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## DEVELOPMENT OF NON-PUBLIC FORMS OF EDUCATION CREATED AND MANAGED BY CITIZENS – SUMMARY OF TIME PERSPECTIVES

### Abstract

In the Polish People's Republic (PRL), almost all schools were state-owned and served a subservient role to the communist system. Non-public schools in Poland, which developed in the late 1980s, are either charter schools run by the NGOs or private schools run by the individuals. The development of non-public schools in Poland was a manifestation of a grassroots initiative of civil society, which did not approve of the totalitarian ideology implemented in public schools and the dysfunctional, backward way of managing these schools. The aim of the article is to present the dynamics of the development of non-public forms of education in Poland in the years 1989–2014. The study used quantitative methodology – statistical data obtained by information registers of public administration. The compilation of this data allowed to show the development dynamics of non-public schools in Poland and the development direction of this phenomenon. The analysis of the existing data made it possible to draw a specific map of the development of non-public schools according to the number of schools, students, and teachers, also taking into account the geographical distribution of these schools in individual Polish voivodships. The conclusions of the research confirm the thesis that the creation and development of private schools is a phenomenon that was a social work from the beginning – a bottom-up initiative of civil society. The article fills the research gap through a synthetic approach to the development of education alternatives to the public education in Poland, in which the responsibility for the partial task implementation of meeting needs and providing well for the students in the context of education was taken over by citizens instead of the state. It also aims at spreading awareness among scientists and society of the importance of the issues raised in the text, while inspiring the participation of citizens in social life and their specific impact, the strength of which results in the changes made on the surrounding reality.

**Keywords:** social changes, education in Poland, non-public schools, civil society

## Streszczenie

### Rozwój niepublicznych form kształcenia tworzonych i zarządzanych przez obywateli – zestawienie perspektyw czasowych

W PRL prawie wszystkie szkoły były państwowe i pełniły podrzędną rolę wobec systemu komunistycznego. Szkoły niepubliczne w Polsce, które rozwinęły się pod koniec lat 80., to szkoły społeczne prowadzone przez organizacje pozarządowe lub szkoły prywatne prowadzone przez osoby fizyczne lub prawne. Rozwój szkół niepublicznych w Polsce był przejawem oddolnej inicjatywy społeczeństwa obywatelskiego, które nie aprobowało ideologii totalitarnej realizowanej w szkołach publicznych i dysfunkcjonalnego, zacofanego sposobu zarządzania tymi szkołami. Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie dynamiki rozwoju niepublicznych form kształcenia w Polsce w latach 1989–2014. W badaniach wykorzystano metodykę ilościową – dane statystyczne uzyskane przez rejestry informacyjne administracji publicznej. Zestawienie tych danych pozwoliło na ukazanie dynamiki rozwoju szkół niepublicznych w Polsce oraz kierunku rozwoju tego zjawiska. Analiza danych zastanych pozwoliła na nakreślenie obrazu, swoistej mapy rozwoju szkół niepublicznych na podstawie liczby: szkół, uczniów, nauczycieli, także przy uwzględnieniu rozmieszczenia geograficznego tych szkół w poszczególnych polskich województwach. Wnioski z badań potwierdzają tezę, że powstanie i rozwój szkół niepublicznych to fenomen, który od początku był dziełem społecznym – oddolnej inicjatywy społeczeństwa obywatelskiego. Wypełnienie luki badawczej w postaci syntetycznego ujęcia rozwoju edukacji alternatywnej wobec szkolnictwa publicznego w Polsce, w którym odpowiedzialność za realizację części zadania zaspokojenia potrzeb i dostarczenia dobra w formie edukacji w miejsce państwa przejęli obywatele. Szerzenie wśród naukowców i społeczeństwa świadomości powagi podjętej w artykule problematyki, ukazanie inspirującego przykładu partycypacji obywateli w życiu społecznym oraz ich konkretnego wpływu, a także siły oddziaływania dokonanych zmian na otaczającą rzeczywistość.

**Słowa kluczowe:** zmiany społeczne, edukacja w Polsce, szkoły niepubliczne, społeczeństwo obywatelskie

## Introduction

Communism in Poland was imposed from the outside. The educational system was an important tool for pumping socialist ideology into schools. At that time, it performed a threefold function: promotional, adaptive, and degrading. The promotional one consisted of using rewards and punishments, assigning roles, making selections that eliminated and differentiated young people, and strengthening the hierarchical perception of society. The adaptive function was to shape the so-called social identity consisting of learned behaviors relating to how to act to receive a reward and avoid punishment and find a place for yourself that will allow you to gain promotion or power. Degrading function shapes people deprived of personality regulation abilities. As a result, two types of personality were created: 1. People with the lowest cognitive and technical qualifications, performing low-paid and hard physical work, their standard of living was very low 2. People with a sense of high social position identified themselves with the elite promoted by the system [Kwieciński, 1990: 45–46]. The authoritarian management

style generated authoritarian personalities [Berkowicz, 2019: 6], characterized by: cynicism, intolerance, acting destructively, showing obedience and respect for authorities, idealizing authorities by getting rid of critical skills towards them, guided by superstitions and stereotyping, displaying authoritarian subordination to people higher in the hierarchy, hostility towards people with a different value system [Osiński, 2010: 111].

The development of the vision of democratic and humanistic education appeared in communist Poland. In particular, the 1970s and 1980s were a time of increased opposition activity in the field of education. Created, among others Social Educational Society, Center for Alternative Studies in Education – Wrocław School of the Future, and Małopolska Educational Society. The introduction of martial law and the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights contributed to their emergence, in which parents are the first to decide on the choice of education for their child.

The impulse to carry out changes in the field of education – the establishment of private schools – came from citizens. This resulted from the dissatisfaction of part of Polish society with the way state schools functioned at that time. In this way, the social force took over from the state the implementation of the public task, which is education, and began to create new schools that relieved the state budget by engaging material resources from private and social sources to achieve educational goals. In addition, these schools have become centers for introducing pedagogical innovations [Rabczuk, 1992: 116].

The phenomenon of the establishment of private schools in Poland was unprecedented – citizens in a totalitarian state, opposing any private and social initiative, won the field to implement their own project – independent and contesting education subordinated to this state [Berkowicz, 2019: 99]. The basis of civic activities was freedom, which was realized against the appropriating ideology. This study aims to present the phenomenon of the development of non-public schools in Poland based on the analysis of quantitative data. The research question is: What was the process of development of Polish non-public schools after 1989? The subjects of the research were schools, students, teachers and regions in which education in Poland developed.

## Methods

Information on schools was taken primarily from the yearbooks of the Central Statistical Office (Główny Urząd Statystyczny – GUS) *Education and upbringing in the school year...* The data was supplemented based on an article published in *Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny* by M. Zahorska-Bugaj "Development of non-state education in Poland in the years 1989–1994" [1994]. Statistical statements of the Central Statistical Office, *Education and upbringing in the school year...*, were presented in a slightly different form every few years. This required unification. Hence, it was assumed that primary schools for children included primary

schools, branch schools, sports schools, sports championship schools, art schools, and the so-called small schools. The junior high schools consisted of general junior high schools, branch schools, sports schools, sports championship schools, job-training schools, art schools, and bilingual schools.

High schools include general high schools, sports high schools, sports championships, and supplementary schools. In addition, secondary schools are divided into non-public schools with the rights of public schools and schools of so-called private schools. non-public – without permission. The number of high schools with and without licenses was summed up in the analyzes undertaken. A departure from the above rule occurred in the penultimate part of this subchapter when discussing the number of schools and students in individual voivodships. The subject of the analysis was, in turn, the number of non-public schools in the years 1989–2014, the number of students in non-public schools (data available for primary and junior high schools 1996/97–2000/01, 2002/03–2011/12, for high schools 1996/97–2000/01, 2002/03–2009/10).

## Results

The first years of non-public schools were characterized by dynamic development. Each year, more than 100 schools at various levels of education were opened. The numerical list of non-public primary schools, junior high schools, and high schools are presented in table 1. It is worth noting that the data inform rather about an order of magnitude, not providing exact numbers. During each school year, many schools were closed and others were created, so the number of schools depended on the period in which the data was collected. The processes of establishing and closing private schools in the indicated period can be compared to similar processes that concerned enterprises or non-governmental organizations. Many factors influence the success or durability of private schools, but over the 24 years their number has increased, in the first year 32 were established, and in 2014 there were over 62 times more.

Table 1. Number of non-public schools in 1989–2014

School year	Number of schools				
	Total	Primary schools	Junior high schools	High schools	
				total*	non-public high schools without the rights of public schools
1989/90	32	12**	–	20	–
1990/91	179	86***	–	93	–

1991/92	313	155	–	158	–
1992/93	468	243	–	225	–
1993/94	540	295	–	245	–
1994/95	571	296	–	275	–
1995/96	616	312	–	304	–
1996/97	627	312****	–	315	15
1997/98	703	348	–	355	7
1998/99	767	353	–	414	22
1999/00	1137	351	346	440	2
2000/01	1206	347	408	451	3
2001/02	–	–	–	–	–
2002/03	1351	421	469	461	6
2003/04	1382	426	502	454	2
2004/05	1386	463	507	416	1
2005/06	1416	482	513	421	11
2006/07	1435	505	518	412	12
2007/08	1458	531	547	380	2
2008/09	1515	577	552	386	2
2009/10	1559	594	570	395	6
2010/11	1584	605	582	397	2
2011/12	1679	679	603	397	1
2012/13	1882	825	648	409	1
2013/14	2001	903	686	412	1

\* Non-public general high schools with the rights of public schools and without the rights. \*\* Data for 1989/90 GUS *Education and upbringing in the school year 1996/97*, 37. \*\*\* Data from 1990/91 to 1993/94 from: Zahorska-Bugaj [1994: 14] \*\*\*\* Data from 1996/97 to 2013/14 based on the yearbooks of GUS *Education and upbringing in the school year*.

Source: own study based on the yearbooks of GUS, *Education and upbringing in the school year 1996/97, 1997/98–2000/01, 2002/03–2013/14*; Zahorska-Bugaj [1994].

At the beginning of 1989, both primary schools and high schools developed rapidly. To assess the magnitude of the phenomenon of non-public schools, it is worth making a comparison with public schools in selected years of both decades. For example, in 1996/97, non-public schools of general education constituted, respectively, in the case of primary schools – 1.67% of all primary institutions, and high schools – 18.17% of all schools at a given level. After the introduction of the educational reform, in the first year of operation – 1999/00

– junior high schools accounted for 6.39% of all schools of this type. According to statistical data from 2013/14, non-public institutions at the primary level accounted for 7.12% of all schools of this type, junior high schools for 10.44%, and general high schools for 17.83% of all general high schools. Comparing the percentage of private schools with the total number of public schools at a given level of education, it can be seen that non-public schools were a marginal phenomenon, although in the case of the lowest levels progressive education (from the 1990s to 2014, the systematic growth covered primary and junior high schools). The year 2003/2004 for general high schools with the powers of public schools was a border line where, after many years of an upward trend, a decrease in the number of these schools could be observed. From 2008/09, there was again a slight increase in non-public general high schools.

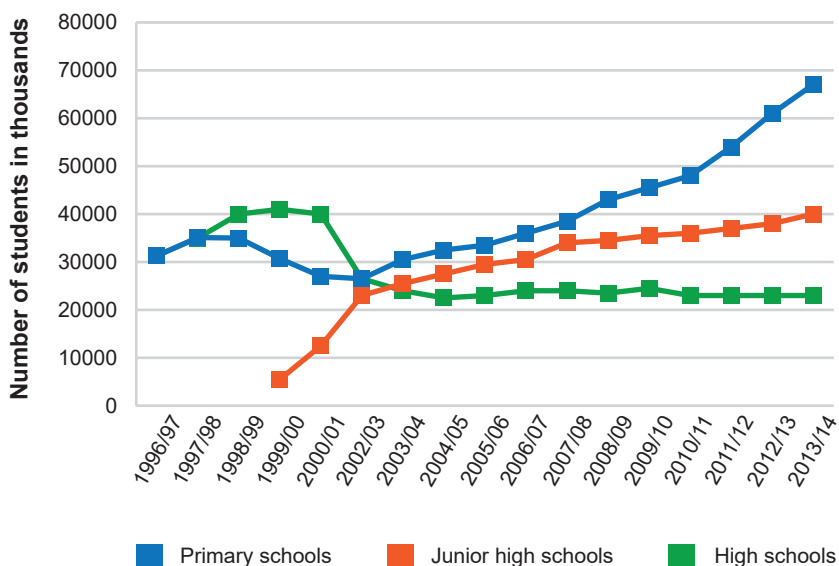


Figure 1. Number of students in non-public schools in 1996–2014

Source: own elaboration based on yearbooks GUS, *Education and upbringing in the school year* 1996/97, 1997/98, 1998/99, 1999/00, 2000/01, 2002/03, 2003/04, 2004/05, 2005/06, 2006/07, 2007/08, 2008/09, 2009/10, 2010/11, 2011/12, 2012/13, 2013/14.

Students are the most important educational subject of the existence of every school. In the school year 1996/97, the percentage of students attending non-public primary schools was 0.64% of all students at this level of education. Students

of non-public high schools constituted 4.39% of all students in high schools. In junior high schools, in the first years of their operation, the percentage of students in non-public schools amounted to 0.95% of all students studying at this level of education. For comparison, in 2013/14, in non-public primary schools, the percentage of students was 3.15% of all students in this type of school. Junior high school students from non-public schools accounted for 3.66% of all junior high school students, in non-public high schools the percentage of students was 4.23% of all high school students. Figure 1 shows the number of students from 1996 to 2014.

The number of students in non-public schools fluctuated. In the case of primary and junior high schools, a regular increase in the number of students could be noted – in primary schools by an average of over 2,000 students, and in junior high schools over 2.5 thousand students per year. The years 1999–2001 were an exception in non-public primary schools when a decrease in the number of students in these schools was visible. A decrease in the number of young people studying in high schools could be recorded by an average of over 400 students a year.

Another important entity functioning in schools is teachers. In the first decade of the existence of non-public schools – data for 1996/97 – the percentage of teachers in non-public primary schools amounted to 1.04% of all teachers working in primary schools. The percentage of teachers in non-public high schools accounted for 5.67% of all teachers employed in high schools. The percentage of teachers in non-public junior high schools in the 1999/00 school year amounted to 1.15% of all teachers in junior high schools. Data from 2013/14 indicate that the percentage of teachers working in non-public primary schools amounted to 4.71% of all primary school teachers. In junior high schools 5.09% of all junior high schools teachers and in high schools 7.85% of all teachers employed in high schools.

Therefore, in the non-public primary and junior high education, a steady increase in the number of teachers could be observed since 2005/06. In primary schools, the average increase in the number of teachers was 310, and in junior high schools – 403. In recent years, fluctuations in the number of teachers working in non-public secondary schools have been visible. On average, 77 teachers were employed in this type of school every year. It is worth noting that non-public schools employed a significant proportion of teachers. Figure 2 illustrates the number of teachers in the non-public education sector.

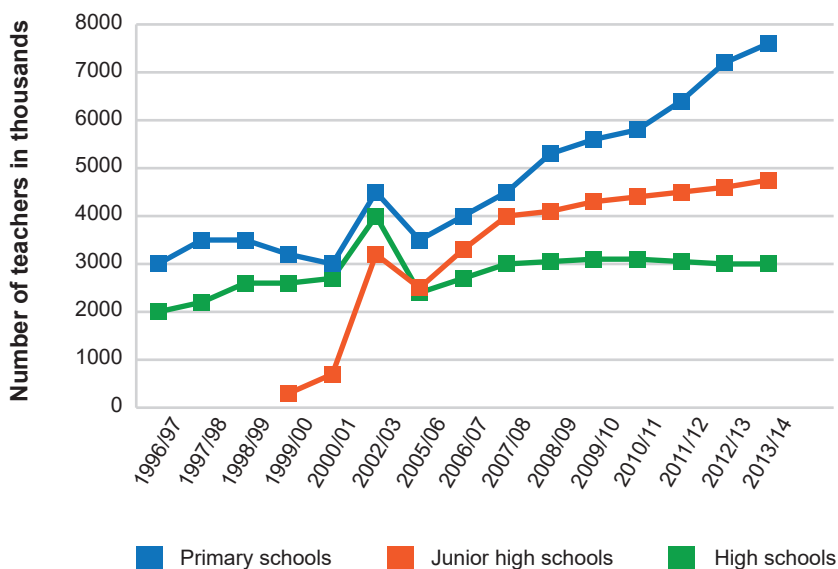


Figure 2. Number of teachers in non-public schools in 1996–2014

Source: own elaboration based on yearbooks GUS, *Education and upbringing in the school year 1996/97, 1997/98, 1998/99, 1999/00, 2000/01, 2002/03, 2005/06, 2006/07, 2007/08, 2008/09, 2009/10, 2010/11, 2011/12, 2012/13, 2013/14.*

In the years 1989–1999, the administrative division of the country made in 1975 was valid. The creation of 49 voivodships resulted in a large fragmentation in this analysis of non-public schools. It is also worth recalling that the education system was based on the model of an 8-year primary school and, in the case of the subject of our research, a 4-year high school. An attempt to recreate the educational map from those years provides data on the basis of which it can be concluded that:

- in the 1996/97 school year, the leaders in establishing non-public primary schools were the following voivodships: Warszawa, Katowice, and Gdańsk. More than half of the voivodships had two or only one non-public schools. One of the provinces did not have a non-public primary school at all – Konin;
- the number of students in non-public primary schools was the highest in the Warszawa, Katowice, and łódzkie voivodships, and the lowest in the piotrkowskie, łomżyńskie, and Krosno voivodships.



Very similarly to non-public primary education, in terms of voivodships with the largest number of schools and students, non-public general high education developed:

- in the number of non-public secondary schools, the following voivodships were in the lead: Warszawa, Katowice, and Szczecin. There were no non-public high schools in the bialskopodlaskie, Elbląg, and Jelenia Góra voivodships. In more than half of the voivodships, there were from one to three high schools. Four voivodships had more than 10 schools: krakowskie, gdańskie, lubelskie, and poznańskie;
- the largest number of young people attended general high schools in the following voivodships: Warszawa, Katowice, łódzkie, and Szczecin. Schools located in six voivodships: Rzeszów, Ciechanów, Tarnów, Przemyśl, Leszno, and Konin had less than 100 students.

The new administrative division, which took place in 1999, changed the borders of the voivodships. The educational map was modified, although in the case of areas where non-public schools developed expansively – the mazowieckie and śląskie – the image remained almost unchanged.

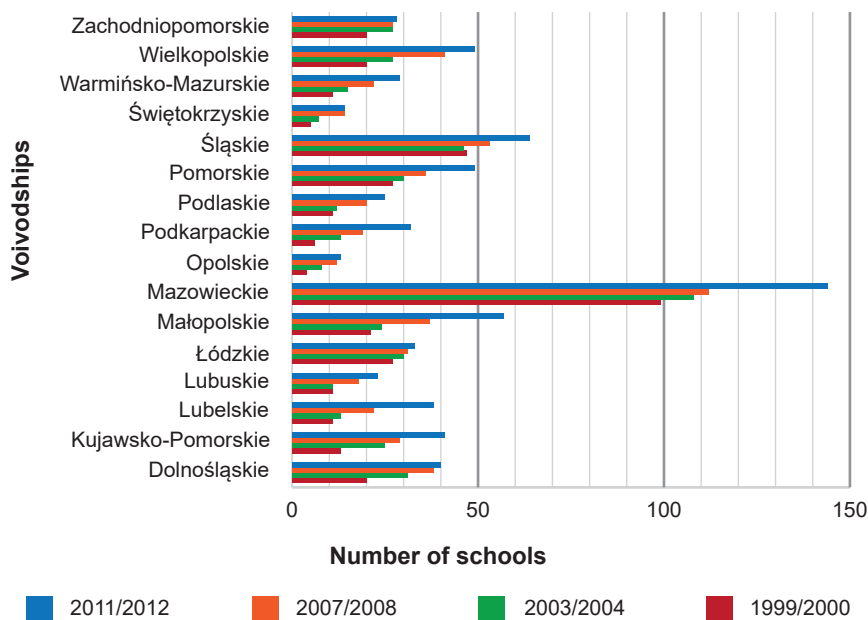


Figure 3. Number of non-public primary schools in selected years, broken down by voivodships

Source: own elaboration based on the yearbooks of GUS, *Education and upbringing in the school year 1999/00, 2003/04, 2007/08, 2011/12*.

The leaders in running non-public primary schools in the school year 1999/2000 were the following voivodships: mazowieckie, śląskie, and pomorskie. On average, over 3.5% of non-public primary schools functioned in these voivodships. The regions where primary non-public education developed the least – below one percent were: podkarpackie, świętokrzyskie, and opolskie. In the school year 2011/12, the mazowieckie, śląskie, and małopolskie voivodships were also in the lead, the number of schools in them more than doubled compared to 1999/2000. The centers least saturated with non-public schools at the primary level were still the opolskie, świętokrzyskie, and lubuskie voivodships. In these voivodships, the average number of schools was approx. 4.5%. Figure 3 shows the state of non-public primary education in individual voivodships.

At the junior high level, the condition of non-public education in individual voivodships was as follows: in the school year 1999/2000, the largest number of schools was recorded in mazowieckie, śląskie and łódzkie (the average number of schools in these voivodships was almost 10%). In the same year, the province świętokrzyskie, lubuskie and opolskie are the regions with the fewest junior high schools in Poland. Their average number was above 3%. The situation has changed slightly in recent years (data from 2011/12). Again, the province mazowieckie, śląskie and this time wielkopolskie voivodships are the centers that were at the forefront of running non-public schools. The average number of schools in these areas is almost 11%. The podlaskie, świętokrzyskie and opolskie regions are the places where non-public junior high education occupied the last position in terms of the number of schools among voivodships, as the average number of schools was approx. 6.52%. The condition of non-public junior high education in selected years in individual voivodships is presented in figure 4.

In the school year 1999/2000, the largest number of junior and general high schools was concentrated in the province of mazowieckie, śląskie and łódzkie. Non-public schools of this type constituted, on average, 25% of all general high schools in the above-mentioned voivodships. The smallest number of schools, on average 12–13%, was in the following voivodships: podlaskie, warmińsko-mazurskie, lubuskie, opolskie and świętokrzyskie. In 2009/10, the province was again in the lead. Mazowieckie, śląskie and, this time, zachodniopomorskie, where non-public high schools accounted for an average of about 22%. The least number of non-public schools (average slightly above 8%) conducted educational activity in the following voivodships: podlaskie, opolskie and świętokrzyskie. There was a significant decrease in the number of schools in 2009/10 compared to 1999/2000 in the vast majority of voivodships. Figure 5 presents the state of general high education in selected years, broken down by voivodships.

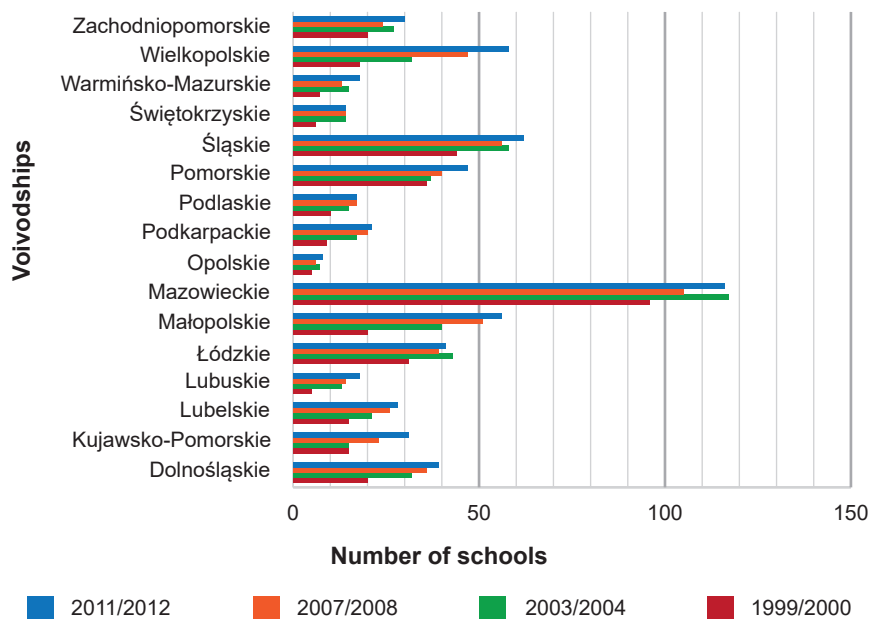


Figure 4. Number of non-public junior high schools in selected years, broken down by voivodships

Source: own elaboration based on the yearbooks GUS, *Education and upbringing in the school year 1999/00, 2003/04, 2007/08, 2011/12*.

Summarizing the above lists, it can be seen that from the 1990s to 2011/12, the number of non-public primary and junior high education institutions in all voivodships increased. The annual steady increase can be observed at the level of primary schools in the following voivodships: mazowieckie, małopolskie, śląskie and wielkopolskie. When it comes to lower secondary schools, a similar trend is observed in the following voivodships: małopolskie, podkarpackie, wielkopolskie and kujawsko-pomorskie. The opposite trend was observed in non-public general upper secondary education. Here, a decrease in the number of schools can be noticed in all voivodships, except for kujawsko-pomorskie, where there is a minimal increase.

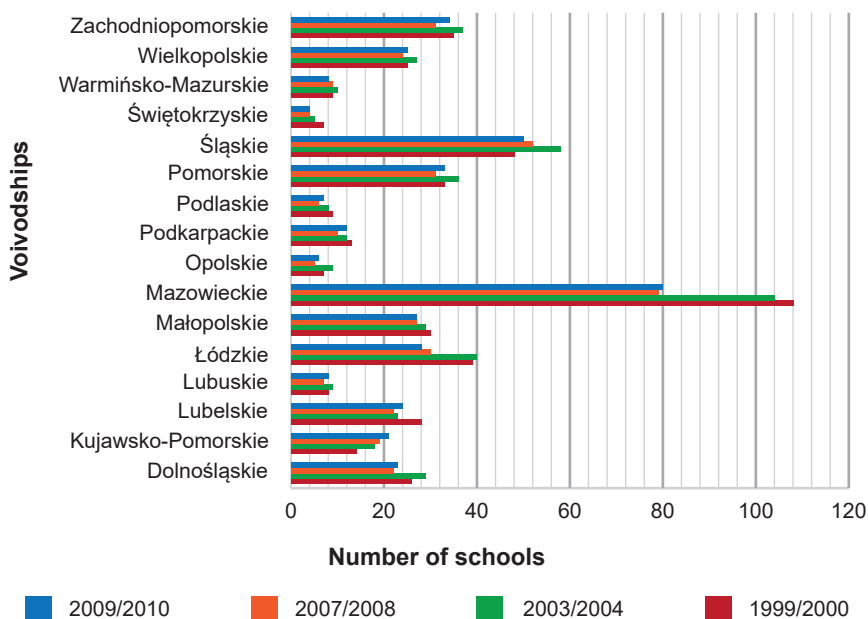


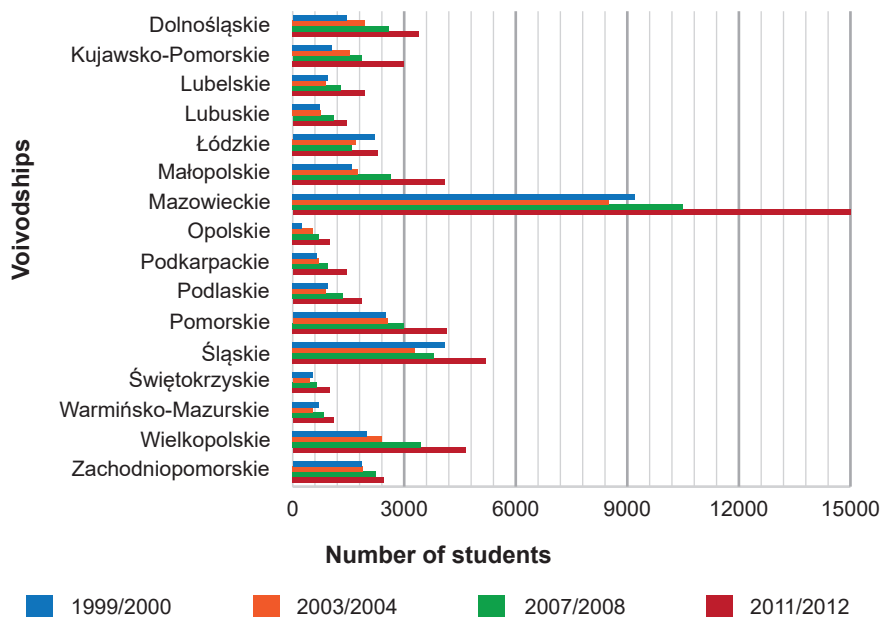
Figure 5. Number of non-public general upper secondary schools with the rights of public schools in selected years, broken down by voivodships

Source: own study based on the yearbooks GUS, *Education and upbringing in the school year 1999/00, 2003/04, 2007/08, 2009/10*.

The number of students from non-public schools in individual voivodships is interesting. In 1999/2000, the number of students in non-public primary schools in individual voivoships was as follows:

- the largest number of students were educated in the following voivodships: mazowieckie, śląskie and pomorskie – their number in none of these voivodships exceeded 2% of the total;
- the fewest students, less than 0.5% of the total, were in the following voivodships: podkarpackie, świętokrzyskie and opolskie.

The compilation of data from 2011/12 shows that mazowieckie and śląskie still had the largest number of students at this level of education and wielkopolskie. The number of students in these voivodships increased significantly, in mazowieckie it amounted to 4.79%. The lowest number of students in non-public primary schools – less than 2.0% – was recorded in the following voivodships: warmińsko-mazurskie, świętokrzyskie and opolskie. The number of students in non-public primary schools in voivodships is shown in figure 6.



Figur 6. Number of students in non-public primary schools in selected years, broken down by voivodship

Source: own elaboration based on the yearbooks GUS, *Education and upbringing in the school year 1999/00, 2003/04, 2007/08, 2011/12*.

In non-public lower secondary schools in 1999/2000, the largest number of people, ie about 1.4% on average, were educated in the following voivodships: mazowieckie, śląskie and łódzkie. The least in the warmińsko-mazurskie, opolskie and lubuskie voivodships – on average about 0.5%. In the school year 2011/12, apart from the mazowieckie voivodship, which was the leader in the number of students at this level of education, the following voivodships stood out: wielkopolskie and małopolskie, with an average of 3.66% of young people. In the świętokrzyskie, warmińsko-mazurskie and opolskie voivodships, the smallest number of people learning at this level of education was recorded – an average of 1.89%. Figure 7 reflects the number of students in non-public junior high schools in voivodships.

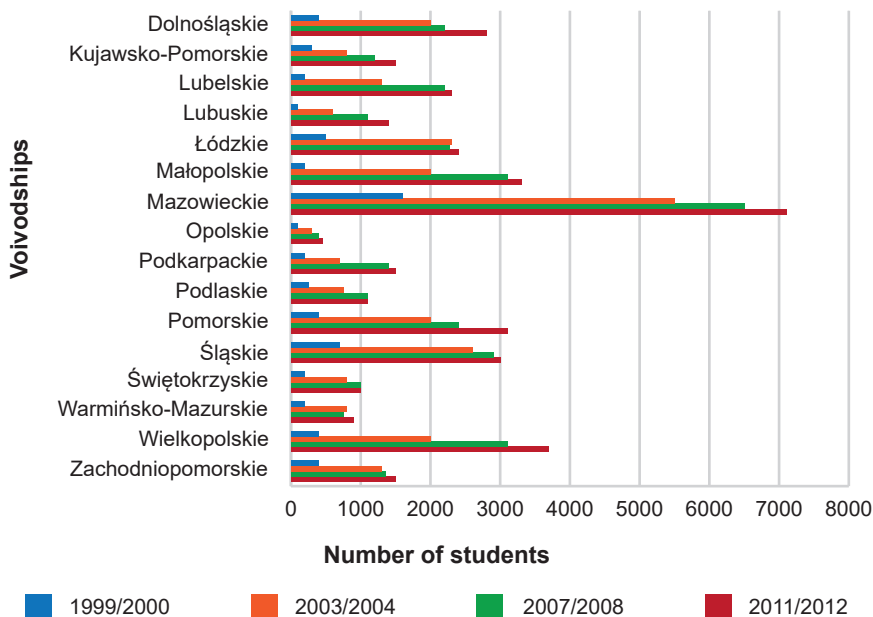
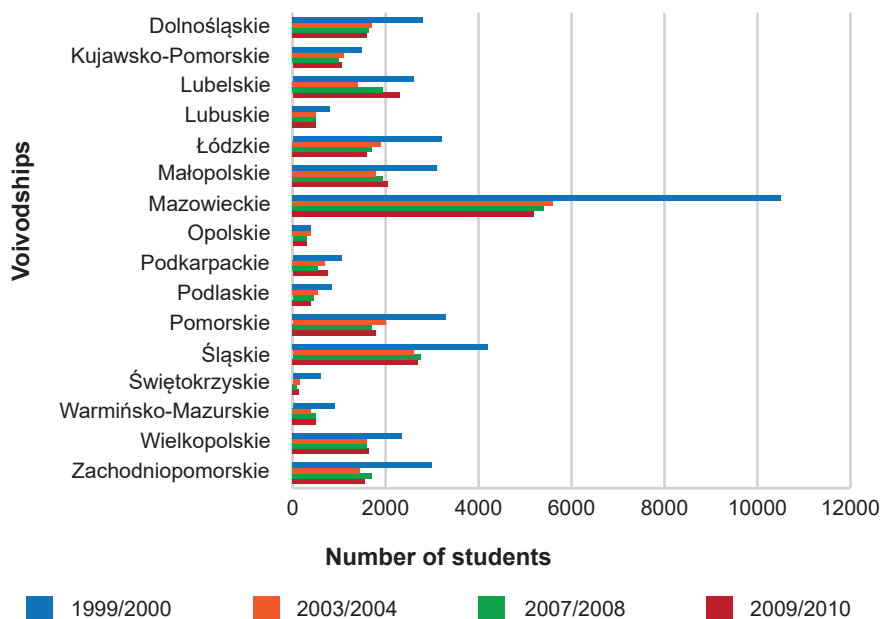


Figure 7. Number of students in non-public junior high schools in selected years, broken down by voivodship

Source: own elaboration based on the yearbooks GUS, *Education and upbringing in the school year 1999/00, 2003/04, 2007/08, 2011/12*.

The dominant region in terms of the number of students in general secondary schools in the school year 1999/2000 was the mazowieckie voivodship, followed by śląskie and pomorskie. The average number of students in these voivodships was over 6%. The lowest number of students – less than 2% – was in the southern and western parts of Poland: świętokrzyskie and opolskie. In the school year 2009/10 there was a decrease in the number of students in secondary schools. The largest number of young people, on average over 4.5%, was educated in the following voivodships: mazowieckie, śląskie, lubelskie. The smallest number of students – on average less than 1.5% – attended secondary schools in the following voivodships: podlaskie, opolskie and świętokrzyskie. Figure 8 illustrates the number of young people using the services of non-public general high schools in individual voivodships.



Figur 8. Number of students in non-public general high schools with the rights of public schools in selected years, broken down by voivodships

Source: own elaboration based on the yearbooks GUS, *Education and upbringing in the school year 1999/00, 2003/04, 2007/08, 2011/12*.

To sum up, in the 2010/11 and 2011/12 school years, the increase in the number of students in non-public primary schools occurred throughout Poland (the largest increase in the following voivodships: mazowieckie – 1,441 thousand, małopolskie – 685, dolnośląskie – 516). Also in the voivodships where the number of non-public schools and students was the lowest in previous years, there was an increase: in warmińsko-mazurskie (99), opolskie (118), świętokrzyskie (224) and podkarpackie (445).

The number of students in non-public junior high schools fluctuated in individual years in many voivodships. A regular increase in students occurred in the lubuskie, pomorskie and wielkopolskie voivodships. Upward trends in recent years (2010–2012) have been observed in the following voivodships: mazowieckie (182), śląskie (178), wielkopolskie (162). At the same time, the number of students decreased in five voivodships: świętokrzyskie (–63), warmińsko-mazurskie (–24), opolskie (–15), lubuskie (–13) and kujawsko-pomorskie (–4).

In 2009/10, the number of students of non-public general high schools with the rights of public schools, compared to 1999/2000, decreased significantly in all voivodships. On the other hand, comparing the school year 2009/10 with the school year 2008/09, an increase in the number of students was observed (although not as spectacular as in 1999/2000) in eight voivodships: mazowieckie (524), lubelskie (226), podkarpackie (93), małopolskie (90), kujawsko-pomorskie (41), świętokrzyskie (36), pomorskie (25) and lubuskie (13). The largest decrease occurred in zachodniopomorskie (-86), śląskie (-47) and podlaskie (-38). Noteworthy is the fact that the increase in students took place in voivodships which are not the "habitat" of non-public schools (świętokrzyskie), and the decrease in the number of students occurred in voivodships that dominate in this respect (śląskie).

Several factors may have contributed to the decline in the number of non-public school students at the high school. First of all, in many voivodships there are public high schools that pride themselves primarily on the high level of teaching and very good achievements of students (a large percentage of finalists of competitions, olympiads, graduates studying at prestigious universities). Many of these schools have a rich history and tradition, which strengthens their position and creates a positive image [Zahorska-Bugaj, 1994]. Another factor influencing the number of students in non-public general secondary schools may be quite a large diversification of upper secondary schools. After graduating from junior high school, students can choose from: general high schools, specialized high schools, technical schools, general art schools and basic vocational schools.

## Conclusions

Most non-public schools were established at the primary and lower secondary level. Most of the children and teenagers attended there. Schools at these levels offered a much richer educational offer and were characterized by a higher level of education than public schools. The deciding factor in admission to non-public elementary and junior high schools was often the above-average socio-economic status of the parents sending their children to this type of school. The situation has changed at the level of non-public general upper secondary education, as many competitive public high schools have appeared here and diversity in the choice of further education.

The distribution of schools in Poland after 1989 was uneven because, in the light of statistics, they were established mainly in metropolitan areas. To a large extent, this disproportionality has been preserved. Currently, there are no voivodships in Poland where no non-public school would function. It can be concluded that private education since the 1990s has been most developed in central Poland (mazowieckie) and southern (śląskie). There is no doubt that these are areas with a relatively high level of development and high affluence in society. In addition, many academic centers are located there, which may also affect the



distribution of private schools. Residents of the following voivodships: opolskie, świętokrzyskie, and podlaskie show less interest in fee-paying schools. Perhaps this is due to the difficult economic situation of these regions, which contributes to the increase in unemployment and pauperization of the population.

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