### Multidisciplinary Journal of School Education Vol. 14, 2025/2 No. 28

DOI: https://doi.org/10.35765/mjse.2025.1428.17



e- ISSN 2543-8409

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# Between the imagined and the existing culture: The consequences of biographical learning after conviction

Submitted: 30.09.2024 Accepted: 22.09.2025 Published: 31.12.2025



#### Keywords:

adaptation, cultural legitimacy, biographical learning, social exclusion, former convict

#### **Abstract**

Research objectives (aims) and problem(s): This article analyzes the subjective trajectories of a former convict in the context of social exclusion. The aim of the study was to reconstruct the experience of becoming a free individual and to examine the opportunities offered by cultural norms. The analysis sought to identify and interpret the key features of the data corresponding to the research question.

Research methods: Based on an in-depth interview with a former female convict, the study attempted to identify her subjective world, her situation in a new, culturally sanctioned reality, and to conceptualize this reality in an interactional dimension. The collected data were examined through interpretive hermeneutic-phenomenological analysis. The research employed the biographical method and an in-depth interview.

**Structure of the article:** The paper presents a theoretical introduction, followed by methodological assumptions and research results.

Research findings and their impact on the development of educational sciences: The resulting narrative was analyzed to describe the former convict's personal journey of re-learning in a host culture. The analysis focused on the subject's social status as well as on her attempts to step into a new role and overcome mistrust toward people, places, and events. The empirical analysis revealed that the subject relied on complex self-reconstruction mechanisms operating at the intersection of the imagined and existing culture.

Conclusions and/or recommendations: The research enabled an in-depth examination of the social adaptation strategies of both the ex-convict and the surrounding community. The added value of this study is that it provides a better understanding of the complexity of post-sentence learning processes under imposed social pressures.

#### Introduction

In this section of a research project focusing on a former female convict's experiences of exclusion and stigmatization in the social and cultural world, an attempt was made to reconstruct the subject's spatiotemporal reality in the process of biographical learning. The former convict's struggle to acquire a sense of agency while adapting to the cultural reality outside prison, as well as her objectification in interpersonal relationships were analyzed in the context of self-categorization, through which personal identity is projected onto social identity. These opposing poles of self-categorization, in which an individual does not "fit in" based on their understanding of a given category, have subjective consequences, as the resulting sociocultural narrative causes the individual to experience anxiety about the potential risks arising from an atrophied awareness of the host culture. From this perspective, the risk of exclusion, a dominant context in the symbolic dimension of the discourse, indicates a limited sense of personal agency, since reality can be constructed and manipulated by others.

An individual relies on culturally defined patterns of everyday life insofar as their behavior remains unquestioned and their attempts to reenter society do not expose the illusory nature of those efforts. Selective and momentary participation in culture prevents individuals from interacting fully with others and from formulating, interpreting, and defining their own responses to these interactions. At the same time, they cannot change or control personal relationships due to an inability to assess others' motives, reconstruct their attitudes, and use that understanding for their own purposes. The theoretical and empirical perspective of biographical learning in the context of an individual's cultural, social, personal,

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educational, and biographical capital (cf. Krawczyk-Bocian, 2023, pp. 70–74) requires further investigation. Peter Alheit (1995, pp. 57–74) understands biographical learning as "the self-creative actions of individuals who reflectively organize their experiences in a way that generates a coherent personality and identity, gives meaning to their life story, and provides a communicable, socially viable perspective on the world of life that guides their actions."

Elżbieta Dubas (2017, p. 71) points to the potential of using biographical knowledge through the exercise of biographical competence, which supports personal development and the successful fulfillment of life tasks, including educational processes. Reflection on one's own biography gives rise to autobiographical reflection, which reveals the phenomenon of learning from one's own life story, the aim of which is to define identity as the ongoing (re)definition of the self (Dubas, 2011, p. 212). Moreover, one's vision of personal destiny can shape a person's attitude toward events that have occurred or are yet to occur and becomes apparent through an understanding of the Other and the recognition of their experience in one's own. Thus, learning from another person's biography represents a form of encounter between the Self and the Other in biographical experience (Dubas, 2011, p. 91).

Social exclusion is both a state and a process: cumulative in nature, it manifests itself through the dissolution of social and family ties, tends to reproduce itself (cf. Budzyńska, 2018, p. 31), and deprives individuals of the ability to participate fully in social life (Giddens, 2007, p. 346). Extreme social exclusion occurs when the personal factors that hinder an individual's participation in these dimensions of social life are mutually reinforcing rather than complementary (cf. Muras, 2006, p. 14). According to Oliwa-Ciesielska (2016, p. 121), the boundary separating a sense of belonging from that of social exclusion is fluid in the modern world. Kacprzak (2023, p. 34) observes that offenders are subjected to normative exclusion because they become bound by the rules of the axiological anthroposphere.

## **Methodological assumptions**

This study was undertaken to analyze the biographical learning of social roles by a female ex-convict. The aim of the research was to reconstruct the events and circumstances that provided the context for the woman's biographical learning as she sought to participate in social and cultural life after her release from prison. The following research question was formulated: How did the subject adapt to a contestably evolving culture during the post-incarceration transition crisis from the perspective of biographical learning? An attempt was made to explore the former convict's microworld, a world burdened by past life events, as a distinct phenomenon (Moustakas, 2001, p. 40). The study examined the subject's efforts to develop an individual social identity in a world that was defined by her past (Schütz, 2008, p. 12), the significance that she attributed to her experiential constructs, her ability to transcend the boundaries of sociocultural adaptation, and her personal journey toward reintegration.

In line with the research concept, the ex-convict's painful experiences, potential sense of predictability, and specific activities extending beyond generalized constructs were observed. The research framework was based on an interpretivist paradigm with a biographical perspective (Urbaniak-Zając, 2011). The subject was an individual who had made a conscious decision to reflect on her life and narrate her story. Her life history was regarded as significant at the moment it was told, as it did not represent a "rigid construct" (Segiet, 2021, p. 301) and could be reinterpreted. The participant was a 45-year-old woman who had been released after serving a long-term prison sentence. She was single, had vocational education, and was living with her mother in a small town at the time of the interview. She had a son who was six years old at the time of her conviction.

Empirical data for analysis were obtained through an autobiographical narrative interview (Schütze, 2012; Kaźmierska & Waniek, 2020). The collected biographical material was regarded as a means rather than an end of the study; therefore, it was not analyzed strictly in accordance with Fritz Schütze's procedure. However, the analysis employed a context-sensitive

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approach to enhance the depth and precision of the data (Alheit, 2011, pp. 7–21). After the interview, additional questions were posed to expand the gathered knowledge and elicit information about the subject's ability to assume new roles and "stage" the imagined reality; the events accompanying her transition to life outside prison; and her capacity to emulate the time-structured patterns of life in the host culture.

The study was conducted in accordance with the principles of research ethics. The aim of the analysis was to identify and interpret the key features of the data relating to the former convict's subjective interpretation of reality and to conceptualize this reality in an interactional dimension. The subject was selected for the study because she exhibited a strong awareness of her status as an ex-convict.

# Adaptation to a socially exclusive culture during the post-incarceration transition crisis in the context of biographical learning

A detailed analysis of the subject's biographical narrative, which forms the core of her life activities, suggests that the trajectory of her transition from life in prison to freedom is a conglomerate of difficult and challenging events that generate tension and that trial and error is her main learning strategy in the process of transition.

The subject is unfamiliar with social codes, which leads to misunderstandings and repeated experiences of failure in many areas of daily life:

I got out of prison, right? But I can't comprehend what's going on. It's not like I have 'ex-convict' written on my forehead, but in the town where I live, people point at me because everyone knows everything about everyone [...] I'd like to move on, but I'm alone, alone with everything. There's no point in thinking about friends; my family is a nightmare I had to live with, even though as a child I loved my mum [...] I didn't know it could be different, better, and now maybe I'm paying for the home I had to live in [...]. I fail at every turn, and in prison I felt

disappointed because I was a nobody [...] I live in a moldy flat in an old tenement building where only marginalized people and gypsies live. To try to get things done in town, I hide. I go out when it's raining so I don't meet anyone. [...] They gave me a job cleaning stairwells; I took it so that I have something; I try to survive. [...] I was in a bank and I was shocked even to go in there, let alone ask for help with my affairs.

The stigma of a former convict is a deeply discrediting attribute (Goffman, 2005, p. 33) that opens up broad possibilities for interpreting personal development and risk-taking in the context of objectification and personal agency, since the subject is willing to take risks and change her life by releasing her transformative potential.

The sense of helplessness and the perceived need to conceal her stigma play an important role in the woman's personal growth. She has developed a personal attitude toward time that is shaped by her fear of social stigmatization. Life after prison has deprived her of a sense of agency, and she is unable to steer her life in a more constructive direction because of persistent memories of negative past events (cf. Boniwell & Zimbardo, 2007, pp. 117–124).

The woman had atoned for her transgressions by admitting guilt and serving her sentence; therefore, the process of acculturation through the motivating support of the host culture would appear both obvious and well-deserved. Life in prison and life before prison elicit intrusive memories (Nowak, 2020, p. 72) that are recalled automatically, without conscious volition, and lead to a sense of disorganizing emotional discomfort:

I know that I killed and probably committed the greatest crime, because it was my own child [...] I am still angry with myself, but no one is interested in me. I hope that something will change. Life in prison changed me. I hoped and believed in the people who brought me to my rock bottom and to drinking myself unconscious [...] practically no one even visited me—I can count them on my fingers—during all these years in prison. [...] In freedom—what freedom?—I feel frozen, paralyzed.

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At the same time, increasing levels of acculturation stress caused by a growing sense of social and cultural barriers prevent the subject from forming diverse and satisfying interpersonal relationships, which, in turn, may prompt her to adopt a ghettoization strategy and abandon any efforts to live independently.

A prolonged learning period, spanning her long prison sentence, followed by a terrifying freedom and a lack of personal resources for navigating cultural and social reality, constitutes the framework for yet another "stage play" that the subject must perform. In addition, the woman's choice of an extreme lifestyle and her gradual withdrawal from life can be interpreted as her inability to reconstruct or replicate life patterns that are consistent with cultural norms. This atypical adaptive mechanism manifests itself in the subject's reactive and stagnant behavior under extremely difficult conditions. Consequently, her confidence in a better future has been undermined. The stability and quality of her relationships with friends and family prior to incarceration occupy a peripheral position in her personal model of trust. Her attitude toward her gradual descent into a vicious circle contributes to her meaningless life choices.

The dynamics of her growing helplessness, the imposed need to change her life and make an educational effort to acquire projection skills, and her acceptance of her current situation are not perceptually recognized and fall outside the rational learning framework:

I don't expect society to absolve me of violating Article 148, well, not those around me, for whom I will always be a child murderer. I was counting on my brother-in-law from Gdańsk; he told me not to worry, that when I get out, I'll live with him [...] Years behind bars deprived me of even the little things I was entitled to, they took care of everything behind my back [...] I didn't know there were ticket machines and computers. I get stressed at every turn. It'll sound silly, but prison helped me endure these restrictions. I didn't have anything I wanted there either, and I had to be resigned and not show any aggression. [...] I don't know how much longer I can go on like this. I'd like to have the qualifications for a better job, but what can I do? I'm running around in circles;

it's not easy. There are days when I don't know where the time has gone; I'll just drink some kind of alcohol to make myself feel better.

The subject associates her difficult life situation with a practical strategy for coping with time, which, in her opinion, is often wasted. As a result, she is deprived of a sense of personal agency and identity that should constitute the essence of her existence, and she is unable to rely on her biographical experience to achieve a lasting sense of fulfillment. In the post-traumatic growth model described by Moskal (2023, p. 98), intrusive rumination should be regarded as a factor that promotes self-deprecation, whereas reflective rumination enhances personal growth.

The ability to share personal experiences with others is determined by their responses. The narrator remains in a precarious balance due to factors that mark the beginning of a new trajectory: destructive family members, extreme poverty, the emotional consequences of guilt, alcohol abuse, unemployment, and the inability to control her daily life. The cultural sense of time, analyzed in the context of the subject's awareness and experience of time, defines the trajectory of her struggle for time and over time (cf. Sztobryn, 2017, pp. 15–16). The framework of cultural time remains open, which leads the subject to experience cultural anchoring. Yet one might ask whether biographical time, which is embedded in cultural time and operating to the subject's disadvantage, could in fact alleviate her discomfort and enable her to construct an imagined reality.

The culturally objectified dimension of life after prison functions as a mirror in obligatory discourse and compels the woman to lead a passive existence. Traumatic experiences that result in social stigmatization could, in principle, be harnessed to search for solutions that would stabilize the subject's new life. However, due to the social and cultural interpretation of her life story and the enduring risk of the "murderer" stigma, biographical learning occurs consciously, and the subject makes an intentional effort to "unthink" (Marcela, 2002, p. 78) entrenched knowledge structures while spontaneously reflecting on her biography.

Her anxiety becomes self-reinforcing due to mounting threats, rumination over past events, adaptation to the role of an outsider, and the

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ongoing need to manage stigma. This dynamic gives rise to a complex strategy of concealment, omission, and control aimed at avoiding the risk of social exclusion. The subject is forced to submit to a rigid system of social norms that deprive her of any sense of control over her own life:

I feel doubly humiliated, both personally and socially. I will never shake off the feeling that I was capable of taking a child's life in such a cruel way, but this present life is pulling the ground out from under my feet. I can't do anything [...] maybe if my mother were alive, I would have some support, maybe she would want to listen to me. In this situation, I am mentally devastated. I can't comprehend it.

This represents a symbol of learning helplessness from one's own biography. Due to the multifaceted nature of the social reintegration process, the subject is unable to work out an effective strategy for building personal and cultural identity, overcoming trauma, and relinquishing the habit of attaching verbal and mental labels to past life events. The narrator's clash with reality is a harrowing experience that shatters her imagined world and undermines her sense of agency.

In the context of biographical learning and experimentation with cultural totality, the human condition can be defined as the daily process of dealing with stress, confronting the limitations and restrictions associated with stigma and striving for autonomy. A strategy of adaptive conformity that reinforces the subject's sense of order in her hierarchy of values comes at a personal cost that is disproportionate to its reward; namely, the return to society.

The woman's provisional consent to maintain only a peripheral awareness of the post-incarceration transition crisis, which is highly complex and perceived differently by others, attests to the uniqueness of this difficult experience (cf. Ostrowska, 2020, p. 130). An analysis of the subject's current situation indicates that past events exert a stronger hold on her reality than either the present or the future, which prevents her from developing skills of social integration. According to the narrator, most of her life activities are directed toward avoiding even the slightest public suspicion that she is indebted to society.

The fact that she is being controlled by the host culture ceases to be obvious and predictable, and her efforts to conform to cultural patterns assume an adaptive rather than a transformative dimension. The need to lead a double life is an exhausting experience, and the subject is fully aware that returning to her pre-prison identity and reintegrating into society will not be spectacular or even rational in the long term. She adopts a manipulative strategy and a conservative approach in social interactions, which discourages her from making efforts to change her life situation.

The subject is conscious of the system of cultural sanctions resulting from transgression, crossing established boundaries, that brands her as a "deviant" ex-convict, as well as of the fact that her attempts to achieve the projected identity are illusory. The woman's biographical trajectory becomes reified in the process of constructing a false identity and is oriented toward future functioning in culture. Traumatic experiences are inseparable from the negative consequences of her past actions, and the subject is ensnared in a trap of meaningful silence and guilty conscience—if only she were able and willing to listen to her inner voice (Heidegger, 1994, pp. 380–382).

This uncertain and ambiguous reality prevents the woman from breaking through the impasse, forcing her to adopt manipulative strategies, to pretend, to lie, to avoid social interactions, to assume a passive stance, and to rely on mechanisms of illusory autonomy. The subject's biographical narrative suggests that she has not been able to process difficult emotions. The boundary between her life in prison and her "nearly attained freedom" is fragile, and the woman has internalized attempts to actively participate in social and cultural life. However, these efforts are thwarted by a non-inclusive host culture, and the subject experiences stigmatization, loss of identity, a sense of non-belonging, and power-lessness in the process of "becoming human."

By remaining "faithful" to the internalized concept of self-objectification in the host culture and the culturally imposed identity, the subject is deprived of authenticity. Instead of developing potentially functional behaviors, she resorts to behavioral patterns that are simulated for the

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sake of others. For as long as her daily activities were confined to the socializing space of the prison environment, she was unaware that her perceptions of reality were warped. Such distorted thinking prevented her from reflective learning and from achieving a sense of happiness. The subject was unable to cope with the diffusion of roles. She failed to resolve her identity crisis and, as a result, did not establish stable foundations for developing a mature sense of self. The woman never fully identified with the role that she was forced to play in prison, and she lost confidence in her ability to make sound decisions. At the same time, the experience of identity drift and its consequences, namely, her inability to establish meaningful relationships with others, led to emotional numbness.

The realization that social inclusion in an imposed space is an illusory construct (Pospiszyl, 2022, p. 73) prompted the woman to question and conceal her identity, and to develop her own theory of stigma that exacerbated her sense of inadequacy and inferiority (Żeromska-Charlińska, 2010, p. 149). The narrative of this former prisoner convicted of infanticide is a powerful story of marginalization, isolation, and self-exclusion unfolding over time. Due to the complex and multifaceted nature of biographical learning and the post-incarceration transition crisis, the subject feels that her identity has been dominated and distorted by the host culture.

# Synthesis of the results

The narrator's ability to self-reflect and to perceive herself through the eyes of others suggests that she retains a sense of personal identity. In turn, her social identity, namely, her capacity to understand others, is tainted by stigma and a sense of exclusion, which in the future may pave the way for painful, total rejection: the condemnation of both the crime and the person who committed it, thus imposing a negative identity upon her. Cultural norms generate social meanings, shape the complexity of interpersonal relationships, and exert a decisive influence on the former convict's identity and her capacity to participate actively in the social world. The subject should be supported in the process of transcribing

the cultural code (Rogalska-Marasińska, 2017, p. 329), which would enable her to open herself to others, develop her own perceptions of reality, experience the surrounding world through her own perspective, and become acquainted with new concepts and meanings.

Such support could be provided by probation officers, counselors, resocialization therapists, cultural facilitators, and experienced psychologists who, acting as cultural mediators, might organize therapeutic sessions for traumatized, victimized, socially, and culturally excluded individuals in order to improve their physical and mental well-being and their sense of public safety (cf. Kwiatkowski, 2022, pp. 213–214). The reinterpretation and reconstruction of the former convict's biography indicate that the process of her provisional adaptation to a new reality, which poses a radical barrier to social reintegration, entails a certain risk. The woman's newfound freedom, which is an extreme event in itself, forces her to adopt the role of the aggrieved, which further deepens her inability to receive and process social information. As a result, social contexts and situations not only generate specific behaviors, but also amplify and reinforce them.

The subject feels that she is experiencing an internal violation of her sense of personal agency and of undiscovered inner worlds known only to her, which remain unexplored even when decoded. The woman's illusory struggle to adapt to the new world and overcome her anxiety leads to feelings of loneliness, isolation, guilt, incompetence, frustration, and failure. She reflects on cultural and social perspectives and on her lack of personal resources that might facilitate the potential public deconstruction of her deviant identity. After serving her sentence, the woman returned to her old environment, a fact that significantly impeded any attempts at self-rationalization. Consequently, the narrator is unable to express disagreement or critically evaluate her circumstances and the process of qualitative involvement, which negatively affects her relationships with others and fosters a catatonic attitude toward social and cultural participation. The subject is left out and has no time to search for justification or rectification; she feels pressured to experience an epiphany and is once again confronted with stereotypes.

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The issue under discussion is highly complex and cannot be examined exhaustively in this article due to space constraints. Nevertheless, the present findings indicate that biographical learning during inculturation can be hindered if traumatic experiences are not adequately processed during the post-incarceration transition crisis and if transformative efforts are undertaken haphazardly and without professional support.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

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