UNESCO and UNICEF's Human Rights-Based Approach towards EFA goals, Economically Wise or Irrational: Policy Analysis from Economic Perspective

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ABSTRACT

An analysis is given of UNESCO and UNICEF's current thinking and practice in the education sector, especially on a human rights-based approach. Economically irrational policy implementation can be a result of inefficiency and ineffectiveness of resource allocation; therefore, policy assessment is necessary. Moreover, the deadline for EFA goals is approaching and it seems that EFA goals will not be met under current policy implementation by 2015. This paper bases its analysis on economic theory and offers policy implications and suggestions through a thought experiment and empirical case studies. An analysis is conducted in two levels, general perspective on education and specific aid projects/programmes. Analysing policies from economic perspective gives a new impression and dimension towards UNESCO and UNICEF. This paper argues that a human rights-based approach is economically rational and sustainable. Identifying rights-holders and duty-bearers cannot only induce demand and supply for education but also theoretically make individuals' demand for education to be more inelastic to the prices or costs of education. However, in terms of effectiveness of project/programme investment, adjustments are required in the process of project/programme implementation. As a result, there is an ambiguous tension between theoretical and practical issues. Policy implications and suggestions are made accordingly.

Keywords: *Policy analysis, Human rights-based approach, Multilateral donor agencies*

Analisis dari unesco dan unicef dalam sektor pendidikan, terutama pada seorang manusia dengan pendekatan hak asasi manusia. Secara ekonomi irasional pelaksanaan kebijakan dapat diakibatkan dari inefisiensi dan tidak efektifnya alokasi sumber daya; karena itu, penilaian kebijakan diperlukan. Selain itu, batas akhir bagi tujuan EFA adalah mendatangi dan tampaknya EFA tidak akan terpenuhi di bawah gol kebijakan saat ini pelaksanaannya sampai dengan 2015. Artikel ini mengajukan analisis mengenai teori ekonomi dan menawarkan implikasi kebijakan kajian ini dan saran melalui sebuah percobaan pikiran dan studi kasus empiris. Analisis dilakukan dalam dua tingkat, persepsi terhadap umum pendidikan dan spesifik program-program proyek bantuan. Yang menganalisis kebijakan dari perspektif perekonomian memberikan masukan baru dan dimensi baru terhadap kebijakan UNESCO dan UNICEF

Kata-kata kunci*: Analisis Kebijakan, Pendekatan Hak Asasi Manusia, Agensi dono multilateral*

Introduction

This research examines UNESCO and UNICEF's current thinking and practice in the education sector, especially on a human rights-based approach towards education for all (EFA) goals, through the lens of economic analysis in order to indicate whether this approach is aligned with economic rationales and what conditions should be satisfied if their policies appear not to be rational in economist's point of view. Irrational policy direction in economic sense can be a result of inefficiency and ineffectiveness of resource allocation. Furthermore, the deadline for EFA goals is approaching and it seems that EFA goals will not be met under current policy implementations by 2015; therefore, there is a need for policy assessment. Evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of policy implementations can help policymakers design policy measures to achieve EFA goals more efficiently and effectively. An analysis is conducted in two levels, including general perspective on education and specific aid projects/programmes. The tensions and complements between education for development and education as a human right are also analysed. This paper is not empirical research per se as it bases its analysis on economic theories and provides policy implications and suggestions through a thought experiment. However, case studies are used to provide some empirical evidences on the effectiveness of project/programme implementation in the second level of the analysis.

Human Rights-Based Approach

A human rights-based approach (OHCHR, 2006) is, "a conceptual framework for the process of human development that is normatively based on international human rights standards and operationally directed to promoting and protecting human rights". It aims to analyse social issues impeding development progress, namely inequalities, discriminatory practices and unjust distributions of power. The goal of a human rights-based approach to education is, "to assure every child a quality education that respects and promotes her or his right to dignity and optimum development" (OHCHR, 2006). Agreed upon by United Nations agencies, a human rights-based approach has two main features, implementing policies and programmes concerning human rights and identifying rights-holders and duty-bearers accordingly.

A conceptual framework for the rights-based approach to education must satisfy all three interdependent dimensions in order to make human rights related to education realised (OHCHR, 2006). The first dimension is the right of access to education; every child must be assured that they have access to education without any discriminatory practices. The right to quality education is considered as a second dimension which education must be designed and provided based on children`s need, child-centred basis, so as to make them realise their potential and opportunities in labour market and develop life skills. The last dimension is the right to respect within the learning environment; it is the reiteration of the ultimate goal which every child has an access to the education system which respects and promotes her or his right to dignity.

A human rights-based approach can implement an intervention into education system from both demand and supply sides. Regarding demand-sided policy, a human rights-based approach indentifies the rights-holders and makes them realise their own rights. Incentive programmes such as scholarship, school feeding programme are also considered as demand-sided policy intervention. On the other hand, more common interventions are from supply-sided programmes which respond to an increasing demand for education. A human rights-based approach specifies duty-bearers and their responsibilities in order to supply inputs to the education system. The examples of

supply-sided intervention are school and infrastructure building project, teacher`s capacity building, financial aid to education sector, to name a few.

Child Friendly School (CFS)

UNICEF introduced the Child Friendly School (CFS) project in 1999 and based this framework in the 1990 Convention on the Rights of the Child's principles of children's rights. CFS consists of three key and inter-related principles with six dimensions. UNICEF (2009) implements CFS models through the application of three principles, namely child-centredness, democratic participation and inclusiveness (Figure 1). With these principles, UNICEF's movement is safeguarding the interest of child; guaranteeing the rights for all children; and ensuring all children have an access to the education. CFS is UNICEF's flagship education programme applying the human rights-based approach to achieve the ultimate goals which all children have an access to quality education with a proper and supportive environment.

According to Bernard (2005&2008), six dimensions of CFS includes inclusive for all children; academically effective for all children; healthy for/protective of all children; gender-equality assured for all children; involvement of children, parents, community; and a CFS-enabling environment. Inclusive for all children ensures that all children have access to the quality of education without any discrimination and emphasizes on marginalised groups. Second dimension focuses on the quality of the education in order to be relevant to children`s needs. Then, both psychological and physiological conditions of children are taken into consideration in the third dimension, healthy for/protective of all children. Furthermore, gender equality and community involvement are emphasized in fourth and fifth dimensions, respectively. Finally, the most important dimension, a CFS-enabling environment is supported through enabling policies, methods, and guidelines to more effectively utilize available structures and resources.

Figure 1CFS model as a pathway to quality education through the application of key principles
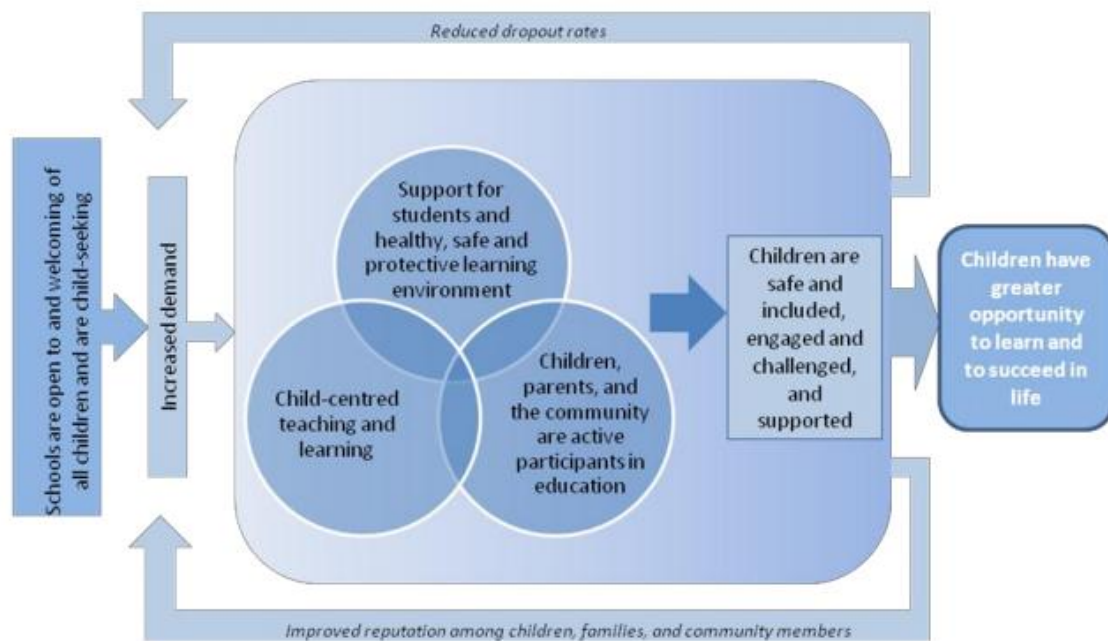
Source: UNICEF, 2009.

EFA and Its Main Actors

The Education for All (EFA) movement is a global commitment to provide quality basic education for all children, youth and adults. At the World Education Forum (Dakar, 2000), 164 governments pledged to achieve EFA and identified six goals (Table 1) to be met by 2015. Governments, development agencies, civil society and the private sector are working together to reach the EFA goals (UNESCO, 2002). The Dakar Framework for Action mandated UNESCO as the leading agency to coordinate these partners, in cooperation with the four other convenors of the Dakar Forum (UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF and the World Bank). This section discusses function, perspective on education and contribution of three main actors, including UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank, in general and towards EFA.

Table 1 Six EFA goals

Goal 1	Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children
Goal 2	Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.
Goal 3	Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes
Goal 4	Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.
Goal 5	Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.
Goal 6	Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

Source: UNESCO, 2002

Mission and Function

1) The World Bank

The World Bank (World Bank, 2011) is a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world. It provides low-interest loans, interest-free credits and grants to developing countries for a wide array of purposes that include investments in education, health, public administration, infrastructure, financial and private sector development, agriculture and environmental and natural resource management. The World Bank is made up of two unique development institutions owned by 187 member countries: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA). Each institution plays a different but collaborative role in advancing the vision of inclusive and sustainable globalization. The IBRD aims to reduce poverty in middle-income and creditworthy poorer countries, while IDA focuses on the world's poorest countries.

2) United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

UNESCO (2011) works to "create the conditions for dialogue among civilizations, cultures and peoples, based upon respect for commonly shared values." It is through this dialogue that the world can achieve global visions of sustainable development encompassing observance of human rights, mutual respect and the alleviation of

poverty, all of which are at the heart of UNESCO'S mission and activities. UNESCO's mission is to contribute to the building of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information. The Organization focuses, in particular, on two global priorities, namely Africa and Gender equality.

3) United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
UNICEF was created by the United Nations General Assembly and assigned to provide emergency food and healthcare to children in countries suffered from World War II. Currently, it has been "the driving force that helps build a world where the rights of every child are realized" (UNICEF 2011). UNICEF strongly believes that nurturing and caring for children are the cornerstones of human progress; therefore, with this purpose in mind UNICEF is working to work with other partners to overcome the obstacles that poverty, violence, disease and discrimination place in a child's path.
Perspective on Education

According to statement and mission, it is clear that each institution has different perspectives on education. The World Bank (2011) put heavy emphasis on education for development as it states that, "Education is universally recognized as a fundamental building block for human development ... and is a powerful driver for development of individuals and society ... For this reason, it is at the center of the World Bank's mission for a world free of poverty." With different perspective on education, UNESCO, however, treats education as an instrument for international/intercultural understanding and social cohesion. According to UNESCO Constitution (1945), the states parties declared that, "That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed; That ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war." This statement conveys a strong message and lucid position of UNESCO on how it views the world and its stand in approaching problems and issues. Finally, UNICEF (2011) clearly positions itself as a human-right based organisation and considers education as a human right; "Education is a fundamental human right: ... When we ensure that children have access to a rights-based, quality education that is rooted in gender equality, we create a ripple effect of opportunity that impacts generations to come." These differences of perspective on education imply that each institution is approaching problems on education in different ways with different policy directions as they possess different norms and values and view the world from different angles.
Recently, there is a convergence between UNESCO and UNICEF's perspectives on education which a human rights-based approach is promoted to be a core of framework for development policy, including educational policy (OHCHR, 2006; UNESCO & UNICEF, 2007). This movement is reflected on the joint UNICEF-UNESCO publication, *A Human Rights-Based Approach to Education for All (2007)*. Thus, UNESCO and UNICEF's perspectives on education can be treated and analysed as one perspective, education as a human right. The tensions and complements occur between two main perspectives, education for development (economics-oriented and positive approach) and education as a human right (socio-cultural and normative approach).

Financial Contribution on EFA
Table 2 shows an overall picture of bilateral and multilateral aid commitments to education. The World Bank is of all time the largest financial contributor to EFA movement, while UNESCO and UNICEF contribute fairly small compared to the World Bank or even bilateral level, for example, France (UNESCO, 2010) contribute

individually 2 billion US dollar in 2006-2007. Ironically, UNESCO does not report its own contribution intentionally or unintentionally in 2006-2007 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010, while it heavily criticises other donors on the relatively small contribution compared to significant contributors, including France, Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the World Bank's International Development Association (IDA) (UNESCO, 2010).

Table 2 Bilateral and multilateral aid commitments to education, by donor, two-year averages   (Constant 2001 US$ billions)

Multilateral	1999-2000	2001-2002	2006-2007[1]
Bilateral	**3.96**	**3.97**	**9.26[2]**
Multilateral	**1.61**	**1.48**	**2.81**
IDA (World Bank)	0.56	0.59	1.56
UNICEF	0.05	0.05	0.07
UNESCO	0.23	0.23	**n/a**[3]
European Commission	0.39	0.23	0.85
Asian Development Fund (AsDF)	0.09	0.09	0.18
African Development Fund (AfDF)	0.07	0.07	0.15
Inter American Development Bank	0.03	0.03	N/A
UNRWA	0.17	0.18	N/A
Others	0.01	0.01	N/A
Total	**5.57**	**5.45**	**12.07**

1 Constant 2007 US$ billions
2 Bilateral component might not include the same set of countries
3 n/a: Not available
 Source: UNESCO, 2005 & 2010

Literature Review
Previous studies (e.g. Lauglo, 1996; Bennell, 1996; Watson, 1999; Mundy, 1999) criticise on multilateral donor agencies' policy directions from different perspectives. Typical arguments which can be found often are socio-cultural insensitiveness and empirical weakness of policy. Table 3 provides a brief overall picture of each institution's strengths and weaknesses.

Table 3 Comparing the reports of four international agencies

Agency Dimension	UNESCO (World Education Report)	UNDP (Human Development Report)	World Bank (World Development Report)	UNICEF (State of the World's Children)
Empirical content	Medium	High	High	Low
Policy content	Low	High	High	High
User friendliness	Medium	High	Medium	High
Level of technical detail	Medium	Medium	Medium	Low

Source: Spaulding and Chaudhuri (1999)

First, the World Bank is usually accused as a socio-cultural insensitive and money-oriented organisation since its policies are based on economic analysis, for example, rate of return, cost effectiveness, to name a few, in which scholars or non-scholars who do not possess profound knowledge of economics tend to believe that economist oversimplifies the problems with a set of certain assumptions and only consider financial returns. Lauglo (1996) gives critiques to the World Bank on the World Bank's 1995 policy review on education on several aspects, including its assumptions about the benefit of schooling; its policy implementation on basic education and vocational education; and the reliance on rate-of-return analysis. It is found that the most typical critique on the World Bank is heavy use of the rate of return to education analysis (RORE). The reliability and generalisability of RORE have been questioned (Bennell, 1996). In response to critiques, Burnett and Patrinos (1996), the World Bank's staffs, states that, "In conclusion, the critics' comments are generally inappropriate because they fail to recognize that 'Priorities and Strategies for Education' is analytical, emphasizes outcomes, and is rooted firmly in the World Bank's objectives of assisting its clients to reduce poverty." The response is fairly vague and does not provide clear response to all critiques. The World Bank has also been criticised on its assumptions towards education; they are based on narrow, unexamined, neo-liberal assumptions (Heyneman, 2003; Klees, 2002). Some scholars (Bonal, 2004; Heyneman, 2003) also question the effectiveness and the direction of the policy reform which might not be adequate for solving the problems and might overinfluence local policymakers. The overinfluence of World Bank policy leads to an idea of new era of imperialism. The local governments are financially dependent on the World Bank and required to satisfy certain criteria in order to get financial support. With this condition, the World Bank can intervene the local governments in any steps of policy-making process.

On the other hand, socio-cultural-oriented organizations such as UNESCO and UNICEF have been criticised in terms of ambiguous-and empirically-weak policy documents and their organisational incapability in dealing with current problems. Regarding financial status and its staff, the capacity of UNESCO as a leading agency has been questioned (Limage, 1999; Watson 1999). These long-standing problems reflected badly on the incidence of the United States withdrawal from UNESCO in 1985; the main issues are the inappropriate politicisation of UNESCO; problems in the management of its personnel, programmes, and financial activities; and underemphasising rights of individual (Weiler, 1986). A changing nature of multilateral system and ongoing problems with UNESCO's internal organisation and management (Mundy, 1999) can be one of several reasons explaining the questionable role of UNESCO. UNESCO is also criticised severely on the policy document, named "Learning: The Treasure Within". Watson (1999) argues that the analytical framework is obviously weak; the paper made recommendations, predictions and critiques without adequate research backing. It has absolutely failed to involve the financial issues regarding the proposals. In addition, its statistics were found to be problematic because UNESCO's technologies were obsolete and influenced by tradition rather than response to demand or by innovation (Heyneman, 1999). Nevertheless, not only UNESCO but also UNICEF has been criticised on its insufficient-research-supported policy recommendations and ambiguous policy recommendations (Jones, 2006).

Unfortunately, there are very few researches criticizing and evaluating policy of UNESCO and almost none on that of UNICEF. Moreover, the existing researches are not strictly grounded on solid theory and do not assess policy in terms of efficiency and effectiveness of the policy. To fulfil this gap, this research, hence, evaluates perspective on education and policy implementations of UNESCO and UNICEF through the lens of economic theory and bases its analysis on effectiveness/impact analysis by utilising secondary data of specific projects/programmes as case studies. A human rights-based approach is the main focus of this research as the aforementioned section proposes that

there is a convergence of UNESCO and UNICEF's perspectives on education which views education from a human right perspective. The tensions and complements occur between education for development (economics-oriented and positive approach) and education as a human right (socio-cultural and normative approach). This paper is interested in analysing those tensions and complements, and evaluating a human rights-based approach from an economic perspective which gives a new impression and dimension towards UNESCO and UNICEF.

Multilevel Policy Analysis and Policy Implications
This section analyses policy from two different levels—general perspective on education and specific projects/programmes. First level analyses general perspective on education through basic economic theory of demand and supply. According to aforementioned section, general perspective on education is derived from the statement and mission of each institution and also from recent policy documents, *A Human Rights-Based Approach to Education For All (2007)* and *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010*. UNESCO and UNICEF ground firmly on the human rights-based approach to policy and programming (UNICEF & UNESCO, 2007). Then, specific projects/programmes of UNICEF are provided as case studies in order to make justification on the basis of economics. It is worth emphasising here that economics is not all about financial resources or cash. It is about how to utilise limited resources efficiently and effectively. Resource is not limited itself to financial resource but also covers human capital, natural resource, and even time. This point should be kept in mind to the rest of the analysis.

Table 4 Matrix of analytical framework

Level of Analysis		
Vertical level	**Horizontal level**	
General perspective on and approach to education (Theory)	Demand-sided intervention	Supply-sided intervention
Project/programme implementation (Practice)	Effectiveness/Impact evaluation	
	Inclusive for all children	Academically effective for all children

(Vertical — arrow pointing down on left side)

Horizontal →

First Level: General Perspective on Education—a complementary approach to economic rationale

UNESCO and UNICEF have been criticised that their thinking and approach to EFA goals are not based on economic rationale. Nevertheless, this paper argues that human rights-based approach is aligned with a very fundamental microeconomic principle, the theory of demand and supply. In general, most of investment projects from multilateral donor agencies in education sector approach the problems from supply side, for example, how school should be financed; how many staffs or teachers should be assigned to each school; to name a few. Approaching problems from supply side can respond to the existing demand in education sector; however, the existing problem is not necessary only from supply side in which market or education sector cannot satisfy all demand. Another relevant problem is that there is no 'sustainable' demand for education in developing countries. Several incentive-providing programmes can be seen in educational policies, namely school-feeding programme and vouchers for schooling but they are not perceived as sustainable programmes due to heavily reliance on financial support.

1) Demand-Sided Intervention

As economist has a particular definition of demand, it is critical to make a distinction between demand in general sense and demand in economic sense. In economics, demand is defined as the quantity of a good or service that consumers are *willing* and *able to buy* at a given price in a given time period (Pindyck and Rubinfeld, 2005). Demand consists of two main components, including willingness and affordability. For example, if a student is willing to study at a primary school but cannot afford a school fee, then in this case there is no demand for schooling. On the other hand, if a student can afford a school fee but he/she does not want to go to school, this also results in no demand for schooling because there is no willingness. However, the problem is more complex since demand for education has a special feature which actor who adopts the service or obtains the training is not the same actor who is paying for the service; student is financially dependent on his/her parents. As a result, demand for schooling is reflected from parents' willingness to allow their children to attend school and affordability. Policymaker can deal with the problems regarding demand for schooling by approaching parents.

With aftershock from financial crisis, the number of children out of school increases in many countries and regions (Table 5). Parents need to put their children into labour market or to work informally in order to help financing the family. By 2010 the recession could drive another 90 million people into extreme poverty (UNESCO, 2010). Moreover, many of the worst-affected countries are still recovering from high food prices that left an additional 175 million malnourished in 2007 and 2008. This will affect education systems directly since the increased vulnerability of poor households and rising child malnutrition will impede efforts to achieve universal primary education and other EFA targets set for 2015. This problem affects the demand for education in terms of affordability and it is easier to be tackled. As Kremer (2003) put it, "the simplest way to induce demand is to reduce direct and indirect costs of school, or even pay for school attendance", the affordability issue can be solved by financial means, given that people are rational and maximise their profit or utility according to what information they have.

Table 5 Regional sum of out of school children of primary age not in primary or secondary school, 2007-2008

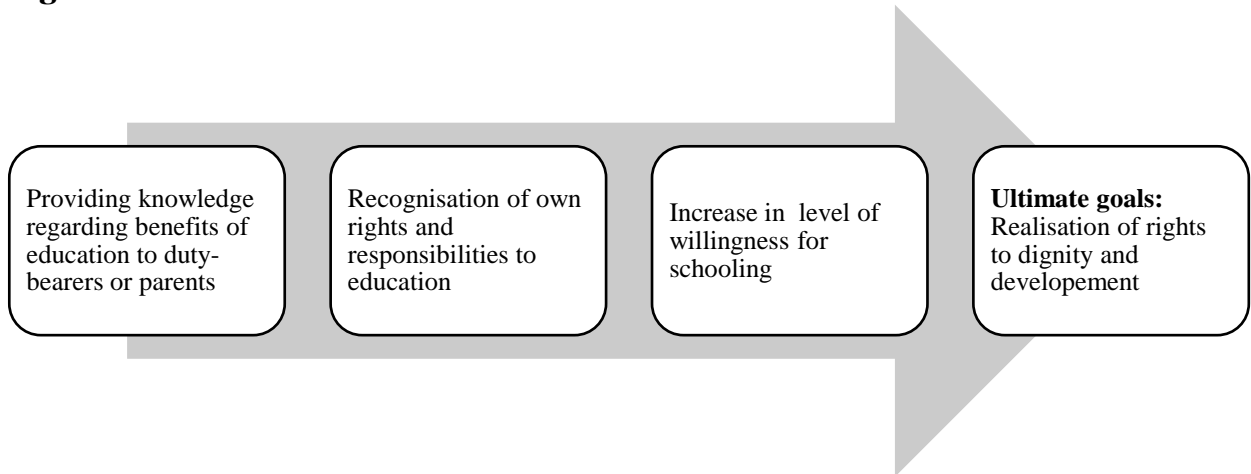| Region	2007	2008	Change in number (2007 - 2008)	Change status
World	70,113,423	67,999,125	2,114,298	Decreasing
Arab States	6,411,572	6,188,190	223,382	Decreasing
Central and Eastern Europe	1,177,417	1,147,739	29,678	Decreasing
Central Asia	306,234	322,153	-15,919	Increasing
East Asia and the Pacific	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Latin America and the Caribbean	2,954,039	2,946,346	7,693	Decreasing
North America and Western Europe	2,143,494	2,224,317	-80,823	Increasing
South and West Asia	17,674,708	n/a	n/a	n/a
Sub-Saharan Africa	30,382,729	28,866,755	1,515,974	Decreasing

1 n/a: Not available

Source: UIS, 2010

As Adam Smith (1776) put it, "it is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest", economists assume that individuals act according to self-interest and respond predictably to opportunities for gain by taking knowledge of available opportunities and the terms on which they are available into consideration (Miler, 2010; Blau, Ferber and Winkler 2002). The rationality assumption of economics is simply, "individuals do not intentionally make decisions that would leave them worse off" (Miler, 2010). In other words, individuals always maximise their own profit or utility. Even though, parents do not allow their children to attend school, this decision is rational in economic sense. The underlying explanation is that those parents are taking all available information regarding costs and benefits of available choices, for example, between attending school and working; and making decisions accordingly. In the case that benefits of schooling is less than that of working, parents will force children to work instead. Hence, the availability of information at hand plays an important in determining individuals' behaviour.

As the human rights-based approach identifies rights-holders and duty-bearers, this approach helps contribute to the better availability of information regarding benefits of education. The goal of a human rights-based approach to education is to assure every child a quality education that gives the ultimate ends, right to dignity and development (UNICEF& UNESCO, 2007). In doing so, both children and parents must be able to recognise their own rights and responsibilities or their own roles, whether they are rights-holders or duty-bearers, meaning that firstly parents themselves should be able to realise all costs and benefits related to education. In other words, to convince parents to take their responsibility sending children to school and to believe children have rights to education, it requires benefits of education must exceed that of child labour. As uneducated parents make decision whether children should go to school based on insufficient information regarding benefits of education, a human rights-based approach is striving to provide more concrete information on benefits of education directly to parents and/or indirectly to schools, communities, and government through various forms of intervention, for example, educational campaign, community involvement in school management, to name a few. As a result, a human rights-based

approach can help fulfiling this 'process of realisation'. Recognisation of own rights and responsibilities to education is a prerequisite to reach the ultimate goals, empowering individuals and communities to make their own reasonable decisions, rather than be passive objects of choices made on their behalf (ODI, 2004; DFID, 2005). Thus, a human rights-based approach induces demand from 'willingness', rather than 'affordability'.

Figure 2 Process of realisation

| Providing knowledge regarding benefits of education to duty-bearers or parents | Recognisation of own rights and responsibilities to education | Increase in level of willingness for schooling | **Ultimate goals:** Realisation of rights to dignity and developement |

Increasing willingness for education is more sustainable since it does not only induce demand among the poor but also changes the elasticity of demand for education to be more inelastic or insensitive to the change in costs or price of education (Figure 3A). Individuals' demand is inelastic when certain criteria are met or taken into considerations. Basically, there are six factors influencing the price elasticity of demand, including availability of substitute, proportion of income required by the item, time period, effect of price change, price points, and degree of necessities (Stiglitz and Walsh, 2005). A human rights-based approach tackles the problem from the degree of necessities. It can increase the level of necessities of education by providing information regarding education and promoting the concept of the right to education. The education becomes necessary goods or service for the poor if they can realise the fact that the only way for them to get out of the poverty is to be educated. As a result, individuals are insensitive to the change in the costs or price of education. Figure 3B illustrates that even there is a sudden increase of costs or price of education, the quantity demanded, Q_i, from an inelastic line, D_i, decreases less than the quantity demanded, Q_e, from of an elastic line, D_e. This point is supported by the previous and current incidences of global financial crises in 1997 and 2007, which affect the education sector but, on average, the world number of children out of school is still decreasing after these incidences (Figure 4), meaning that demand for education is inelastic enough so that individuals do not respond to the higher costs of education. However, it should be noted that the percentage change decreased between 2007 and 2008, from 5.60 to 3.02. The poorest countries are affected by the crises but this is a problem of affordability which could have been solved if leading donors are on track of the aid commitments (UNESCO, 2010).

Even though the analysis limits the examples to the case of students participating at schools, this analytic framework can be applied to other EFA goals as well, for example, promoting early childhood care and education, gender equality, and even adult literacy. The point is that necessary information regarding education or other issues of interest should be provided so as to help individuals realise the necessities of those issues and take *all factors* into account in decision-making process. Table 6 visualises the complex nature of the problems from perspective of demand-side intervention. In sum, a human

rights-based approach with demand-sided intervention is aligned with economic rationales and should be utilised to achieve EFA goals.

Figure 3 Illustration of price inelastic and elastic demand lines
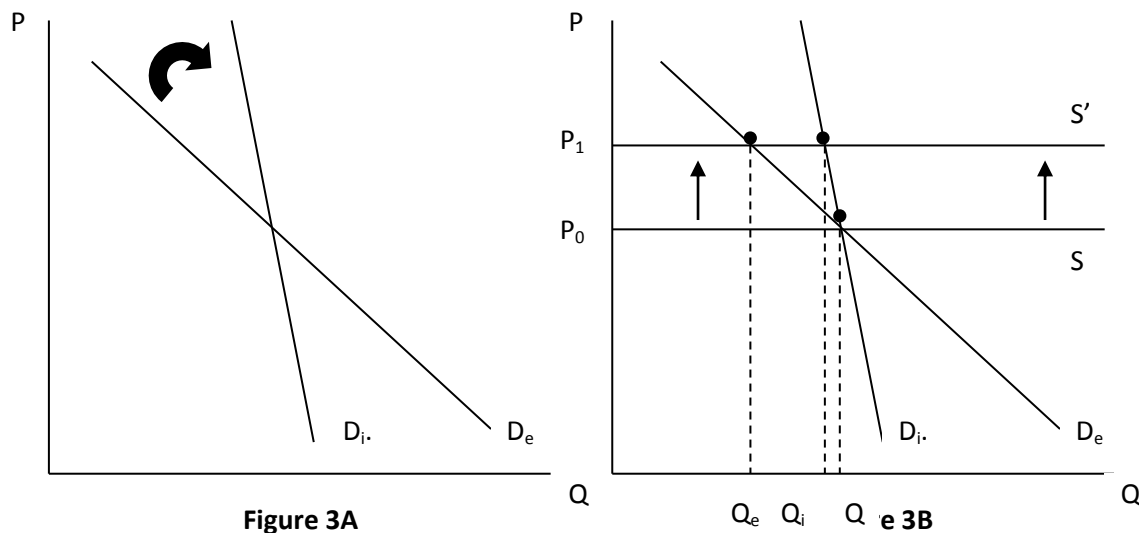
Figure 3A

Figure 3B

Figure 4 World average number and percentage change of children out of school, 1999 - 2008
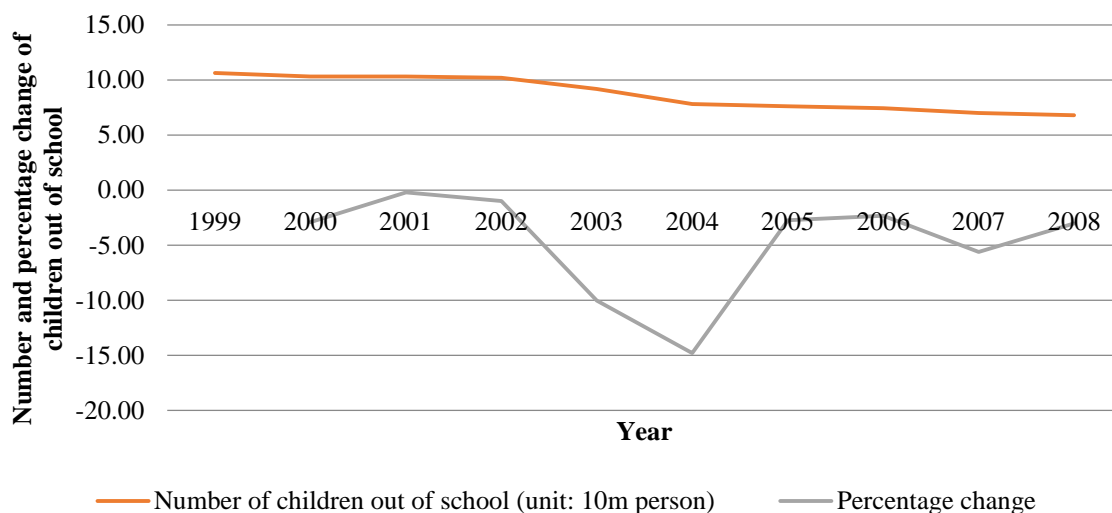

Source: UIS, 2010

**Table 6 Complexity of problems in education sector
from perspective of demand-sided intervention**

Case	Demand for Education	Problem	Policy Intervention
Worst case scenario	No	No affordability	Incentive programme
	No	No willingness	Human rights-based approach: realisation of significance and rights to education
Normal case scenario	Yes but Elastic demand	Sensitive to costs of education and low level of willingness for education	Human rights-based approach: realisation of significance and rights to education
Best case scenario	Yes and Inelastic demand	Education viewed as necessary goods or service	Quality assurance

2) *Supply-Sided Intervention*

Approaching the problems in education sector from supply side is theoretically relatively easier due to the less complex nature of the problems. To ensure all children to attend school, enough schools, staffs, studying tools, infrastructure must be provided (Figure 5). However, supplying those inputs are practically difficult. First, Governments have limited budget to satisfy all demands in the market. Second, it is more complicated if all actors do not realise their own duties in providing education for children. In some countries, governments do not give high priorities to education sector. Not only governments but also communities, private sectors and international organisations are all duty-bearers in assuring all children to have access to quality education. Moreover, the problem can involve political and social issues, such as, corruption, students with special need, variety of ethnicity groups, to name a few.

Figure 5 Supply-sided interventions
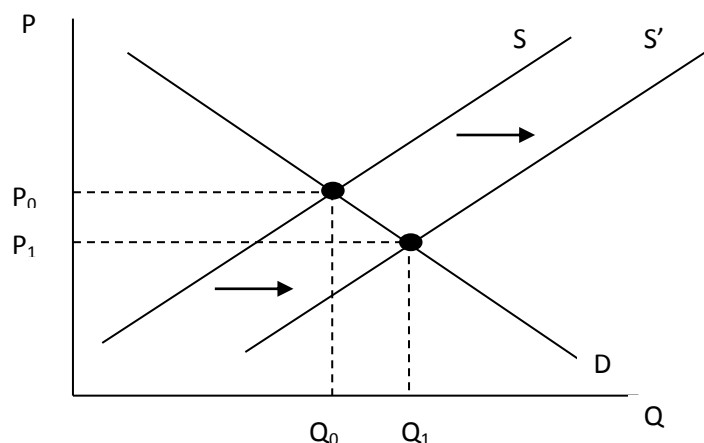
Second Level: Case Studies of CFS in Ethiopia and Cambodia—inconsistent policy impacts but still economically wise

Theoretically rational approach with wrong policy implementation can produce undesirable outcomes; hence, policy implementation should be based on cost-effectiveness analysis and the impact evaluation to ensure that the whole project/programme is implemented successfully in terms of effective use of resource. Case studies of child friendly school programmes towards EFA goals in Ethiopia and Cambodia with focus on two dimensions, inclusive and academically effective for all children are provided in this section so as to evaluate their effectiveness under a human rights-based approach. Noting that the sample is small and not random, the interpretation should be made carefully and no generalisation should be made according to this statistics.

Table 7 Matrix of case-studied analysis, effectiveness/impact evaluation

		Indicator	Country	
			Cambodia	**Ethiopia**
Dimension	**Inclusive for all children**			
	Inclusion	Enrolment rate	O	O
	Internal efficiency	Drop-out rate	O	O
		Repetition rate	O	O
	Willingness	Parents' preferences	X	O
	Academically effective for all children			
	Critical Thinking	Student's score	O	X
	Creative Thinking	Student's score	O	X
	Cost-effectiveness	Cost-effectiveness	X	X

Note: O = available X = not available
Source: Author's compilation based on Bernard and UNICEF`s CFS project evaluation (Bernard, 2005 & 2008; UNICEF, 2010).

1) Inclusive for All Children
1.1) Inclusion
Enrolment since the introduction of CFS in both countries has shown a positive trend (Table 8). In Cambodia, a sharp increase in enrolment rate in the second period and a sudden drop in the third period can be seen. Even though it is arguably that the rise in the second period could be due to other factors, the growth rate is still positive and high in the third period and higher than that of non-CFS. In Ethiopia, it is reported that improvements of infrastructure, for example, construction and renovation of classrooms, separate latrines, and provision of furniture and water supply, are the major pull factor for inducing demand for schooling (UNICEF, 2010). Enabling vulnerable children is one of several factors raise the enrolment in Cambodia (Bernard, 2005). In terms of gender, CFS programme indicated a positive effect on girl's enrolment rate. In non-CFS, a negative growth rate of girl's enrolment can be observed while it is positive and fairly high in CFS. Hence, compared to non-CFS, CFS has a positive and higher impact on enrolment of overall students and that of girls. This also

shows the effectiveness of CFS programme in terms of inducing demand for schooling; it might come from willingness and/or affordability components.

Table 8 Improvement of enrolment rate, primary school, since CFS introduction

Country	Type of school	Location	Est. Year[1]	Second period				Third period			
				Both genders	Growth rate	Girls	Growth rate	Both genders	Growth rate	Girls	Growth rate
Ethiopia	CFS	All CFS	2005	426	1.9%	n/a	n/a	1921	6.8%	n/a	n/a
Cambodia	CFS	Kampong Speu	2002	6437	855%	3194	863%	5210	72%	2435	68%
		Kampong Cham	2002	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4017	58%	2082	62%
	Overall province	Kampong Speu	2002	-6442	-24%	-3006	-23%	7193	35%	3410	35%
		Kampong Cham	2002	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

1 Est. Year = Established Year of the CFS programme
2 Second period = 2006/07 (Ethiopia), 2003/04 (Cambodia); Third period = 2007/08 (Ethiopia), 2004/05 (Cambodia: only first semester)
3 n/a: Not available
Source: Author's compilation based on Bernard and UNICEF`s CFS project evaluation (Bernard, 2005 & 2008; UNICEF, 2010).

1.2) Internal Efficiency
Report of drop-out rates is disappointing as the drop-out rate increases after implementation of CFS programme in both countries (Table 9). Comparing non-CFS and CFS students, drop-out rates in Cambodia for 2003/04 (last period) are not significantly different; however, in terms of improvement non-CFS shows a better outcome which the drop-out rate decreases. In Ethiopia, the average CFS drop-out rate appears to be 7 per cent for both boys and girls in 2006/07. Compared to the national average in the same year, CFS has performed better in their first year of operation. Progress in 2007/08 is less satisfactory, exhibiting a drop-out rate higher by 3 percentage points compared to the base year. According to UNICEF (2010), the major reasons children reported for dropping out of school are health problem, family problems, work for family, lack of parental support, financial difficulty and hunger. It might be able to conclude that CFS is still lacking the capacity in responding to children's demand for schooling, in terms of affordability.

With regard to repetition, in terms of improvement, the repeating rates do not illustrate a good situation as well (Table 10). In Cambodia, compared to non-CFS, CFS programme, however, shows lesser repeating rates but they are not significantly different. In Ethiopia, the first year of intervention shows a positive trend, but in the second year it relapsed to the base-year figure of 8 per cent, implying little or no improvement in aggregate terms.

Table 9 Drop-out rates, primary school, since CFS introduction

Country	Type of school	Location	First period		Last period		Comparisons with first period	
			Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls
Ethiopia	CFS	All CFS	6%	3%	9%	3%	-2%	-1%
Cambodia	CFS	Kampong Speu	1%	0%	4%	4%	-3%	-4%

	Kampong Cham	3%	3%	5%	5%	-2%	-2%
Overall province	Kampong Speu	5%	4%	4%	4%	1%	0%
	Kampong Cham	n/a	n/a	5%	4%	n/a	n/a

1 First period = 2005/06 (Ethiopia), 2002/03 (Cambodia); Last period = 2007/08 (Ethiopia), 2003/04 (Cambodia)

2 n/a: Not available

Source: Author's compilation based on Bernard and UNICEF`s CFS project evaluation (Bernard, 2005 & 2008; UNICEF, 2010).

Table 10 Repeating rates, primary school, since CFS introduction

Country	Type of school	Location	First period		Second period		Third period		Comparisons with first period	
			Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls
Ethiopia	CFS	All CFS	8.0%	n/a	n/a	n/a	8.2%	0.1%	0.3%	n/a
Cambodia	CFS	Kampong Speu	11%	14%	12%	14%	18%	16%	7%	2%
		Kampong Cham	14%	11%	20%	18%	18%	16%	4%	5%
	Overall	Kampong Speu	18%	16%	20%	17%	22%	20%	4%	4%
		Kampong Cham	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

1 First period = 2005/06 (Ethiopia), 2002/03 (Cambodia); Second period = 2006/07 (Ethiopia), 2003/04 (Cambodia); Third period = 2007/08 (Ethiopia), 2004/05 (Cambodia: only first semester)

2 n/a: Not available

Source: Author's compilation based on Bernard and UNICEF`s CFS project evaluation (Bernard, 2005 & 2008; UNICEF, 2010).

1.3) Willingness

According to report (UNICEF, 2010), it seems that CFS has the strongest impacts on parents' willingness to send their children to school and on an involvement of communities in schools' activities as it can be seen from a significant increase in student's enrolment rate in both countries (Table 8). Table 11 shows that the attitude of parents towards girls' education is improving, given the fact that there is strong gender-stereotyping in Ethiopia. Even though preference for boys is still dominant, 28.6 per cent of student respondents indicated that parents show no preferences between boys and girls for schooling. Efforts by Government, UNICEF and other agencies in promoting and raising the awareness of the importance of education in general and girls` education contribute to this great improvement.

It is reported that positive steps have been taken in child-friendly schools. All respondents feel that the schools are becoming more gender sensitive and striving to promote gender equality in several aspects. Girls' participation is reported to have been enhanced in curriculum and various activities. The provision of gender-friendly facilities such as separate latrines, water supplies, various gender-sensitive posters, brochures, supplementary reading materials, tutorial and counselling services, and

awareness raising activities are found to be instrumental in promoting the rights of girls to education and in minimizing gender stereotypes in schools and communities.

**Table 11 Parents' preference of children for schooling
from student responses, Ethiopia, 2008**

Respondents	Parents' preferences						Total
	Boys	**Girls**	**Younger child**	**Older child**	**Disabled**	**No preferences**	
Female	39.90%	10.60%	11.50%	5.80%	0.50%	31.70%	100%
Male	41.70%	13.80%	16.50%	2.30%	0.00%	25.70%	100%
Both	40.80%	12.20%	14.10%	4.00%	0.20%	28.60%	100%

Source: UNICEF, 2010

2) Academically Effective for All Children

Table 12 Summary of effect sizes for total mean scores, Cambodia, 2004

Grade	Critical thinking				Creative thinking			
	Experimental CFS	**Control non-CFS**	**Mean difference**	**Effect size**	**Experimental CFS**	**Control non-CFS**	**Mean difference**	**Effect size**
1	67% (642)	53% (490)	14%***	0.71	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
5	39% (363)	33% (359)	6%***	0.50	38% (363)	22% (359)	17.03%***	0.94
6	47% (319)	40% (319)	7%***	0.52	40% (319)	23% (319)	15.43%***	1.1

1 Number of samples in parenthesis
2 n/a: Not available
3 *** significant at 0.01
Source: Author's compilation based on Bredenburg and Heeyit's CFS project evaluation (Bernard, 2005; Bredenberg and Heeyit, 2004).

Regarding critical thinking assessment, in grade 1, a comparison of total scores for experimental and control groups shows a statistically significant difference in favor of the experimental group at a probability level of p<.01 (Table12). In this respect, the average score among children in the experimental group is 67% compared with an average score of 53% for the control group. This tendency is true of all 5 domains included in the test for Grade 1. Written tests at the Grade 5 and 6 level for critical thinking items yielded total mean scores that indicate significant differences at p<.01 for both Grades 5 and 6 in favor of the experimental group (Table 12). Mean differences are 6% for Grade 5 and 7% for Grade 6. Nevertheless, this outcome is not true across all domains. Total mean scores for Grade 5 children who studied in CFS classrooms show 39% against 33% for the control group. Among Grade 6 children, the experimental group mean score is 47% against 40% for the control.

In terms of creative thinking, assessment is not conducted in grade 1. In Grade 5 and 6, analysis of mean differences between comparative groups yield the result that mean

scores among the experimental group are significantly higher than those of the control group at $p<.01$ in both Grades 5 and 6. In addition, these statistically significant differences are consistent at the same probability level across all domains. In this respect, the total mean score for Grade 5 is 38% for the experimental group as against 22% for the control group and 40% for the experimental group at Grade 6 as against 23% for the control group. Total mean score differences are 16% at Grade 5 and 17% at Grade 6.

The computation of effect sizes relating to mean differences for total mean scores relative to the largest standard deviation for each group is summarised in Table 12. According to this analysis, the effect size for findings on the Grade 1 critical thinking test is 0.71 thereby indicating a moderate to major impact. Effect sizes for critical thinking tests in Grades 5 and 6 are smaller at 0.50 and 0.52, respectively. These results nevertheless suggest moderate impacts on children's ability to complete tasks relating to critical thinking. Effect sizes appear to be greatest on tests that pertained to measure creative thinking. In this respect, the effect size for Grade 5 is 0.94 while for Grade 6 the effect size is 1.10. These effect size magnitudes imply impacts on children's learning that are large although in absolute terms, percentage scores among both groups are relatively low. Because the mean difference for all total mean scores is in favor of the experimental group, these results suggest that impacts on those children who received programme interventions were not only significant but also moderate to major in magnitude.

Conclusion

This paper argues that a human rights-based approach is economically rational and sustainable. Identifying rights-holders and duty-bearers cannot only induce demand and supply for education but also theoretically make individuals' demand for education to be more inelastic to the prices or costs of education. However, in terms of effectiveness of project/programme, adjustments are required in the process of project/programme implementation. The CFS programme which bases its framework on a human rights-based approach shows inconsistency of the results regarding various aspects. Some aspects, including inclusion, willingness and academic achievement, show a positive impact of the programme, while internal efficiency is less satisfactory. A human rights-based approach is theoretically economically justified but this justification might not be true practically. Further study on cost-effectiveness analysis is required to make this justification. As a result, there is an ambiguous tension between theoretical and practical perspectives.

Case studies of CFS programme support the main argument of this research (only within these specific case studies). CFS programme induces demand from both willingness and affordability components; improvements in enrolment rate and parents' attitude towards children can be seen. Moreover, CFS programme also supplies quality education to students as CFS students show higher academic outcomes, compared to non-CFS students. However, as suggested earlier, the cost-effectiveness analysis should be implemented to show the efficiency of resource use. Moreover, systematic and nation-wide project/programme evaluation should also be implemented. As the criteria of project/programme evaluation among countries, in this case Ethiopia and Cambodia, are different, it is difficult to make comparison and to get meaningful results and policy implications.

In terms of limitations of this study, there are few issues to be discussed. First, this research utilises fairly selective case studies since the number of UNESCO and UNICEF's projects/programmes with quantitative evaluation is very limited. The same reason also applies to the data limitations. Hence, as noted in aforementioned section, the interpretation should be made carefully and no generalisation should be made according to provided statistics. Moreover, a human rights-based approach heavily

emphasises on children's rights but mentions a little on adult's right to education; therefore, policy implemented under a human rights-based approach might not be able to achieve all EFA goals. As a result, the analysis narrowly focuses on only some but not all EFA goals. Suggested further studies are utilization of more complicated economic models or analysis from macroeconomic level, for example, social coast and benefit analysis. It is worth emphasising to conduct the cost-effectiveness and cost-benefit analysis for CFS programme. Finally, different angle of analysis might be useful, for instance, policy of the World Bank might be analysed under the human rights-based framework or from socio-cultural perspective.

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