
UDC 130.2:[379.8:314.151.3-054.73(477)]N. V. DOBROIER^{1*}^{1*}Odessa Polytechnic National University (Odessa, Ukraine), e-mail dobroier75@gmail.com, ORCID 0000-0002-9712-9219

Leisure Anthropology of Ukrainian Refugees in Poland

Purpose. The article is aimed at considering the concept of leisure in the daily practice of Ukrainian refugees in Poland and identifying the main trends in its development. **Theoretical basis.** The author used the quantitative method, the method of online search for respondents, the method of monitoring social networks, and the comparative method. The study was conducted in Poland from 01.08.2022 to 31.01. 2023 as part of grant support from the Polish Institute of Advanced Studies. The study is based on the results of a qualitative and quantitative survey, the analysis of groups and chats of Ukrainian refugees in Poland, and the comparative analysis with the results of other studies. The comparison of these results leads to the assumption that a different understanding of the category of leisure in Polish and Ukrainian culture can result in the violation of intergroup relations. **Originality.** The author deduced the concept of refugees' leisure beyond the concepts of adaptation, assimilation, and integration. Leisure is proposed to be considered as a connecting link between the past and present life of refugees and determine its place in the structure of national consciousness. **Conclusions.** The modern scientific discourse experiences a certain gap in the study of the leisure sector of Ukrainian refugees, the problematic areas in the leisure anthropology of Ukrainian refugees in Poland were identified, and a working hypothesis was put forward for further research. The misunderstanding in the organization of leisure activities of representatives of two cultures arises at the level of national self-consciousness (codes, traditions, attitudes). Therefore, external communication does not always reach its ultimate objective and leads to misunderstanding. To determine the mechanism of misunderstanding, the place of leisure in the structure of national consciousness should be determined.

Keywords: anthropology; leisure; Ukrainian refugees; Poland

Introduction

The leisure industry is a crucial component of human life. This topic is the subject of many works in various scientific discourses. However, in current realities, the meaning of leisure acquires new meanings. It may serve as an important factor in the collective identity, personal growth, and psychological stability of the individual. Currently, many countries have accepted war refugees from Ukraine and are trying to improve their way of life, including leisure.

Leisure acquires exceptional significance for refugees. This is a way of adaptation, a way of building communication with the host society. A study of the leisure sector can demonstrate which mode of acculturation has been chosen by the refugees. At the same time, the level of perception of leisure may show the difference in the understanding of this term among representatives of two cultures. Thus, the leisure sector can be a parameter that demonstrates the degree of integration and quality of life of refugees in the host country.

In this case, the transition from the personal to the collective level of identification can be observed. Leisure as a cultural phenomenon can transform, and evolve following the transformation of society's demands, cultural stereotypes, etc.

Within the framework of this article, leisure refers to various behavioral practices performed by refugees in their free time from work.

Purpose

The purpose of this article is to determine the place of leisure in the daily practice of Ukrainian refugees in Poland and to identify the main trends in its development.

Statement of basic materials

The study was conducted within the framework of grant support from the Polish Institute of Advanced Studies from 1.08.2022 to 31.01.2023. The quantitative surveys of Ukrainian refugees in Poland were conducted in August 2022 and January 2023. In total, 471 respondents were interviewed. The analysis of groups of Ukrainian refugees in social networks and studies of other specialists, journalistic articles, and video programs were studied as well. This basis became re-search the material for the study.

Several various methods were used to collect data. The quantitative method was applied to online surveys of respondents. The method of online search for respondents enabled us to cover the largest number of chats and groups of Ukrainian refugees in Poland on social networks. In order to attract participants an invitation letter was sent to the group with the target audience. The survey was conducted anonymously. The method of monitoring social networks was also applied. The comparative method was applied to compare all the obtained results.

Within the framework of humanitarian studies, various aspects of leisure practices among migrants and refugees have been thoroughly elaborated. These studies emphasize the functional aspects of leisure. Basically, leisure is considered from the point of view of the adaptation or integration into a new social and cultural space. For example, Rojek (2009) in his article says that leisure is an important area in working with identification. Anna Horolets' (2015) article "Finding one's way: recreational mobility of post-2004 Polish migrants in West Midlands, UK", showcases how Polish labor migrants integrate into the culture of Great Britain through leisure activities. It can also be mentioned that merging with a new cultural space may occur by joining various subcultural groups. For example, Jorge Knijnik's (2015) dwells on football fandom, which helps build communication in a new society.

Hannah Lewis's (2015) show for asylum seekers in the UK in her article "Music, dancing and clothing as belonging" is about the opportunities to find yourself in these areas, compete and communicate. J. Hurly and G. J. Walker emphasized in their study the importance of outdoor leisure activities for refugees. According to them, this way the refugees are able to relieve stress, feel more confident, and make new acquaintances (Hurly & Walker, 2019).

Another important work on the study of leisure and forced migration is "Leisure and Forced Migration: Lives Lived in Asylum Systems" (De Martini Ugolotti & Caudwell, 2022). This book introduces the study of leisure and forced migration from the point of view of different scientific approaches.

Although there are a lot of studies and approaches to studying the significance of the leisure sector in the life of migrants and refugees, it should be noted that these studies have not developed a general theoretical and methodological approach to studying this problem. The key terms found in these studies are adaptation, assimilation, and integration. However, in our opinion, the understanding of leisure should go beyond the issues of adaptation to a new environment. Leisure can become a connecting link between the past and present lives of refugees. Therefore, it is very important to understand what is meant by leisure activities by refugees, representatives of the host country, and organizations that are aimed at organizing leisure activities for refugees.

The leisure sector is an important indicator of a person's adaptation to a new environment. Leisure activities have a creative purpose. This is a recharge of mental and physical potential, familiarization with cultural values, assimilation of new experiences, and participation in social processes. Self-actualization must occur in this area.

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In the quantitative survey, the respondents were offered to choose the types of leisure activities that they often practice in Poland. As a result, 60 % of respondents indicated that they do not go anywhere and do not spend their leisure time actively. 20 % of respondents indicated that they go to cafes, restaurants, and bars mainly with their compatriots. The same pattern with various events (festivals, concerts, etc.), where 23 % indicated that all these events are related to Ukrainian culture. Only 11 % of respondents indicated that they attend events related to Polish culture or in the Polish language.

A quantitative survey showed the implementation failure of this life sector among Ukrainian refugees in Poland. This can lead to a number of negative consequences. For example, such consequences may be the strengthening of tendencies that encourage the isolation of refugees within their culture. Or, for instance, spontaneous socialization.

However, the analysis of groups and chats of Ukrainian refugees in Poland shows us a different picture. Ukrainian refugees lead an active cultural life, visiting cinemas, concerts, museums, and parks.

Here are some typical examples that confirm this information:

Nickname: Liudmila (Telegram, group Mamochki Wroclaw 16.15 15.01.2023): we still often go to concerts of famous performers, my daughter, 6 years old, goes with us with pleasure:).

Nickname: Anna (Telegram, group Mamochki Wroclaw 15.58 15.01.2023): We were in the Museum of Natural History, there are skeletons in one room and stuffed animals and birds in the other, and insects/butterflies behind the glass. Ticket 10 PLN, my little girl of 5 years old enjoyed.

Nickname: Anatoliy (Telegram, group Nash Szczecin (Szczecin) 20.29 03.12.2022): Yes)) a very cool musician came last month. Presentation of the new album, everything. But it's a shame they close early.

Nickname: Rita (Telegram, group Ukrainians! Warsaw CHAT Ukraine 12.01 15.12.2022): Hey! Could you please tell me if there are any children theaters in Warsaw which might perform a kind of Christmas plays and so on! Thanks.

Nickname: Kate Mostova (Telegram, group Ukrainians in ZABRZE 19.07 19.11.2022): We visited a very cool place today! The only thing I don't know is whether any public transport goes there. We went by car. There is also a restaurant there – you can drink a gzhanets after a walk). Park milionów światł.

However, it should be noted that quite often there are requests for a Ukrainian-language cultural product. Its lack may affect the leisure content.

Nickname: Anastasiya Anastasieva (Telegram, group Mamochki Wroclaw 07.10 03.07.2022): Girls, could you tell me if there will be Avatar in Ukrainian in Helios? Have you seen an announcement anywhere? Because I can't figure it out in the application.

Nickname: Dmitriy (Telegram, group Nash Szczecin (Szczecin) 10.07 17.01.2023): Damn, I came to relax for a week, I thought to go to the cinema. But there are no shows (But I don't get high on Polish cinema. Unlucky am I.

Such contradictory results of the qualitative and the quantitative surveys require additional information. In conducting a search of studies on the leisure activities of Ukrainian refugees in Poland, no theoretical works on this issue were found. The statistical studies were also focused on other areas of the life of Ukrainian refugees.

In this case, the scientific discourse experiences a certain gap. Leisure as a way to return to everyday life for refugees was discussed in a series of bambarbja.tv (2022a, 2022b, 2022c) pro-

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grams in the summer and autumn of 2022. It concerns the refugees in Luxembourg, the Czech Republic, Poland, Alanya, and Germany. Although the principle is approximately the same: Ukrainians organize themselves and start providing various services for free to each other. On the one hand, this is a way to return to normal life and psychological balance. On the other hand, it is a way of communication and self-realization.

A big number of leisure activities were organized by the host countries. For example, in Poland, excursions to the tram depot and film screenings were organized for little Ukrainians (Matviichuk, 2022). Within the framework of the program "Health of Children from Ukraine", summer holidays for Ukrainian children were organized, for example, a camp in Biely Dunays (Pilch, 2022).

As we can see, the analysis of external informants confirms the active engagement of Ukrainian refugees in leisure activities. However, in a series of bambarbia.tv broadcasts have emphasized that the war migrants are arranging leisure activities for each other. The question arises why there is practically no mention of leisure activities organized by the host neither in the qualitative nor the quantitative research, nor the analysis of programs. Plenty of examples of leisure activities for children, adults, and women organized by Polish state and non-state organizations may be traced (Pilch, 2022). Moreover, they are actively attended by Ukrainian refugees. However, they were not singled out and defined as leisure.

Based on these results of the study, it can be assumed that the organization of leisure activities for refugees by the host country does not always lead to the establishment of intergroup relations. The reason for this seems to be caused by a different understanding of leisure activities in Polish and Ukrainian culture; the emotional state of Ukrainian refugees; the possibility of self-realization in other areas of daily practice. All these issues require more in-depth research and a dedicated study.

Originality

The scientific novelty of this article lies in the examination of the concept of leisure in the daily practices of Ukrainian refugees in Poland and the identification of key trends in its development. It fills a gap in the scientific discourse on the study of the leisure sphere among Ukrainian refugees. The concept of refugee leisure is extended beyond the notions of adaptation, assimilation, and integration. Leisure is proposed to be regarded as a connecting link between the refugees' past and present lives, determining its place in the structure of national consciousness. The scientific novelty lies in the proposed approach to studying the leisure of Ukrainian refugees, which enables a deeper understanding and explanation of the challenges in intercultural interactions and offers prospects for their resolution. This research contributes to the literature on leisure anthropology by enriching it with new data and analytical approaches.

Conclusions

The first stage of adaptation of Ukrainian refugees has passed, and they are trying to improve their daily lives, which is impossible without such an important part of life as leisure. In this case, the results of the poll did not match the analysis of chats and the bambarbia.tv broadcast series. Since 60 % of respondents indicated that they do not go anywhere. According to the analysis of the chat, one can see that the leisure time of Ukrainians is very diverse. An interesting fact is the self-organization of Ukrainians' leisure for each other. Host parties also organize many different leisure activities. Such a sharp discrepancy between the results of the survey, and

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the analysis of chats and interviews cause scientific interest in this topic. The lack of research on the leisure activities of Ukrainian refugees shows the direction in which further research is to be conducted.

Therefore, the result of this study is to put forward a working hypothesis for further research:

Intercultural communication is formed by carriers of different cultures (in this case, representatives of Ukrainian and Polish cultures), each having its own language code, attitudes, and traditions. The misunderstanding that may arise in the process of organizing leisure activities derives from these initial attitudes. Therefore, the external expression of communication may not always coincide in terms of meaning. In this case, both the mechanism of misunderstanding occurrence and its result are crucial. Since the efforts taken by the two sides to build communication, which does not lead to the desired result, will result in tense relations between representatives of the two cultures.

In order to determine the mechanism of misunderstanding occurrence, the leisure sector must be regarded as a national phenomenon in both cultures. It is important to determine its place in the structure of national consciousness.

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Н. В. ДОБРОЄР^{1*}

^{1*} Національний університет "Одеська політехніка" (Одеса, Україна), ел. пошта dobroer75@gmail.com, ORCID 0000-0002-9712-9219

Антропологія дозвілля українських біженців у Польщі

Мета. Стаття спрямована на розгляд поняття "дозвілля" в повсякденній практиці українських біженців у Польщі та виявлення основних тенденцій його розвитку. **Теоретичний базис.** Авторка використала кількісний метод, метод онлайн-пошуку респондентів, метод моніторингу соцмереж, порівняльний метод. Дослідження було проведено в Польщі з 01.08.2022 по 31.01.2023 в рамках грантової підтримки Polish Institute of Advanced Studies. Воно ґрунтується на результатах якісного та кількісного опитування, аналізу груп та чатів українських біженців у Польщі та порівняльного аналізу з результатами інших досліджень. Порівняння цих результатів дозволяє висунути припущення, що різне розуміння категорії дозвілля в польській та українській культурі може призвести до порушення міжгрупових відносин. **Наукова новизна.** Авторка вивела поняття "дозвілля біженців" за межі понять адаптації, асиміляції, інтеграції. Запропонувала розглядати дозвілля як зв'язну ланку між минулим і теперішнім життям біженців та визначити його місце у структурі національної свідомості. **Висновки.** Виявлено прогалину в сучасному науковому дискурсі з вивчення дозвільної сфери українських біженців, виділено проблемні зони в антропології дозвілля українських біженців у Польщі, а також висунуто робочу гіпотезу для подальшого дослідження. Нерозуміння в організації дозвільної діяльності представників двох культур зароджується на рівні національної самосвідомості (кодів, традицій, установок). Тому зовнішня комунікація не завжди досягає кінцевого результату та призводить до непорозуміння. Для визначення механізму непорозуміння необхідно визначити місце дозвілля у структурі національної свідомості.

Ключові слова: антропологія; дозвілля; українські біженці; Польща

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