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PRIVATE LESSONS AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR MIDDLE CLASS STATUS STRUGGLE IN POST- SOCIALIST SOCIETIES: POLAND AND UKRAINE CASE STUDIES

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ABSTRACT. The aim of the article is to present the results of the research on taking private lessons among Polish and Ukrainian youth. The research was conducted in Polish-Ukrainian borderlands among upper secondary school graduates, with the use of survey method. 717 respondents were Polish, whereas 584 were Ukrainian. The results of research show that 62% of Polish students were taking private lessons, while in the Ukraine the number was 69%. Private lessons were taken especially by the students whose parents were educated, had higher positions at work and overall better economic background. The respondents taking private lessons had higher level of cultural capital measured by the number of books, better school achievements and high educational aspirations. The main purpose of taking private lessons was to increase the potential maturity exam results and to have further more chances of entering a prestigious university. The research reveals that the main adaptation strategy of the middle class confronting educational inflation and the risk of declassing is increasing educational expenditures. Eventually, such actions lead to further widening of education gap.

JEL Classification: I21, I24,
J24

Keywords: educational sociology, private tutoring, adaptation strategies, middle class, survey, Polish, Ukrainian.

Introduction

Private lessons in the subjects included in national curriculum are very popular almost all over the world (Bray, 1999, 2012; Southgate, 2009; Zhang, 2013; Jokić, 2013). The researchers of this subject matter claim that in post-communist societies undergoing transformation thanks to private education the societies found it easier to adapt to capitalist economy which is new to them (Silova & Bray, 2006; Silova & Eklow, 2013, p. 393). The rise of capitalism, the coming to meritocracy society and middle class in this part of the region resulted in transformation of education into market-oriented economy sector. In a short time, private education (mainly higher) emerged and the indices of scholarisation on secondary and tertiary level have increased significantly. The gross index of scholarisation for

secondary education was 108,8 for secondary schools and 71,5 for universities in 2012/2013. In Ukraine the index was 98,9 for secondary schools and 79,0 for universities (International Statistics Yearbook 2015, 2015).

After the transformation of the system in Poland, the number of students increased fourfold, from 403 824 in 1990 to 1 953 832 in 2005 and since then it started decreasing – in 2014 it was 1 469 386. In Ukraine the increase was not that significant. In 1990 the number of students of 1st to 4th level of accreditation was 1638 thousand, whereas in 2008 it was 2813 thousand students. On the one hand, educational boom resulted in rising of a new middle class, the main capital of which was knowledge and professional competences. On the other hand, the number of university graduates increasing in the following years with little need for such specialists caused the inflation of diplomas. This may be shown by the unemployment rate among people with higher education, which in Poland was 3,3% in 2000 and 16,2% in 2013. In Ukraine the unemployment rate among people with higher education was 33,3% in 2000 and 47,1% in 2013 (International Statistics Yearbook 2015, 2015).

The devaluation of diplomas forced newly created middle classes intensify their educational investments. This situation was actually observed in many other countries before arising in our region (Dore, 1976; Collins, 1979; Bourdieu, 2005; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2006).

In the circumstances of education reforms and progressive egalitarianisation, the competition for more desired class positions became stronger (Boudon, 2008; Goldthorpe, 2012, p. 332). The individuals of more favourable social origin activate their resources in order to improve their chances to maintain their class status, that is avoiding degradation.

In the post-Soviet age, in Ukraine expansion of higher education to become massive was observed. Its division into massive and exclusive took place later on. Transforming higher education into market-oriented economy and the lack of selection of students lowered the quality of university-level education. According to the research, 5-30% of university graduates are employed in the field related to their diploma (Oliinyk, 2013).

The volumes of student emigration from Ukraine to other countries is also indicative of education inflation and low quality of studies. In the recent years, the number of students leaving Ukraine has been constantly increasing.

In 2015 the number was 53 000. In 2013, 15 123 people from Ukraine came to Poland, whereas in 2014 it was 23 392. Students leave Poland as well. In 2014 their number was around 48 000, the destination was mainly the UK. Ukrainian students studying in Poland, in the qualitative research, when asked about motivation for choosing a foreign university, most often (out of 15 proposed answers) indicated that they want to have a diploma of a foreign university (75%), want to see the world (64%), there is no corruption and there is no need to pay lecturers for credits and exams (57%), it is easier to find a job and make a career (53%), there is a better quality of education (51%). Among these students, 68% had taken private lessons before (Długosz, 2015). In the qualitative research of the students studying in Rzeszów there is a confirmation that emigration for studies in Poland is partly a result of corruption and low quality of education. The respondents claim that education in Polish universities is as follows: it is “a good, modern education”, which one gets through one’s hard work, “corruption-free”, and an “European” diploma is a real, not fictional one (as one could get in a doubtful institution widely operating in Ukraine) (Izdebska-Długosz, 2015, p. 232). To conclude, the results of the research of Ukrainian students indicate that one of the strategies in the struggle against inflation of education is getting a diploma of a foreign University. The fact that going abroad to study can increase educational chances of youth is indicated by the results of the research conducted among school-leavers in Ukraine. In Uzhhorod, school-leavers were asked about their motivation for foreign studies, and the most frequent answers were: better quality of education (58%), to see the world (51%), to get a

diploma of a foreign university (46%)¹. In the same research in Drohobych, the respondents most often indicated the following motivations: see the world (49%), develop and exercise their skills (48,4%), better quality of education (48%), foreign studies increase chances for finding a job and making a career (47%)². In Kharkiv, the youth chose the following answers: see the world (70%), develop and exercise their skills (57%), higher standard of living (56%), better quality of education (53%)³.

Thus it can be seen that students in Ukraine want to fight against inflation of diplomas and low quality of education through learning in foreign universities. What is vital, it significantly more rarely indicates corruption, yet it is explained by the fact that the research was conducted in schools and students could be afraid of their teachers' reaction. Ukrainian students in Poland very often speak about corruption both in casual conversations and in surveys because they have nothing to be afraid of already.

The results of the research "*Youth of Ukraine – 2015*" indicate that corruption in Ukraine is a problem, as when the students were asked to choose the biggest problems in their country in the first place they indicated the threat of war and terrorism (56%), second were economic problems (52%), third were corruption and the fact that the law does not exist for rich people and officials (47%) (Youth of Ukraine – 2015, 2015, p. 57).

Education or the area of education is a field in which individuals compete for school achievements and certificates, which provide access to high social positions (Dore, 1976; Hirsch, 1977; Collins, 1979). One should bear in mind that with higher education becoming available to masses, the „class struggle” becomes a competition for gaining access to higher quality of education. Enrolling for a prestigious university gives advantage in this competition and allows for increasing life chances. In this competition, mainly middle classes take part. First of all, the middle class reproduces through the knowledge gained during education and proved by appropriate certificates (Bernstein, 1990). Secondly, it possesses all necessary social, economic and cultural resources which may be used to protect its status. The main defence strategy in this case is participation in private lessons in order to gain higher social status in the future.

The article aims at analyzing the phenomenon of private lessons in the light of “class struggle” in the post-communist countries undergoing modernization. The emergence of middle classes in Central-East Europe as important actors in modernization and adaptation activities undertaken by them on the one hand led to educational boom, which resulted in inflation of education. On the other hand, currently the middle classes are forced to invest in education, with the aim to protect against social declassation. Private lessons have to increase school performance and provide more chances of getting education at prestigious universities. They use already the possessed capital and specific escape “forward” in order to obtain more cultural capital than lower classes or lower fractions of middle classes. Thank to possessed cultural resources, they notice the newly emerged challenges better. By having economic capital they can afford financing education, which becomes an investment in the future of their children and family.

The article aims at showing that despite many differences between Poland and Ukraine, the post-transformational reality is very similar. After the educational boom and the increase of scholarisation indices, currently qualitative changes in the system of education are

¹ The research sample consisted of 468 respondents and the research was conducted by Nataliya Ignatoliya from the Uzhhorod National University.

² The research in Drohobych was carried out by Svitlana Shchudlo on a sample of 392 school-leavers.

³ The research in Kharkiv was conducted by Ludmila Sokuryanska on the sample of 428 school-leavers. The whole research was carried out in 2015 in Poland, Ukraine and Hungary and it was connected with various aspects of functioning of youth in the borderlands in Central-East Europe. The leader and originator of the research project was the author of the following article.

taking place. More often the prestige and the quality of diploma will be taken into account. Employers will pay attention to diploma reputation. Parents and youth by observing high unemployment after graduation and higher education becoming massive start to care more about reputation and prestige. In the education market, middle classes are best informed and they have additional motivations to fight for maintaining their status. Such phenomena are observed in both countries. The research aims at showing the mechanisms behind taking private lessons.

1. Middle classes

Before conducting analysis, it is necessary to mention the middle class, as it is the impetus for private lessons market. The constitutive feature of the middle class is possession. This may be a business, capital or rare qualifications, knowledge. Middle classes are characterized by wealth and high life rates. Yet another attribute is occupational position. These are various occupational categories, in which company owners, employees of services, administration, directors, managers, specialists, doctors, lawyers are included. The last symbol of middle classes is lifestyle in private sphere and specific life aims. Success, hard work, self-dependence, faith in one's own abilities and investing in one's development are symptomatic for them (Domański, 2004, p. 84). Among middle classes, an ethos connected with aspiring to better life and manifesting their success to neighbours and acquaintances is observed. The representatives of this class think about their future, invest in children, send them to the best schools, put aside present pleasures for the sake of future benefits (Ball, 2003; Sadura, 2012; Domański, 2014). They also feel the spirit of competition and believe that work, effort and competences will be rewarded in the future.

According to the research conducted by Public Opinion Research Center 2013 in Poland, 68% of Poles belonged to the middle class, with 27% belonging to the lower class and 2% to the upper one. The higher the education and income, the higher the social position of respondents. More often the inhabitants of cities and people with higher occupational status ranked higher in social hierarchy. In the open question regarding the identification of belonging to a given class, 57% of respondents classified themselves in terms of lower-middle-upper class. 45% of respondents identified themselves as members of the middle class (Boguszewski, 2013, p. 2).

In Ukraine 51% of respondents classified themselves as middle class members, with 31% to the lower and 2% to the upper one, and 17% were undecided (Mishchenko, 2008). In the representative research of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine conducted in 2000, 16% of respondents regarded themselves as middle class members and in 2014 the number was 43%. If one takes into account belonging to intelligentsia (8%), upper-middle class (1%) and administration (4%) the number is 66%. The rest considers themselves working class (24%), peasant proprietors (2%) and lower class (9%) (Oksamytna, 2015).

To sum up, in both societies there are middle classes. The presented data has also shown that in Poland and in Ukraine in the recent years the number of students has grown as well as the percentage of unemployed with higher education. The growth of the number of students going abroad to study was also observed. The occurring symptoms may also indicate inflation of education and decrease of the worth of a diploma. Since middle classes know the meaning of education best, they take up strategies aiming to strengthen their class position in society through investing in their children's education. Different factions of middle classes may be motivated for taking such actions by the following factors:

- lower classes of the middle classes will want to increase their social status and depending on their – usually frugal – resources, they will try to devote them to their

- children's education, being afraid of declassation, i.e. the loss of their social status under the pressure of individuals from lower classes that receive higher education,
- higher factions of the middle classes may intensify their educational investments in order to increase their domination and gaining distinction by sending their children to prestigious schools and variety of additional courses, which may have impact on their future education in prestigious universities,
 - in the age of mass education, upper middle classes are determined to provide themselves with access to high quality education in prestigious universities, which will guarantee high rate of return.

2. Theoretical model

In both societies there is a middle class with an ethos typical to it, connected with individualism, valuing education, aiming at prestige, distinction. At the same time there is an increase in the scholarisation indices and higher education becoming massive, which in the case of the lack of vacancies for specialists and new graduates entering the labour market generates the inflation of education.

Considering these processes, one may conclude that the common denominator of private lessons, middle classes and inflation of education is the fear of declassation and mobilization of resources in order to secure their social status. This is shown by the hitherto analyses (Długosz, 2012; Bray, 2012; Prakhov and Yudkevivh, 2012; Zhang, 2013; Oller and Glasman, 2013; Prakhov, 2014; Długosz, 2015). Contemporary private tutoring are not a "lifebelt" but they aim at gaining domination and defeating competition in the fight for school successes. Guy Standing (2015, p. 70) puts it that "specialised private lessons sold as a service providing children with domination over competition in terms of getting to the best schools, universities or companies are becoming a big business".

One should bear in mind that this competition is unfair, as privileged positions are taken by upper social classes because of possessed financial resources. They can join the race for prestigious diplomas increasing their life chances more often. Secondly, the increase of the sale of credentials in the education market leads to the inflation of education, which will turn against lower classes possessing worse diplomas.

How does the mechanism of private tutoring work then? The Figure 1 shows that this mechanism is of circular character. Inflation of education appears, which influences actions taken by the middle class, the middle class became operationalized by education, professional status, occupation, financial standing, cultural capital and life and educational aspirations. The middle class, thus the families with higher and secondary education, better financial standing, with higher cultural capital and educational and life aspirations will take private lessons more often. It may well be that the increase of private lessons market will have further impact on inflation of education. Therefore, more social classes will have to take private lessons, which may end up in them becoming a norm.

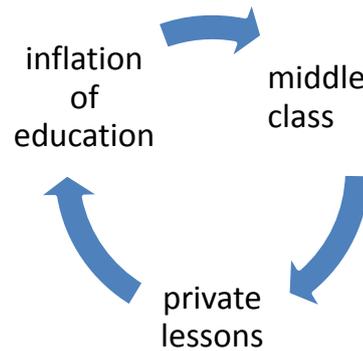


Fig. 1. The model of defensive actions taken by middle classes

On the basis of the above assumption, one can accept the hypotheses, which will be verified in the analyses:

1. Private lessons are taken more often by school-leavers from the families of managers, directors, professionals with higher education, being in good material conditions, rather than the youth from worker or farmer families with lower education, assessing their material conditions as bad.
2. The school-leavers with higher level of symbolic capital and high educational aspirations will take private lessons more often.
3. The students sent to prestigious lower-secondary and secondary schools and the students who choose prestigious universities will take private lessons more often.
4. The main motivation of taking private lessons is the will to increase school performance and increasing chances of getting to a prestigious universities and majors. More often such motivations will be observed among the youth of higher social status.

3. The methodology of research

The aim of the research is to verify the hypothesis claiming that private lessons are the domain of middle classes and mostly they are offensive actions aiming at increasing results in Matura exams, which eventually may make access to prestigious universities and faculties easier. Middle classes will be operationalized through education and the occupational status of fathers, evaluation of material status, owned durable goods, cultural capital and high educational aspirations.

In other words, the conducted research are to answer the question whether middle classes take private lessons more often than lower classes. Are the motivations of a “lifebelt” character or rather they are a tool in the “class conflict” and are to protect against declassification through increasing cultural capital which will provide their owners with domination in the field of education.

In order to verify the hypotheses, analyses on data gathered by means of survey method were conducted. The research was carried out in schools with the use of the auditorium survey technique. The data was gathered in all the secondary schools in Drohobych in Ukraine and Przemyśl in Poland at the turn of 2012 and 2013.

1301 surveys altogether have been acquired – 717 in Przemyśl and 584 in Drohobych. The research can be perceived as a case study which shows the presence of mechanisms stimulating participation in private lessons in both countries⁴.

Obviously, one should bear in mind the limitations in making conclusions in such kind of research. Despite the fact that the research samples were of quota character, the gathered data cannot be perceived as representative for Polish and Ukrainian youth. One should bear in mind that both researched regions have common origin and once (during the period of partitions of Poland) belonged to Galicia and then to East Galicia, whereas at the time of Second Polish Republic, till 1939, to Lviv Voivodeship. One of the features of Galicia inhabitants was a strong drive for social advancement through education and giving an important value to higher education and culture. The influence of such imponderables can be seen up to now.

Table 1. The statistical description of research sample (in %)

	Poland			Ukraine		
	female	male		female	male	
Sex	59	41		53	47	
Type of school	Secondary school (lyceum)	Technical secondary school		Secondary school (lyceum)	Vocational lyceum	Technical secondary school
	56	44		68	18	15
Place of residence	city	countryside		city	countryside	
	33	67		52	48	
Socio-economic status	Low	Average	High	Low	Average	High
	26	60	14	19	66	14
Material status	Low	Average	High	Low	Average	High
	4	43	53	9	62	28
School achievements	Low	Average	Very good	Low	Average	Very good
	23	53	24	16	51	33

Source: own research.

In *Table 1* a statistical distribution of variables characterizing the researched population is presented. In both countries in the research sample females prevail, more often they are secondary school (lyceum) students, whereas in Ukraine the prevalence of lyceum students over vocational school students is more noticeable. In Poland the students most often come from the countryside rather than the city, in the Ukraine this proportion is more even. The variable socio-economic status is a synthetic variable made for analytical purposes.

The respondents whose fathers had education above higher, were directors or presidents of a company or practiced a liberal profession and assessed their financial status as very good and good were included in the category of high status. In the category of average status there were school-leavers whose father were of secondary education, worked in services or had their own companies and assessed their financial status as average. In the category of lower status were students whose fathers had education lower than secondary,

⁴ The research was carried out with the help of dr Sławomir Solecki from the State Higher Vocational School in Przemyśl as well as prof. Svetlana Shchudlo and dr Iryna Mirczuk from the Drohobych University. The research was funded by The East European State Higher School in Przemyśl.

were unqualified workers, blue-collar workers, farmers, unemployed, retired or pensioners and assessed their financial status as bad or very bad. The majority of school-leavers in both countries belongs to the category of average status, which is an additional evidence for the existence of the middle class in both societies. In Poland the families were more often put into the category of lower status than in Ukraine. In Ukraine, on the other hand, the families were more often included in the category of middle status than in Poland. It is possible that such differences are caused by the difference in the system of education and those who have secondary education (according to Polish criteria) in Ukraine are classified as having higher education. It is a fact that we have societies of middle classes.

Similar case was with the financial status, the detailed division of which is as follows: Dishwasher was owned by 29% of Polish and 16% of Ukrainian houses, mobile phone by 98% of youth in Poland and Ukraine, plasma or LCD television by 77% Poles and 50% Ukrainians, personal computer by 79% of Poles and 78% of Ukrainians, laptop by 76% of Poles i 53% of Ukrainians, recreational allotments by 24% of Poles and 38% of Ukrainians, a car by 85% of Poles and 53% of Ukrainians, connection to the Internet by 92% of Poles and 82% of Ukrainians, a desk by 91% of youth in Poland and Ukraine, one's own room by 83% of Poles and 77% of Ukrainians.

In *Table 1*, in the category of material status there is a synthetic description of this variable. Financial status was divided into three categories: to the lower category belong respondents owning from 1 to 3 objects, to the middle one those who have 4 to 7 items and to the higher one those who possess 8 to 10 objects. The analysis of a variable constructed in such a way indicates that the families from which the youth originates are classified as average or high in the hierarchy of material status. In Ukraine the status is lower than in Poland.

In the final postition of *Table 1* an index of symbolic capital appears, thus a variable of school performance. School achievements were measured by average semester marks. In Poland the scale is from 1 to 6, in Ukraine it is from 2 to 12. The marks were reduced to three categories present in the table. For Polish data the following codes were used: from 1 to 3,4: average, from 3,5 to 4,4: good, above 4,5: very good. For Ukrainian data it was from 2 to 5: average, from 6-9 good, above 10: very good. On the basis of the data presented in *Table 1* one can conclude that among students average school performance prevails. Nevertheless, Ukrainian youth have higher percentage with the best school achievements and Polish youth with the lowest marks.

Finally, it is necessary to state that in Poland average fees depending on the subject and the teacher are from 25 to 60 PLN. In Ukraine extra lessons cost from 50 to 100UAH. Mathematics is 100UAH, Ukrainian and literature is 80UAH, whereas English is 50 UAH.

The analyses conducted in the article are of two-variable character and are based on percentage data differences included in the table. The results of the C-Pearson analysis with acceptable type I error $\alpha \leq 0,05$.

4. Analysis of the results of the research

62% of Polish school-leavers and 69% of Ukrainian ones admitted participating in private lessons. The data shows that more than a half school-leavers from both countries took part in private lessons. In the research carried out in 2015 in Eastern and Western Poland, private lessons were taken by 69% of students⁵. In Ukraine, in Drohobych, 77% of respondents claimed taking extra lessons, 61% in Uzhorod and 64% in Kharkiv.

⁵ In Poland the research was carried out in 2015 in Przemyśl, Rzeszów, Racibórz, ZielonaGóra, Słubice. The research sample consisted of 2989 school-leavers.

In Poland 60% of boys and 64% of girls attended private lessons, whereas in Ukraine the number was 60% for boys and 76% of girls. In Poland 57% of youth from the city and 70% from rural areas took part in private lessons. In Ukraine 82% of city inhabitants and 55% of respondents living in rural areas participated in private lessons. In Poland private lessons were attended more often by the lyceum students (73%) than professional technical school students (47%). In Ukraine extra lessons were attended by lyceum students (83%), less often by professional technical school (45%) and vocational lyceum (36%).

The analyses indicate that among school-leavers in Poland sex influences participating in private lessons at a small extent. In Ukraine private lessons are taken more often by girls (the difference of 16 percentage points). The place of residence is of major importance in both countries. In Poland the difference between city and rural areas is 13 percentage points, whereas in Ukraine the difference is bigger (27 percentage points). In both countries the lyceum students were the most involved in participating in private lessons, and the students of professional technical schools and vocational lyceums (Ukraine) turned out to be less involved.

The observed differences in taking part in private lessons confirm the theoretical presumptions. It seems that middle classes are present more often in the city than in rural areas. More often the representatives of middle class send their children to lyceums rather than professional technical schools, as learning in lyceum gives better chances for enrolling for prestigious universities. A confirmation of this thesis is present upon introducing the control variable of social status into the analyses. In Poland among youth of higher status private lessons were taken by 84% of students in the city and 84% of students in rural areas. In Ukraine among school-leavers of higher status extra lessons were taken by 98% of city inhabitants and 93% of people from rural areas. Middle classes attend private lessons equally irrespective of the place of residence.

The influence of sex on participating in private lessons observed in Ukraine is a result of traditional attitude towards socio-occupational roles among lower classes. For women more often a longer educational career path ending up in a university is prepared, whereas for men more often it is a shorter one which provides a particular job and employment. Upon introducing the control variable of social status, among Polish school-leavers of higher status private lessons were taken by 88% of girls and 83% of boys.

In Ukraine, in the highest category of status, 96% of boys and 96% of girls took private lessons. The conclusion is that middle classes equally attach importance to education, regardless of child's sex. The sex effect disappears when the variable of father's education is introduced into the analyses.

Along with the increase of fathers' education, the youth's participation in private lessons increases. The analyses in *Table 2* indicate that education investments increase when fathers have non-university level post-secondary education or higher education. On this level in both countries activities in favour of educational investments are revealed.

Table 2. Private lessons and father's education (in %)

Education	Poland	Ukraine
Primary	36	63
Vocational	51	55
Secondary	68	63
Post-secondary	80	84
Bachelor's degree	83	92
Master's degree	84	82

Poland $r=0,296$, Ukraine $r=0,293$

Source: own research.

Apart from education, profession, professional status and occupation may determine belonging to the middle class. Profession is the most articulate attribute of the middle class (Domański, 1994). It is a relatively capacious category, to which white-collar workers as well as owners of small and medium-sized enterprises may belong. In the following research the profession was measured in terms of father's occupation.

Table 3. Private lessons and fathers' occupational status (in %)

Occupational status	Poland	Ukraine
Director, president of an enterprise, government official	75	85
Specialist with higher education, liberal profession	86	87
Technician or specialised administrative or office worker	77	92
White-collar worker of a lower rank (secretary, cashier, clerk, telephone operator)	53	77
Owner of a private enterprise	77	86
Employed in trade or services	59	86
Unqualified worker	59	47
Qualified worker	50	51
Farmer	43	50
Unemployed	68	56
Retired, pensioner	53	53

Poland $r=0,249$, Ukraine $r=0,357$

Source: own research.

The data included in *Table 3* confirms the supposition that fathers who scored higher in occupational hierarchy tend to send their children to private lessons more often.

The collected data shows that in both countries the situation is similar. Middle-class families try to provide a better future for their children through education supported by private lessons. Lower classes because of many reasons (lack of money and aspirations) fail to take such steps or do it far less often. The conducted analyses indicate that the biggest number of youth from middle classes participate in private lessons. It is possible that the relative deprivation effect, which means that the parents placed in lower segments of the middle class on the one hand have stronger fears connected with declassation, but on the other hand they know, that those from upper factions have bigger income, higher prestige, and this is what they want for their children. Lower factions of the middle class in Ukraine more often invest in private lessons than their equivalents in Poland, which may be caused by the fact that the system of state studies is partly fee-free and partly one has to pay for their education. Around 50% of vacancies in state universities are vacancies for which one has to pay the fee. The higher the school performance, the bigger chances one has to get to a fee-free vacancy. The exam system is test-based and since it was introduced, the number of private lessons increased (Borodchuk, 2011). In other words, it is worth to invest in private lessons, as the further studies will eventually be cheaper. Yet another factor characterising the middle class is the economic capital. It is assumed that richer people want to secure their children's future through educational investments. One should bear in mind that private lessons are expensive and the family that wants to send their children to extra has to possess financial resources.

Table 4. Private lessons and evaluation of financial status (in %)

Evaluation of financial status	Poland	Ukraine
We live a modest life, we cannot afford even basic needs	36	44
We live a modest life, we have to manage our finances frugally	41	44
We live an average life, we can afford basic needs, but we have to save money for more serious purchases	57	64
We live a good life, we can afford many things without particular savings	72	79
We live a very good life, in comparison to others we can afford luxury	74	95

Poland $r=0,214$, and Ukraine $r=0,239$

Source: own research.

In both countries, as shown in *Table 4*, private lessons are taken most often by school-leavers who assess their life status as high. In Ukraine, among school-leavers from the richest families private lessons are taken almost by everyone. Middle classes invest in education and these investments are proportional to owned financial resources. Moreover, as shown by the analyses, even the youth from poorer families attend private lessons; nevertheless, their participation in them is definitely less common. It can be said that in Ukraine richer parents invest in private lessons more often, which may be a result of the desire for high achievements, which in turn provide fee-free places in universities. This is confirmed by the correlation quotients.

Yet another attribute of the middle class is wealth and holdings. Not only should one have the sense of one's superiority and affluence, but also the success needs to be demonstrated, as this gives respect. Therefore, wealth and holdings also determine belonging to middle classes.

In both groups of school-leavers (*Table 5*) the influence of financial status on participation in private lessons is shown.

Table 5. Private lessons and household goods (in %)

Material status	Poland	Ukraine
Low	42	51
Average	53	66
High	71	80

Poland $r=0,199$, Ukraine $r=0,178$

Source: own research.

The conducted analyses confirmed that along with the increase of financial status, the number of people participating in private lessons grows. It is possible that along with other symptoms of belonging to the middle class, extra lessons may be an indicator of material well-being and at the same time they may show that the families are provident and care about their children's future by providing them with extra lessons, which may make their start in a life easier.

To sum up, the analysis of variables: education, occupational status, economical status has shown that the school-leavers from families of better education, higher financial and occupational status take private lessons more often. Therefore, as it was assumed, middle classes are the lifeblood of private lessons market in Poland and Ukraine.

On the one hand, belonging to middle classes is indicated by education, income and occupational status. On the other hand, middle classes possess linguistic and cultural capital. For the sake of this paper two capitals – linguistic and cultural – will be used. The first one is marked by language competence, knowledge which has influence on school achievements. The second one is represented by such objects as paintings, books, works of art (Bourdieu, 2005). The indicator of the first one are average marks and the second one is measured by the number of books.

The results of the research (*Table 6*) show that in both countries private lessons are taken more often by students with higher marks, thus the ones with better linguistic capital. This observation confirms the thesis that the aim of private lessons is to increase advantage of middle classes in the education sphere.

On the basis of analysed data it can be said that in Poland, similarly to Ukraine, private lessons aim at giving educational advantage to better students.

Table 6. Private lessons school achievements (in %)

School achievements	Poland	Ukraine
Low	47	46
Average	65	60
Very good	70	91

Poland $r=0,166$, Ukraine $r=0,360$

Source: own research.

The results of the analyses among both groups indicate (*Table 7*) that along with the increase of home library the number of private lessons participants increases. By this means the hypothesis that the students with higher cultural capital take private lessons is confirmed.

Table 7. Private lessons and the number of books in home library (in %)

Number of books	Poland	Ukraine
0-10	54	47
11-25	42	48
26-100	57	65
101-200	70	79
201-500	71	89
Above 500	68	77

Poland $r=0,188$, Ukraine $r=0,275$

Source: own research.

Summing up the collected observations it may be concluded that the observations indicate the connection between cultural capital and attending private lessons. Middle classes compete in the educational field for future status. Taking into consideration the fact that linguistic and cultural capital accompanies middle classes, the students with higher symbolic capital tend to attempt to increase it more often.

Middle classes are characterised by appropriate ethos, lifestyle and life orientation. Aiming at success, individualism, determination and being prestige-oriented are typical for the middle class members. Assuming that middle classes are meritocracy-oriented, one should suppose that higher level of educational aspirations will be in a crucial relation to participation in private lessons. Mutual relationship between aspirations and private lessons may confirm the thesis which claims that the modern field of competition for status is education.

Table 8. Private lessons and the level of educational aspirations (in %)

Level of educational aspirations	Poland	Ukraine
Post-secondary schoold	55	30
Bachelor's degree	63	66
Master's degree	72	80
Ph.D.	84	86

Poland $r=0,136$, Ukraine $r=0,324$

Source: own research.

The data presented in *Table 8* shows that along with further level of educational aspirations the number of private lessons participants increases. The level of aspirations can be measured by the prestige of a university desired by school-leavers. The prestige of a university can be determined by the place in which it is situated. It is assumed that prestigious universities are situated in metropolises, whereas the worse ones are of local or regional character⁶. Here a thesis that in the field of education in secondary schools there is a fight for access to prestigious fields of education, which may provide diplomas of higher value is confirmed.

Table 9. Private lessons and desired place of studying (in %)

Place of studying	Poland	Ukraine
Przemyśl/Drohobych	49	62
Other city in the region	70	51
Rzeszów/Lviv	58	79
A big city in the country	79	78
Abroad	82	83

Source: own research.

The data presented in *Table 9* confirms that the choice of a university is connected with participation in private lessons.

In both cases taking extra lessons aims at helping with increasing chances of getting an index of a prestigious university away from one's place of residence. The students who plan to study in a large university where there is a bigger competition have to increase their cultural capital. Middle classes perceive the system of education as a field of competition for social status. This competition is of global character, as it will take place on global labour market.

One should bear in mind that the main factor of increase in participation in private lessons by the youth from middle classes is the inflation of education. The inflation influences the youth from middle classes to enroll for a more prestigious university in order to maintain their social status.

It is possible that a crucial trigger for educational investments may be a desire to stand out in social hierarchy. In the age of mass higher education only prestigious education may be valued by the society. That is why middle classes tend to send their children to prestigious schools more often and at the same time they will aim at maximizing their cultural capital.

⁶ Such information is included in the ranking in *Perspektywy*. The top twenty universities are situated in metropolises. Universities ranking, http://www.perspektywy.pl/portal/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1593:rsw2014&catid=139&Itemid=287&idRanking=1 [accessed on 1.08.2014].

The assumption that private lessons aim at providing educational advantage and getting to a better and more prestigious university was verified in both groups of school-leavers as well by categorising the universities chosen by them in terms of prestige⁷.

The analyses presented in *Table 10* show the influence of the preferred category of universities (according to prestige) on participating in private lessons.

Table 10. Private lessons and category of university (in %)

Category of university	Poland	Ukraine
A	82	91
B	66	68
C	45	68

Poland $r=0,237$, Ukraine $r=0,230$

Source: own research.

More frequent attendance in private lessons by school-leavers with high educational aspirations (choosing better universities) may indicate the will to increase status and using it as a means which may allow for getting to a prestigious university, which may be exchanged to a high socio-occupational position.

To sum up, the conducted analyses show that private lessons are taken mainly by school-leavers of high socio-economic status, equipped with cultural capital, having high educational aspirations and allocating ambitions in prestigious universities. In the context of the gathered data it can be concluded that the functions of private lessons are of offensive character and aim at getting educational advantage among middle classes.

The gathered data also allows for verification of this hypothesis. In the questionnaire a question about motivations responsible for taking private lessons by school-leavers was asked. An index of socio-economic status which is also an independent variable was prepared. Moreover, the index serves as an indicator of belonging to a given class. In the index, the education, father's occupational status and the evaluation of material status was included⁸.

Table 11. Motivation for taking private lessons in the categories of socio-economic status (in %)⁹

Motivation	Poland			Ukraine		
	Low	Average	High	Low	Average	High
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I want to achieve as high as possible result in Matura exam	56	67	83	60	70	89
I want to get to a desired university	19	34	44	52	60	73

⁷ Thanks to the question about which university was chosen by the respondent there was a chance of identifying a particular university. On the basis of it, with the use of a ranking in Perspektywy from 2014, a ranking of categories of universities chosen by respondents was made. To the A category belong the top ten universities from the ranking, to the B category belong the remaining categories, whereas to the C category belong all the state higher vocational schools and private universities.

Identical classification was made for Ukrainian data. The universities in Lviv, Kiev, Medical Universities and Mohylan Academy were favoured. These universities belong to the A category. To the B category belong remaining universities in big cities. To the B category belong local universities and private universities.

⁸ The distribution of the socio-economic variable is in *Table 1*, and the description of its construction is under the table.

⁹ The sum of the data is not 100, as there was more than one possible answer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I was not learning fluently and therefore I lack knowledge	37	32	14	17	15	19
I want to know more than I was taught at school	13	10	13	21	18	10
Teacher's suggestion	3	2	1	4	0	0
Parents influence	4	3	9	14	5	0
Most of my friends take private lessons	1	0	0	0	0	0
The teachers were teaching insufficiently, they did not care about whether they share knowledge or not	30	31	22	4	9	3
Other	9	2	3	8	1	0

Source: own research.

The conducted analyses in Polish and Ukrainian data (*Table 11*) indicate that improving Matura exam results is desired by the students of average and higher status in both countries. Yet another motivation indicated by the students was a desire to get to a dream university. In Poland as well as in Ukraine the representatives of the middle class selected this option more often. This choice is more common among Ukrainian youth. It is possible that bigger attention being paid to this is a result of the fact that the number of fee-free vacancies is limited. In Poland, apart from medicine degree and a few other majors, it is possible to get to a given university without major obstacles. The school-leavers of low and average status more often indicated that they lack necessary knowledge and have to participate in private lessons. Among Ukrainian youth this problem was indicated less often and there were no bigger differences among status groups. It is possible that in Ukraine it is easier to fulfill schooling obligation, especially if one uses bribery, which was mentioned by students in the research (Izdebska-Długosz, 2015). In Poland one either has the knowledge and passes the exam, or repeats the whole year. Therefore the ones with lower cultural capital has to complement the capital. The option "I want to know more" was indicated less often. Therefore we can speak of the autotelic knowledge. Among Polish school-leavers it is a rare phenomenon and the socio-economic status has no influence on it. Among Ukrainian students it occurs more often and surprises a bit, as is observed more often among students of lower status. Is it the fact that in this particular case extra lessons are of compensational character? Teachers do not interfere in the private lessons market. Only among lower classes in both countries they suggest such a solution. A bit more often students are motivated by their parents to take private lessons. In Poland more often in the upper faction of the middle class, in Ukraine in lower faction. These may be different situations – those from the upper classes motivate to develop oneself, whereas those from the lower classes seek help for their children. Most interesting is the last motivation, which indicates that only young Poles complain about teachers doing their job not very well, and because of teachers' failures they have to participate in private lessons. Ukrainian youth has no problem like this or does not want to put the blame on their teachers (one should bear in mind that the research was conducted in schools with the presence of the teachers).

The research conducted among Ukrainian students in the Podkarpacie region indicates that main motivations for taking private lessons were achieving the best possible result in the Matura exam (68%) the desire to get to a dream university (41%), gaining more knowledge that the one taught at school (28%), teachers doing their job not very well (12%), not learning

and thus lacking knowledge (10%) (Długosz, 2015). As one can see, teachers doing their job not very well was on the fourth place as a reason for taking private lessons.

By this means the assumption that private lessons are taken in order to increase school performance, thanks to which one can get to a dream university is confirmed. Extra lessons to increase their school achievements, thanks to which they will get access to prestigious faculties. The gathered observations confirm prior assumptions that extra lessons are offensive activities and allow middle classes for getting educational advantage. In both countries a similar mechanism is observed. In Poland it is even more noticeable. School-leavers of high status perceive private lessons as a “lifebelt”, thanks to which they can avoid the “oppression” of symbolic violence of school. The youth from middle classes, by preparing for the most important battle on the field of education, which is the Matura exam, enrich the cultural capital by means of private lessons. Matura exam is not the aim, as in the case of the youth from lower classes, but it is just the beginning of their way to social apex. Nevertheless, under the condition that during this most important battle the competition will be defeated.

Summary

At the beginning it is necessary to mention the limits in such a type of research again. First of all, the research was of survey character and consider only noticeable elements of this phenomenon. Qualitative studies on this subject matter would be necessary. Secondly, the research was conducted in the specific region of former Galicia, which limits the extent of theses stated herein. Furthermore, this is not a representative research, yet the one conducted on probability samples, i.e. quota samples. One should also bear in mind the institutional differences of the system of education in Poland and Ukraine. In Ukraine the studies are partly obliging students to pay the fee, and high Matura examination results allow for high position in the enrollment ranking. Therefore private lessons pay back, as thanks to them one can get access to fee-free studies. There are also claims that the system of education is dysfunctional and the society has to care about their children’s education on their own. Therefore, thanks to private lessons, society deals with this issue on its own.

Despite the enumerated limitations, there are many similarities among the youth from both countries and one may conclude that private lessons are the domain of the youth from the middle classes. In this case not only is it about the practice of the students, but also their families, which take part in the game with their capital in the field of education. The sole metaphor of a game assumes that there are players and prizes to win. Therefore, it is assumed *a priori* that the partakers will aim at winning by using different strategies. The representatives of middle classes take part in the race for high social positions. The aim is clear – get into the best educational subfields, in which one takes part in sharing the best life chances. Defeating competition, search of prestige, securing oneself against declassification constitute additional motivation for maximising cultural capital. The truth of these tropes is confirmed also by other researchers (Southgate, 2009; Zhang, 2013; Oller & Glasman, 2013).

On the basis of the gathered data it may be assumed that the egalitarianisation of educational system activates defensive reactions of middle classes, which are endangered by losing their status because of opening educational channels of social mobility. In order to defend themselves against social declassification, middle classes are forced to activate their economic resources and to increase investments in education. One of the indicators of the intensification of educational activities are private lessons.

This phenomenon, as proved by the following research, fits in adaptation strategies of the Central East Europe societies undergoing transformation. In both countries the mechanisms are similar. Entering the market of free education, the increase of meritocratic

factors and the inflation of education give boost to activities aiming at active participation in children's education among middle classes.

Taking part in private lessons by middle classes may also indicate legitimization of meritocracy and capitalism. In this case, one can conclude, according to Ziółkowski (2000) that we have dominant adaptation strategies, which are based on long-term investments in children's cultural capital. Intensification of these investments may indicate constancy of meritocratic and free-market rules in both societies.

A negative effect of the analysed phenomenon may be the increase of educational inequalities. Those, who have educational aspirations, economic and cultural resources, adapt to changes better by equipping their children with competences and qualifications useful in the labour market. Lower classes, losing on the transformation, decrease their chances of providing the next generation with a possibility of getting a good education, which may make getting higher social position possible. In this case the thesis of social reproduction remains true (Bourdieu & Passeron 2006). If such trends still remain, in a short time instead of meritocracy in both countries parentocracy will rule, in which school performance and status will be more dependent on possessed financial resources and parents' aspirations rather than talents and hard work of the youth themselves

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