TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LIBER PUBLIC SECURITY: SOCIOCULTURAL APPROACH

Vytautas ŠLAPKAUSKAS

Mykolas Romeris University
Maironio str. 27, LT-44211 Kaunas, Lithuania
E-mail: slapkauskas@mruni.eu
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-9637-6672

Abstract. *Liberal public security is the internal security of the country formed in the interaction of the state and society, based on the requirements of the rule of law and the protection of human rights. The necessary conditions for the establishment of liberal public security are the political regime of liberal democracy and the corresponding dispositive legal regulation. However, these prerequisites are not sufficient, as societal groups must engage in the creation of liberal public security. This creative interaction between state institutions and society groups takes place when the liberalization of classic institutions of social behavior and the self-creation of civil society organizations take place in parallel. In this process, members of society are "liberated from the shackles of morality and religion". This enabled the liberal democratic state to transform law into a modern tool of political power. The separation of law from morality and customs ultimately leads to its actual disappearance in the consciousness of many citizens.*

21st century at the beginning, globalization processes intervened in the process of liberalizing democracy and creating a civil society. The growth of the economic, political and socio-cultural bonding of states and the expansion of cross-border migration of natural and legal persons led to multi-faceted processes of globalization. In their context, the changes in the structure of liberal democratic society and the recovery of dictatorial regimes after the end of the Cold War took place. The establishment of moral relativism led to new social consequences: the individualistic expression of the freedom of physical and legal persons spread, instrumental thinking was formed, the field of politics narrowed to situational politics. Globalization processes lead to growing opportunities for dictatorships to destabilize liberal legal systems. This, in turn, encourages a trend of increasing state control and shrinking liberal public security.

Keywords: *security, liberal public security, liberal democracy, globalization, civil and open society.*

Introduction

The results of the elections of various levels of political power in different Western societies in 2024 demonstrated the turning of a significant part of their people groups to the necessary changes in their national politics. This reflects the sensitivity of societies to the increasing unpredictability of their life chances. This unpredictability is caused by increasingly prevalent changes in the planet's climate and the militant multipolar policy of the major geopolitical entities. The latter constantly creates an unstable geopolitical context in which most small and medium-sized liberal democratic states are forced to react quickly to emerging opportunities and threats. This is how a situational national policy is formed, which cannot stabilize the optimistic creation of a social perspective. The consciousness of liberal democratic societies is not yet ready for this unpredictability of national politics.

Therefore, it is no coincidence that the same question of public security was raised in all liberal democratic societies: which national political force can guarantee the real possibilities of satisfying basic human needs and the predictability of their presence. This general issue is also conditioned by the increasing sensitivity of societies to the growing wealth inequality between the centers and the periphery. This can be seen in the periphery of any liberal democracy, as the development of business and public services is increasingly concentrated in large centers. The established growth vector of the wealth inequality between the centers and

the periphery forces young people to migrate to the centers, and this process causes new challenges not only in the peripheries, but also in the centers. High wealth inequality and migration within the country inevitably actualizes public security to the fore. According to Jason Stanley, "The End of US Democracy Was All Too Predictable" (The End of US Democracy Was All Too Predictable by Jason Stanley - Project Syndicate). Although the author's statement about the "end of US democracy" is too harsh, the insights reveal why the victory of the former president could have been predicted. It was not by chance that US President-elect D. Trump repeatedly emphasized during the election process that he would restore social order.

The formation of situational politics in liberal democratic societies is conditioned not only by the aggressive competition of geopolitical entities, which has turned into a coalition struggle of dictatorship states against democracies (Applebaum, 2024)), but also by the socio-cultural vulnerability of the security of liberal democracy (Šlapkauskas, 2024). Both groups of factors are intertwined in the global crisis, and therefore, from a sociocultural point of view, it can be assumed that the nature of liberal public security will inevitably change in the near future. The sociocultural approach to security is defined in these scientific publications (Šlapkauskas, 2021, p. 157-159; 2022, p. 26-28).

The object of research is the changes in liberal democratic societies and their public security. The purpose of the research is to reveal the trends of the further development of liberal public security based on a socio-cultural point of view. Research methods: the research is based on document analysis and modeling of society's social development.

Liberal public security and its social limits

Security is a state of protection, self-protection against dangers, and confidence in one's knowledge. This threefold interpretation of the meaning of security is due to the fact that security itself expresses a relationship in which there are no threats to the participants in the relationship. There can be variety of relations: the person themselves with themselves, with other people, with and between their groups, with the objects of nature, with work and its tools, and with God. The reasons for the occurrence of threats may also be due to: 1) subjective reasons - for example, the subjective interpretation of the behavior of the relationship participant(s) as posing a threat; 2) the emergence and functioning of objective threats - for example, those independent of the will of the participants in the relationship; or 3) mixed relationships - for example, those arising from subjective desire to control threats, thus generating new threats. Security therefore includes objective security, a sense of security (subjective security), and confidence in security (lack of doubt) (Šlapkauskas, 2022, p. 30).

Public security is such mutual relations between state institutions and public groups and their organizations that do not pose threats to the individual and law and order. Most of the threats to the individual, - writes B. Buzan, - arise from the fact that people live in a socio-cultural environment that generates inevitable social, economic and political pressure (Buzan, 1997. p. 71). Four types of social threats are usually distinguished: physical threats (pain, injury, death), economic threats (possession or destruction of property, deprivation of opportunities for employment or use of resources), threats to rights (imprisonment, denial of human rights) and threats to status (public humiliation). These types of threats usually occur not one at a time, but several at once.

The nature of public security of any society is formed in the conditions of the political-legal regime prevailing in the country. In the conditions of the dictatorship, imperative legal regulation prevails, based on the provision "everything forbidden, which is not allowed by law".

This means that the behavior of members of society and the expression of freedom are totally controlled by special state institutions. Most of the members of the society usually adapt to live in a political regime that restricts their freedom and strictly controls them. As a result, an outwardly deceptive appearance of calm public security is established, whose unpredictable changes can be suddenly triggered by any political incidents that have occurred.

Liberal public security is the internal security of the country formed in the interaction of the state and society, based on the requirements of the rule of law and the protection of human rights. In the conditions of liberal democracy, a prevails dispositive legal regulation: everything is allowed that is not prohibited by the protection of human rights and laws. Public order is created on the basis of the protection of human rights and freedoms, which must guarantee public security. This means that the freedom of natural and legal persons is limited by the requirement not to violate human rights and laws. Compliance with this requirement is monitored by institutional and social controls. The purpose of these controls is to prevent threats to human rights and freedoms. Under the conditions of a liberal democracy, a liberal public security is formed, the stability of which allows predicting possible reactions of social groups to political and economic changes in the development of the state.

Liberal public security develops in the country when the process of creation and functioning of liberal democracy provides: 1) all members of society the protection of human rights and opportunities to satisfy their basic interests; 2) when external and internal threats arising from other states are not directed at this process. Then, in the socio-cultural development of society, such relationships of people, the effects of their interactions and activities prevail, which guarantee the peaceful realization of the basic needs of a person and his social development. This kind of socio-cultural development is illustrated by the 20th century. The "quiet revolution" that took place in the Western world in the second half: 1) shifted from a strong focus on material values and physical security to a greater concern for the quality of life; 2) the political skills of societies expanded, allowing them to play a more important role in making important political decisions (Inglehart, 2016). In the process of the "Quiet Revolution", the concept of quality of life was linked to the pacifist cultivation of peace, which became an important part of the social way of life.

It is very important to emphasize that in the context of the development of liberal public security, a new political orientation of members of society towards the absolutization of freedom and the creation of an open society, based on economic competition under market conditions, is being formed. This political orientation of society corresponds to the basic postulates of modern liberalism and functioned particularly successfully after the end of the Cold War until the advent of the era of globalization. This ensured the pacifist nature of the further development of liberal public security, the establishment of which gradually limited the socio-cultural preparation of societies by military means to ensure the protection of national security.

Features of the formation of liberal public security before globalization

The formal basis for the formation of liberal public order and the security it generates is the preparation of a liberal democratic constitution and its legalization. The country's political community legitimizes the main law of the country through a referendum, which defines human rights and freedoms, the conditions for the formation of state management institutions, the rights and duties of officials, and their political and legal responsibilities. The Constitution is promulgated publicly, and this basic law of society is a legal act of direct implementation. Legal principles and norms declared by the Constitution must be observed and implemented by all

legal subjects of the country. The behavior of all members of society – natural and legal persons – is further modeled by legal principles and norms that correspond to the spirit of liberalism and are adopted democratically. All legal acts are publicly announced so that members of the public can familiarize themselves with them. They cannot go against the country's constitution.

Liberalization of democracy

A formal legal basis is not sufficient for the creation of liberal public order and the security it generates, because at the beginning of this process, all subjects of legal relations do not have the necessary competence and practical experience. Therefore, the development of the practice of implementation of the principles of the rule of law and the protection of human rights is a long-term process in which the democratic decisions of management and human relations are liberalized.

Liberalization of democracy is limited by the structure of the society that was formed earlier. It is the structure of society, the elements of which - social institutions, social groups, social organizations and forms of social action - are linked by mutual relations. Although specific societies are unique, they are characterized by social institutions of the same nature, which not only structure the society, but also connect other elements of the social structure with each other. From the point of view of human existence and forms of action, five institutions of social organization are usually distinguished - family, school, church, workplace, state. These social institutions are interconnected by the institutions of social behavior - morality, religion and law. Institutions of social behavior regulate the behavior and functioning of individuals, their groups and organizations. It is on the basis of morality, religion and law as social institutions that the social and personal connections and relationships of individuals are formed. These social institutions are linked by their normative nature.

The main function of the social structure is to constantly "control" the creation of reality in such a way as to ensure the regularity and predictability of the social behavior of individuals and their groups, the continuity of society's social security and social existence. It is implemented on the basis of the social nurturing of institutions of social behavior - morality, religion and law. Thus, morality, religion and law are tools for controlling the behavior of members of society. Therefore, the liberalization of democracy means, above all, the liberalization of the institutions of social behavior. This can be achieved when the status of morality and religion is "changed" through constitutional regulation. They are legalized in the constitution as an individual option. Further creation of social reality and its control takes place only on the basis of legal acts.

The "liberation from the screws of morality and religion" of the liberal democratic society results in the decline of the role of the classical social order and its control institutions. H. Berman (1999), F. Hayek (1998), P. Berger and Th. Luckmann (1999) research allows us to say that a model of legal order of a communal nature was formed and functioned in the development of society, which is expressed by classical security control mechanisms and social institutions (Šlapkauskas, 2022, p. 28-32). Before dictatorship or liberalization processes, the legal order of society was more based on mutual control of individuals and their groups, called social control. State control institutions usually perform only general supervision of internal security. Thus, the liberalization of the role of classical institutions of social behavior influenced changes in the model of legal order and other institutions of social organization, such as family, school, church.

In the process of the liberalization of public relations and the reduction of the role of social control of society, the state needs to model such a legal order that would meet the

ideology of liberalism and ensure reliable control of the internal order. In this process, the state transforms law into an instrument of its political power to construct a liberal legal order. Law is now seen as a mere tool of the state's political power, independent of other systems of social regulation, especially the support of morality and custom. It is no longer considered that the law is effective because of its harmony with the customs of the nation. The opposite is claimed: the effectiveness of law comes from the concentration of political power. A modern legal system is understood as a special set of government power mechanisms using a rationally developed legal doctrine, which is created, interpreted and applied by specialized state legal institutions. For legislators and ordinary citizens, law becomes a purely technical regulation that often lacks a clear moral element (Cotterrell, 1997, p. 66).

It can be said that the creation of technical law in the context of the establishment of moral relativism leads to changes in the legal and moral consciousness of society: 1) members of society do not know technical law. Therefore, they do not take over the content of the new institution of legal behavior. As a result, the social significance of law decreases; 2) in the process of establishment of moral relativism, the common moral duties of the members of society disappear, but moral sensitivity does not finally disappear. On the basis of the remnants of moral sensitivity, society, especially its young generations, assimilates human rights and freedoms. Therefore, it can be stated that the general morality of society is reduced to the moral content of the expression of human rights and freedoms. The erosion of shared moral obligations leads to the contraction of social responsibility. Therefore, the expression of the negative freedom of its members without the awareness of legal responsibility takes root in society (Šlapkauskas, 2009, p. 318-319).

Without the awareness of legal responsibility, the growing scope of negative freedom of individuals destroys the relationship between the values and norms of behavior of the former common culture and forms a new mass culture that interprets life as entertainment, as a show. This new mass culture establishes a pacifist concept of life and security in the public consciousness. Therefore, it is not by chance that the subjects of this culture react sensitively to the public examination of security threats and promote the ostrich thinking: if we don't threaten anyone, then nobody threatens us either. Even after the COVID-19 pandemic and Russia's aggressive war in Ukraine, Western liberal democratic societies are not ready to reinterpret the meaning of their social life.

Challenges of self-development of an open civil society

Ignoring the role of morality in social relations "paves the way" not only for moral pluralism, but also for the competition of democratic models. Under the conditions of the development of moral pluralism, the model of pluralistic democracy gradually takes hold. This model is based on the idea that democracy is more effective when the nation participates in governance through the competing interests of individual groups in society. According to the pluralist democracy model, democracy is a system in which many organizations operate independently of government and in pursuit of own interests pressurize and even challenge it for to government (Janda, Berry, Goldman, 2004, pp. 16-24).

Thus, the pluralist theory of democracy focuses attention on organized groups and puts forward a new criterion for democratic governance: the government must be sensitive not to public opinion or general security, but to organized groups of citizens. This means that the construction of a liberal legal order becomes an object of interaction and possible manipulation by competing groups. Therefore, it inevitably moves away from its social purpose - to guarantee the dynamic balance of freedom and security for the majority of society members.

A liberal democratic state seeks to avoid the formation of radical pluralism. Therefore, the government promotes the formation of an open - civil society. Civil society is a form of development of an open society, expressing the organizational ability of a civil nation to peacefully control the activities of its state institutions so that they respect natural rights and at the same time guarantee the nation's internal and external security.

Currently, we know two concepts of civil society - Western and post-Hegelian (Seligman, 2004, p.24). The Western concept of civil society emphasizes the creation of open public organizations, which can be: a) a counterweight to the state's control over the protection of human rights, b) a peacemaker and arbiter between the state and other public interest groups, c) curbing the state's desire to dominate society and atomize it. Thus, the strength of open NGOs and their independence from state institutions' interference in their activities are emphasized.

The post-Hegelian concept of civil society emphasizes the contradictions of public and private, general and partial interests in society and their solution in the field of the political state. Thus, it is not the civil society, but the state that is put forward as the arbiter of conflicting social relations. Accordingly, the function of social control arising not from society but from the state is emphasized. The essence of this tradition is the inseparability of the nation state and the nation. This feature is typical of Central Eastern European societies. They are torn by an internal functional contradiction: to serve the state and to control the authorities. The essential features of the concept of civil society in Central Eastern Europe are the initiative of individuals, their active association into elite groups and, with their help, striving to enter government and self-government institutions. Therefore, we constantly monitor a large number of candidates participating in the elections to the parliament and municipal councils.

An open civil society with a Western orientation is formed when its active members of society voluntarily gather and create a non-profit organization capable of independently controlling the protection of human rights and freedoms, providing various non-commercial services to other members of society, and promoting the organizational development of social relations among members of society through various means. The increasing organization of society is the source of the growth of its social capital and power. NGOs rely on it to control the activities of state institutions and politicians, limiting the possibilities of social anarchy and anomie.

21st century at the beginning, there was a strong difference between the civil societies of Western and Central Eastern Europe. For example, in Western Europe, about 6.9 percent were employed in the non-profit sector. workforce, and counting volunteers - 10.1 percent. And in Central Europe, 1.3 percent received wages in the non-profit sector. of the total population, another 1.1 percent. works voluntarily, without remuneration. In the countries of Central Europe, the non-profit sector concentrates most of the workforce in the fields of culture, recreation and social care. In Lithuania, the public sector generates slightly more than 0.5 percent. of all jobs created in Lithuania. It should also be mentioned that in the United Kingdom, the non-profit sector generates 4.8 percent, in Germany - 3.6 percent, and in France - 3.3 percent. gross domestic product (Ilgius, 2008).

The impact of globalization on the evolution of liberal public security

Development of liberal public security in the 21st century at the beginning intertwined with the formation processes of globalization, which inevitably, for example, international migration and threats of international terrorism, changed the nature of liberal security in European democracies. The prevention of threats of international terrorism led to the

deployment of armed police officers and their constant presence in public space. They have become a necessary part of liberal public security.

The dynamically growing economic and political interdependence of states and the cross-border migration of natural and legal persons led to multi-faceted processes of globalization, the duration of which is described by the term globalization era. Currently, two periods of globalization development can be distinguished - before and after the COVID-19 pandemic. The first period of development of the era of globalization is characterized by three intertwined processes: 1) the formation of the global information civilization; 2) formation of supra-national political communities and their related identities; and 3) the developmental effects of globalization. In the second period, the unification process of dictatorship countries was revealed, which is directed against the democratic countries of the world and especially against the liberal democratic states of Western civilization. During this period, S. Huntington's insights regarding future civilizational conflicts were confirmed (Huntington, 1994) and in the context of their development, the sociocultural vulnerability of the security of liberal democracy became apparent (Šlapkauskas, 2024, p. 299-314).

The formation of the era of globalization intervenes in the development of liberal public security and constantly "forces" officials to redraw its social boundaries. Therefore, when analyzing the development of liberal public security, it is necessary to distinguish two periods: 1) from 1989. (the fall of the Berlin Wall) before the COVID-19 pandemic; 2) the period after the COVID-19 pandemic. The political analysis of the first period revealed fundamental changes:

1. After the collapse of the Soviet system of totalitarianism, a wave of liberal democracy constitutions was created in Europe and the European constitutional model with control of the constitutionality of laws was established in Central Eastern European countries (Šlapkauskas, 2013, p. 28). This fundamental change encouraged the societies of European countries to believe in the power of liberal democracy and to liberalize public relations.

2. In the context of the interaction between market competition and the growth of the quality of life, the policy of promoting moral relativism and consumerism prevailed in Western societies (Taylor, 1996). In the context of its development, the military power of democratic countries was radically reduced and an instrumental approach to law and security was formed (Šlapkauskas, 2006, p. 83-90). This experience was also adopted by Central Eastern European societies.

3. In the second half of this period, most countries of the world entered a completely new stage of their development, which is characterized by globalization, IT and digitalization, and the interaction of rapid and mass movement of individuals. In the process of interaction between globalization and the mass movement of individuals, there is an "epoch shift in cultural worldview" (Tomlinson, 2002, p. 48). The interaction of these processes weakens the integrality of societies.

4. In the context of the interaction between the processes of climate change and ecological degradation and economic migration, the weakness of the power of the national political authorities to respond in a timely and appropriate manner to the challenges of new threats became apparent. As a result, the growth of society's quality of life has slowed down. Overcoming new challenges promotes changes in national politics: a) changes in the concept of political power, b) the formation of new political and economic communities and their related identities. Political power does not have to be traditionally associated with fixed borders and limited territory. It can be understood as a feature of basic democratic principles or basic democratic rights that can be rooted in self-regulating associations ranging from cities, counties,

states to nation-states, regions, and wider global networks (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, Perrason, 2002, p. 485).

5. At the end of this period - in 2014, the Russian Federation attacked Ukraine and, using hybrid military power, seized the Crimean Peninsula and part of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions from it. The pacifist reaction of Western societies to Russian aggression only encouraged the expansion of its military power and that of other dictatorship states.

In the second period - after the end of COVID-19, the global insecurity crisis took hold, which was especially deepened by the new phase of the aggressive war in Ukraine launched by the Russian Federation in 2022. Russia's nearly three-year war across Ukraine revealed:

1. The weakened military power of the European Union states and the political polarization taking place within their societies, which radically reduces the functionality of liberal public security.

2. In the first period of the era of globalization, the energy and economic dependence of liberal democratic countries on the resources of dictatorship countries was formed. This situation in the second period limits their political options to enable Ukraine to win the war against the Russian Federation.

3. The context of globalization is favorable for dictatorial regimes to create programs and hybrid instruments of permanent hostile influence on Western societies. Dictatorship regimes pursue long-term goals - to control and dominate the development of liberal democratic countries affected by globalization. To achieve this goal, first of all, it is necessary to destabilize the public order and security of liberal democratic societies. Deterioration of the state of public security in the society results in the increase of mistrust in their national political authority.

4. In the 21st century, autocracies rely not on a single dictator, but on complex networks of kleptocratic financial structures, surveillance technologies, and professional propagandists that operate across regimes. International condemnation and economic sanctions cannot dislodge autocrats. Therefore, Anne Applebaum and other authors urge democracies to fundamentally reorient their policies to combat a new kind of threat (Autocracy, Inc.: The Dictators Who Want to Run the World).

Social consequences of the interaction between the liberalization of democracy and globalization

The liberalization of democracy leads not only to positive changes in societies, but also to the formation of shadowy social phenomena that do not strengthen liberal public security:

1. In the consciousness of many citizens, the interaction of democratic liberalization and moral relativism changes the social role of law, because they do not have the necessary competence to know and master technical law. Different social interpretations of compliance with the same legal norms circulate in the groups of society. Legal pluralism and conspiracy theories are formed on this basis, the spread of which is encouraged by dictatorships in Western societies through their purposeful actions. The latter process in particular poses new threats to the functionality of liberal public security. States, seeking to create law as an effective and independent instrument of public leadership and social control, end up with the opposite result: technical law is unknown to society and therefore not socially effective. Therefore, liberal democratic states face additional tasks of institutional control of the behavior of social groups.

2. In the development of the interaction between moral relativism and technical law, a consumer society and its instrumental thinking are formed - the behavior of natural and legal persons is based on the principle of reducing costs and increasing profits. This thinking aims to

justify the social value of the state's political and economic phenomena, which often contradicts the socio-cultural nature of the society.

3. The behavior of natural and legal persons "freed" from moral control is associated with the right of human self-expression. The expansion of the subjective implementation of the right of human self-expression and the limited possibilities of the state to control this process led to a change in the consciousness of the new generations: an expression of individual freedom that avoids responsibility is formed.

4. The social assessment of violations of the law and even crimes lose its moral-value dimension. This is clearly demonstrated by the results of the 2024 elections held in Western societies.

All the social consequences of the liberalization of democracy are interrelated and allow us to say that there is a weakening of the connection between citizens and their state. In the conditions of the intensification of globalization, the weakening of the connection between the state and citizens promotes migration and turns into a factor in the formation of a new society of openness. A "holey" open society is forming (Aleksandravičius, Riquier, Šlapkauskas, 2019, 14-19), which limits the self-made of civil society. The formation of a "holey society" corresponds to the concept of "liquid society" used by Z. Bauman. It is a new form of open society, which is taking shape in the context of the intensification of the development of globalization and poses new challenges to the vitality of the liberal democratic state.

The concept of an open society was first used by the French philosopher Henri Bergson in his work "The Two Sources of Morality and Religion". He defined an open society optimistically - as the unfolding of human spiritual capacities, coinciding with the cultivation of cultural diversity. According to Bergson, humanity will simply have to transition to a state of open society to avoid global problems arising from technological progress that could destroy it. The French philosopher predicted the activation of the spiritual capacities hidden in humanity, as the global danger matures, and the self-preservation instinct responds to it. Activating spiritual capacities will mean empathy, which, by the way, is able to use technological means and thus neutralize their destructive effects (Aleksandravićus, 2017).

However, there is also a non-optimistic concept of an open society created by K. R. Popper. He explained that the term open society emphasizes the general direction of society's development - the creation of a more humane civilization, gradually overcoming various taboos related to the closedness of a particular society. "Our Western civilization was started by the Greeks. <...> they were the first to move from tribalism to humanism (Popper, 1998, p. 178). A society freed from its tribal nature (closedness) can be formed as an open society, if its members recognize a rational personal responsibility. Therefore, Popper emphasizes that "a magical, tribal or collectivist society <...> is called a closed society, and a society in which the individuals living have to make personal decisions - an open society" (Popper, 1998, p. 179). Thus, an open society is a society that has lost its closedness, and this loss and the formation of personal responsibility are essential signs of its difference from a closed society.

The formation and development of an open society is based on the initiative of individuals, their desire to communicate with unknown other people in the name of satisfying their interests and the ability to take personal responsibility. In this process of wide coverage, the rules of social behavior and the practice of observing them must inevitably soften. In other words, there must be a dynamic balance between the openness of society and the rules of social behavior, enabling the expansion of openness itself and limiting the resistance of radical social connections.

According to H. Bergson, "closed-open" society corresponds to its "closed-open" morality and "static-dynamic" religion (Bergson H., 2008). These types of dichotomies are not

MRU
Mykolas Romeris
University

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only related, but also correspond to different types of rules of social behavior. The imperative of rules of social behavior softens in the process of forming an open society. This means that in the process of the expansion of an open society, natural rights must increasingly prevail as a mandatory minimum social morality. Therefore, a dynamic balance of dispositive and imperative models of social behavior is now being formed on the basis of the legal protection of human rights and freedoms. This process of legal technique is increasingly controlled by lawyers rather than politicians or ordinary members of society, who previously based the imperatives of social behavior on values and norms of a moral and religious nature. Most members of an open society do not acquire the necessary legal competence, so the normative aspect of social control inevitably "shrinks" and the institutional aspect of control expands.

In these processes, it is increasingly noticeable that the social morality generated by the protection of human rights and freedoms is not enough to create strong social ties. On the contrary, there is a weakening of social ties and a strengthening of depersonalization. These processes change the understanding of society itself as a sociocultural phenomenon and remind us of K. Popper's insight: when an open society loses its organic character, it can gradually turn into an abstract or depersonalized society (Popper, 1998, p. 180). Therefore, this process of depersonalization of societies leads to the rising concern of citizen groups to protect their identities and political opposition to the deepening of openness.

The tendency to oppose the deepening of public openness is noticeable in the societies of the EU and other countries of the world. The tension of civilization is especially felt during the stages of social change. According to Popper, "it is a tension caused by the great effort that life in an open and partly abstract society requires of us; I mean the effort to rationalize our behavior, refrain from satisfying at least some of our social-emotional needs, control our behavior, and take responsibility. <...> this is the price we have to pay for every step forward in knowledge, intelligence, cooperation, mutual assistance; in the end, it is the price ... that we have to pay for being human" (1998, p. 182).

Especially in the development of IT, the conflict between the possibilities of self-expression of individuals and the general culture of their implementation became apparent. For example, under the influence of these processes, social relationships based on ephemerality and anonymity are formed and the social behavior that expresses them is not associated with the belief of individuals in following common behavioral norms and values. In other words, under the influence of the mentioned processes, a new wave of civilizational tension arose, which is a sign of the crisis of the development of an open society.

The crisis in the development of an open society signals profound changes in the social structure. Although the social structure of the modern open society is very complex, its relative weakness in liberal democracies is determined by the functional weakening of institutions of social behavior. It is the socio-cultural condition of compliance with general rules of behavior that "reports" whether the social structure sufficiently connects the great variety of social groups, organizations and their forms of operation in such a way that an open society can still be described as a relatively integral whole, as a system. In other words, the normative power of society's social behavior is based on the belief of individuals to adhere to common behavioral norms and values. If this belief is not strong or even disappears, then the development of an open society enters a crisis, which can only be overcome by additional strengthening of civil society. For example, during the COVID-19 pandemic, it became particularly clear that some members of Lithuanian society do not believe in and even fight against vaccination, do not believe in scientific achievements, and in the service of government institutions for the welfare of the country. There is clearly a noticeable weakening of the belief in following general rules of conduct.

Society is the subject of the development of its own openness, because the intensity of the civilizational process "depends to a large extent on the participants of the social process: on their culture of thinking and interaction, on their ability to realize that human knowledge and actions are characterized by fallibility (Grigas R., 2007, p. 35 -36). On the other hand, the development of its openness is also determined by the interactions of external and internal circumstances. This interaction can also "create" such a socio-cultural context of society's existence and development (the context of progress, stagnation or regression can prevail), the impact of which on the development of society's openness often does not depend on the thinking and activities of individuals.

Observations of real sociocultural phenomena and processes reveal that there are still many elements of a closed society in social life, such as maintaining kinship ties, local and relational communities, publicly speaking about common dangers and overcoming them with joint efforts. But on the other hand, it is also increasingly noticeable that the phenomena of depersonalization of social relations, such as the lack of social empathy, promotes economic migration. The phenomena of depersonalization are strengthened when the modern openness of society is formed spontaneously - without the mutual commitment of the state and civil society. In particular, the socio-cultural expression of indifference in a civically weak society causes not only emigration, but also promotes the formation of a "hollow identity" (P. Aleksandravičius, 2019) or a hollow democracy (Mair, 2013).

Thus, after the end of the COVID-19 pandemic and the continued aggressive war of the Russian Federation in Ukraine, the social effects of the interaction between the liberalization of democracy and globalization that have become evident allow us to say that a socio-cultural crisis of liberal democratic societies has formed. The essential external symptom of this crisis is the downward trend of liberal public security. In the context of its development, the state's institutional control will continue to expand and the need to consciously shape society's sociocultural approach to national, public and personal security will increase.
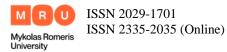
Conclusions

Liberal public security prior to globalization is formed by the state apparatus liberalizing democracy and institutions of social behavior of society. In the process of liberalization of institutions of social behavior of society, social control weakens and changes in institutions of social organization become stronger.

In the process of liberalizing public relations and reducing the role of public social control, the state "liberates" law from moral support and turns it into a tool of its political power. Legal acts of a technical nature are taking effect.

The creation of technical law in the context of moral relativism leads to changes in the legal and moral consciousness of society: 1) members of society do not know technical law and therefore do not adopt the content of the new institution of legal behavior; 2) the general moral duties of society members "shrink" to the requirement to respect human rights and freedoms. The erosion of shared moral obligations leads to the contraction of social responsibility. The expression of negative freedom without the awareness of legal responsibility takes root in society.

The social consequences of the interaction between the liberalization of democracy and globalization allow us to state the socio-cultural crisis of the societies of liberal democracy, the essential external sign of which is the tendency of the decline of liberal public security. In the context of its development, the state's institutional control will inevitably expand and the need

to shape society's sociocultural approach to national, public and personal security will inevitably expand.

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