

## **The Meanings of Learning as Described by Polish Migrant Bloggers**

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*This paper addresses the meanings given to learning by Polish migrant bloggers. It presents the result of an analysis of ten blogs, written by Poles living abroad. The blogs under analysis were chosen on the basis of random sample. The analysed material was categorised by recurring themes, which included: learning in Poland, language acquisition, formal education, learning about the new culture, discovering the social norms of the host society and seeing immigration as an all-round learning experience. Four types of meanings given by authors were distinguished: migration as learning experience, learning as effort which deserves a reward, learning as a change, and learning as adapting to multiculturalism. The meanings were analysed according to the principles of critical discourse analysis. The paper discusses how the meanings given by authors are linked to a broad socio-cultural context. It analyses also the impact of learning into identity creation processes.*

**Keywords:** migration, Internet blogs, learning, discourse analysis

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## **Introduction**

The aim of this paper is to explore the meaning of learning for Polish migrant bloggers. The topic of learning among Polish migrants has been the subject of my research since early 2015. As part of this line of enquiry, I have been analysing the process of learning as experienced by various groups of migrants, expats and foreign students living in Poland. In an effort to create a multidimensional image of learning in a transnational environment, I decided to study the process in which Poles living abroad acquire new knowledge.

Even though Poland still lacks a coherent strategy for integrating migrants and the overall social sentiment suggests that Poles are not open to cultural diversity (Leszczyński, 2015), Polish society is increasingly affected by migration. Poland more and more often is becoming a target destination for migrants from all around the world, who often relocate with their families. .

Migration is also an experience shared by Poles. For quite some time now, Poland has seen Polish citizens migrate in search for better jobs. According to the Polish Statistical Office in 2013 almost 2 196 000 Poles were living abroad, mostly in United Kingdom, Germany and Ireland (GUS, 2014, p. 2). Many of them have settled and integrated into local communities. They learn the language of the host country, begin their vocational education and training, or even earn university degrees (Pietrzak, 2015).

The second area important in the context of my study is new media, which have a substantial impact on everyday life of migrants, providing them with means of immediate communication with families at home and a tool for networking and exchanging information. Instant messaging computer programmes and smartphone apps keep migrants constantly in touch with their friends and families in Poland – they can even use the same media or watch the same TV shows. Consequently, the symbolic distance between the country of origin and the host country has become smaller. Media and messaging clients are an important tool for maintaining contact with domestic culture, but can also inhibit integration, as observed by Mikiewicz and Sadownik (2014), who studied Polish migrants in Nottingham. In their research, they described people who spent several hours a day communicating with their friends

in Poland via Skype. While such behaviour reinforces their emotional and intellectual ties to the homeland, it also decreases their ability to integrate and adapt culturally.

Blogs are tools migrants use to communicate with their loved ones at home, but also a way to share their thoughts with a new group of readers. As Chan puts it, the internet helps migrants to cultivate the sense of cultural belonging (Chan, 2005, p. 339). Migrant bloggers mostly document the process of adapting to new circumstances, focusing on daily experiences, local culture and tourism motivated by the willingness to learn more about their new home. Blogging in the native tongue is also a means for maintaining contact with the country of origin, as published texts are addressed mainly to fellow countrymen, with migrant Poles writing mainly to and for other Poles.

Blogs are also an interesting subject of study in terms of adult learning. They have been perceived as, from the one hand, a form of communication and expression, and, from the other, as learning technologies supporting continuing education by adults (Mason, 2006). However blogs, aimed at sharing personal views and gaining feedback from readers, may be also considered as social and community based learning environments, enabling individual as well as collective reflection on life experiences.

Understood in terms of textual record, blogs reflect the mechanism of generating experiences in the context of life long learning. Educational experience is perceived here as cultural and social text (Jurgiel, 2013, p. 17). Its educational dimension is thus not constant, and reveals in particular social practices. As Jurgiel puts it, the acquired experiences become significant when it is given a meaning.. Personal experience, understood as result of interaction with a social world, and as a result of the constructed subjectivity, becomes a cultural and social phenomenon. In this approach an adult is perceived as a learning subject constantly experiencing learning situations, and, simultaneously, a narrator of one's own life, learning and experiencing the world in a particular way (Jurgiel, 2013). Blogs written by adults may be interpreted, then, as narratives, reflecting these processes.

In this article, I examine the meaning that adult Polish migrants assign

to learning. I consider both their past learning experiences from Poland and the learning process occurring in new cultural circumstances

## **Literature Review**

As Benson et al show, migration may be a factor influencing a decision to learn (Benson et al., 2010). The existing research on migration and learning focus either on linguistic perspective (Borland, 1983), or, more commonly, on school or career paths of migrants (Yamauchi, 2004; Furstenau, 2005; Williams & Balaz, 2005; Zielińska, 2013), or as a means of identifying transnational migrants (Song, 2010). A growing body of research is devoted to cultural ways of learning (Gutierrez & Rogoff, 2003), especially in relation to international students (Spizzica, 1997; Wong, 2004), and second language acquisition (Spolsky, 2000; Pavlenko, 2001; Yilmaz & Schmid, 2015).

Blogs are the subject matter of several studies, first and foremost in the areas of communication studies, sociology, linguistics and health studies. Most frequently, blogs are treated as an element of a dynamic Internet environment (Herring et al., 2004; Trammell et al., 2006) or a communication tool (Ulidis, 2013). Attention is paid to blogging as a domain of public relations professionals (Dearstyne, 2005; Kent 2007). Recent research also focuses on its impact on social participation and citizenship (Van De Donk et al., 2004; Burgess et al., 2006; McShane, 2011; Bessant, 2014), educational and pedagogical aspects of social media (Ball & Junemann, 2012), as well as on-line interactions as social practice (Davis, 2007). A study by Chan (2005) was devoted to diasporic discourse of nationalism in on-line forums .

The study of the blogosphere may also focus on reconstructions of identity models expressed through blogs (Liu, 2010; Liu, 2014), as well as on social roles (Morrison, 2010). Another group of researchers focus on health blogs. In this category, blogs of persons with eating disorders have been the subject of especially extensive inquiries (Wronka & Jeziarska-Kazberuk, 2011; Tong et al., 2013; Yeshua-Katz & Martins, 2013; Gies & Martino, 2014).

Finally, a large body of literature regarding adult learning as well as educational experiences of adults, should be mentioned in this context. The existing research focus on increasing participation and facilitating

adult learning (Cross, 1981), critical theories of adult learning (Merizow, 1981), and, also, on adult learners' experience in formal education system (Merrill, 1999; Jurgiel, 2013), and the phenomenon of life long learning (Olsen, 2001). Research perceiving adults as agents in the context of one's own learning (Illeris, 2006; Jurgiel, 2013; Popow, 2015) seems of particular importance in the context of my study.

### **Research methodology**

The blogs I analysed focused on describing the author's world and were meant to be read by a broad audience. Aimee Morrison (2010) calls those kind of blogs real-time autobiographies. Such blogs are dominated by spontaneous accounts, which make them a valuable source of immediate insight into the minds and feelings of their authors.

In the case of studies focusing on the immigrants' learning experience, personal blogs document changing contexts, circumstances and motivations, allowing us to observe how the learning experience evolved over time. That is the main difference between them and descriptive blogs, whose authors often rationalise, make generalisations or adopt a viewpoint of an independent observer. Personal blogs are an interesting subject matter precisely because they document the changing approach to everyday experiences.

In my study, having assumed that the blog is a reflection of the individual's image of the world, I based my analysis on the qualitative approach.

First, on the basis of indications of search engines in blogging services, I selected a hundred available blogs, authored by immigrants who left Poland and remained abroad while publishing their contributions, and who planned to stay out of the country for longer periods of time or indefinitely. I assumed that the authors are making a conscious decision to share their content with a varied target audience, which is an approach often used in media analysis, including the study of Internet communications. My research was therefore based solely on public information, and the analysis does not extend to other aspects of life described in the blogs. All of the blogs have been regularly updated and remain active during the writing of this article. I translated all the quoted passages as all the blogs were originally written in Polish.,

Next, on the basis of a random sample, I chose ten blogs. I looked for accounts directly or indirectly linked to learning. I then categorised them by recurring themes, which included: learning in Poland, language acquisition, formal education (schools, universities and internships), learning about the new culture, discovering the social norms of the host society and seeing immigration as an all-round learning experience. This division allowed me to determine the meanings that migrant bloggers assign to learning in a new environment, which were then subjected to a discourse analysis. The analysis was aimed at reconstructing meanings given to learning, as well as analysing it in broad socio-cultural context (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). I am especially guided by previous research on discourse and learning processes (Gee&Green, 1998; Evans, 2001).

I use the term discourse analysis to refer to factors framing the meanings given to learning. Moreover I distinguish the terms 'discourse analysis', which I identify with description, and 'critical discourse analysis', which consists of "description of text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context (Fairclough, 2001:109). The aim of my paper is to reconstruct and analyse the meanings, however I will not focus on socio-political interpretation of the distinguished discourses as it is done in critical discourse analysis.

Before presenting the results of my analysis, few details about authors of the analysed blogs should be given. They were all young adults, staying abroad from five up to sixteen years. Most of them emigrated to United Kingdom, and Ireland; one person lived in France and one in the United States of America. In Poland they lived in diverse environments, including, both, big cities and villages. They were all well educated; eight persons had obtained a university degree in Poland. Eight out of ten authors were females.

In the next part of this article, I focus on analysing the meanings given to learning.

## **Results**

### ***Emigration as a learning experience***

When writing about learning, bloggers devote the most time and attention to the migration in and of itself, calling it a learning experience or even a life-changing event:

Emigration made me who I am – a young person who knows what she wants from life. It helped me understand what I want and that nothing is impossible. I learnt that there is no such thing as a weird idea for life. Only people are weird – if they are scared.

*sadeemka.blog.pl/78-pamietniki-z-emigracji-ii/*

Similarly it is perceived by a blogger living in France:

But emigration is a good school of life. And, as every good school, it kicks your ass, but also teaches you humility and optimism

*http://modanabio.com/emigrantow-pisze-bloga/#*

The expression “a school of life” is repeated frequently, indicating that living alone in a new place prepares for adulthood. The authors often indicate that they learnt to see the bright, teaching, side of emigration, which is the biggest advantage of their experience.

Another female migrant, currently living in France, reflects upon the assertion, that some people view emigration as a defeat. She argues that, quite the contrary, it is the migrants who should be seen as successful:

Are those who left losers? Of course not. They are very successful – they've already achieved success – they left. There, behind the new frontiers, I see real opportunities (...). How is it possible that a warehouse worker can be a teacher in another country? Realistically speaking, that happens when the state doesn't discriminate against you, and Poles love discriminating more than anyone.

*mustasza.blog.pl/2014/12/03/jestes-emigrantem-jestes-nieudacznikiem/*

In the quoted passage, the author protests against a stereotype of an migrant who fled Poland because they could not succeed in Poland. Loaded with emotions, the ironic image of Poland as a land of opportunity should be read as a vocal rejection of stereotypes. According to the author, Poland is a country where failure is caused by discrimination. It is difficult to determine what she means exactly by discrimination, but the use of this term is not crucial to the text. What is important, however, is her image of Poland – a country where migrants could not succeed. This opinion is one of many such voices, claiming that in Poland honest work goes unrewarded.

Also learning is conceptualised as effort that should be rewarded. The section below will focus on reconstructing this concept.

### ***Learning as effort which deserves a reward***

All bloggers whose texts I analysed obtained education in Poland, sometimes even at tertiary level. In fact, eight out of ten authors were university graduates.

The issue of studying, especially in tertiary institutions, is most often explored by authors who emigrated for economic reasons. The accounts of bloggers who chose other European Union member countries, in particular the United Kingdom and Ireland, are particularly distinctive. Members of this group were motivated by the belief that they would not be able to find well paid, satisfactory employment in Poland.

This phenomenon is best illustrated the blog of a young doctor who left in search of better employment opportunities and professional advancement. Having failed to secure a specialist residency spot, this blogger decided to emigrate as he felt that Poland denied him access to personal growth. In his opinion, the state – not the individual – is to blame:

Poland denied me the right to study to become a professional or to continue my university education.

*lekierz-emigrant.blogspot.com/2013\_12\_01\_archive*

The passage above is an example of a trope found relatively frequently in the analysed material – that of the author feeling rejected by Poland. Poland is often conceptualised as a person who left the blogger with

no choice – they simply had to leave their homes to find suitable employment. Consequently, Poland is seen as wasteful, mismanaging the funds and efforts that go into education:

Why is it that first they put taxpayer's money into free education during a six year university tour, and then suddenly all you are good for is the dole.

*lekarz-emigrant.blogspot.com/2013\_12\_01\_archive*

A female blogger living in France shares this view:

Universities, institutes of technology, tertiary schools – so much to choose from, all fine words. Until you graduate, become unemployed and find yourself manning the supermarket cash register.

*mustasza.blog.pl/page/10*

The resentment about the domestic situation, where work is hard to come by and the effort put into education is not rewarded, causes the author to have an extremely negative image of education in Poland. In strong words, she criticises the Polish system of education, suggesting that both the teachers and the students are idiots, and accusing the higher education system of not taking people seriously.

Polish wastefulness is often contrasted with the entrepreneurial spirit of the host country. Migrant bloggers admire good organisational cultures of their new homes and stress the fact that learning is an activity that wins recognition. Furthermore, education and social utility may also be an obligation, which is seen as big victory for the system:

The government apparently thinks that they would rather help you get an education than see you spend your life on the dole because you didn't get any (...). They're basically saying – go get a trade, and everyone will be better off!

*sadeemka.blog.pl/34-edukacja-dla-doroslych-w-uk/*

In the excerpt, the different work and study model is portrayed as belonging to a separate culture. According to the author, the British organisational culture

is more advanced than the Polish, which translates into the host country's higher economic standing. At the same time, this model solves the problem of unemployment, which was one of the main reasons many economic migrants left Poland.

In the host country, migrant bloggers are not above doing jobs below their qualifications, even though they have put substantial effort into getting an education. This behaviour is justified by the remuneration they receive for working menial jobs, which, contrary to the Polish experience, may be also seen as an opportunity to learn:

My first job in the UK? Cleaning toilets at a train station... I'm not complaining, because it taught me an important lesson. It shaped me – now I can appreciate what I have. It showed me that sooner or later hard work pays. All you need to do is be patient.

*a-na-obczynie.blog.onet.pl/nienarzekam-staram-sie/*

The author describes her unglamorous job as a formative experience, and therefore a learning opportunity. Working below qualifications for fair wages may also be construed as an appropriate occupation for someone with a university degree:

Hard work, like any other. Nothing a graduate can't handle. Especially a starving one. You can eat at the restaurant. You can pay the rent, and save some money for training, or buy a book.

*szeptywmetrze.blogspot.com/2013/05/emigrancie-salto-morale.html*

Other people's refusal to acknowledge the effort that goes into menial jobs is seen as jealousy or envy, leading to a sense of lowered self-esteem. Another passage, this time from the blog emigracyjny. wordpress.com, explores the issue of brain drain caused by economic migration:

Polish migration is not a problem because several million people fled the country. It is a problem because those people were the elite, and now they've found peace in working below their qualifications. They put their dreams aside and have every intention to live and die anywhere but in Poland. And they are not

going back. Not even joking about going back. ....

*emigracyjny.wordpress.com/2014/03/17/listy-z-emigracji*

High qualifications earned by the migrant elite thanks to education are portrayed as something that has to be left behind, 'put aside', as the author put it. The hard work put into learning in Poland is rewarded with an unattractive job. Even the cost of 'putting dreams aside' proves to be relatively low.

Learning may also help migrants improve their standing in the host country. Some bloggers stress that taking advantage of the available educational opportunities is worth their while. Even when involving some sort of risk, for instance taking out a student loan, learning is seen as an chance to improve qualifications and gain access to better employment opportunities in the future. Contrary to the Polish education system, learning in the host country is considered worth the effort:

I think getting involved and trying this thing out would be worth my while, especially since it can be done either free of charge or for peanuts. Either way, I think it's worth a try.

*sadeemka.blog.pl/34-edukacja-dla-doroslych-w-uk/*

Working hard to just earn a living in the host country, immigrants see free training as an opportunity, which – with all its advantages and disadvantages – is more than worth the risk.

### ***Learning as a change***

The authors of the analysed blogs write extensively about familiarising themselves with the new culture. Most of them started their blogs early in the migration process, reporting their impressions as they happened or reconstructing events and experiences that were fairly recent. They describe first meetings with co-workers, as well as with people met on the street. First comments are devoted into cultural differences in everyday life. In either case, migrants learn about the new culture and the world around them on a daily basis.

Having to adapt to a new reality, migrants see how the culture of their daily lives changes, changing them in the process. One female blogger living in the United Kingdom reconstructs the process, depicting the way in which migrant behaviour evolves in time. At first, the process is quite gradual:

The language changes even faster. After a year or so abroad you'll start to incorporate new foreign words into conversations with fellow countrymen.

*a-na-obczynie.blog.onet.pl/ponglisch-czyli-wspolczesne-neologizmy-emigranta/*

The author tackles the issue of language which often is perceived as the key requirement of adapting to the new culture (Berry, 1997). In the analysed text, the language is an indicator that the immigrant is becoming a citizen of the host country, and no longer identifies as someone from Poland:

In time, you will start using more and more loanwords. Soon you'll need a moment to explain something to your family in Poland. The day when you start translating from English into Polish instead of using Polish automatically will be the day you've seen it all.

*a-na-obczynie.blog.onet.pl/ponglisch-czyli-wspolczesne-neologizmy-emigranta/*

According to some authors, becoming proficient in language and culture of the host country is a guarantee of a good life. At the same time, those skills can have a broader meaning and be connected to a change of identity. This gives rise to a new state of being, an identity that is 'in between', typical of people involved in global mobility events (Mamzer, 2003).

At the same time, the authors have a strong sense of Polish national identity. This is true especially for bloggers writing from the United Kingdom or Ireland, the two countries where Polish migrants represent a large, visible group. Consequently, such authors often invoke the idea of a national bond, frequently using the collective form "we, the Polish people".

Interestingly, their opinion about their compatriots is not always positive, with the behaviour of other Polish migrants attracting considerable criticism. Some authors harbour grudges against Poles who are not familiar with the host country's culture, for instance writing about people who spend years abroad without making the effort to learn the language of their new home. Others feel burdened by negative stereotypes about Poles, but feel some of them are justified. They feel ashamed of Poles who are incapable of changing bad habits (such as drunkenness) or unwilling to modify their behaviour to better fit the new living environment. They see it as a personal failure to adapt, unsuccessful education or aversion to learning.

Learning – understood as a change – is at the centre of the next category I intend to discuss, especially since tackling multiculturalism is a crucial part of adapting oneself to living in countries more ethnically diverse than Poland.

### ***Learning as adapting to multiculturalism***

Polish migrant bloggers often write about living in a multicultural society. Having left the country, some of them find themselves facing cultural and ethnic diversity for the first time in their lives. As Poland is still relatively ethnically homogeneous, some of the authors whose writing I analysed had to learn to live in a diverse society. The bloggers stress that immigration has taught them tolerance for ethnic and national diversity and different behaviours. This can be illustrated by the excerpt below, in which one author explains what emigration gave her:

I won't turn my back on people just because they look one way or another or dress funny, as that might cost me good friends, even though couple of years ago I would probably ignore them based on their looks alone.

*a-na-obczynie.blog.onet.pl/szkola-zwana-emigracja/*

The author writes about how her behaviour changed in response to the migration experience. Because she became more open towards persons different than herself, she sees this newly acquired quality as a skill learnt while living in a new country. The authors often explore this issue in contrast to the concept of 'Polish mentality', which in their opinion is

synonymous with low tolerance, bigotry or stereotypical thinking.

### **Limitations**

It is important to remember that blog analysis has its limits, attributable chiefly to the fact that the Internet is a space for both expression and creation. This makes blogs different from traditional memoirs. As a researcher I had no means of meeting the authors in the real world. Consequently in my analysis, I sought to reconstruct solely the meanings bloggers attach to learning, that were expressed in the blogs.

As far as methodology is concerned, I recognise limitations of discourse analysis, related primarily to possibilities of various interpretation of the given data. However, the qualitative approach, implemented in my study, perceives subjectivity as an integral part of the research process.

It should be also stressed that the authors of the blogs I studied live and learn in different areas and cultural contexts, which may affect their understanding of the learning process. However, in this article I assume that they all originate from the same cultural circle, and therefore underwent similar socialisation and enculturation. All analysed authors were born and raised in Poland, with Polish being their native tongue.

Moreover it should be mentioned that authors are homogeneous group. Most of them were in similar age, between 25 and 40 years old, using similar learning strategies. It should be also stated that, due to relatively high ITC competencies (Tondeur et al. 2010), young educated adults are more likely to use the Internet as a mean of self-expression than older generations of adults. For that reason the biggest limitation of the presented study is that it does not cover learning experiences of older adults.

### **Discussion**

It seems that learning, one of the most common topics of pedagogical analysis, may be of key importance to the study of adult migration. Faced with a new reality, adult migrants have to acquire a number of new skills to find their place and survive in the host country. Paul Scheffer remarks that “the price of staying is that you take the trouble to learn. Learning and spurning are two quite different things” (Scheffer 2010, 15). Consequently, the migrant’s decision to start the learning

process is always a conscious one – one that relates to the choice to stay abroad. In other words, the migrant's dilemma is whether to make the effort and adapt to the changed environment or not. The analysed material reveals, that the authors want to learn, what may be related to their high cultural capital. Learning helps them also to built social capital in the host countries (Townsend, 2008).

As evidenced by this short analysis of blogs written by migrants, Poles abroad attach a wide variety of meanings to learning. The concepts reconstructed in this paper reveal a wide spectrum of attitudes to learning, which go from financially- to culturally-motivated. Moreover it seems that Poland is still the main reference point for how authors perceive learning.

The meanings given to learning, distinguished in my analysis, may be identified as biographical learning, understood as the “transformation of experience, knowledge and actions in the context of human life” (Alheit 2011, p. 7). First and foremost, the authors of analysed blogs see migration as a learning opportunity, which provides them with new skills and experience, but also helps them embrace new cultures, behaviours or diverse lifestyles. The bloggers represent migration as a school of life, a formative experience or even a rite of passage for marking the transition into a member of a multicultural, or even global, society. My analysis confirms that migration may be a factor, which enhances self-reflection (Nowicka, 2015).

Seeing how most bloggers emigrated chiefly due to economic reasons, it is no surprise that they often conceptualise learning as something that should be rewarded, with that notion especially popular among migrants with university degrees. However, what is important is that this reward does not have to be related to high status or prestige. The bloggers indicate primary the advantages of living in diverse multicultural environment.

For the analysed bloggers, learning in a new country is also a cultural experience. This should not come as a surprise, as migration, even within a single continent, may require lengthy acculturation, or even lead to culture shock. Furthermore, cultural diversity may be as much of a learning factor as new behaviours and the culture itself. This may be related to the idea of ‘intercultural learning’ (Thomas, 1993). In

this case, the purpose of learning consists in acquiring competences required to function in different cultures, as well as developing cultural awareness, including the knowledge of own culture (Thomas, 1993). It may be also interpreted as part of identity formation processes in a globalised world, in particular in relation to the active search for the Self and exploration of individual identity through contact with the Other (Cybal-Michalska 2006, p. 32). However, it is doubtful that the process of learning reconstructed in my analysis, may be assigned to what Rizvi (2009) describes as cosmopolitan learning, and which involves formation of critical consciousness. Although the authors reflect on their learning processes as well as their present situation as migrants, their critical reflection is limited to fragments of reality, and does not include intersectional perspective regarding their origin, gender, ethnicity, social position or other premises. In few cases the authors idealise receiving countries, looking critically exclusively on their past in Poland.

While some bloggers reflect on how little they understood of cultural diversity early in their stay, others simply reveal their initial lack of understanding by providing an ongoing account of their struggle to adapt. The fact that many of them go through this process may have something to do with how little exposure they had to cultural diversity before leaving Poland. The culture shock may also stem from a relatively homogeneous public discourse in Poland. Discourse analyses focusing on education and media in Poland reveal that migrant issues are sometimes marginalised or even pathologised (Zamojska, 2013).

It seems therefore that 'learning as adapting to multiculturalism' and 'learning as a change' are equally important in the context of identity processes. The analysis of available research on identity models articulated in the public and educational discourse in Poland suggests that normative models in terms of gender, social class, physical ability or national and ethnic roots as well as other premises, are strongly endorsed (Zamojska, 2013; Popow, 2015). In this context, discourse analysis allows to reconstruct the process of identity formation at the moment of transition within a more diverse societies. Moreover, through analysis of how learning is conceptualised, one could reconstruct an open catalogue of identities that became available to the individual thanks to the process of migration.

The emotional load, varying from resentment, feelings of abandonment, as well as anger at other Poles, indicates negative strategies in representing homeland. It may be assumed that Poland and Poles become the Other to Polish migrants. This may be interpreted as ambivalence, which is considered as central for migration experience (Naficy, 1993; Kivistö & Vecchia-Mikkola, 2013), resulting from negotiation of self-identification, which is a mechanism typical for transnational migrants (Golob, 2009). Learning may be though interpreted as gaining of new identity, but also as escape from the previously known models.

## **Conclusion**

The reconstructed relation between conceptualizations of learning and identity formation processes, pose questions for more complex as well as critical analysis, especially in the context of inclusion and exclusion of particular identities. What identities become available for migrating Poles? And, simultaneously, what kind of identities appear due to arrival to Poland of migrants from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds? The questions seem to be fundamental for the further analysis of contemporary migration processes in Central and Eastern Europe.

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