic recession. <sup>43</sup> The everyday realities do not takes away the hope that an analysis and further studies of radical right-wing milieus in Poland seem to be necessary not only for academic reasons, but also in order to be able to monitor them and enhance public opinion's awareness. It is also worth asking whether the threat of that type concern not only Poland or Eastern and Central Europe, but also any other state of the Western world.	43. P. Inman, <i>We face a global economic crisis. And no one knows what to do about it</i> , <u>https://www.theguardian.com/business/2022/jun/18/we-face-a-glob-al-economic-crisis-and-no-one-knows-what-todo-about-it</u> , (access 18.06.2022).
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#### Daniele Lavezzo\*

The Genoa Decree and Normative Acts Adopted after the Collapse of the Morandi Bridge in an Economic Perspective

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#### Abstract

The fall of the Genoa bridge caused considerable damage to the economy of the city leading to repercussions for the north-western area of Italy. After a brief review of the costs caused by the bridge collapse, the legislation leading up to the Genoa decree, adopted immediately after the incident, has been analysed. The legal act contains an organic collection of specific norms to mitigate the economic consequences, with special regard to the manufacturing and maritime sector. The economic impact of the locally adopted provision is also the subject of analysis. Due to the exploratory nature of the work, particular attention has been paid to the role played by expectations and credibility of politicians' statements.

Keywords Genoa Decree, economic expectations, political declarations \* e-mail: dlave96@gmail.com



#### Introduction The Morandi Bridge

The Morandi viaduct played a critical role in the transportation infrastructure of Genoa as it served as a vital link for an estimated 30,000 vehicles daily. One-third of these vehicles were commercial trucks coming from the Genoa harbour, while the rest were involved in transporting goods for maritime transfer through the city's infrastructure.<sup>1</sup> It follows that, first and foremost, the fall of the bridge caused tangible damages at the local level, as the collapse divided the city in half, provoking, for example, an increase in mobility time, reduced accessibility to the Genoa metropolitan area and a decrease in labour demand. As a consequence, the locals experienced a surge in the average time to reach their workplaces and come back home.<sup>2</sup> Cost increases were experienced also by national and international companies, as the Morandi Bridge was the juncture that allowed a quick connection between the motorways A10, A7, A26, and A12. It was exploited also by French and Spanish trucks, as it was considered a quick way to reach central and southern Italy. The significant economic importance of the Morandi viaduct prompted the state to intervene decisively and proactively. A detailed analysis of the legislation subsequently introduced, including the actions taken, is set out in detail below.

A longside the relevant economic value, the bridge acquired in the years a strong socio-cultural significance for the local population, who used to refer to it affectionately as "The Brooklyn Bridge." This nickname derives from its creation in the 1960s as one of the many examples of the economic growth that was experienced by Italy and the city of Genoa. As stated by Tamburelli in one of his publications, the Morandi bridge was considered a symbol of modernity, "a dream of beauty", of a society with many aspirations, among which there was providing an internationalized image of the country.<sup>3</sup> The bridge ensured the definition of this external imagery as it modelled after the one that was built in Venezuela by Rafael Urdaneta.<sup>4</sup> The fall of the Morandi Bridge acquired international relevance as a result of a relevant emotional shock, so much so that both national and international media covered with scrupulous attention the hurtful event.

From the economic point of view, the fall of the Morandi Bridge can be assessed as an exogenous shock as it was an unforeseeable event that crowded out both investors and consumers. This article aims to reveal and analyse the countermeasures arising from the politicians' statements and

1. L. Beltrametti, A. Bottasso, et. al., *Effetti della caduta del ponte Morandi sull'economia*, "Rivista di Economia e Politica dei Trasporti", 2018, Vol. 2, pp. 1–6.

2. Effetti economici indotti dal crollo del viadotto Morandi, stime preliminari, https://www.confindustria.ge.it/images/ Morandi\_primi\_risultati\_def.pdf, (access 01.10.2019).

3. P.P. Tamburelli, *Quel ponte era* bello, https://www.ilfoglio.it/cronache/2018/08/22/news/quel-ponteera-bello-210607/, (access 01.10.2019).

4. Ibidem.



the policies they adopted after the collapse of the Morandi Bridge: in particular the Decree-Law 109/2018 ("Genoa Decree"), the most important normative act.

#### Literature Review

In the initial section, a comprehensive literature review will be presented to explore the concept of expectations and their significance in the economy. Subsequently, the relevance of public institutions will be examined through the analysis of two recent illustrative cases: the famous speech delivered by Mario Draghi, former Governor of the European Central Bank, with the iconic "Whatever it takes", which was labelled as credible by investors, and the case of instability created by the monetary policy of Federico Sturznegger, former Governor of the Argentinian Central Bank.

In the mainstream macroeconomic model, expectations have an effect on the demand for goods. For instance, an anticipated increase in inflation by economic agents may result in a decrease in the real interest rate, consequently stimulating economic activity through an increase in the demand for durable goods, such as investments, and non-durable goods, such as consumer goods.<sup>5</sup> However, some scholars have argued that there is a low correlation between inflation expectations and desired consumption levels of households.<sup>6</sup> This argument is contradicted by other studies that have found a higher correlation in various markets, such as the United States<sup>7</sup>, Germany<sup>8</sup>, and even in a cross-national study conducted in Europe. It should be noted that these studies may suffer from endogeneity issues, but, regardless, they tend to reinforce the assertions of mainstream literature regarding the relationship between expectations and the level of aggregate consumption.<sup>9</sup>

It must be said that the abovementioned research can be affected by endogeneity;<sup>10</sup> however, they tend to strengthen the assumptions of mainstream literature about the relationship between expectations and aggregate consumption. Moreover, short-term expectations can induce an increase in unemployment,<sup>11</sup> as a consequence of exogenous shocks, or volatility<sup>12</sup> in markets. This instability impacts consumers, so much so that in one of his works Roger E.A. Farner demonstrates how an economic policy targeting the reduction of volatility in financial markets would result in an overall increase in welfare.<sup>13</sup> Insofar as information on productivity is available, this variable may be a source of a shock on prices as they are perceived by demand.<sup>14</sup> If the reports at the disposal of investors are relevant to predict future demand, the news is not to be considered an exogenous element for investors.<sup>15</sup> As a consequence, these expectations will influence investments. It has been further

5. O. Coibion, Y. Gorodnichenko, T. Ropele, *Inflation Expectations and Firm Decisions: New Causal Evidence*, "The Quarterly Journal of Economics", 2020, Vol. 135 (1), pp. 165–219.

6. R. Bachmann, T.O. Berg, E.R. Sims, Inflation Expectations and Readiness to Spend: Cross-Sectional Evidence, "American Economic Journal: Economic Policy", 2015, Vol. 7 (1), pp. 1–35.

7. K. Crump, S. Eusepi, A. Tambalotti, et al., *Subjective Intertemporal Substitution*, Federal Reserve Bank of New York 2015, <u>https://www.newyorkfed.org/</u> <u>medialibrary/media/research/staff\_re-</u> <u>ports/sr734.pdf</u>, (access 01.10.2019).

8. L. Dräger, N. Giang, *Are Consumers'* Spending Decisions in Line With an Euler Equation?, "The Review of Economics and Statistics", 2021, Vol. 103 (3), pp. 580–596.

9. D.A. Ioana, G. Kenny, A. Reuter, Can consumers' inflation expectations help stabilise the economy?, https:// www.ecb.europa.eu/pub/economicresearch/resbull/2021/html/ecb. rb210112~f5d940bff2.en.html, (access 07.01.2022).

10. O. Coibion, Y. Gorodnichenko, T. Ropele, *Inflation Expectations and...*, op. cit.

11. G.M. Angeletos, J. La'O, *Noisy Business Cycles*, "NBER Macroeconomics Annual", 2009, Vol. 24 (1), pp. 319–378.

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demonstrated how fixing future fiscal policies plays a role in creating sustainable policies;<sup>16</sup> all these elements will be reflected in some aspects of the Genoa Decree, especially for the countermeasures introduced to ward off the expected decrease in aggregate consumption.

nother important aspect in the context of the topic discussed in this article is the question of A the credibility of politicians' declarations. Indeed, as advocated by Francesco Giavazzi and Carlo Carraro, when agents build their expectations by asking themselves about the future, they try to predict what can stimulate the authorities to make changes to their original plans. Credibility of the authorities each day acquires more importance, turning into a variable that influences the economic policy, and when declarations of politicians cannot be trusted inefficiencies are generated.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, there are academic works that confirm the fact that long-term correlations are to be found between the increase of costs incurred in an economic system and the lack of trust towards the authorities.<sup>18</sup> A quite recent example, substantiating the abovementioned relationship, can be seen in the events that took place in Argentina over the last 4 years. When Mauricio Macri was elected president, he promised a series of reforms, hiring some reliable economists to achieve them. He declared an ambitious monetary policy, adopting an inflation targets that needed a cautious fiscal policy and the autonomy of the central bank. Nevertheless, in the first years of Macri's government, the primary deficit increased, reaching a level of 5.2%. In 2017, Federico Sturznegger, President of the Argentinian Central Bank, pressed by Macri, raised the inflation target, but immediately afterwards lowered the interest rates, with the consequence that Argentina lost its credibility on global markets. This initiated a vicious circle that led to a recession and the risk of a new Argentinian default on sovereign debt.<sup>19</sup> On the contrary, a statement, that was valued as trustworthy by the markets, was the famous sentence pronounced by the President of the European Central Bank, Mario Draghi: "Whatever it takes."20 Some academic works have noted an enhancement of the health of those banks of the Eurozone that were under the threat of recession.<sup>21</sup> Draghi's statement also triggered a positive effect on the refinancing rate of the European Central Bank, on the value of the VIX coefficient and the market volatility.<sup>22</sup> These last two indicators decreased even when the declared provisions were introduced in March 2015, with a delay of 18 months upon the original schedule.

The above context is important for the content and organisation of this article. Firstly, the estimated damage resulting from the collapse of the Morandi Bridge is carefully analysed, providing a basis for the subsequent examination of the remedial measures implemented by local and national authorities. The next section deals with an in-depth analysis of the Genoa Decree, with particular 12. N. Jaimovich, S. Rebelo, *Behavioral Theories of the Business Cycle*, "Journal of the European Economic Association", 2007, Vol. 5, No. 2/3, pp. 361–368.

13. R.E.A. Farmer, Animal Spirit, Animal Crises and Persistent Unemployement, Working Paper 17137, NATIONAL BU-REAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH 2011, https://www.nber.org/system/ files/working\_papers/w17137/w17137. pdf, (access 07.01.2020).

14. G. Lorenzoni, *A Theory of Demand Shocks*, "American Economic Review", 2009, Vol. 99, No. 5, pp. 2050–2084.

15. N. Gennaioli, Y. Ma, A. Shleifer, *Expectation and Investment*, "NBER Macroeconomics Annual", 2015, Vol. 30, pp. 379–431.

16. T. Davig, E.M. Leeper, T.B. Walker, "Unfunded liabilities" and uncertain fiscal financing, "Journal of Monetary Economics", 2010, Vol. 57 (5), pp. 600–619.

17. F. Giavazzi, C. Carraro, *Teoria dei giochi e teoria della politica economica*, Dipartimento di Scienze economiche DSE 1989, pp. 1–55. DOI: <u>10.6092/unibo/</u> <u>amsacta/5340</u>

18. M.D. Bordo, P.L. Siklos, *Central Bank Credibility: An Historical and Quantitative Exploration*, Working Paper 20824, NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH 2015, https://www.nber.org/ system/files/working\_papers/w20824/ w20824.pdf, (access 01.10.2019); G. Haberler, Notes on Rational and Ir-



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Estimation of the economic damage	reference to its economic implications and legislative objectives. Finally, concluding remarks are presented to summarise the key findings and insights presented in the article. The amount of the damage suffered following the fall of the Morandi Bridge <sup>23</sup> is hardly assessable, due to the presence of a relevant intangible component (such as a possible decrease in investments due to the loss of attractiveness of the Genoa city harbour due to heavy traffic in the city or a drop in economic activities due to inaccessibility of some areas), which five years later is not yet allowing for an accurate quantification of the damage. For this work, the estimate that Confindustria, <sup>1</sup> in collaboration with the Chamber of Commerce and the University of Genoa, calculated a few months after the event is considered worth mentioning. It includes an attempt to determine the total amount of damage. In addition, a study carried out by some professors from the University of Genoa was	<ul> <li>rational Expectations (Reprint No. 111), American Enterprise Institute 1980;</li> <li>W. Fellner, Towards a Reconstruction of Macroeconomics: Problems of Theory and Policy, American Enterprise Insti- tute for Public Policy Research 1976.</li> <li>19. A. Velasco, Argentina's Recurring Nightmare, https://www.project- syndicate.org/commentary/argentina- recurring-nightmare-by-andres-velas- co-2019-09, (access 07.01.2020).</li> <li>20. Speech by Mario Draghi, President</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>T t is worth pointing out that, when assessing the Confindustria Genoa study, the premise of a pos-</li> </ul>	of the European Central Bankat the Global Investment Conference in London 26 July 2012, https://www.ecb.europa. eu/press/key/date/2012/html/sp120726. en.html, (access 07.01.2020).
	sible underestimation of the damage should be taken into account, given that:	21. V.V. Acharya, T. Eisert, et. al., What- ever It Takes: The Real Effects of Uncon-
	- The economic consequences to be borne by those who did not suffer direct damage, as a result of the fall of the viaduct, to movable or immovable property and/or did not receive an eviction order have been omitted.	<i>ventional Monetary Policy</i> , "The Review of Financial Studies", 2019, Vol. 32 (9), pp. 3366–3411.
	- The direct and indirect damage, as well as the negative economic consequences to be borne by the companies that did not participate in the survey carried out by the Ligurian Chambers of Commerce within the required deadline, have not been taken into account.	22. M. Van Der Heijden, R. Beetsma, W. Romp, <i>'Whatever it takes' and</i> <i>the role of Eurozone news</i> , "Ap- plied Economics Letters", 2018, Vol. 25 (16), pp. 1166–1169. DOI: 10.1080/13504851.2017.1403555
	- The indirect damage, as well as the negative economic impact suffered and to be suffered by re- gional and extra-regional agricultural enterprises, have not been taken into account. <sup>24</sup>	23. See more: N. Cusumano, M. Si- emiatycki, V. Vecchi, <i>The politiciza-</i> <i>tion of public-private partnerships</i>
	However, this study allows for a partial account of the damages associated with the fall of the Morandi Bridge, which helps to understand how much money was brought upfront to face this emergency. Regarding the methodology used to assess the economic repercussions resulting from the collapse of the Morandi Bridge, there are two key components that have been taken into account.	following a mega-project disaster: the case of the Morandi Bridge Collapse, "Journal of Economic Policy Reform", 2022, Vol. 25 (2), pp. 173–189. DOI: <u>10.1080/17487870.2020.1760101;</u>



The first component focuses on the immediate consequences of the event itself, which had an impact on:	F. Leccis, Public-Private Partnership: Lessons from Italy's Morandi Bridge	Volume a
- enterprises located in the areas in the proximity of the bridge, called the "red zone" and the "orange zone" <sup>II</sup> ,	Collapse, in: Handbook on Public Private Partnerships in Transportation, Vol II., eds. S. Hakim, R.M. Clark, E.A. Black- stone, Springer 2022, pp. 139–156.	voiume o issue 4 (2022)
- sealing off of the roads in Valpolcevera, the valley in which the Morandi bridge was located,	24. Effetti economici indotti, op. cit.	(77
- temporary closure of the "Campasso" railway line connecting Genoa with Milan. <sup>25</sup>	25. Ibidem.	
	26. Ibidem.	
Secondly, the assessment also considers the implications of the lack of a bridge, resulting in:	27. Ibidem.	
increased mobility times and costs for businesses and families,	28. Ibidem.	
- reduced accessibility of the Genoa metropolitan area,	29. Ibidem.	
- impacts on a wide geographical area. <sup>26</sup>		
A s regards enterprises, it should be considered that of a total of more than two thousand enter- prises (precisely 2018) reported direct or indirect damage 20.7% are located in either the red or		
orange zones, 69% are located in the Genoa metropolitan area, and the remaining ones are located		
in other areas of the province and of the country. Based on the available data, total damage was es- timated at €422 million, with the commerce sector being the hardest hit at €121 million, followed		
by industry at €117 million, while shipping and transport at €95 million. <sup>27</sup> These assessments sub-		
stantiate the fact that longer travel time and decreased accessibility to the Genoa metropolitan area resulted in escalated costs for businesses. Notably, the industrial sector incurred significant losses,		
particularly in the orange/red zones, where damage was estimated at €95 million out of the overall		

assessment of  $\in$ 117 million. This observation underscores the adverse impact on the industrial sector in those specific areas. On the national scale, the sector that suffered high costs as a consequence of these events was the transport and shipping sector, with losses amounting to more than  $\in$ 97 million in total damage.<sup>28</sup> It is worth noting that these estimates confirm the significant value of the motor-

way branch not only for the Genoa region, but also for the whole of northern Italy.<sup>29</sup>

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#### 30. Ibidem.

31. L. Beltrametti, A. Bottasso, et. al., *Ef-fetti della caduta...*, op. cit.

#### 32. Ibidem.

33. Statistiche Autorità di Sistema Portuale del Mar Ligure Occidentale, https://www.portsofgenoa.com/components/com\_publiccompetitions/includes/download.php?id=607:n%20otatraffici-2018.pdf, (access 02.10.2019).

In October 2018, a survey was launched by ensemble group of companies associated with Confindustria in Liguria. 109 companies took part in the inquiry (with a percentage of the sample calculated on the number of employees equal to 12%), 59 of which operated within the boundaries of the metropolitan area of Genoa, for which that percentage equalled 10%. The sample in the manufacturing sector, in turn, was calculated on several employees amounting to 15.5%. Comparing the situation to the most recent ISTAT data of 2015, Genoa registered a negative variation of total turnover by 1.3 %, with exports decreasing by 0.6%. Furthermore, an increase in manpower costs and other accessory costs was identified, contributing to a decrease of added value by 2.2%. Considering the GDP of Genoa, the annual loss amounted to €53.5 million.<sup>30</sup> Besides the smaller volume of transactions, the reduction of the activities related to the port could have had an impact on the local GDP. Indeed, a study carried out by some Genoese scholars, based on the OCSE data relating to the 1998-2009 period and using a spatial econometrics model, showed that, ceteris paribus, GDP elasticity related to average port activity amounted to 0.022%. Therefore, the growth of port activity by 10% was associated with the overall GDP growth of 0.22%.<sup>31</sup>

U ndoubtedly, the main problem with the model is the data collection period. However, it is interesting to see how the decomposition of the effect can be seen within the model. At the local level, given that Genoa's provincial GDP amounted to €29.3 billion, a contraction in port activity would consequently determine a contraction in the GDP by €8.6 million, assuming elasticity of the local GDP with respect to traffic at the level of 0.003. The most consequential ripple effect of the events that took place in Genoa would affect the north-western area of Italy, where, calculated with an elasticity of 0.019, a decrease in maritime traffic in Genoa would result in a reduction of the GDP in the north-western area of Italy (excluding Genoa) by €980 million. The authors of the study emphasise, however, that the calculations might have been limited by such factors as heterogeneity within local areas and the possibility that there was only a correlation between port activity and local economic activity.<sup>32</sup> The hypotheses of the shrinkage of port activity were confirmed by a 6.2% decrease in the number of containers deboarded in the port in the period between August and December.<sup>33</sup>

The last relevant domain for this article is relative to scenarios of impact on consumption and trade models. As regards the commuting time from home to work, 69.5% of the sample, consisting of the data collected from 1561 workers employed by companies associated with Confindustria Genova, reported an increase in transit time, with a weighted average of 64 minutes per person per day. Assuming a monetary value for each hour spent in traffic jams of €10, it can be estimated that

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	the negative impact amounted to $\leq 64$ million +/- 20%. <sup>34</sup> Also, the estimate relative to weighted con- sumption propensity is negative, and more precisely it is assumed to have been reduced by 0.3 %. The latter, considering ISTAT data relative to families in the municipality of Genoa (293 thousand) and the average yearly expenditure for a family ( $\leq 30,732$ ), would trigger a reduction in consumption that could be appraised at $\leq 27$ million, with the same oscillation as was mentioned previously. <sup>35</sup> It is nec- essary to underline that although the sample was evaluated as extremely small (1561 responses), the share of answers from the enterprises associated with Confindustria Genova was considered suf- ficient. As a result of the abovementioned, a great discriminant is placed on data, which is provided with a consistent span of variability, yet provides a useful picture of the situation.	<ul> <li>34. Effetti economici indotti, op. cit.</li> <li>35. Ibidem.</li> <li>36. Ponte Morandi: 422 milioni di danni alle imprese, crollano le as- sunzioni (-22,5%), https://www. consulentidellavoro.it/home/storico- articoli/10864-ponte-morandi-422-mil- ioni-di-danni-alle-imprese-crollano-le- assunzioni-22-5, (access 03.10.2020).</li> </ul>
	Ultimately, also the labour market was struck by the fall of the Morandi Bridge. although in the first half of 2018 it registered a significant increase in hiring, signalling a consistent recovery of the demand for labour. In total, there was a decrease of 2% in signings by employers in 2018 as compared with 2017. Such a situation was verified as a result of an average contraction of the demand for labour by 22.5%, with the peak of this descent registered in August, when the decrease in hiring was estimated at 42.5%. <sup>36</sup>	37. Genova, crolla ponte Morandi. Il sindaco Bucci: "Le colpe? Non spetta a noi", https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=Y7Ff_D9OgQ4, (access 03.10.2020).
Immediate counter- measures	In the following section of the article, a selection of relevant statements made by local and national authorities are analysed, together with the measures they introduced before the 'Genoa Decree'. The author of this paper is convinced that the response to the bridge collapse was immediate and concrete. In this context, worth noting is the statement of the Mayor of Genoa, Marco Bucci, in which he eloquently stated that "Genoa is not on its knees, it must follow with the growth process that was started before this day." <sup>37</sup> In the aftermath of the bridge collapse, these words, spoken shortly afterwards, served as a statement to reassure investors and stakeholders in port activity. This was a necessary step, as the port of Genoa was facing stiff competition from Marseille and Livorno, and there were concerns about the potential contraction of local port activity due to increased costs resulting from congestion following the bridge collapse. These words were intended to mitigate such possibilities and address the immediate challenges brought about by the event.	
	Following the bridge collapse, Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte arrived in Genoa with his deputies Interior Minister Matteo Salvini and Labour and Growth Minister Luigi di Maio. On the evening of 14 August, they held a meeting in the prefecture of Genoa to assess the situation, including meas-	

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ures to help evacuees, the number of people affected by the collapse and the organisation of recovery efforts.<sup>38</sup> As the meeting ended, the Prime Minister stated during an interview that he had already received solace from European authorities and possible help for rescue attempts, highlighting his refusal since "there was no need to ask for help."<sup>39</sup> From an economic perspective, the statement is symbolic, demonstrating the strong alignment between local and national authorities and reinforcing the Genoa Mayor's message of resilience to the whole country and stakeholders with interests in Genoa. It conveys the city's commitment to investing in the future and fosters a sense of unity and determination in the midst of difficult circumstances.

The day after the collapse, the concreteness and promptness of moving the action by local and national authorities found further confirmation in the resolution of the Council of Ministers' meeting held in Genoa. The allocation of  $\notin 5$  million for the first interventions<sup>40</sup> and the immediate declaration of the state of emergency for the municipality of Genoa were decided there.<sup>41</sup> In Italy, these resolutions are put into practice when "A natural disaster or any event related to human activity occurs on the territory of Italy."<sup>42</sup> A state of emergency allows for a prompt allocation of funds for first interventions, and afterwards, an increase of the already received money upon requests by delegated commissioners.<sup>43</sup>

O n 18 August 2018, another significant moment occurred, with both a symbolic and organizational meaning, as on the morning of that day the state funerals of the 43 victims took place. Even if from the purely economic point of view no significant effects could be registered, the moment was a relevant occasion for the production and consumption of relational goods, which are developed after meetings and enhance social capital.<sup>44</sup> The latter cannot be quantified in economic terms, but it strengthens the credibility of the city's image as "not bending its knees." This is followed, in the afternoon, by a second meeting of the Council of Ministers, where it was decided to allocate further  $\in$ 28 million to implement urgent interventions related to alternative mobility, optimisation of the transport system and granting accommodation to those people who had been forced to leave their original places of residence due to the risk of further collapse of parts of the bridge.<sup>45</sup>

It is worth noting that the issues concerning the intention to withdraw the highway concession from Atlantia S.P.A., responsible for the routine and emergency maintenance of the Morandi Bridge, have been omitted in the analyses. It is worth noting, however, that, in addition to the aforementioned actions, controversy arose during that period regarding responsibility for the collapse of the bridge.

38. PREFETTURA - UFFICIO TERRI-TORIALE DEL GOVERNO DI GENOVA, *Crollo del ponte Morandi: aggiornamento delle ore 14.00 del 24/08/2018*, <u>http://www.prefettura.it/genova/news/</u> <u>Comunicati\_stampa:Crollo\_ponte\_mo-</u> <u>randi:\_aggiornamento\_del\_19.08.2018-</u> <u>7135043.htm</u>, (access 03.10.2019). Volume 8 Issue 4 (2022)

39. Genova, crolla ponte Morandi. Il premier Conte: "Ora piano straordinario per monitoraggio infrastrutture", https://video.repubblica.it/dossier/ genova-crollo-ponte-morandi/genovacrolla-ponte-morandi-il-premier-conte-ora-piano-straordinario-per-monitoraggio-infrastrutture/312450/313084, (access 03.10.2020).

40. Articolo 4, Gazzetta Ufficiale, Delibera del Consiglio dei Ministri del 15 agosto 2018, [Article 4, Official Journal, Resolution of the Council of Ministers of 15 August 2018], <u>https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2018/08/16/18A05521/</u> <u>SG</u>, (access 04.10.2019).

41. Articolo 1, Gazzetta Ufficiale, Delibera del Consiglio dei Ministri del 15 agosto 2018, [Article 1, Official Journal, Resolution of the Council of Ministers of 15 August 2018], <u>https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2018/08/16/18A05521/</u> <u>SG</u>, (access 04.10.2019).

42. Dipartimento della Protezione Civile, *Stati di Emergenza*, <u>https://servizio-</u>nazionale.protezionecivile.gov.it/it/attivita/emergenza, (access 03.10.2019).



	In this context, however, it is meaningful to point out that one of the measures immediately declared by Prime Minister Conte <sup>46</sup> after the bridge collapse is the setting up of "Agenzia nazionale per la sicurezza delle ferrovie e delle infrastrutture stradali e autostradali" <sup>III</sup> (ANSFISA) <sup>47</sup> to screen the se- curity of highway infrastructure, a measure implemented in the "Genoa Decree."	43. Ibidem. 44. B. Gui, <i>Non profit e beni relazionali: un rapporto privilegiato</i> , "Impresa soc- jale", 2003, Vol. 67, pp. 47–56.	Volume 8 Issue 4 (
The "Genoa" Decree	The Genoa Decree-Law 109/2018, "Disposizioni urgenti per la città di Genova, la sicurezza della rete nazionale delle infrastrutture e dei trasporti, gli eventi sismici del 2016 e 2017, il lavoro e le altre emergenze" <sup>11</sup> , is made up of three sections, each outlining a specific policy. The first one, "Interventi urgenti per il sostegno e la ripresa economica del territorio del Comune di Genova" <sup>17,48</sup> , has been discussed; the second one "Sicurezza della rete nazionale delle infrastrutture e dei trasporti" <sup>11</sup> has not been analysed because it does not deal with Genova's issues. Houvevr, I want to stress the importance of this section due to its greater emphasis on maintenance of infrastructure contemplated by the legislators. For the same reason, the last part of the Decree, "Interventi nei territori dei Comuni di Casamicciola Terme, Forio, Lacco Ameno dell'Isola di Ischia interessati dagli eventi sismici verificatisi il giorno 21 agosto 2017 <sup>**(11,49</sup> has not been discussed.	<ul> <li>45. Articolo 1, Gazzetta Ufficiale, De- libera del Consiglio dei Ministri del 18 agosto 2018, [Article 1, Official Journal, Council of Ministers Resolution of 18 August 2018], https://www.gazzettauffi- ciale.it/eli/id/2018/09/13/18A05921/SG, (access 04.10.2019).</li> <li>46. Genova, crolla ponte Morandi. Il premier Conte, op. cit.</li> <li>47. Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto-legge 28 settembre 2018, n. 109, [Official Journal, Decree-Law No. 109 of 28 September 2018], https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/ eli/id/2018/09/28/18G00137/sg, (access 04.10.2019).</li> <li>48. Ibidem.</li> <li>49. Ibidem.</li> <li>50. Articolo 1 (1), Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto-legge 28 settembre 2018, n. 109, [Article 1 (1), Official Journal, Decree-Law No. 109 of 28 September 2018], https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/ eli/id/2018/09/28/18G00137/sg, (access 04.10.2019).</li> <li>51. Articolo 1 (5), Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto-legge 28 settembre 2018, n. 109, [Article 1 (1), Official Journal, Decree-Law No. 109 of 28 September 2018], https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/ eli/id/2018/09/28/18G00137/sg, (access 04.10.2019).</li> <li>51. Articolo 1 (5), Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto-legge 28 settembre 2018, n. 109, [Article 1 (5), Official Journal, Decree- Law No. 109 of 28 September 2018], https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/ https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/ https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/</li> </ul>	



important issue concerning safety: to face an emergency, Regiole Liguria<sup>IX</sup>, Citta Metropolitana di Genova<sup>X</sup> and Comune di Genova<sup>XI</sup> could hire, for a predetermined period, the personnel needed for the activities of civil protection, local police and for support, within the limit of 250 people<sup>55</sup> and with the budget of €3,5 million in 2018 and €10 million in 2019.<sup>56</sup>

Subsequently, Articles 3, 4, 8 and 9 of the Decree introduce fiscal countermeasures to limit the negative economic effects of the collapse of the Morandi bridge. The first measure concerns exemption from property tax in the red zone. The first exemption regards income derived from leasing buildings that received an eviction order due to the event: it would not be subject to personal income tax and corporate income tax until 31 December 2020.<sup>57</sup> The beneficiaries of the second exemption were private subjects, owners or title holders or residents or tenants, whose headquarters or operative offices had been damaged by the event, verified by sworn appraisal: the abovementioned articles laid down that contributions and compensations related to the collapse, of any nature and regardless of how they were accounted for, were not subject to income tax and IRAP for natural and legal persons. For the same beneficiaries, it was provided that applications, contracts and documents presented to public administration were not subject to stamp duty and registration fee until 31 December 2020.<sup>58</sup> Finally, the buildings demolished and unusable as a consequence of the collapse were not subject to inheritance tax, mortgage and land registry fees and stamp duty.<sup>59</sup>

The Genoa Decree concerns also support for enterprises suffering economic damage<sup>60</sup> by ordering that firms which faced a reduction in invoicing as compared with the previous year would receive the entire amount of this sum, up to the maximum of  $\leq 200,000$ . It was also disposed that freelance professionals, artisans and merchants with the headquarters or registered office in the area could request compensation.<sup>61</sup> The total sum that could be requested amounted to  $\leq 5$  million for the year 2018.<sup>62</sup>

**F** urthermore, to assist all companies with the headquarters or registered office in the città metropolitana di Genova that suffered at least a 25% reduction in invoicing in the period from 14 August 2018 to 30 September 2018, as compared with the same period of 2017, and for new firms established by 31 December 2018 in the same area, a special economic zone was established. The facilities included exemption from value-added tax for each taxation period up to the limit of €100.000; the same measure was introduced for IRAP (Imposta sulle attività produttive del valore della produzione netta) up to the maximum of €200.000 for each period, and the municipal property tax for real es-

id/2018/09/28/18G00137/sg, (access 04.10.2019).

52. A. Tripidi, Cantone: lacuna nel decreto Genova, la mafia può infiltrarsi, https://st.ilsole24ore.com/art/notizie/2018-10-10/crollo-ponte-cantonelacuna-decreto-genova-puo-infiltrarsi-085108.shtml, (access 07.01.2020).

53. M. Preve, *Cantiere ponte Morandi, bloccata dall'antimafia una delle imprese*, <u>https://genova.repubblica.it/</u> cronaca/2019/05/14/news/cantiere\_ ponte\_morandi\_bloccata\_dall\_antimafia\_una\_delle\_imprese-226232516/, (access 03.10.2019).

54. Articolo 1 (6), Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto-legge 28 settembre 2018, n. 109, [Article 1 (6), Official Journal, Decree-Law No. 109 of 28 September 2018], <u>https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/</u> <u>eli/id/2018/09/28/18G00137/sg</u> (access 04.10.2019).

55. Articolo 2 (1), Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto-legge 28 settembre 2018, n. 109, [Article 2 (1), Official Journal, Decree-Law No. 109 of 28 September 2018], <u>https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/</u> <u>eli/id/2018/09/28/18G00137/sg</u>, (access 04.10.2019).

56. Articolo 2 (2), Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto-legge 28 settembre 2018, n. 109, [Article 2 (2), Official Journal, Decree-Law No. 109 of 28 September 2018], https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/ eli/id/2018/09/28/18G00137/sg, (access 04.10.2019).

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	tate located in the zone. Furthermore, it provided for exemption from social security contributions, except for compulsory health insurance, paid by employers on wages and salaries. The abovementioned measures could be applied also to self-employed persons who carried out their activities in the special economic zone. <sup>63</sup> Article 9 of the Decree deals with a specific issue for "Sistema Portuale del Mar Ligue Occidentale": <sup>XII</sup> it provides for a subsidy of 3% of value-added tax on imported items for each harbour up to the maximum of €30 million per year. <sup>64</sup>	57. Articolo 3 (1), Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto-legge 28 settembre 2018, n. 109, [Article 3 (1), Official Journal, Decree-Law No. 109 of 28 September 2018], <u>https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/</u> <u>eli/id/2018/09/28/18G00137/sg</u> , (access 04.10.2019).
	To conclude, the abovementioned articles represent a clear Keynesian fiscal expense policy: with a decrease in taxation on firms and people, aggregate consumption increases and this has a positive impact on aggregate demand. First, the legislator aimed to contain any possible shrinkage of investments due to the increase in transaction costs for firms operating in the zone. In addition, a potential decrease in private consumption, estimated at €27 million according to a study by Confindustria Genova, <sup>65</sup> was considered at the same time. This decrease was attributed to redundancies in	58. Articolo 3 (3), Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto-legge 28 settembre 2018, n. 109, [Article 3 (3), Official Journal, Decree-Law No. 109 of 28 September 2018], https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/ eli/id/2018/09/28/18G00137/sg, (access 04.10.2019).
	companies due to the economic losses and extended travel times, which imposed additional costs on families and reduced income available for consumption.	59. Articolo 3 (4), Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto-legge 28 settembre 2018, n. 109, [Article 3 (4), Official Journal, Decree-Law No. 109 of 28 September 2018], https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/
Conclusions	T oday, it is still not possible to quantify the economic consequences due to the lack of accurate data to build a significative counterfactual sample; furthermore, the appointment of the Extraor-	eli/id/2018/09/28/18G00137/sg, (access 04.10.2019).
	dinary Commissioner was the object of political discussion and therefore it was adopted subsequent- ly by the Prime Minister's decree. <sup>66</sup> Thus, no casualty relationship between the implemented coun- termeasures and effects will not be discussed, but I will stress some significant conclusive points.	60. Articolo 4, Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto-legge 28 settembre 2018, n. 109, [Article 4, Official Journal, Decree- Law No. 109 of 28 September 2018], https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/ id/2018/09/28/18G00137/sg, (access
	Leconomic losses that some areas of Genoa City would have suffered, with particular attention to economic activities as demonstrated by the immediate suspension of some taxes and the subsidies granted to companies operating in the orange and red zones. I would like to mention especially Article 9, which provides for subsidies to the Sistema Portuale del Mar Ligue Occidentale, the company that operates in the Genoa harbour, because it is a clear demonstration of the good knowledge that the legislator had about all economic implications of the fall of the viaduct.	04.10.2019). 61. Articolo 4 (1), Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto-legge 28 settembre 2018, n. 109, [Article 4 (1), Official Journal, Decree-Law No. 109 of 28 September 2018], https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/ eli/id/2018/09/28/18G00137/sg, (access
	T he second one is the strong resilience that was shown by the Genoese after the fall of Moran- di Bridge and that created social capital, that concurred with the reassurance for investors and	04.10.2019).

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stakeholders of firms operating not only in the city. After the appointment of the Extraordinary Commissioner, two fundamental infrastructures were completed: the first one, called "Via della Superba", allowed for a great reduction in truck traffic in the city due to the possibility of reaching directly the Genoa Harbour from the highway without entering the city; the second one was the completion of the street "Guido Rossa", a route connecting two existing highway exits of "Genova Sestri Ponente Aeroporto" and "Genova Ovest": this expressway contributed to preventing congestion of urban traffic by allowing vehicles not to enter the city. These two infrastructures allowed for a significant reduction in transport time within Genoa's city centre generating a positive economic effect, which is not possible to quantify.

In conclusion, following the initial analysis, the declarations in the days following the collapse of the Morandi Bridge were considered trustworthy due to the coherent policies implemented. The Genoa case furthermore is an example of the success of economic expectations, as the famous statement made by Mario Draghi in 2012. It is important to highlight the importance of the declaration to build trust in investors through coherence of declarations by local and national authorities concerning the immediate situation after the collapse and subsequently about the future of the city. Finally, the article, as has been mentioned above, cannot discuss causal relationship or quantify the economic effects of politicians' statements; however, as more specific data referring to the period after the fall of the Morandi bridge are available, it will be possible to make a quantitative analysis of the economic consequences of the event.

#### **Explanatory footnotes**

I. Confindustria is the most important association that represents the interests of enterprises in Italy.

II. The colour an area is determined by its geographical location. The red zone was in the proximity of the Morandi Bridge and it was not accessible, while the orange zone was accessible but with significant limitations.

III. Eng. "National Agency for the safety of railways and road and motorway infrastructure."

IV. Eng. "Urgent provisions for the city of Genoa, the security of the national infrastructure and transport network, the seismic events of 2016 and 2017, employment and other emergencies." 62. Articolo 4 (2), Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto-legge 28 settembre 2018, n. 109, [Article 4 (2), Official Journal, Decree-Law No. 109 of 28 September 2018], <u>https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/</u> eli/id/2018/09/28/18G00137/sg, (access 04.10.2019). Volume 8 Issue 4 (2022)

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	VI. Eng. "Security of the national infrastructure and transport network."
	VII. Eng. "Interventions in the territories of the municipalities of Casamicciola Terme, Forio and Lacco Ameno on the island of Ischia affected by the seismic events of 21 August 2017."
	VIII. "National Anti-Corruption Authority."
	IX. Eng. "Liguria Region."
	X. Eng. "Metropolitan City of Genoa."
	XI. Eng. "Municipality of Genoa."
	XII. It is the authority that manages Ports of Genoa.
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Health and society. Observations made when reading Mateusz J. Kuczabski's book entitled Health Security. Implications for National Security

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#### Abstract

The article refers to Mateusz J. Kuczabski's research presented in the book entitled "Health Security. Implications for National Security". First, the article describes the contexts of research taken up by M.J. Kuczabski. Second, it presents and analyses the assumptions and organisation of the book under review. Third, it outlines further directions of research mapped out by the monograph. The paper fits into the area of research of security, politics and health studies.

Keywords

Poland's national security, health security, Mateusz J. Kuczabski, human security

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Introduction recurity has been unceasingly a subject of numerous scientific explorations, which on one hand makes this research area very dynamic, reaching out to ever new research fields, though still theoretically and methodologically coherent, on the other. This coherence, so important when we speak about a relatively new field of study, is effectively supported by the intellectual technique represented by researchers, which neutralises potential distractors the newly emerging disciplines are particularly sensitive to. It should be noted that the security studies somehow integrate the categorical apparatus and cognitive procedures from the disciplines which in the systematics of science in Poland explored the matters of security, security systems at various levels, including military and extra-military security. In such context, the problem of health security appears as another area of research within the security studies, which should be treated as extremely significant or even fundamental not only because of the development of science, but also with a view to the pragmatic or utilitarian aspect. In the case of health security, the *de lege ferenda* conclusions are of key importance for public policies carried out by the state. onsidering all of the above, worthy of due noting is the research conducted by Mateusz J. Kucz-⊿abski, presented in the book "Health security. Implications for national security", Wydawnictwo Akademii Sztuki Wojennej, Warszawa 2022, ISBN 978-83-8263-306-1, pp. 392.1 The analysis This monograph discusses the analysis of the effects of the relationship between health security and national security. It should be noted that this issues ever more often becomes subject of academic reflection.<sup>2</sup> The COVID-19 pandemic turned out as an important impulse for the research – frequently very detailed and mapping out new areas of systematic cognition.<sup>3</sup> The complexity of the indicated issues and phenomena, especially in the area of health security, and their permanent topicality have become a prerequisite for undertaking more in-depth exploration in this regard by the Author. It should be noted that the monographs fits into the hitherto area of M.J. Kuczabski's research concerning issues associated with life quality,<sup>4</sup> social adjustment and the impact of ICT on human health<sup>5</sup> in the broad context of building social resilience.<sup>6</sup> 2, pp. 91–127. The book under review fills a significant cognitive gap since despite availability of extensive foreign and domestic literature on health security it is hard to find clear-cut descriptions and defi-

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nitions of this phenomenon. No potentially useful distinction between "health and security", "health protection system", healthcare system" and "health security" has been yet worked out in the available literature on the subject. As noted by M.J. Kuczabski, in this context, terminological ambiguity has originated from very divergent views, policy priorities of governments, emergence of various public health programmes, as well as the fact that the problems associated with the concept of health security occur as if at the crossroads of many scientific domains or disciplines. What is interesting is that the Author notes significant discrepancies as regards the comprehension and applications of the notion of health security existing even in UN agencies, e.g. between the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)<sup>7</sup> and the World Health Organisation (WHO).

The monograph – preceded by an introduction (outlining a justification for the choice of the problem and the methodology of research, which characterises the structure of the book and its source base) and summarised with a conclusion – has been made up, according to the problem key, from two basic parts which place M.J. Kuczabski's reflections in two research currents. The first current consists of theoretical considerations aimed at enriching the knowledge that exists with respect to the subject of research from the viewpoint of the health security functioning conditions. The second current of M.J. Kuczabski's cognitive quests includes empirical studies, which he devoted to social perception of threats arising from the pandemic and the conditions for its elimination. What is important is that M.J. Kuczabski's social surveys showed that there was high susceptibility of people to the threats arising from the pandemic, both the current one and those whose consequences would turn out in the future. The respondents revealed in their answers what they were afraid of, which phenomena arouse fears and which arouse only irritation, what they feared, at the same time indicating their attitude to the effectiveness of epidemic management, to the restrictions and bans. The emotions that were revealed reflected a low level of senses health security, which is by no means a surprise. On the other hand, the analysis of assessments and emotions performed by the Author reveals social needs in the area of health security, which should form a basis for the health policy of the state. In particular, that the pandemic and how the emergency had been managed revealed the dysfunction of crisis management in the health security system, thus lowering its standard.

In his work, M.J. Kuczabski extensively discusses the set of fundamental assumptions concerning the theory of a health security system. The data obtained from the preliminary appraisal of the consequences of the pandemic have been complemented with the research on the resilience of the obywateli RP jako czynnik jakości życia, eds. H. Świeboda, P. Sienkiewicz, AON 2009, pp. 35–56.

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health security system on the basis of its public assessment. The conclusions from the theoretical study, from the diagnoses and observations, as well as explorations of various areas of security make M.J. Kuczabski claim that for the national security management system in particular there is a need for systemic studies carried out by transdisciplinary teams as regards social security given the challenges experienced by the entire world in connection with the COVID-19 pandemic. This is not the sole challenge and threat to contemporary health security systems as the Author foresees consequences of other great threats, such as the climate change and migrations, as well as the escalation of Russia-Ukraine conflict.

- n the literature on the subject, M.J. Kuczabski discerns three basic concepts of research:
- 1. Priority treatment of health security over healthcare systems.
- 2. Treatment of health security as exceptional, focusing on critical crisis situations.
- 3. Conceptualisation of health security as "state security" rather than "people's security" or health of the population.
- Theoretical and social studies make M.J. Kuczabski draw the following conclusions:
- The relationship between health and security has become a dominant issue in health policies over the last two decades.
- Studies on health security differ by the levels of analysis from global to domestic; moreover, the differences concern adoptability of what may be considered as a threat to security in the process of health securitisation.
- Health securitisation has gone beyond the rhetorical tool; at present, it covers direct involvement of the security sector, the military and the defence. The concept of health security has been expanded so that that many health problems are construed as a threat to health security also in the case of problems that have nothing to d o with health.

- Practical links between healthcare (health protection) systems and health security are historically justified, though conceptual links between those areas remain poorly defined and investigated they form a research gap that is significant for exploration in security studies.
- The need to eliminated the cognitive gap becomes more significant in view of the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic since it has revealed a key relationship between the capabilities of a healthcare (health protection) system and an effective response in the area of health security (mobilisation of additional efforts and means from outside the health protection system).
- Significant changes are taking place in global health security, which consist in expanding the activities of military entities; a growth of very real threats to people who become engaged in health security work (missions) is observed.

Mateusz J. Kuczabski stresses that that there are new propositions and the health secu-tionalise the healthcare system and its components that could enhance long-term health secuateusz J. Kuczabski stresses that that there are few propositions for concrete methods to rarity. Modelling of a health protection and health security system is but another area for exploration in security studies. The concept of health security as a sector of internal security has not been yet univocally specified. From the idea of human security, which manifests itself, inter alia, by ensuring health security – which the Author noted already in the monograph *The humanist aspects of security*<sup>8</sup> - it follows that as a separate theoretical category it still requires needs further specification, especially as regards the cognitive values of this category, which in the Author's opinion constitutes another area of exploration in security studies. In his research, M.J. Kuczabski recommends creation of a concept of a health security analysis, which would provide space for assessment of the key explicit and implicit characteristics as a set of parameters used for evaluating health security of a state and assessments of its social policy. M.J. Kuczabski shows that the essence of the government policy covering public health was adopted in Polish strategic documents quite recently, linking the problems of health security with the security of the state. The Author notes that global health security is also expressed in the need to ensure adequate conditions for the health of soldiers as well as the people in war zones. It also covers military security and defence operations,<sup>9</sup> crisis response operations<sup>10</sup> and humanitarian operations.<sup>11</sup> As regards health security, the implemented measures are linked with such objectives as: protection of the population, prevention of humanitarian disasters, responding to situations violating human rights,<sup>12</sup> the consequences of which are frequently of such nature that directly touches upon the health category.

8. M.J. Kuczabski, Bezpieczeństwo psychiczne jednostki jako podstawa humanistycznego podejścia do bezpieczeństwa narodowego, in: Humanistyczne aspekty bezpieczeństwa, ed. K. Drabik, Wydawnictwo Akademii Sztuki Wojennej 2020, pp. 255-275.

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9. Under the Treaty on European Union, UN. NATO.

10. E.g. the largest NATO mission established in 1999, which is also a good example of cooperation with the EU.

11. Broadly on the mission in the publication: K. Zajączkowski, Misje cywilne i operacje wojskowe unii europejskiej w perspektywie wybranych teorii stosunków międzynarodowych i integracji europejskiej, Centrum Europejskie Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR 2021. More in: M. Marszałek, Operacje wsparcia i pokoju. Geneza. Stan aktualny. Perspektywy, ASzWoj 2021.

12. The Polish Armed Forces have been taking part in international missions since 1953. Since then, over 120 000 troops and military personnel have participated in 89 operations. As an active participant in international relations Poland makes its contribution to the consolidation of international peace and security. See: Missions of the Polish Armed Forces, https://www.gov.pl/ web/obrona-narodowa/misje, (access 01.09.2022).



A s M.J. Kuczabski notes: In the crisis situations associated with public health, of importance are resilient healthcare systems, i.e. such that are capable of responding flexibly to difficult situations, and are also able to adapt, which means they a able to learn from past experiences and adjust themselves to future challenges. Transformation capabilities mean the aptitudes to set up organisations and institutions supporting the building of social resilience to future crises. M.J. Kuczbski's analysis of the management processes during the pandemic showed that the reason for their limited effectiveness was the scattered character of healthcare management, which impeded coordination at the level of the system, the dysfunctional information system (susceptibility to disinformation), no coordinated efforts as regards the creation and functioning of healthcare institutions, no coordination of patient care, the resources of the system that were insufficient or inadequate for current and future health needs of the populations.

There are several recommendations arising from the analysis of the early effects of the pandemic, which - as M.J. Kuczabski stressed - should be taken into account for the elaboration of laws necessary for the situation of a pandemic, since the currently applicable law on infectious diseases contains too many provisions that allow for imposing extensive restrictions of freedoms and rights; at the moment of the greatest intensity of coronavirus infections the Polish health service was at times inefficient; the struggle against the epidemic adversely affected the protection of the right to life and health of those who suffered from other disorders. On this basis, the Author recommends that the amendment of the law on infectious diseases should provide for a clear and constitutionally compliant specification of the permissible limits for restrictions of freedoms and rights under the state of epidemic as well as in the situations of epidemic emergency. In M.J. Kuczbski's opinion, health security should be appraised on the basis of a monitoring system expanded with a set of indicators dedicated for the areas that determine the level of health security, thus creating a complex index of the efficiency of the health security system. There is a need to consolidate so-called health competences in the society, understood as the ability to utilise technological support as regards health information and services; the competences with respect to personal health, i.e. self-awareness of the value of health. Therefore, as regards raising individual and social resilience, including instruction at each educational level (educational programmes and social campaigns) a permanent change of behaviours is needed. An important conclusion seems to be the proposal to introduce "health security" classes into the school and university curricula. M.J. Kuczabski notes that interventions in the area of public health aimed at raising health security should include efforts in the following three areas: organisational, informational and medical. In the first one, in order to preserve organisational safety



of the health protection system, it is necessary to specify – through separate dedicated procedures – concrete solutions; there needs to be certainty as to the guidelines for proceedings, coordination of individual efforts, including support systems for containment of the effects of any crisis generating phenomenon, including a pandemic. In the informational area – an extremely important thing during a pandemic is to adjust and supplement the form of information message to the perception abilities of the audience, not to generate contradictory messages; there is a need to base the information message on the opinions of scientists not only from medical professions, but also other fields, e.g. social communication, social psychology, psychiatry, economics, pedagogy. The information message effects a change of social moods and behaviours, stimulates emotions,<sup>13</sup> incites or alleviates panic,<sup>14</sup> which in turn is extremely important for maintaining psychological security.<sup>15</sup> A reliable message that does not aggravate fear creates the environment of the reality. Finally, as regards the medical dimension, it boils down to offering medical services that comply with the standards, comforting and giving professional and reliable advice.

Of special value for the security studies seems to be M.J. Kuczabski's proposal to focus the inquiries on three research areas in the context of state security, which defines health as a strategic category, namely:

- Health of the society (demographic context).
- Health as an objective per se (one of the dimensions of national interest, desirable value, social and intellectual capital).
- Health as a strategic asset (a factor of the national strategic potential, e.g. mobilisation resources for the military, social resilience).

Other problems which in M.J. Kuczbski's opinion should be reflected by research in the security studies include:

- investigating the relations of the politicians, the media and the society under the pandemic condition, in a situation of emergency and prevention of infectious diseases,
- investigating the problems of systemic resilience of the state,

13. And what follows – indirectly influencing decisions of the electorate. After: M. Bartoszewicz, *Rama interpretacyjna "pandemii COVID-19" a wybrane zasady propagandy politycznej – propozycja zestawienia zakresu użyteczności*, "Acta Politica Polonica", 2020, No. 2 (50), pp. 65–74. DOI: <u>10.18276/ap.2020.50-06</u>

14. The effect of the information message on the society is confirmed by research, e.g. M.J. Kuczabski, *Fake News as...*, op. cit., pp. 765–782.

 E. Marciniak, Psychologiczne aspekty poczucia bezpieczeństwa, in: Bezpieczeństwo wewnętrzne państwa. Wybrane zagadnienia, eds. S. Sulowski, M. Brzeziński, Elipsa 2009, pp. 56–65.



- investigating the relationships between building people's prosperity, stability of the state and health security,
- transdisciplinary, multidisciplinary investigation of the consequences of the pandemic,
- a comprehensive systemic analysis of the investigation of the consequences of the pandemic,
- investigation of systemic resilience, sensitivity and susceptibility of the health security system to threats,
- investigation of the conditions, threats and challenges for the development processes of health security,
- investigation of the effect of various types of crises on the level of health security,
- investigation of social assessment of the level of health security and its correlation with national security,
- investigation of organisational and functional structures in order to optimise management of the health security system,
- investigation of the problems of the area associated with rescue and medical operations of uniformed services,
- analysis of the principle of cooperation of the health security system entities,
- investigation of state security in the face of extraordinary threats,
- investigation of the flexibility of adjustment of health security systems to health emergency situations,
- investigation of the effectiveness and efficiency of health security subsystems,



- investigation of the social valuation of technologies for the needs of health security,
- investigation of information security of the health sector,
- investigation of cybersecurity of the infrastructure of health protection systems.

M.J. Kuczabski believes that in the future it will be necessary to change the approach to health protection – understood as a necessary precondition for the socio-economic development of the country and ensuring national security, treating health protection and health security of the citizens as an investment for the future<sup>16</sup> and finally building systemic and social resilience basing. In the conclusion of his book M.J. Kuczabski acknowledges that the publication constitutes an important contribution to the development of security studies (and I as a reviewer share this conclusion) since:

- 1. It explains the causes and phenomena that have influences the processes of the contemporary perception of security and health within the category of health security.
- 2. It shows changes in the area of health security at the global level and its effect on the domestic health security system, and prospectively on national security.
- 3. It shows the specificity of a health crisis situation, when it becomes necessary to use special means as well as systems of security, the military and defence.
- 4. It presents the problems of security and health security in dual, substantively complementary types of research: theoretical and empirical.
- 5. It effects a rational transfer of knowledge from the area of research of health security and contemporary research methods to the discipline of security studies, indicating prospective problem areas for further research in the field of security studies.

The obvious merits of M.J. Kuczabski's monograph include: the logical structure of the argument; the narration of the Author, who skilfully combines the presentation of interesting facts and processes with his own opinions and assessment as well as aptly selected quotations harmoniously en-

16. The view expressed by Professor Gielerak: Prof. Gielerak: ochrona zdrowia nie jest wyłącznie kosztem. To koło zamachowe gospodarki, https://www. rynekzdrowia.pl/Polityka-zdrowotna/ Prof-Gielerak-ochrona-zdrowia-niejest-wylacznie-kosztem-To-kolo-zamachowe-gospodarki,233024,14.html, (access 01.09.2022).

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	twined into the text and illustrating the scientific argument. The high level of the Author's penmanship is manifested <i>inter alia</i> in the correctly, legibly and transparently arranged footnotes and references as well as the abundand bibliography. Worthy of praise is also M.J. Kuczabski's care for equipping the book with interesting annexes closely linked to its contents. They constitute a necessary supplement to the narration, presenting those aspects of health security which have not been subject to an in- depth reflection in the main body of the monograph. A proof of M.J. Kuczabski's scientific reliability is also a broad base of sources and literature on the subject, which includes over 700 items and which underlies the Author's reflections and conclusions. The above numerous arguments unequivocally speak in favour of the considerable scientific and cognitive value of the reviewed publication, though they do not mean that it is absolutely free from defects – both structural and of a substantive nature. The former includes undoubtedly the disproportionate volume of two main parts of the monograph. Insofar as the first one comprises five chapters, the other has only one. Clearly those differences are due to their subject, and thus the volume of the material (sources and literature) on the basis of which they have been written. However, a question may be justifiably asked whether the Author, being aware of those disproportions, should not contemplate proposing another thematic division of the book. In turn, as regards charges of a substantive nature, pointed out may be the fact that the Author has waived the possibility of inserting all diagrams in the part devoted to social perception. It would be most welcome and would allow for a more transparent presentation of the material.	17. C. Smuniewski, K.P. Kądzielski, The City, NGOs and COVID-19. Non-govern- mental organisations in Warsaw and the new horizons of societal security during the pandemic (research concept), "Pol- ish Journal of Political Science", 2022, Vol. 8, Issue 1, pp. 50–64. DOI: <u>10.58183/</u> pjps.01102022
Conclusion	The remarks presented herein have no effect on the generally high – in my opinion – assessment of the book under review. The Polish scientific literature on national security, though - it must be noted – also politological issues, health policy being undoubtedly one of, has been enriched with a very fine monograph, soundly anchored in the sources and hitherto literature on the subject, pre- senting a less known and less often investigated though extremely important and interesting aspect of the functioning of the state. The results of M.J. Kuczbski's research presented, analysed and syn- thesised herein, may serve as an indication of the direction for future transformations in the area of health security and health policy within the Polish system of security. Detailed and interdisciplinary studies in this area are by all means necessary. <sup>17</sup> Therefore, apart from the cognitive dimension (fill- ing the gap regarding the subject of research), the book has a considerable utilitarian value, which is very significant from the viewpoint of the times in which we live.	



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