

SOCIAL ALIENATION UNDER RUSSIAN OCCUPATION

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Abstract: The article is devoted to the study of social alienation during foreign occupation, which has theoretical (formation of a new theoretical view on the nature of this social process) and practical (development of the state policy of de-occupation and reintegration of the South of Ukraine) prerequisites. The purpose of the article was to determine and empirically verify the main directions of social exclusion under enemy rule. Based on the methodological principles of existential philosophy, neo-Marxism, psychological theories of alienation, the ideas of M. Auger and M. Castells regarding the structuring of social spaces, an in-depth interview with residents of the right-bank Kherson region who were under Russian occupation in March - November 2022 was determined by the method of empirical research. In the course of the study, four forms of social alienation were distinguished - existential, spatial, praxeological and group, each of which characterizes a certain aspect of social relations in the occupation; the general trend towards the growth of social marginalization and anomie is determined; the transformation of public space into a territory of danger and its further ghettoization was ascertained; active use of fear and terror by the occupying power as tools of social coercion has been proven. The researcher emphasizes that under the enemy government, the main factor of social alienation is the hostile attitude towards the person on the part of the state, which is represented by the occupiers, and the social institutions captured by them, the imposition of unwanted and unacceptable values and models of social role behavior on our compatriots. The authors come to a conclusion about the formation of a special form of social alienation in the occupation - moral homelessness, which is characterized by the loss of social subjectivity and the minimization of social activity due to an all-encompassing feeling of fear. At the same time, there is an artificial narrowing and deformation of the structure of social space, the destruction of the boundaries between public and private against the background of the arbitrariness of the authorities and the absolute insecurity of the population. People feel like strangers in their own homes, and the main source of fear is not military actions, but the occupation order.

Keywords: moral homelessness; occupation; social alienation; social space; social fear.

1 Introduction

From the first days of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, the Kherson and Zaporizhzhia regions were at the epicenter of the offensive of enemy troops. Due to the repeated superiority of the Russians in personnel, weapons and military equipment, the situation in the Southern direction developed especially tragically. Already by the beginning of March, the occupying units had covered more than 180 km and stopped near the village of Kamianske is 35 km from Zaporizhzhia, and on the Right Bank they reached the borders of Dnipropetrovsk region and created a serious threat to Kryvbas. As of the end of 2023, after a series of successful counteroffensive operations by the Ukrainian army, there remain several hundred thousand Ukrainians under the control of the enemy. Unfortunately, amidst the chaotic events of the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war, the fate of these individuals is mentioned less frequently. The most tragic thing is that our compatriots under occupation are gradually becoming strangers in their native land. After the establishment of the occupation regime, they first lose all civil and social rights, then in the course of active colonization, displacement of the population and Russification - the symbolic space where their social identity was formed, and during forced passportization - and the rest of the basic rights (in particular, the right to life). As a result, social alienation arises - a social phenomenon that characterizes an internal gap between interests, aspirations, expectations, motives of human activity and social roles and functions that are actually performed by him in a specific socio-historical environment. During the occupation, it turns into a group phenomenon on the basis of belonging to a certain social (repression against ATO participants and pro-Ukrainian activists) or national (persecution against Roma) community, the presence of Russian documents

(people without a Russian passport are refused an ambulance call, hemodialysis and the sale of insulin), place of residence (ban on entry to certain settlements without local registration), etc.

Thus, the theoretical prerequisites of the study are the formation of a new view on the nature of social alienation in the occupation, not as a natural result of socio-economic and socio-political processes (as understood by world philosophical thought from Hobbes and Hegel to Baudrillard and Buber), but as a consequence of a purposeful activities of the aggressor state to destroy the existing system of social norms and institutions, destroy or change the composition of social communities, level national cultural values (which is worth only the "favor" of changing the Ukrainian surname to Russian when receiving occupation documents) and instilling social practices of loyalty to the enemy. The practical relevance of this topic is due to the need to develop a comprehensive state policy of de-occupation and reintegration of the South, overcoming social divisions that will arise after liberation, effective resolution of intergroup conflicts, and the fastest possible normalization of life.

2 Materials and Methods

Among the variety of concepts of social alienation, which have been developed in recent decades as a development or denial of the Hegelian-Marxist heritage, a special place is occupied by M. Heidegger's existential principle "Homelessness becomes the fate of the world" [10]. Due to the Russian occupation, more than 500,000 residents of the South of Zaporizhzhia region left their native homes, up to 300,000 of whom left their homes abroad, and 200,000 - to other regions of Ukraine [21]. It is obvious that the longer the enemy reigns on our lands, the less favorable it is for them to return to the Motherland.

People who remain under occupation do not immediately lose their homes and property. Over time, the raskists can confiscate housing, place military equipment in the yard, and equip their positions in residential areas. At first glance, life does not change much, but every day the orders established by the occupiers penetrate deeper into everyday interactions and force people to modify their social behavior. In this context, Jean-Paul Sartre's thoughts acquire an unexpected significance. Sartre about our perception of a new reality: "the other for me is both the thief of my existence and the one through whom the existence that now becomes mine arises" [18]. The invaders deprive people of freedom, confidence in the future, ties with free Ukraine, instead they bring the existence of the "Russian world" - terror, repression, kidnapping and robbery of peaceful people, racketeering, unprincipledness and immorality as new social norms. A similar situation is described by L. Althusser in his reflections on the alienation of power, when the dominant social communities and institutions become openly hostile to people's interests [1]. However, now they are no longer limited to assigning the results of work, as in the middle of the 19th century, but aim to destroy the social and national identity of Ukrainians.

Another reason for social alienation in the occupation is the loss of individual subjectivity, the transformation of a person into a means of achieving a certain goal, the bearer of one or another function [4]. It is worth mentioning only the staged queues to receive Russian humanitarian stuff under the muzzles of machine guns, new "holidays" where people are forcibly driven to create a good picture, or the use of schoolchildren as human shields from Ukrainian artillery. Also, alienation can be considered as a person's loss of subjectivity in communication with significant others. First of all, we are talking about collaborators and Russian "bystanders", who, under the conditions of military-police terror, have such power that during Ukrainian times it was never concentrated in one hand. The consequences of alienation can be feelings of powerlessness, loss

of control over one's destiny, feelings of loneliness, and loss of one's own "I" [3].

In addition, D. Malchykova and I. Pylypenko note that in the occupation there is a review of priorities, the formation of new strategies for daily behavior and changes in social practices in everyday life, family and professional activities. New adaptive practices are emerging: carefully choosing words when communicating with strangers, stocking up on products, supplementing established roles with additional "military" functionality, looking for trading establishments with the possibility of payment in hryvnias [15].

The study of the spatial component of life in the occupation deserves special attention. Under hostile power, due to total militarization, the living space available to people is reduced to their own street, neighborhood, and sometimes even an apartment or yard. The maximum complication of the use of public space is a typical technology of occupation regimes and is aimed at weakening social ties in order to prevent popular resistance and create a general atmosphere of fear and terror. M. Auger's remark about the birth of "non-places" - spaces where life was raging during Ukraine, and ambrosia blossomed after the arrival of the "Russian world" (a railway station from which there is nowhere to go, the ruins of a bus station, a shopping center destroyed by an airstrike) [2]. M. Castells's theory of parallel social spaces within the boundaries of one city, village or town, whose residents live nearby, but have their own, completely different lives, is also of considerable interest [6]. Someone abandons a luxurious house, a prestigious job and flees the world before the eyes of the Rashists, while someone happily receives a Russian passport, hangs the tricolor and occupies vacant social status positions.

Based on the above, we singled out four directions of empirical verification of the concept of "social alienation" - existential (emotional perception of life in the occupation, its comparison with pre-war times, chronology and content of everyday social interactions), spatial (feeling of homelessness within native walls, transformation of routine social actions on a dangerous quest, a sharp narrowing of the boundaries of the available space, filling it with difficulties and dangers), praxeological (production of new social practices of survival) and social-group (attitude towards others, towards countrymen who have gone over to the side of the enemy, a general vision of how to build social relations in the community after de-occupation).

The empirical basis of the research is the materials of a series of in-depth interviews (general methodology - O.S. Zubchenko, field stage - T.M. Popova), which were conducted in August 2023 with residents of the village Kostyrka of the Novorai community of the Beryslav district of the Kherson region, which was under Russian control from April to November 2022. Among the respondents - 2 men and 7 women, six of them stayed in the occupation the whole time, and three - left for free territory before liberation.

The results. The Russian invasion brings with it a radical change in the way of life, the horizons of life planning, individual and group perspectives. On the one hand, as noted by V. Frankl, a person is free to find and realize the meaning of life, to take responsibility for his destiny, even if his freedom is objectively limited by circumstances [9], and on the other hand, occupation appears to us as absolutely unique and the extreme situation that the Ukrainian people last faced during the World War II. "Before the occupation, we lived peacefully, there were people who were starving, but you know we are thrifty, we had everything we had yeast, sugar, we were not afraid of hunger, we had everything. We lived, we were not afraid of anything, everyone had their own income, everyone did something, we slept at night and were not afraid to sleep, I let the children go... to walk and that nothing like this would happen to them" (Alona, 30 years old, a fireman in a kindergarten). But with the appearance of the enemy, the integrity, co-existence, complicity and demand of the individual, vividly described by the respondent, give way to a set of randomly arising dispositions, which the human

consciousness tries time and again to somehow combine, based on previous experience, but fails. "Everything in life changed in one minute... as soon as the war started, I started writing to my children - leave the country, they took everything from me, including my children and grandchildren, the country... my life was taken away... it's like we live and we don't live" (Valentyna, 60 years old, a private entrepreneur). This type of alienation between being and non-being, which is reinforced by informational isolation, fear and total uncertainty, F. Jamison called schizophragmentation [13]. At the same time, there is an idealization of the pre-war past, which is separated from the state of occupation with the help of characteristic markers: "But we used to live in a fairy tale... Lord, bring back those times and we don't want anything else, and the main thing is that everyone is alive and healthy. I say that the dogs are still barking and I'm shaking all over" (Olena, 55 years old, a cook at a kindergarten). In fact, hundreds of thousands of people find themselves in a marginal situation - a set of certain circumstances under which new relationships and connections arise, the main elements of the social system are restructured and they acquire new social qualities [5]. Under such conditions, the growing social anomie is especially keenly felt ("The system was broken, and many people changed their appearance at once"), the instinct of self-preservation is weakened ("I was not afraid of death, but there was a different kind of sadness in my soul" (Mykola, 64 years old, a vet), the sense of time is lost ("We didn't count the days and didn't remember what the number was, it didn't matter to us... we lived in some kind of cinema, how does this happen to us" (Tetyana, 56 years old, a janitor), there is a sense of existential anxiety ("There was no peace, there was no peace... there was fear. There was fear, simply fear. And there was fear that they were sitting on our brains, that ours would not come, that we are already Russia" (Oksana, 52 years old, an artistic director of the village club).

G. Simmel believed that space becomes social to the extent that it is mastered by a person, included in his subject-practical activity. Its boundaries are determined by the spread of influence, social connections and socio-professional activity of a person, and its content is formed in the process of social interactions. Everything changes with the arrival of the invaders [19]. From a well-known place of all socially important interactions, public space turns into a territory of danger and unpredictability. "We can leave and not come. We can go somewhere and not return. It is possible... they started talking that people who are leaving are being shot by cars with people with children (Oksana, 52 years old). Going into the unknown, trying to do anything to leave one's home, just to avoid living under the rule of the Rashists. In particular, there were three mass emigration routes from the occupied Kherson region, which people took at their own peril and risk, often under enemy fire: through the villages of Stanislav and Oleksandrivka to Mykolaiv along the coast of the Dnipro-Buzka estuary (March 2022); along the right bank of the River Ingulets through the town of Snigurivka and further to the town of Bashtanka, Mykolaiv Region, and later along the left bank of the Ingulets through the village of David's Breed in the city of Kryvyi Rih (April - May 2022); through Vasylivka, Zaporizhzhia region (May - October 2022) [15].

The occupiers also make it artificially difficult to move through the interior of the occupied territories: "When we went to Kakhovka - we left the village by bus, documents were checked in Novoraisk, then we went to Mayak - they checked us there, they checked us in Pyatochki (Kozatske village - author) and asked where are your children, how many children, if you just get stuck - they can turn the whole bus back, take you under control. At Hesi (Kakhovskaya HPS - author), everyone was dropped off, checked, and so the road was back. Those who were not assigned were not allowed into the village" (Tetyana, 60 years old). This sprawling narrative suggests that the occupiers are repeating the repressive practices of the communist totalitarian regime of the 1930s, creating artificial obstacles for peasants to move to the city.

At the same time, the internal space of the Ukrainian village is being ghettoized: "It feels like we are in a concentration camp or some kind of prison, like in a free settlement, there was a convoy all around, and you just walk around and are afraid. They didn't let you into the stadium, there were streamers... it was scary to pick up garbage or leaves and you have to take them out of the garden... you'll suddenly blow up on something... It was scary to go outside the yard" (Alyona, 30 years old). Because of this, a feeling of all-encompassing danger and hopelessness is formed: "It was disturbing to walk on the streets, it felt like people walking with automatic weapons, it was still scary, they were stopped on the roads, the passport regime, and you don't know where they will take you or not" (Alexander, 55 years old, a person with disabilities). The enemy also imposes new social norms and rules "It was impossible to go outside the village, we were not allowed to turn on the light in the house" (Tetyana, 56 years old) and the boundaries of public and private space are leveled "It was scary at home - they entered without knocking yards, there were constant checks, they were afraid to turn everything on, the windows were closed" (Valya, 60 years old). The sad realities of everyday life are complemented by new symbols ("We hung white ribbons on the gate, that peaceful people live here" (Oksana, 52 years old) and rituals ("for the night to spend the night at Aunt Natasha's, for the day to go home so that no one gets stronger" (Olena, 55 years old, a cook in a kindergarten).

People are possessed by a total fear for themselves and their loved ones, which is not related to military actions, artillery strikes and rocket fire, but to the presence of foreigners: "When the occupation began, it was scary to let children out of the yard and house, I was most afraid for Vika (eldest daughter, 15 years old - author). It was scary to walk around the village, it was scary to go to the store, to wait for bread to be brought, then I was afraid to take that humanitarian stuff, then we got shit for not taking it" (Alyona, 30 years old). The invaders create such an oppressive atmosphere quite consciously, because the feeling of fear acts as a powerful regulator of individual and group behavior and generates a conscious and seemingly voluntary perception of social coercion [8].

The problem of alienation of man from man, formulated by K. Marx in "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844" [16], acquires a new sound when studying the occupation regime. E. Suimenko noted that "societal alienation refers to the hostile attitude towards an individual, their social environment, detachment from social institutions and organizations, as well as the imposition of unwanted norms and values that are unacceptable to the individual." [20].

Respondents talk about the deep socio-psychological rifts that arise after the liberation, the destruction of the powerful capital of social ties, which was traditionally inherent in the Ukrainian village: "People have changed, opinions, attitudes have changed, it's not the right time, people are under occupation... it takes time ... many are happy, many have become withdrawn... people are sitting at home (Valentina, 60 years old). The social atomization of today contrasts strongly with the consolidation and self-organization of the first days of the war: "when there was no occupation, the village came together, it was one whole - people baked bread, distributed half a loaf per person, distributed cereals, caught fish. The Russians were not there, and when they came, everything stopped... there were discords, not a very healthy situation" (Tetyana, 60 years old).

Against this background, the question of relations with persons who collaborated with the enemy in one form or another during the occupation arises. In the village Kostyrka, collaborationism manifested itself in various forms: administrative and technical ("Natasha Kharchenko was appointed head (of the club - author), old Pidlypna was an accountant, Lena Kamineva became a technician, Anya Fedchyshina also became a technician, and then after some time she resigned... It reached her (Oksana, 52 years old); economic ("The Zyuzkins...Lyuba and Serhii...when the war started, there were only roadblocks on the highway, they fed the invaders every day, brought potatoes, eggs, milk, cakes"

(Valya, 60 years old) and domestic ("Natashka Kharchenko amazed - she swooped that humanitarian stuff, went to the referendum, scared people that if you don't vote, then wait for the guests in the evening" (Alyona, 30 years old).

Household collaborationism has a complex nature, acting, on the one hand, as a protective resocialization reaction to a change in the socio-economic system, and on the other, as a tool for legitimizing the occupation regime, in particular, through obtaining a Russian passport and working at the enterprises, institutions and organizations of the aggressor [22].

The authorities of collaborators, represented in the village of Kostyrka by the former controller of the local communal enterprise Valentyna, was not enjoyed among the population: "It's a horror, we did not recognize this authority" (Olena, 55 years old). The enemy's collaborators relied solely on fear and Russian bayonets: "I once encountered Valya, the village head. When I came from the Security Service and they said 2 days to leave or a bullet to the forehead... Valya always walked with security. Inspections were rough... Soldiers, Valya, Lyuba, and Serhii Zyuzkin always gathered near the store in the morning... They always advocated for Russia. They conducted strong propaganda" (Valentyna, 60 years old). By the way, the planned reprisal against this respondent (from which she was saved only by an urgent departure to free Ukraine) illustrates the systematic policy of the rashists in neutralizing the most socially active part of the population, as Mrs. Valentyna owned a store, was elected as a deputy of the village council multiple times, and had respect among fellow villagers.

Another direction of the "activity" of the self-styled "authority" was the imposition of Russian humanitarianism on the population under the conditions of a complete blockade of trade with free Ukraine: "Seryoga (man - author) begins to be taken by the scruff of the neck, they push him with a machine gun and say - I told you, go get it" (Alyona, 30 years old). According to the observations of the villagers, this procedure is very humiliating: "The sugar was weighed in circles, according to how many people live in the house. They gave only a little flour, not much. I felt only humiliation" (Oksana, 52 years old). Almost immediately, people understand the ostentatiousness of such "charity": "twice in the club... they gave us lists, they went and took pictures. We started with them - give us back our work - and we won't take anything from you, we don't need anything from you" (Olena, 55 years old).

However, the consequences of the occupation will make themselves known for a long time due to the emergence of new social divisions: "many werewolves who stayed and changed their colors again. The attitude towards them is negative, the impression is that if I took this, I would hit him on the head so that his eyes would pop out... we hope that the authorities will deal with them" (Mykola, 64 years old). At the same time, a certain part of the former assistants of the enemy still hopes for the return of the Russians: "Some are waiting for a Russian world, some with the hope that the children of collaborators will return and the katsaps will return" (Valentyna, 60 years old).

Under hostile rule, alienation from the usual way of life arises, in particular, a trip to the city for groceries becomes a dangerous quest with archaic practices from the times of early feudalism: "What are we carrying?" I say - sugar, carrots, onions, sausage... and he is like "A coffee"? I say no... there is tea, but how much tea did you take? 2 packs and one time - he messed up one, and so with everything where there were 2-3 packs, they took one for themselves" (Alyona, 30 years old). In parallel with this, under the conditions of the information blockade and the total dominance of rashists' propaganda, communication technologies with relatives are being improved. The mobile phone, from a means of earning, entertainment and leisure, turns into a single window to the free world and at the same time becomes a source of constant danger for its owner: "There was no connection, then it started appearing near the water tower, we all went there" (Lyubov, 60 years old). With the approach of the Ukrainian troops, the occupiers sharply increase the filtering measures:

"The phones were buzzing, if they find the flag of Ukraine or somewhere written Glory to Ukraine - then you will get such pussies that you will vomit your kidneys" (Alyona, 30 years old). The practice of having two phones is becoming widespread: a touch phone is carefully hidden at home, and a push-button one is taken outside: "We had one phone, a push-button one. Which we did not hide, but they looked at him with such a smirk. And the phone, Artyom's, I hid in the books" (Oksana, 52 years old).

As a defensive reaction to the persecution, an almost Orwellian "newcomer" is born: "We called the Russians "neighbors", "color beetles", "orcs", we did not talk about them at all" (Tetyana, 60 years old), "We called them "guests", like whether the guests have arrived, whether the guests have left, or how long they will be there. And what do they hear about your guests?" (Oksana, 56 years old). Along with this, strict self-censorship of telephone conversations with free Ukraine is forming: "Topics about where the occupiers are, how many there are, it was forbidden, we knew that they were eavesdropping... they could come at any moment" (Tetyana, 56 years old); "We didn't leave the yard, we talked a little with the neighbors and that's all... we tried not to talk on the phone, we thought there was a wiretapping... I'm calling my sister in Kharkiv - are you alive?? And that's all... we were afraid to speak" (Valya, 60 years old). Along with this, it should not be forgotten that the mobile phone was a powerful weapon, with the help of which hundreds of patriots from the right-bank Kherson region transmitted the coordinates of the enemy to the Defense Forces of Ukraine, recorded the crimes of the rashists in the temporarily occupied territories and brought the liberation of their native land closer.

Thus, the empirical results obtained by us testify to the complexity and depth of social exclusion both at the individual and group levels, but at the same time require further discussion and theoretical conceptualization.

3 Results and Discussion

The periodization of the occupation of the Kherson Region, proposed by O. Cheremisin and H. Mykhailenko, opens up good heuristic prospects for the study of mass attitudes of the population. At the first stage (March - the end of May 2022), there is a sharp transition to a "non-Ukrainian" reality, where passenger and cargo connections with Ukraine are blocked, our electronic media are turned off, the living space for people is reduced, a large number of enemy checkpoints are set up, and a strict curfew is introduced. Sources of social exclusion at this stage are described by one of our respondents: "There was anxiety, they surrounded us at the edges of the village, somewhere after a month they started to come." (Alexander, 55 years old). The situation in many respects still remains uncertain, a sense of shock, a desire to flee the world before the eyes of the enemy ("I leave the store and see the TIGER driving down the street, and I don't know what to do: and Siriozhyk (son - author) must be taken away and will I make it, I will suddenly run to Siriozhyk, and they will shoot me here together with him" (Alyona, 30 years old) is combined with hopes that everything will end "in two or three weeks" and on the mountain "somehow it will be decided". However, soon, when the first roundups, detentions and torture began, people saw the real face of the occupiers: "Our Vovka was taken to the hall, I am sitting on the street..., Uncle Kolka was taken to the barn, garage, barrels, cellar, everything was dug up there, everything is being searched around. I hear that our Vovka is being beaten" (Tetyana, 56 years old).

In the second stage (end of May - September 2022), the enemy is trying to more actively penetrate social relations at the group and interpersonal levels, actively introducing rubles, banning Ukrainian banking, importing Russian goods in masse. However, the people of Kostyrka didn't like the occupation currency: "We didn't take Russian money, so we didn't need it. We did not know how to change them, how to use them. And we used hryvnias more anyway. We asked if we were paid in hryvnias, if we sold, then for hryvnias" (Oksana, 52 years old). A de facto bi-currency zone was operating: "the pharmacy had both the ruble and the hryvnia, those who were for Ukraine took the

hryvnia, and the pharmacies - purely rubles. If you want to exchange hryvnias for Russian - 1 ruble - 3 hryvnias, then it was already 1 ruble - 6 hryvnias." (Alyona, 30 years old). At the same time, the occupiers sharply increase the informational and psychological pressure: "they sat on our brains that ours will not come, that we are already Russia, that it has been already done with us... it was very difficult" (Oksana, 52 years old).

In the third stage (end of September - beginning of November 2022), the Russian occupation regime begins to crumble. The population loyal to Russia is forcibly evacuated from Kherson and its surroundings, the local infrastructure is destroyed, and occupation institutions are closed [7]. At the same time, a mass robbery of the region continues: "the kindergarten was robbed, everything was taken, not a knife, nothing, what remained were beds, a couple of mattresses, lockers, a blanket, a pillow and one gas stove - everything was destroyed, everything was spoiled" (Olena, 55 years old). At the same time, the oppressive silence gives way to a powerful rumble from the northwest: "cannonade was going on, strong protracted battles were going on in the region, helicopters, fighter jets were flying, before my eyes a canteen was destroyed in Novoraisk... the noise was great... the Ukrainians are close... ours are advancing... They are chasing them!" (Mykola, 64 years old). An important factor in overcoming social alienation after the long-awaited liberation is the awareness of individual ("We hope that everything will be fine, we will restore everything slowly... well, hope for the best. We will restore everything and live as we used to live" (Olena, 55 years old) and group ("One wish is that they help us with more weapons and planes, so that the guys can make a decent counterattack and repel them" (Tetyana, 56 years old) prospects. Another problem that needs detailed discussion is the genesis of fear in the occupation. S. Kataev and M. Khrustaliyova note that the manifestations of social fears are related to historical reality, customs, traditions of society and the status of the person himself, and the main social function of fear is to force compliance with norms [14]. It is obvious that the brutal beatings and abductions of young men committed by the rashists in the first days of their stay in the village were primarily aimed at intimidating the local population, suppressing any potential attempts at popular resistance, and creating a pro-Ukrainian underground.

According to the theory of social insanity by E. Holovakha and N. Panina, fear is considered as a mass reaction of people to the destruction (spontaneous or purposeful) of the value-normative foundations of society, a disorder of psychological mechanisms of adaptation [11]. The highest form of manifestation of this kind of fear is panic, which quickly spread in the first days of the war: "people in the store began to sweep up everything, buy everything, and everyone screamed... and there were such impressions as that they were crazy. You don't realize what is being done, what happened to you, what it is at all" (Oksana, 52 years old). We are dealing with one of the most dangerous mental phenomena, the damage from the spread of which greatly increases during wartime, when sudden movements of large masses of people can lead to extremely serious consequences, block logistics and make it extremely difficult for Ukrainian defenders to perform their tasks.

Another type of fear is existential, which, on the one hand, is characteristic of us as the most important orienting experience, and on the other hand, as a manifestation of immanent human contradiction, envelops everyday life with many invisible, but very strong tenets: "It was not possible to leave the yard, we went to district, if you go out to chop firewood or practice... they immediately look at you. And you are afraid to sit in the house, or something will suddenly fly. You couldn't walk through the stadium, there were tanks under the fences with the letter II" (Alyona, 30 years old). Under such conditions, there is an extreme sharpening of self-consciousness, defensive reactions arise, in particular, in the field of everyday speech, which can be of great interest from the standpoint of ethnomethodology: "They asked how health was and everything... guests, swallows, birds flew in - there were encryptions, the eavesdropping was constant ... the guests have left, the swallows are already flying,

the starlings have started to fly, in short, helicopters, planes and rockets" (Olena, 55 years old).

At the same time, war is a time not only of terrible experiences of the present, but also of fear for the future. L. Horokhova notes that as a threat of non-existence, fear contributes to a person's awareness of the true meaning of his purpose, the value of social existence and every day of free life [12]. Many people on the right bank of the Kherson region perceived the long-awaited arrival of the Armed Forces in the millenarian spirit - as the final end of the war, the end of all suffering and a return to peaceful times: "They thought there would be peace, they would not shoot, but it turned out differently" (Valentina, 60 years old). Along with unjustified expectations, we also see a clear understanding that the struggle continues: "The war is not over, we are still on the brink, it's a pity for the village and the city" (Mykola, 64 years old), as well as an awareness of the inevitability of changes in the ordinary world, from the macro to the micro level, the emergence of social divisions where friendship and harmony used to prevail: "We don't want to leave the yard, we don't want to communicate with those people who... betrayed you during the occupation... you don't want to not hear, not see" (Oksana, 52 years).

Along with studying the features of social exclusion in rural areas, we should not forget about the urban dimension of this phenomenon. Kostiantyn and Oleksiy Mezentsev identify several directions of the destruction of the city as a space of social interactions (urbicide): direct (physical destruction by the Russians of symbolic and everyday ordinary places through airstrikes and artillery shelling in the cities and villages of the liberated Right Bank of Kherson Oblast); indirect (loss of urban identity, spread of patron-client ties and loyalty to the enemy at the household level, a striking sign of which is a new "service" in occupied Melitopol - replacing a Ukrainian surname with a Russian one along with obtaining a new passport); delayed (non-return of local residents to the occupied territories and the disappearance of the collective human experience of the place) [17]. We hope that an empirical study of these processes will become possible in the near future after the liberation of Berdyansk, Melitopol, Henichesk, Nova Kakhovka and other cities in Southern Ukraine.

4 Conclusion

In the course of our research, we came to the following conclusions. Firstly, social alienation in temporarily occupied territories acquires a general character and manifests itself in social-group, spatial, praxeological and existential spheres. Without leaving their settlement and without changing their way of life, people become strangers in their home, deprived of the right to public space and forced to radically modify their social practices in various spheres under the influence of fear and uncertainty. In turn, fear is transformed from the situational panic of the first hours and days of the war into an oppressive, all-encompassing feeling that blocks everyday social activity and usual forms of social interaction. Due to social alienation, life in the occupation turns into moral homelessness.

Secondly, one of the important factors of social alienation in the temporarily occupied Ukrainian lands is the artificial narrowing of the available social space, both through the introduction of curfews, restrictions on movement, the closure of a large number of territories for civilian visits, and through the leveling of the border between private and public, round-the-clock violation of the right to inviolability of housing and private property, absolute insecurity from arbitrary detention, kidnapping and robbery.

Thirdly, a significant place in the formation of social alienation is occupied by fear, the initial causes of which are military actions, explosions, and the work of enemy aircraft. At the same time gradually, with the distance from the front, the main source of fear is the "new order" itself, the arbitrariness of enemy soldiers and local collaborators, the ghettoization of life and the loss of connection with free Ukraine, rapid impoverishment

against the background of economic colonization of the region, and gloomy prospects for the future. However, with the arrival of Ukrainian soldiers, the nature of fear is transformed again - Russian bombs and shells fall from the sky again, but the nearest social space becomes freer, safer and more predictable.

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SOCIAL ALIENATION UNDER RUSSIAN OCCUPATION

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Abstract: The article is devoted to the study of social alienation during foreign occupation, which has theoretical (formation of a new theoretical view on the nature of this social process) and practical (development of the state policy of de-occupation and reintegration of the South of Ukraine) prerequisites. The purpose of the article was to determine and empirically verify the main directions of social exclusion under enemy rule. Based on the methodological principles of existential philosophy, neo-Marxism, psychological theories of alienation, the ideas of M. Auger and M. Castells regarding the structuring of social spaces, an in-depth interview with residents of the right-bank Kherson region who were under Russian occupation in March - November 2022 was determined by the method of empirical research. In the course of the study, four forms of social alienation were distinguished - existential, spatial, praxeological and group, each of which characterizes a certain aspect of social relations in the occupation; the general trend towards the growth of social marginalization and anomie is determined; the transformation of public space into a territory of danger and its further ghettoization was ascertained; active use of fear and terror by the occupying power as tools of social coercion has been proven. The researcher emphasizes that under the enemy government, the main factor of social alienation is the hostile attitude towards the person on the part of the state, which is represented by the occupiers, and the social institutions captured by them, the imposition of unwanted and unacceptable values and models of social role behavior on our compatriots. The authors come to a conclusion about the formation of a special form of social alienation in the occupation - moral homelessness, which is characterized by the loss of social subjectivity and the minimization of social activity due to an all-encompassing feeling of fear. At the same time, there is an artificial narrowing and deformation of the structure of social space, the destruction of the boundaries between public and private against the background of the arbitrariness of the authorities and the absolute insecurity of the population. People feel like strangers in their own homes, and the main source of fear is not military actions, but the occupation order.

Keywords: moral homelessness; occupation; social alienation; social space; social fear.

1 Introduction

From the first days of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, the Kherson and Zaporizhzhia regions were at the epicenter of the offensive of enemy troops. Due to the repeated superiority of the Russians in personnel, weapons and military equipment, the situation in the Southern direction developed especially tragically. Already by the beginning of March, the occupying units had covered more than 180 km and stopped near the village of Kamianske is 35 km from Zaporizhzhia, and on the Right Bank they reached the borders of Dnipropetrovsk region and created a serious threat to Kryvbas. As of the end of 2023, after a series of successful counteroffensive operations by the Ukrainian army, there remain several hundred thousand Ukrainians under the control of the enemy. Unfortunately, amidst the chaotic events of the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war, the fate of these individuals is mentioned less frequently. The most tragic thing is that our compatriots under occupation are gradually becoming strangers in their native land. After the establishment of the occupation regime, they first lose all civil and social rights, then in the course of active colonization, displacement of the population and Russification - the symbolic space where their social identity was formed, and during forced passportization - and the rest of the basic rights (in particular, the right to life). As a result, social alienation arises - a social phenomenon that characterizes an internal gap between interests, aspirations, expectations, motives of human activity and social roles and functions that are actually performed by him in a specific socio-historical environment. During the occupation, it turns into a group phenomenon on the basis of belonging to a certain social (repression against ATO participants and pro-Ukrainian activists) or national (persecution against Roma) community, the presence of Russian documents

(people without a Russian passport are refused an ambulance call, hemodialysis and the sale of insulin), place of residence (ban on entry to certain settlements without local registration), etc.

Thus, the theoretical prerequisites of the study are the formation of a new view on the nature of social alienation in the occupation, not as a natural result of socio-economic and socio-political processes (as understood by world philosophical thought from Hobbes and Hegel to Baudrillard and Buber), but as a consequence of a purposeful activities of the aggressor state to destroy the existing system of social norms and institutions, destroy or change the composition of social communities, level national cultural values (which is worth only the "favor" of changing the Ukrainian surname to Russian when receiving occupation documents) and instilling social practices of loyalty to the enemy. The practical relevance of this topic is due to the need to develop a comprehensive state policy of de-occupation and reintegration of the South, overcoming social divisions that will arise after liberation, effective resolution of intergroup conflicts, and the fastest possible normalization of life.

2 Materials and Methods

Among the variety of concepts of social alienation, which have been developed in recent decades as a development or denial of the Hegelian-Marxist heritage, a special place is occupied by M. Heidegger's existential principle "Homelessness becomes the fate of the world" [10]. Due to the Russian occupation, more than 500,000 residents of the South of Zaporizhzhia region left their native homes, up to 300,000 of whom left their homes abroad, and 200,000 - to other regions of Ukraine [21]. It is obvious that the longer the enemy reigns on our lands, the less favorable it is for them to return to the Motherland.

People who remain under occupation do not immediately lose their homes and property. Over time, the raskists can confiscate housing, place military equipment in the yard, and equip their positions in residential areas. At first glance, life does not change much, but every day the orders established by the occupiers penetrate deeper into everyday interactions and force people to modify their social behavior. In this context, Jean-Paul Sartre's thoughts acquire an unexpected significance. Sartre about our perception of a new reality: "the other for me is both the thief of my existence and the one through whom the existence that now becomes mine arises" [18]. The invaders deprive people of freedom, confidence in the future, ties with free Ukraine, instead they bring the existence of the "Russian world" - terror, repression, kidnapping and robbery of peaceful people, racketeering, unprincipledness and immorality as new social norms. A similar situation is described by L. Althusser in his reflections on the alienation of power, when the dominant social communities and institutions become openly hostile to people's interests [1]. However, now they are no longer limited to assigning the results of work, as in the middle of the 19th century, but aim to destroy the social and national identity of Ukrainians.

Another reason for social alienation in the occupation is the loss of individual subjectivity, the transformation of a person into a means of achieving a certain goal, the bearer of one or another function [4]. It is worth mentioning only the staged queues to receive Russian humanitarian stuff under the muzzles of machine guns, new "holidays" where people are forcibly driven to create a good picture, or the use of schoolchildren as human shields from Ukrainian artillery. Also, alienation can be considered as a person's loss of subjectivity in communication with significant others. First of all, we are talking about collaborators and Russian "bystanders", who, under the conditions of military-police terror, have such power that during Ukrainian times it was never concentrated in one hand. The consequences of alienation can be feelings of powerlessness, loss