

Current Status and Roles Regarding Educational Opportunity Expansion Schools in Thailand

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This paper analyzes the status of Educational Opportunity Expansion Schools (EOESs) in Thailand and aims to reconsider their current roles. Chiang Mai City and its suburbs were selected as the site of the survey in this study. This research consisted of questionnaire surveys for students. A sample of 658 students from eight EOESs was employed.

This study aimed to clarify hypotheses regarding positive and negative aspects of EOESs. On a positive note, it was hypothesized that EOESs provide poor children with educational opportunities by improving school's accessibility. A negative hypothesis was that EOESs tend to accept only poor children. And as a negative aspect, this study also examines student satisfaction with EOESs.

This survey indicated that the students of EOESs were composed of children from relatively poor families. The results of questionnaire showed that most of the parents of EOES students were blue-collar workers. And the results of questionnaire showed that 34.5% of fathers and 39.6% of mothers lacked education or received only primary school education. Moreover, only 7.6% of fathers and 6.7% of mothers received higher education. It turned out that EOESs were in places that students can easily access. The results of the questionnaire showed 95% of students can get to school within 30 minutes.

The survey revealed positive and negative aspects of current roles regarding EOESs. Future research also needs to analyze students' progress, to clarify the structure of social class reproduction.

1. Introduction

This paper analyzes the status of Educational Opportunity Expansion Schools (โรงเรียนขยายโอกาส : EOESs) in Thailand, and aims to reconsider their current roles.

EOESs are defined as school systems that teach the lower secondary education curriculum to students by utilizing the educational resources of primary schools, such as the school property, school buildings, faculty staff, and teaching materials. In other words, EOESs refer to lower secondary schools attached to primary schools. Since there are no entrance examinations or tuition fees in these schools, they play a role as receptors for students from relatively poor families.

Regarding public schools, two choices exist when local primary school students proceed to lower secondary schools. The two choices are schools under the jurisdiction of the Secondary Educational Service Area Office (สำนักงานเขตพื้นที่การศึกษามัธยมศึกษา: สพม: SPM) and those under the jurisdiction of the Primary Educational Service Area Office (สำนักงานเขตพื้นที่การศึกษาประถมศึกษา: สพป: SPP)¹. The SPP schools point to EOESs.

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According to official statistics of the Ministry of Education, in 2015, 1,220,853 students (grades 7-9) attended schools under the jurisdiction of SPM, and 528,123 students (grades 7-9) attended those under the jurisdiction of SPP. Thus, around 30% of students in Thailand study at EOESs, which play an important role in providing educational opportunities to many students.

EOESs are part of a school system created in the educational reforms of the 1980s and 1990s. In the 1990s, the enrollment rate of lower secondary education in Thailand improved rapidly, and while the introduction of EOESs contributed to this increase, not much research has been conducted on them.

Minoura and Notsu (1998) analyzed the extension process of secondary education in Yasothon Province. They pointed out that sharing awareness of admission to lower secondary schools created by the administration among people increased the enrollment rate of lower secondary education. Currently, lower secondary education is compulsory, and therefore, awareness of admission to lower secondary schools is a matter of course for most Thai people.

Morishita (2000) analyzed rural children's choices regarding admission to lower secondary schools after the establishment of EOESs in Phitsanulok Province. He noted two interesting points. First, children from poor families tended to choose EOESs. Second, EOESs graduates tended to proceed to vocational upper secondary schools. This was the situation twenty years ago. Multiple school systems may lead to immobilization and reproduction of the social stratum. Clarification of this fact is the academic value of this research.

Although research on EOESs has been lacking in recent years, there are studies related to the quality of education. Ponart, Chochai, and Mejang (2014) conducted a questionnaire survey on principals and teachers of EOESs in Kamphaengphet Province. Their research presented the learning environment strategy of EOESs based on the questionnaire results. However, the study did not disclose the students' situation.

Thailand is a country which has created various school systems to provide children with educational opportunities. One example is the EOESs established to secure chance for secondary education. Educational systems such as EOESs have been unique to Thailand. However, it can be presumed that diverse school systems actually lead to fix social classes. It is a problem in some developed countries that diverse school systems actually lead to the fixation of social classes. Germany is an example of a country in which diverse school systems have led to social class solidification. In secondary education, German children are divided into diverse school types. Kido (2009) pointed out that in Germany, 83% of children whose parents were university graduates later attended university themselves. In contrast, only 23% of children whose parents were not university graduates attended university. Kido (2009) also noted that children whose parents were not university graduates tended to go to secondary schools other than *Gymnasium*². Likewise, in Thailand, it is feared that diverse school systems may lead to the further concretization of social classes.

This study aimed to clarify hypotheses regarding positive and negative aspects of EOESs. On a positive note, it was hypothesized that EOESs provide poor children with educational opportunities by improving school's accessibility. It is difficult for poor children to obtain the means and money necessary to attend distant schools. By investigating the means and hours of school attendance, it is possible to measure their accessibilities. Accessibility is an indicator of how secure students' educational opportunities are.

A negative hypothesis was that EOESs tend to accept only poor children, potentially leading to further social class entrenchment. Students' social classes can be clarified by examining their parents' vocational and educational

backgrounds. Morishita’s (2000) assessment of the demographic situation from twenty years ago allows us to assess the embedded nature of social classes. Comparing those results with an exploration of the social classes of recent EOESs students is a worthwhile pursuit.

Education at EOESs may be unsatisfactory due to low quality. This study also examined the negative aspects of student satisfaction at EOESs.

2. Background: Educational System in Thailand and History of EOESs

First, this section explains the educational system in Thailand. Figure 1 shows the current educational system in the country. Since 1977, the educational system in Thailand comprises six years of primary education, three years of lower secondary education, and three years of upper secondary education. Students must attend school for nine years as compulsory education. Upper secondary education is divided into general and vocational education³. In 1999, the National Education Act positioned primary and secondary education as “basic education.”

Next, this section explains the educational administration system in Thailand. Although some schools are under the jurisdiction of the Bangkok Metropolitan Government or *Thesaban* (เทศบาล) government, most public schools are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Secondary education in Thailand is diverse. Lower secondary schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education are classified as (1) general schools, (2) EOESs, (3) private schools, and (4) university demonstration schools. Approximately 2.1 million students (grades 7-9) enrolled in MOE schools in 2016. The schools of other ministries are classified as (1) Schools by *Thesaban*, (2) Schools by the Bangkok Metropolitan, (3) Schools by the Ministry of Defense, (4) Schools by the Ministry of Culture, (5) Schools by the Bureau of National Buddhism, and (6) Schools by the Border Patrol Police. Around 240,000 students (grades 7-9) enrolled in other ministries’ schools in 2016⁴.

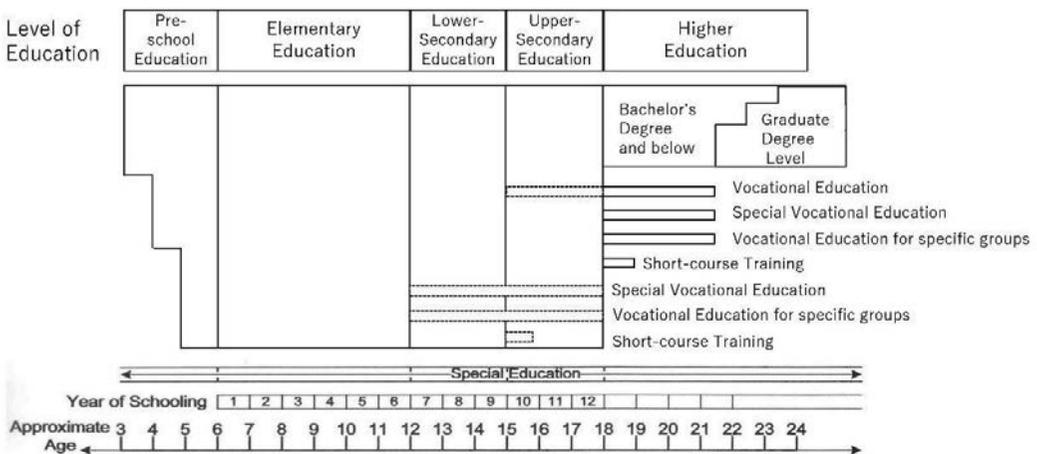


Figure 1 Educational System in Thailand
 (Source) Created by the author based on Ministry of Education in Thailand,
 2016 Educational Statistics, p. 17

However, the majority of students attend schools under the jurisdiction of the Office of the Basic Education Commission, Ministry of Education. That is, most study at general secondary schools or EOESs. Furthermore, most students living outside Bangkok have the choice of general secondary school or EOESs.

Around 530,000 students study at EOESs, which played a major role in lower secondary education of Thailand in 2015⁵. Why did the Thai government introduce an irregular educational system like EOESs? In Thailand, the enrollment rate of lower secondary education in the 1980s was sluggish at around 30%. One reason was the lack of secondary schools mainly in rural areas. Nakornthap (2018) explained the policy trend of the educational system since the 1980s as follows:

In 1980, major educational restructuring took place which moved rural primary schools out of the Ministry of Interior and into the Ministry of Education. This structural change had huge implications for secondary education, making possible in 1987 the creation of “extended primary schools” which added on 3 years of local secondary education to rural primary schools. By 1995, these schools had grown to 6,600 representing 22% of primary schools and providing opportunities to continue to secondary school for 21% of primary school graduates. [Nakornthap 2018: 127]

In May 1990, the Thai Cabinet meeting approved the policy to make lower secondary education compulsory. In 1990, EOESs were established in 216 schools nationwide⁶. In addition, Ushioji (1995) noted that the Thai economy was rapidly growing at the time, and demand for workers with more advanced academic ability had increased in the country’s industries. Under these circumstances, EOESs expanded mainly in rural areas and still accept many students.

3. Targets and Methods

Chiang Mai City and its suburbs were selected as the site of the survey in this study. There were two reasons for its selection.

First, both urban and rural areas are well-represented in this region. General secondary schools (SPM schools) tend to develop in urban areas, not in rural areas. As a result, Chiang Mai Province is suitable for examining the status of EOESs in both urban and rural areas.

The second factor was Chiang Mai’s economic situation. In 2016, Thailand’s per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was 215,455 bath. In Contrast, Chiang Mai’s per capita Gross Province Product (GPP) was 130,034 bath⁷. In other words, although Chiang Mai is a central city in northern Thailand, it is not an economically rich province. It is expected that, in areas which are not economically rich, EOESs are more likely to exist than general secondary schools.

Chiang Mai is seen as representing local situations across Thailand. Based on these facts, Chiang Mai City and its suburbs were chosen to help clarify this research theme.

Public primary schools in Chiang Mai City and its suburbs are under the jurisdiction of the Chiang Mai First Primary Educational Service Area Office (สำนักงานเขตพื้นที่การศึกษาประถมศึกษา: สพป: SPP), which has

Table 1 Educational Status of Chiang Mai City and its Suburbs in 2018

District (อำเภอ)	Number of Schools of SPM	Number of Students of SPM	Number of Schools of SPP (EOESs)	Number of Students of SPP (EOESs)	Number of Schools of SPP (Primary School)
Chiang Mai City	4	2,561	7	767	32
Doi Saket	1	240	10	691	25
Sankamphaeng	1	1,335	4	320	22
Mae On	1	188	3	193	9
Total	7	4,324	24	1,971	88

*The total number of students from grade 7 to grade 9

(Data) Educational Management Information System (<http://data.bopp-obec.info/emis/>) (Last access date: February 8th, 2019)

jurisdiction over public primary schools in four districts, namely Chiang Mai City, Doi Saket, Sankamphaeng, and Mae On.

Table 1 shows the educational situation in Chiang Mai City and its suburbs in 2018. As seen, seven secondary schools in this area were under the SPM jurisdiction. In total, 4,324 students attended SPM schools⁸. Furthermore, 24 schools were EOESs under SPP jurisdiction. In total, 1,971 students attended SPP schools. In urban areas like Chiang Mai City, there are several SPM schools and thus, the proportion of SPM students is higher. In Doi Saket, a rural area, the ratio of SPP schools (EOESs) is higher. The surveyed place has both urban and rural characteristics, and is thus considered suitable for the purposes of this research. Since the ratio of SPM and SPP schools is similar to the national average, it was considered suitable for the survey.

This research consisted of questionnaire surveys for students. A sample of 658 students in EOESs was employed. From February 27 to March 1, 2017, the questionnaire survey was conducted on students in eight schools of EOESs under the jurisdiction of the Chiang Mai First Primary Educational Service Area Office. Examining the eight schools by location, three were in Chiang Mai City, four in Doi Saket district, and one in Sankamphaeng district. Many schools in Doi Saket district were selected for this survey because of the area's high dependency on EOESs.

The target grades were from grade 7 (M1) to grade 9 (M3). The author visited each school and conducted a multiple-choice questionnaire survey, which was written in Thai. The survey targeted all students who attended school on the survey date. Table 2 shows the number of questionnaire respondents. EOESs tend to be smaller than general secondary schools. School D and School F have two classes for each grade, and the other schools have one class per grade. Some schools such as School G and School H, have fewer than ten students per grade.

Table 2 Number of Questionnaire Respondents

School (โรงเรียน)	District (อำเภอ)	Grade 7 (ม.1)	Grade 8 (ม.2)	Grade 9 (ม.3)
School A	Chiang Mai City	25	23	25
School B	Chiang Mai City	33	37	15
School C	Chiang Mai City	18	25	29
School D	Sankamphaeng	60	42	39
School E	Doi Saket	25	15	33
School F	Doi Saket	52	63	50
School G	Doi Saket	9	15	7
School H	Doi Saket	5	9	4

4. Results

(1) Student Attributes

What are the attributes of students attending EOESs? EOESs were established to provide educational opportunities for many students. That is, it is predicted that EOESs accept students from relatively poor families, who did not obtain educational opportunities until their parents' generation. To verify this hypothesis, this study examined the following two aspects: parents' occupation, and parents' educational background. Since the parents' annual income cannot be verified in the student questionnaire, this survey adopted an occupational classification.

Table 3 shows the occupational classification of the parents of students enrolled in EOESs. The questionnaire asked the students: "What kind of work do your parents do?" It was found that few parents have white-collar jobs such as being civil servants and office workers. On the other hand, many parents were blue-collar workers or self-employed businesses, such as farmers, merchants, and artisans. In the "other" category, some parents worked in construction, were seamstresses, worked in the laundry, were hairdressers, were *Songthaew* (สองแถว) drivers, and so on. Very few were white-collar professionals. The parents of students attending EOESs tended to be employed in relatively low-income occupations. Considering this, it is speculated that students enrolled in EOESs do not come from very wealthy families.

Table 4 provides the educational background of the parents of students enrolled in EOESs. The questionnaire asked the students: "What level of education did your parents obtain?" Although about one-third of the students answered "uncertain," this result represented a degree of parents' educational background. While 7.6% of fathers and 6.7% of mothers received higher education, 34.5% of fathers and 39.6% of mothers either lack education, or received education at only a primary school level⁹. Most parents were school aged between the 1970s and the early 1990s. In this period, not all citizens could secure adequate educational opportunities.

Their parents' generation was provided with an insufficient secondary education environment. With the development of EOESs (and obligatory lower secondary education in the 1990s), children previously unenrolled in a secondary school could now receive lower secondary education at EOESs. Based on the social reproduction theory of

Table 3 Parents' Occupational Classification

3-1. Fathers (N=658)

Civil Servant	Office Worker	Blue-Collar Worker	Factory Worker	Farmer	Merchant
18 (2.7%)	8 (1.2%)	284 (43.2%)	33 (5.0%)	40 (6.1%)	54 (8.2%)
Artisan	Househusband	Unemployment	Death or Separation	Other	Uncertain
76 (11.6%)	8 (1.2%)	8 (1.2%)	40 (6.1%)	43 (6.5%)	46 (7.0%)

3-2. Mothers (N=658)

Civil Servant	Office Worker	Blue-Collar Worker	Factory Worker	Farmer	Merchant
18 (2.7%)	7 (1.1%)	277 (42.1%)	36 (5.5%)	30 (4.6%)	87 (13.2%)
Artisan	Housewife	Unemployment	Death or Separation	Other	Uncertain
11 (1.7%)	93 (14.1%)	20 (3.0%)	8 (1.2%)	34 (5.2%)	37 (5.6%)

Table 4 Parents' Educational Backgrounds

4-1. Fathers (N=658)

Lack of Education	Primary Education	Lower Secondary Education (EOESs)	Upper Secondary Education	Higher Education (University or College)	Uncertain
95 (14.4%)	132 (20.1%)	81 (12.3%)	65 (9.9%)	50 (7.6%)	235 (35.7%)

4-2. Mothers (N=658)

Lack of Education	Primary Education	Lower Secondary Education (EOESs)	Upper Secondary Education	Higher Education (University or College)	Uncertain
110 (16.7%)	151 (22.9%)	65 (9.9%)	84 (12.8%)	44 (6.7%)	204 (31.0%)

educational sociology, children whose parents did not enroll in secondary education are themselves less likely to obtain secondary instruction. In educational reproduction theory, Bourdieu and Passeron (1991) argued that children of parents with higher educations tended to pursue education in terms of “cultural capital.” In other words, parents with academic backgrounds have “cultural capital,” making it easier for their children to achieve educational success. Those with parents who lack educational backgrounds do not have “cultural capital,” so it is difficult for their children to become highly educated.

EOESs have provided many children with opportunities for secondary education. Thus, EOESs contribute to providing educational opportunities to families with few educational opportunities.

(2) School Districts

EOESs were established to compensate for the lack of secondary schools. In other words, it is important that they are located in places accessible to students. This section clarifies students’ situations regarding commuting to school. It aims to assess the degree of security of students’ educational opportunities by examining schools’ accessibility.

Table 5 shows students’ means of transportation to school and the distance. Since it was difficult to actually measure the distance, the survey asked students: “How long does it take you to get to school?” There were 645 valid answers and 13 invalid ones. Table 5 indicates that three-quarters of the students go to school by car or bicycle. Since students cannot drive cars or motorcycles themselves, their parents pick them up at school or they take the school bus or *Songthaew*.

Because they go to school by car or motorcycle, they may feel their house and school are far away. However, it is common in Thailand to go to school by car or motorcycle, even in primary school. Note that a quarter of students can go to school on foot or by bicycle. In addition, 95% can get to school within 30 minutes. In other words, EOESs are located in places easily accessible to students.

In the “Targets and Methods” section, it was explained that EOESs were not established at all primary schools. However, it is predicted that they are established at schools where educational demand is high. This survey examined the percentage of students who graduated from the same primary school (that is, the EOESs primary school). The questionnaire asked students: “Which primary school did you graduate from?” The results indicate that 408 students

Table 5 Means of Transportation and Distance to Schools

N=645

	Within 10 minutes	11 - 30 minutes	31 - 60 minutes	1 hour or more
Walking	61 (9.5%)	15 (2.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Bicycle	41 (6.4%)	43 (6.7%)	1 (0.2%)	0 (0.0%)
Car or Motorcycle	235 (36.4%)	218 (33.8%)	24 (3.7%)	7 (1.1%)

(62.0%) graduated from the same primary school, 201 students (30.5%) from other primary schools, and 49 students (7.4%) did not answer. There are also differences by school. For example, 87% of students graduated from the same primary school at School G. This can be attributed to the fact that School G is a small school. At other schools, more than 50% of the students graduated from the same primary school. Thus, EOESs are established at schools where educational demand is high.

(3) Reasons for Choosing EOESs

This section clarifies the reasons students selected to attend EOESs. The survey asked students: “Why did you decide to enroll in this school (EOESs) when you graduated from primary school?” Table 6 provides the results. Multiple response options were available for this question. The average of responses was 1.8, and the most frequently selected option was “Close to home,” which more than half the students indicated. The second most frequently selected option was “Chosen by parents,” which slightly less than half the students indicated. The option “I want to proceed to the same school as my friend” was not much supported. It seems that students or their parents selected EOESs based on accessibility.

(4) Student Satisfaction

There is one more issue facing EOESs: educational quality. Because EOESs use educational resources from primary schools, it is predicted that there are problems with the quality of education. This section considers satisfaction with problems concerning educational quality.

This section evaluates students’ satisfaction with the education provided at their school. The survey asked students: “Are you satisfied with the educational environment of this school?” The results were as follows: 231 students (35.1%) were “very satisfied,” 418 (63.5%) “satisfied,” and six (0.9%) “dissatisfied.” Three students did not answer this question. Remarkably, only a few students were “dissatisfied.” The reasons they gave for being “dissatisfied” were as follows: “I was unreasonably scolded by my teacher” and “Teachers give me too much homework.” These reasons are unrelated to insufficient facilities and teachers.

Table 6 Students’ Reasons for Attending This School

N=645

Close to home	Chosen by parents	Elder brother or sister enrolled / graduated	Good facilities
368 (55.9%)	311 (47.3%)	74 (11.2%)	112 (17.0%)
Good teachers	Presence of friends	Good graduates	No reason / No answer
149 (22.6%)	56 (8.5%)	55 (8.4%)	58 (8.8%)

5. Research Findings

The hypothesis regarding positive aspects of EOESs was that they provide poor children with educational opportunities by improving school's accessibility. This part tries to verify the hypothesis about EOESs positive aspects. Based on this hypothesis, two things became clear.

First, this section considers what type of students EOESs accept. Table 3 shows that the majority of students' parents were blue-collar workers or owned individual businesses such as farmers and merchants. Table 4 clarifies that in many cases, students' parents were not educated or had obtained a primary school level of education. Thus, EOESs play the role of providing educational opportunities to students who are relatively poor and cannot sufficiently secure educational opportunities.

Second, this section considers access to EOESs. Table 5 indicates that 95% of EOESs students can arrive at school within 30 minutes. In Table 6, it can be seen that more than half the students selected to attend EOESs because they were located near their houses. There are not enough SPM secondary schools in the Doi Saket district; however, EOESs accept many students. In other words, the SPM schools are not fully developed in rural areas. Thus, EOESs play the role of providing educational opportunities for students in rural areas.

The hypothesis regarding negative aspects of EOESs was that they tend to accept only poor children. This section attempts to assess the validity of the hypothesis on negative aspects. As discussed in relation to positive aspects of EOESs, parents of students tended to be in low-income occupations. In addition, at least 34.5% of fathers and 39.6% of mothers lacked education, or had obtained only a primary education. Most children who attend EOESs do not have parents in white-collar occupations with high-income level.

On the other hand, it turned out that students' satisfaction was unexpectedly high. However, there are two problems regarding this result. First, the students do not have objects of comparison. That is, they do not know the situation at other schools. Second, the students in Thailand tend to have a positive attitude toward school. Fry and Apahung (2018) pointed out that "the happiness" (positive attitude) of Thai students was influenced by the teachers' attitude and Buddhist culture. According to them, there is much mutual respect between teachers and students, and homework is not excessive. Furthermore, they value Buddhist culture. Based on this, it may be necessary to change the questions in future research.

6. Conclusion

This study analyzed the status of EOESs in Thailand, clarifying that they provided educational opportunities to students who were relatively poor. This is similar to the situation highlighted in Morishita's research twenty years ago. There were many EOESs in rural areas, where they remain a means to solve problems regarding rural students' access to schools. This study hypothesized and analyzed positive and negative aspects relating to the role of EOESs.

The hypothesis regarding EOESs positive aspects was that they provided poor children with educational opportunities by improving school's accessibility. Table 3 shows that most parents of EOESs students were blue-collar workers. Table 4 shows that 34.5% of fathers and 39.6% of mothers lacked education, or received only primary

education. Moreover, only 7.6% of fathers and 6.7% of mothers received higher education. The survey indicated that EOESs students comprised children from relatively poor families.

EOESs also contributed to the accessibility of secondary education. Table 5 shows 95% of students can get to school within 30 minutes. In other words, EOESs were located in places easily accessible to students. Table 6 implies that students or their parents selected EOESs based on school's accessibility. It can be said that EOESs are reducing the barriers preventing students from going to school.

The hypothesis regarding EOESs negative aspects was that they tend to accept only poor children. The results in Tables 3 and 4 support this hypothesis. The survey found that very few children attending EOESs were from wealthy families.

The study predicted that student satisfaction would be low. However, contrary to expectations, students had little dissatisfaction with the EOESs educational environment. The study did not clarify specific educational issues. Among the limited educational resources, these schools provided wide-ranging education as far as possible. Future research should clarify what educational resources EOESs are lacking. In addition, it is necessary to consider the problem of academic achievement. Future research also needs to analyze students' progress, to clarify the structure of social class reproduction.

Acknowledgement

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Notes

- 1 SPP and SPM are subordinate to the Office of the Basic Education Commission (OBEC), which falls under the Ministry of Education. SPP has 183 local offices and SPM has 42 local offices.
- 2 Germany's secondary education is divided into *Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, *Gymnasium*, and so on. Only children who have graduated from gymnasium can enter university.
- 3 According to the definition of the Ministry of Education, vocational education is divided into three categories: "(1) vocational education," "(2) special vocational education," and "(3) vocational education for specific groups." The purpose of each type education is as follows. "(1) Vocational education" aims to enable learners to develop vocational knowledge and skills used for working both as entrepreneurs and as employees; and to make decent living. "(2) Special vocational education" aims to enable learners to train and develop specific vocational skills and expertise which require a long period of training from childhood, such as dancing, music and sports. It may be provided in special institutes created for the purpose or incorporated in the general curricula. "(3) Vocational education for specific groups" aims to enhance learner's vocational knowledge and skills in accordance with specific needs of certain agencies, or characteristics and needs of specific groups but it is not provided in general educational institutions. It must comply with the State's national policy directives. [MOE 2018:6] [sic]
- 4 The number of students was quoted from MOE (2018) *2016 Educational Statistics*, pp.52-53.
- 5 The number of students was quoted from OBEC (2015) *สรุปสถิติข้อมูลทางการศึกษา ปีการศึกษา ๒๕๕๘*, p.70.
- 6 Minoura and Notsu (1998), p.136.
- 7 National Economic and Social Development Board (2018) *Gross Regional and Provincial Product CVMs 2016 Edition*, p.44.
- 8 Chiang Mai Province and Mae Hong Son Province belong to the No.34 educational service area of SPM.
- 9 Because there were many "unknown" answers, in fact, the percentage of parents who lacked education or had only elementary

school levels is likely higher.

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