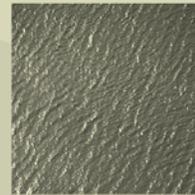
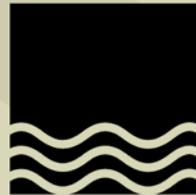


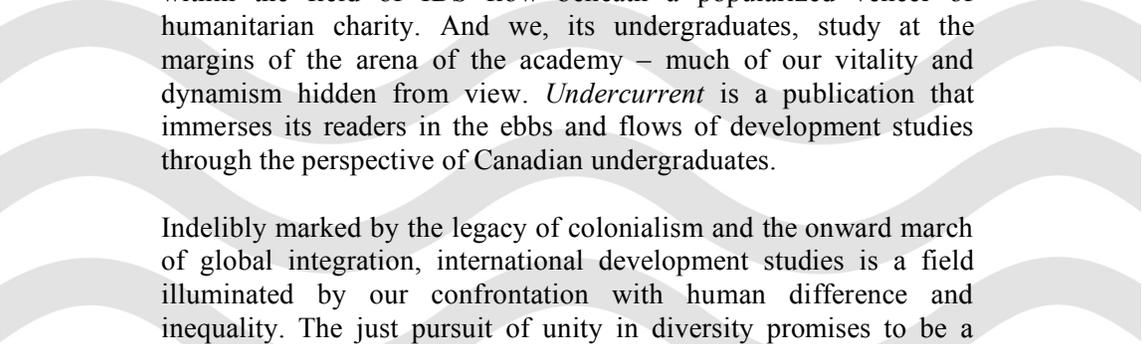
# undercurrent

volume ii number 2 2005



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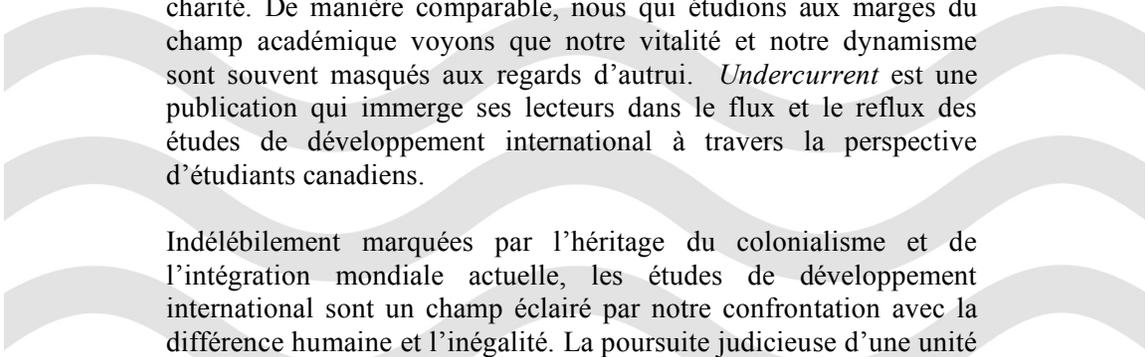
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du développement

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An undercurrent, by definition, is the unseen movement of water beneath the surface; its tug and motion are only perceptible upon submersion. It is an apt metaphor both for international development studies and its undergraduates. The intriguing tensions and debates within the field of IDS flow beneath a popularized veneer of humanitarian charity. And we, its undergraduates, study at the margins of the arena of the academy – much of our vitality and dynamism hidden from view. *Undercurrent* is a publication that immerses its readers in the ebbs and flows of development studies through the perspective of Canadian undergraduates.

Indelibly marked by the legacy of colonialism and the onward march of global integration, international development studies is a field illuminated by our confrontation with human difference and inequality. The just pursuit of unity in diversity promises to be a reiterating challenge for the next century, and water is a fitting icon for such a pursuit: an elemental reminder of our fundamental oneness that, through its definition of our planetary geography, also preserves our distance.

With aspirations of distinction, we are proud to offer *Undercurrent*.

Un *undercurrent* (courant de fond), par définition, est le mouvement invisible de l'eau sous la surface. Son va-et-vient est seulement apparent par submersion. Ceci est une métaphore à propos des études de développement international et des étudiants au baccalauréat. Les tensions et les débats fascinants au sein du domaine du développement international circulent sous l'aspect superficiel de la charité. De manière comparable, nous qui étudions aux marges du champ académique voyons que notre vitalité et notre dynamisme sont souvent masqués aux regards d'autrui. *Undercurrent* est une publication qui immerge ses lecteurs dans le flux et le reflux des études de développement international à travers la perspective d'étudiants canadiens.

Indélébilement marquées par l'héritage du colonialisme et de l'intégration mondiale actuelle, les études de développement international sont un champ éclairé par notre confrontation avec la différence humaine et l'inégalité. La poursuite judicieuse d'une unité au sein de la diversité promet d'être un défi récurrent pour le siècle à venir. L'eau est une image appropriée pour une telle quête : elle est un rappel élémentaire de notre unité fondamentale, qui, parce qu'elle définit notre géographie planétaire, préserve aussi notre distance.

Avec des ambitions de distinction, nous sommes fiers de présenter *Undercurrent*.



## Mandate and History of the Journal

*Undercurrent* is the only student-run national undergraduate journal publishing scholarly essays and articles that explore the subject of international development. The journal is a refereed publication dedicated to providing a non-partisan, supportive, yet critical and competitive forum exclusively for undergraduate research, writing, and editing.

*Undercurrent* endeavours to raise the profile of undergraduate IDS; to establish a venue in which young scholars may undergo constructive review and have work published; to provide the best examples of work currently being done in undergraduate IDS programmes in Canada; to stimulate creative scholarship, dialogue and debate about the theory and practice of development; to provide a learning opportunity for contributors, staff and readers; and to offer one means by which students may more meaningfully participate in broader exchanges within their chosen field of study. Besides articles and essays, the journal will contain editorials, book reviews, and commentary, as contributions merit, investigating aspects of development both at home and abroad.

While individual authors may present distinct, critical viewpoints, *Undercurrent* does not harbour any clear ideological commitments. Instead, the journal aims to evince the broad range of applications for development theory and methodology, and to promote interdisciplinary discourse, by publishing an array of articulate, well-researched pieces.

Many undergraduate students in IDS express themselves with thoughtful creativity, embrace interdisciplinarity with enthusiasm, and exhibit an outstanding level of scholarship. While some elect to pursue advanced degrees, others do not. *Undercurrent* aims to lend its voice to the claim that legitimate inquiries into the humanities emanate from many points along a scholar's path, both before and after graduation.

*Undercurrent* grew out of the inaugural Canadian national students' conference in International Development Studies: 'InSight', held in the spring of 2004 in Winnipeg, Manitoba. InSight witnessed students from all across Canada coming together to exchange – and create – information, skills, resources and knowledge, and to satisfy their desire to forge closer links between Canadian IDS programmes.

In many ways the journal is the concrete manifestation of the ambitions, hopes and values expressed at that conference.

As a volunteer-driven initiative aspiring from the students themselves, *Undercurrent* is testament to the enthusiasm and vision undergraduates invest in the study of international development.



## Mandat et histoire du journal

*Undercurrent* est la seule revue étudiante canadienne, gérée par des étudiants, qui publie des essais et des articles académiques explorant le sujet du développement international. La revue est une publication dédiée à fournir un forum d'entraide neutre, mais à la fois critique et compétitif, exclusif aux travaux de recherche, d'écriture et de rédaction des étudiants.

*Undercurrent* s'efforce d'améliorer le profil des étudiants en études du développement international; d'établir un lieu où les jeunes étudiants peuvent bénéficier d'une critique constructive et être publiés; de fournir les meilleurs exemples de travaux présentement en cours dans les programmes de premier cycle en développement international au Canada; de stimuler un savoir créatif, un dialogue et un débat sur les théories et les pratiques du développement; de fournir une occasion d'apprentissage pour les contributeurs, le personnel et les lecteurs; et d'offrir un moyen par lequel les étudiants peuvent, de façon plus significative, participer à un échange encore plus vaste dans leur domaine d'études. Outre les articles et les essais, le journal contient aussi des éditoriaux, des critiques, ainsi que des commentaires, en tant que collaborations spéciales, enquêtant sur les aspects du développement tant ici qu'à l'étranger.

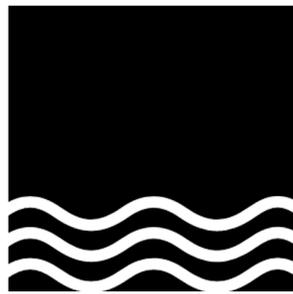
Bien que les auteurs puissent présenter des points de vue distincts et critiques, *Undercurrent* n'affiche aucun engagement idéologique précis. Au contraire, le journal vise à exprimer la vaste gamme d'applications théoriques et méthodologiques du développement ainsi qu'à promouvoir un discours interdisciplinaire en publiant un ensemble de textes clairs et bien documentés.

Beaucoup d'étudiants en études du développement international s'expriment avec une créativité réfléchie, embrassent l'interdisciplinarité avec enthousiasme et démontrent un niveau de connaissances élevé. Quelques-uns choisissent de poursuivre des études supérieures, d'autres non. *Undercurrent* vise à exprimer cette idée selon laquelle les recherches fondées en sciences humaines émanent à divers moments au long du parcours académique des étudiants, tant avant qu'après l'obtention de leur diplôme.

*Undercurrent* est né lors de *InSight*, la conférence inaugurale nationale canadienne pour les étudiants en études du développement international, qui a eu lieu au printemps 2004 à Winnipeg au Manitoba. Lors de *InSight*, des étudiants venus de partout au Canada se sont rencontrés afin d'échange et de créer, des informations, des compétences, des ressources et des connaissances, ainsi qu'afin de satisfaire leur désir d'établir des liens plus étroits entre les programmes canadiens d'études du développement international.

Sous plusieurs aspects, le journal est la manifestation concrète des ambitions, des espoirs et des valeurs exprimées lors de la conférence.

En tant qu'initiative bénévole venant des étudiants, *Undercurrent* est le testament de l'enthousiasme et la vision que les étudiants investissent dans l'étude du développement international.



# **Undercurrent**

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## **Undercurrent**

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## Table of Contents / Table des matières

Volume II, N° 2, 2005

<b>EDITOR'S NOTE</b> .....	8
 <b>INTRODUCTION</b>	
Geoffrey Cameron, Jill Campbell, Emma Moore, and Fiona Purton <i>InSight 2005: Building Momentum</i> .....	9
 <b>ARTICLES</b>	
Sam Grey <i>Waiting for Some Angel: Indigenous Rights as an Ethical Imperative in the Theory and Practice of Human Rights</i> .....	16
Erica Martin <i>The Impact of the News Media in Shaping Canadian Development Assistance Policy</i> .....	28
Andrew Middleton <i>Logical Framework Analysis: A Planning Tool for Government Agencies, International Development Organizations, and Undergraduate Students</i> .....	41
Yalnee Shantharam <i>The Cost of Life: Patent laws, the WTO and the HIV/AIDS pandemic</i> .....	48
Sam Grey, Kelly O'Neill-McLellan, and Erica Peña <i>Voices of the Present, Visions of the Future: An Exploration of Undergraduate International Development Studies in Canada</i> .....	57
 <b>ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS</b> .....	 80
 <b>À PROPOS DES COLLABORATEURS</b> .....	 82



## Editor's Note

InSight has been a mainspring for a growing number of undergraduate initiatives in International Development Studies (IDS). This journal is one of them. Last year, the National Students' Conference in IDS quickened a sense of initiative among a cadre of undergraduates, who began this project with little more than optimism and ideas. In this Special Issue, *Undercurrent* celebrates the emerging dynamism of a yet-nascent movement – with characteristics, aspirations and possibilities that still lie in the collective imagination.

The papers featured in this Special Issue have been selected from more than half a dozen presentations made by undergraduates at InSight 2005. At the conference, the members of the *Undercurrent* editorial board invited student presenters into a process of editorial collaboration. Over the course of the following months, drafts were reviewed by editors and returned to the authors with suggestions and encouragement. The product of this unique exchange is a Special Issue of undergraduate work that is diverse, interesting, and even novel.

Worthy of particular mention is a piece of original undergraduate research, “Voices of the Present, Visions of the Future”, which examines IDS as a field, the character of IDS programmes across the nation and the identity and motivations of undergraduate students of IDS in Canada. The noteworthy findings of this paper – which includes comparative analysis using a series of similar studies – are based on social research that was both inspired and sponsored by InSight.

Publishing a Special Issue requires a tremendous spirit of collaboration among a small army of volunteers and supporters. Our editors have been generous with their summer months to work with authors, and our stalwart translators have delivered their work from as far afield as Ecuador. Special thanks are due to Sofia Guay and Enisone Kadiri, who cheerfully assumed tasks of translation and copy editing, respectively, on very short notice. The editors of *Undercurrent* continue to be indebted to our loyal faculty editorial advisors. We are pleased to welcome to our team of advisors Peter Tamas, a vociferous champion of undergraduates in IDS. But it is with equal measures of gratitude and sorrow that we thank our departing advisors, Eric Helleiner and Jennifer Clapp, for their support and guidance – much of it extended when the journal was still in the process of conception. And as this Special Issue is dedicated to the InSight conference, we must thank the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) for their generous financial support of the gathering and the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development (CASID) and Canadian Consortium for University Programs in IDS (CCUPIDS) for continuing to be encouraging mentors and partners.

Finally, as *Undercurrent* continues its voyage into new waters, the extraordinary woman at its helm will return to deck. Sam Grey has, in every way, been the mid-wife of this project. As *Undercurrent's* first Editor-in-Chief, with visionary, articulate and committed leadership, she has given her lifeblood to see the journal into its adolescence. We are happy that she has graciously agreed to remain on our editorial board throughout the period of her upcoming studies abroad in Thailand.

Geoffrey Cameron, Editor-in-Chief  
*For the editorial board.*



## **Introduction**

### **InSight 2005: Building Momentum**

Geoffrey Cameron, Jill Campbell, Emma Moore, and Fiona Purton<sup>1</sup>

**ABSTRACT** – *In June 2005, the second annual InSight: National Students' Conference in International Development Studies took place in London, Ontario. Drawing upon the knowledge and experience of almost two years of national undergraduate student activity, InSight 2005 aspired to engage undergraduates in a varied programme that emphasized the theme of 'disengagements' within IDS and the strengthening of International Development Studies in Canada. This paper takes stock of the notable accomplishments of an expanding national community of undergraduates in IDS, highlights areas of growth and re-examines the nature, purpose and possibilities of the InSight gathering.*

**RÉSUMÉ** – *En juin 2005 s'est tenue à London, Ontario, la seconde Conférence Nationale Étudiante sur les Études du Développement International intitulée InSight. En s'inspirant du savoir et de l'expérience accumulés en près de 2 ans d'activités étudiantes au niveau national, InSight 2005 souhaitait inclure les étudiants de premier cycle à un programme diversifié qui mettait l'accent sur le thème du « désengagement » à l'intérieur du champ des Études du Développement International, et, par le fait même, renforcer ce domaine d'étude au Canada. Cet article se veut un témoignage des réalisations notables de la communauté grandissante d'étudiants de premier cycle qui poursuivent des Études du Développement International. Un témoignage qui souligne l'intérêt croissant pour certains thèmes de cette discipline et qui réexamine la nature, l'objectif et les possibilités d'un rassemblement comme celui d'InSight.*

#### **INTRODUCTION**

In June 2005, the second annual InSight: National Students' Conference in International Development Studies took place in London, Ontario. Supported by the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development Studies (CASID) and the International Development and Research Centre (IDRC), the conference succeeded the pioneer gathering of InSight 2004, in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The first InSight conference was convened for undergraduates “to explore their own perceptions, motivations, problems, goals and values” (Cameron & Grey, 2004, p. 9) in the light of the *White Paper on International Development Studies in Canada*, released by CASID and the North South Institute (NSI). InSight 2005, although a successor conference, was

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<sup>1</sup> The authors would like to thank the attendees and presenters at the 2005 InSight Conference for their contributions to this document. As with everything else associated with InSight, this outcome document owes much to the support of the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development (CASID) and the International Development Resource Centre (IDRC).

organized with a new set of objectives and ambitions. Drawing upon the knowledge and experience of almost two years of national undergraduate student activity, InSight 2005 aspired to engage undergraduates in a varied programme that emphasized the theme of ‘disengagements’ within IDS and the strengthening of International Development Studies in Canada. Under this rubric, however, the overall goals of InSight have remained consistent:

Our hope is to build a community of IDS undergraduates, within which we may augment both the depth and breadth of our studies through the generation of a shared purpose; coming together to exchange—and create—information, skills, resources and knowledge; undertaking our own development initiatives; and the building of student partnerships. ([www.trentu.ca/insight](http://www.trentu.ca/insight))

Last year’s conference confirmed that these hopes, with the proper initiative, could be realized; the accomplishments of the past year have been remarkable. The launch of *Undercurrent: The Canadian Undergraduate Journal of Development Studies* was a direct result of discussions that emerged from InSight 2004. Within four months of the conference, an editorial board had been struck, faculty advisors recruited, editorial policy passed and a website launched; in November 2004, the first edition of *Undercurrent* was circulated and posted on the journal website. The journal is now carried in Canadian university e-resources, distributed by EBSCO and downloaded across the world.

The first issue of *Undercurrent* published “InSight, In Focus: Observations Arising from the Inaugural Canadian National Students’ Conference in International Development Studies,” an undergraduate response to the *White Paper* that reported on roundtable discussions at InSight 2004<sup>2</sup>. In the fall of 2004, the Canadian Consortium of Universities Programs in International Development Studies (CCUPIDS) invited two students who had attended last year’s conference to present and discuss this document at their annual meeting. A similar contribution was made by a conference participant at a CASID regional meeting held in Halifax in the winter of 2005 and at a scholarly conference held in Peterborough, Ontario, in the spring of that same year. Finally, inspired (and sponsored) by InSight, several undergraduates at Trent University, collaborated by nine IDS programmes from across Canada, worked together to complete a significant undergraduate research project that would take stock of the personality and motivations of IDS students in Canada<sup>3</sup>.

### **INSIGHT 2005: ‘DISENGAGEMENTS’**

Under the theme of ‘disengagements’, issues explored at this year’s conference included: faith, religion and spirituality in the study and practice of IDS; nations within and across borders; rights, including those of human, communal and citizenship; ethics and moral philosophy; peace, conflict and negotiation; and reconstruction, humanitarian aid, and ‘complex emergencies’. As a highlight of the emerging discourse between undergraduates and faculty about the nature of undergraduate IDS education in Canada, InSight featured a keynote panel titled “Strengthening the IDS field in Canada.” Discussants included two faculty and two students, each of whom were selected to represent a diversity of schools, backgrounds and experiences – the President of CCUPIDS, an eminent IDS scholar (hailing from the South), a Canadian undergraduate and an international student studying in Canada. The members of the panel considered recurring themes in the discussion of an IDS education in Canada: the role of economics (particularly new

<sup>2</sup> See Geoffrey Cameron and Sam Grey, “InSight, In Focus: Observations Arising from the Inaugural Canadian National Students’ Conference in International Development Studies”, *Undercurrent*, 1(1): 8-19.

<sup>3</sup> This results of this study were presented at InSight 2005, providing the authors with an opportunity to engage in dialogue and obtain feedback on an ambitious piece of social research. An abbreviated version of their paper is published in this issue of *Undercurrent*.

approaches to the subject); the relationship between IDS and global studies; the place for experiential education in curriculum; creating opportunities for southern scholars and students in Canadian universities; and the career and educational objectives of those studying for a degree in IDS. This unique discussion, a formal engagement between a national group of IDS undergraduates and professors, reinforced an important objective of InSight: to provide a forum for “undergraduate voice, energy, creativity and idealism” (Cameron & Grey, 2004, p. 10).

InSight featured discussion about ‘disengagements’ in the field of IDS identified the previous years’ conference and by the conference-sponsored undergraduate research project. Two panel discussions were organized and chaired by undergraduate students: ‘The Role of NGOs and Experiential Learning in the IDS Curriculum: Merging Theory and Practice’ and ‘Misalignment/Realignment: Exploring a Discourse on Religion and Development’. The first brought together representatives of international, national and local NGOs and an undergraduate student with extensive experience in international project work to discuss the relationship between a development studies education and social and practical action. The panel also discussed the role (both actual and potential) of NGOs in collaborating with IDS faculty, students, and researchers.

Students repeatedly stressed throughout the conference that in Canadian IDS curriculum, the relationship between religion and development was routinely neglected. In a session that attracted scholars from several other concurrent academic conferences, a panel of professors considered the intersections of religion and development from historical, philosophical and practical perspectives. Many students felt that religion and spirituality were important considerations in the study of IDS not only to be more fully able to understand agent-subject relations, but to understand how the spiritual dimensions of development can be integrated into theory and practice.

InSight provided a forum to not only consider disengagements in the field of IDS taught and studied in Canada, but for students to share the podium with established scholars and practitioners at a national academic/professional conference and present interesting research from a unique perspective. Within individual universities, undergraduate IDS students, so often heralded by development studies faculty as hard-working and advanced students, still usually lack an academic community with which to share research, writing and ideas. InSight 2005 welcomed five presentations of original undergraduate work, including investigations of media, public opinion, and Canadian aid policy; Indigenous rights as human rights; nationalism and democratization in the Sri Lankan context; intellectual property, trade and essential medicines; and a personal account of undergraduate-initiated development projects overseas. With the opportunity to compare experiences at InSight with those of CASID, undergraduates were able to learn from the practice of a formal academic community where they benefit from the experience and knowledge of working development studies faculty and practitioners.

### **INSIGHT: LINKAGES AND RE-ENGAGEMENTS**

With the confidence brought on by successful conference follow-up activities, InSight 2005 was characterized by several new developments. The 2005 conference, most remarkably, virtually doubled in size, scope and representation. Thirty-five students from ten universities throughout Canada attended the conference. This increased notably from the seventeen students, representing six universities, in attendance in 2004. Representation also increased in other ways, with InSight welcoming more international, Francophone and mature students into participation in the conference. InSight 2005 also embraced greater collaboration among a diverse team of

student organizers<sup>4</sup> and with CASID, the latter symbolized by the inclusion of InSight in the CASID programme and the recognition of InSight as a co-sponsor of the keynote lecture.

InSight fosters new engagements in community, characterized by the forging and strengthening of linkages among and between students, scholars and practitioners. These connections are academic, organizational and geographic, all contributing to the development of new national networks that help to enrich students' learned and lived experience, the primary objective of InSight. The most explicit engagement in community nurtured at InSight is academic. The InSight programme is designed around undergraduate interests and concerns, but it draws from a diverse repertoire of knowledge and experience. This year, presentations and panel discussions brought undergraduates, professors and NGO representatives into a new type of discourse: professors and NGO representatives were invited to present papers and speak to issues of interest to undergraduate students such as NGOs in undergraduate curriculum and other subjects which fell outside the scope of the CASID programme; undergraduates and eminent professors collaborated on a keynote panel discussion on 'Strengthening the field of IDS in Canada'; and students gave papers, featuring thesis work, original field research or novel approaches to development issues. Sessions were attended not only by InSight registrants, but by scholars from CASID and other scholarly associations. In short, InSight 2005 was characterized by new form of collaborative engagement between professors, undergraduates and development practitioners that brought scholarship and critical discussion beyond the classroom and into a forum designed by and oriented to undergraduates.

InSight draws upon the diverse range of experience, background and perspective of IDS students across Canada. This year, the conference was enriched by the creation of new linkages between national cross-sections of IDS undergraduates, many of whom were international students or Canadians with recent overseas experience. Discussion at InSight was characterized by a distinct dynamism, tension and urgency that is conveyed only when knowledge is tested in the crucible of memory and experience. The participation of development practitioners (WUSC and EWB) in the InSight programme consolidated the sense of a new community of active, engaged and committed young students, capable of producing noteworthy scholarship as well as remarkable social contributions.

Participants in InSight not only have rich experience with the 'realities' of development practice; they are also engaged with organizations in Canada that are involved with development issues. More than two-thirds of undergraduates at InSight this year were members of IDS student associations at their home universities. Thus, InSight has nurtured new engagements in community as it provides a forum for national collaboration among student groups to flourish and intensify. Student groups from across the country are also now more intimately connected with *Undercurrent: The Canadian Undergraduate Journal of Development Studies*, a project initiated at InSight in 2004 with the intention of fostering national consciousness raising among undergraduates in IDS and in the planning of next year's InSight gathering.

This year, InSight was warmly welcomed into formal association with the well-established CASID conference. Because the InSight programme was easily available to CASID participants, a mutually supportive and enriching relationship emerged between the two conferences. Undergraduates were able to attend CASID sessions that corresponded with their own interests and interact with scholars and practitioners. Many CASID members participated (often frequently) in InSight sessions as presenters and observers, several noting publicly the fresh energy brought by InSight to the CASID gathering. In sum, the expansion of the CASID community to embrace InSight has given the national gathering of practitioners and scholars in IDS a new sense of dynamism and vitality.

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<sup>4</sup> Whereas last year the locus of planning was primarily at Trent University, this year inter-University collaboration between Trent, Guelph and Western allowed for an expanded conference.

### LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

Since its inception in 2004, InSight has experienced remarkable growth, both in terms of students' participation as well as the scope and extent of its impact. Broader national representation at InSight has meant that its potential for sustaining collaboration beyond the annual conference is much greater. Plans are already underway for the third annual InSight conference to take place at York University in 2006, in conjunction with the CASID gathering and the Congress of the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences (see: [www.trentu.ca/insight](http://www.trentu.ca/insight)). This year, further steps were taken towards the creation of a closely connected network of IDS undergraduates in Canada; it is expected that the topic of creating some form of national organization will be a re-occurring item for discussion at future InSight gatherings. Students emphasize, however, that the creation of any national organization should have as its primary objective to strengthen and support university-based IDS student groups. Indeed, this has become an increasingly important aspect of InSight: the creation of a forum of exchange, mutual support and networking among undergraduates active on their campuses and with their faculties.

National undergraduate student collaboration at InSight is valuable in addition to networking and support among existing student bodies. Most importantly, the critical engagement among undergraduates, scholars and activists that takes place at InSight, helps to motivate students, deepen their interests and change their perceptions. Notably, many undergraduates at InSight remark that the conference contributes towards addressing the incipient cynicism that can infect students of IDS. It not only exposes them to new ideas, but through integration with the CASID conference, InSight also opens up new opportunities and perspectives on scholarship, volunteering and careers in the field of Development Studies. Students remark that they gain confidence by attending and participating in CASID sessions and learning about current debates in the field. Furthermore, they are encouraged by the unique opportunities to present papers in front of peers and respected scholars, who in turn, provide supportive and critical feedback.

As a new and unique initiative, InSight presents many opportunities for continued growth, while the transient and changing nature of student bodies will always pose a particular challenge to this type of national gathering. More specifically, planning for InSight 2006 will include a specific focus on increasing representation from universities in western Canada, and an attempt to navigate a perceived tension between attending CASID sessions (which address topics of particular importance to students personally) and supporting concurrent undergraduate-led sessions.

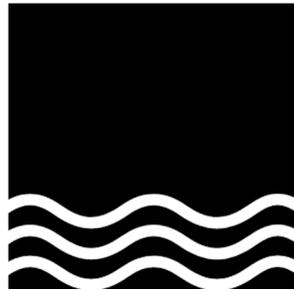
### CONCLUSION

InSight continues to serve as a unique forum for undergraduate students to collectively reflect upon their complex, fluid, and rapidly-growing field of study. Its enthusiastic support by a growing community of students, teachers, scholars and practitioners attests to the need for such a national gathering. InSight, through its close partnership with CASID, provides an opportunity to undergraduates to present their scholarship, exchange ideas with peers, collaborate on new and ongoing initiatives and learn first-hand about IDS in Canada as it is studied and taught. Most importantly, it provides an environment in which bright and socially-committed undergraduates can explore their own perceptions, motivations, problems, goals and values. Through this exploration, the educational experience of students is enriched and the field of IDS in Canada is more fully illuminated.

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## **Articles**



## Waiting for Some Angel: Indigenous Rights as an Ethical Imperative in the Theory and Practice of Human Rights

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**ABSTRACT** – *This article uses the stalled Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as the impetus for an examination of arguments championing and opposing the framing of Indigenous rights as human rights. Failings both theoretical and practical – in the conceptualisation, promulgation and interpretation of human rights – have long left Aboriginal peoples at a disadvantage. The dual focus of Indigenous claims is unique in the rights lexicon, asserting the right to be simultaneously different from and equal to the majority population. Yet Indigenous rights are often perceived, by governments with the power to block their progress, as a threat to state sovereignty; to the equality of citizens; to national unity; to the sanctity of private property; and to the fostering of a free-market economy. A concerted effort to broaden existing conceptions and frameworks to include not only group rights, but those specific rights essential to Aboriginal collectivities, is imperative to the survival of Native peoples as peoples. Additionally it has much to offer the discourse of human rights itself.*

**RÉSUMÉ** – *Cet article utilise le projet de Traité de déclaration sur les droits des peuples autochtones comme l'élan derrière une analyse des arguments qui défendent et s'opposent à l'équivalence des droits des autochtones comme droits de l'homme. Des échecs tant au niveau théorique que pratique – dans la conceptualisation, promulgation et interprétation des droits humains – ont longtemps laissé les Autochtones en désavantage. La dualité des réclamations autochtones est unique dans le lexique des droits, affirmant le droit d'être à la fois différents de, mais égaux à, la majorité de la population. Cependant, les droits des autochtones sont souvent perçus, par des gouvernements en mesure d'interrompre leurs progrès, comme une menace à la souveraineté de l'Etat ; à l'égalité des citoyens ; à l'unité nationale ; à la sainteté de la propriété privée ; et au développement d'une économie marché libre. Un effort soucieux d'élargir les conceptions existantes et d'inclure non seulement les droits de groupes, mais aussi les droits spécifiques et essentiels aux communautés autochtones, est impératif à la survie des Indigènes et a également beaucoup à offrir au discours des droits de l'homme.*

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“We could wait for some angel, but it is we who must act.”<sup>2</sup>

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The world currently contains 370 million Indigenous<sup>3</sup> peoples, located in seventy countries, on every inhabited continent on Earth (UNPFII, 2005, par.1). Their traditional lands constitute one-fifth of the surface of the planet and hold eighty percent of its biological diversity (IISD, 2000, par. 11). Of the approximately six thousand distinct cultures in the world, between four and five thousand are Indigenous; of the six thousand languages one may hear across the globe today, about three-quarters are spoken by Native peoples (OHCHR, n.d., p. 1). Despite this physical presence and persistence – and despite their existence as objects of international political and economic concern for centuries – the first inclusion of Native peoples in international rights instruments did not occur until 1990, through four brief mentions in the *International Convention on the Rights of the Child* (Sanders, 1998, p. 86). Five years later, the *Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* was adopted by the United Nations’ Human Rights Commission’s Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (Burger, 1998, p. 6). This document has been described as “the closest contemporary approximation to a ‘universal’ indigenous rights praxis” (Corntassel & Holder, 2002, p. 141), having involved the input of 400 Indigenous delegations,<sup>4</sup> over an eight-year period, without state interference (Burger, 1998, p. 6). The specific goals of Indigenous rights, as outlined in the *Declaration*, are cultural continuity, a halt to the ongoing processes of assimilation and ‘ethnocide’<sup>5</sup> and the attainment of ‘substantive equality’ (defined as an equality of outcomes in the face of effects-based discrimination, which would allow Native people to attain conditions relevantly similar to those enjoyed by their non-Native counterparts). The dual focus of Indigenous claims is therefore unique in the rights lexicon, asserting the right to be simultaneously *different from* and *equal to* the majority population.

Yet Indigenous rights are often perceived, by governments with the power to block their progress, as a threat to state sovereignty; to the equality of citizens; to national unity; to the sanctity of private property; and to the fostering of a free-market economy (Ketley, 2001, p. 363). The *Draft Declaration* was meant to yield a fully-formed human rights convention by the end of the International Decade of the World’s Indigenous Peoples (1994-2004), but this process has utterly stalled. An impasse has emerged, rooted in the refusal of states to acknowledge more than two of the *Declaration*’s forty-five articles<sup>6</sup> (Bianchi, n.d., par. 10). It is also rooted in the refusal

<sup>2</sup> Statement by the Delegation of Bolivia to the November 1995 first session of the Open-Ended Inter-Sessional Working Group [to elaborate a Draft United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples] (as cited in Barsh, 1996, p. 782).

<sup>3</sup> For the purposes of this essay, the terms “Indigenous”, “Native”, and “Aboriginal” will be used interchangeably to refer to “those [peoples] which having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.” This is the definition developed by/for the United Nations, in 1984 (as cited in IPHRP, 2003, par. 3).

<sup>4</sup> This group included traditional leaders, representatives from Aboriginal women’s groups, youth organizations, and communities worldwide, as well as Native activists and lawyers (Burger, 1998, p. 6).

<sup>5</sup> Defined as the intentional eradication of a culture, ethnocide is the cultural variant of genocide.

<sup>6</sup> The forty-five articles are contained in nine sections of the *Draft Declaration* which, in their current form, address: (1) rights to self-determination, participation in the life of the State, nationality and freedom from discrimination; (2) threats to the survival of indigenous peoples as distinct peoples; (3) the spiritual, linguistic and cultural identity of indigenous peoples; (4) education, information and labour rights; (5) participatory rights, development and other economic and social rights; (6) land and resource rights; (7) the exercise of self-determination, indigenous institutions; (8) the effective implementation of the Declaration and general concluding provisions (two parts) (UNESCO, 1993). The

of Indigenous peoples to corrupt what they perceive as the conceptual core of the *Draft Declaration*, while their disinclination to reach an agreement merely for the sake of reaching an agreement reflects the preference for consensus decision-making and dialogic justice, as well as an emphasis on the long-term stability of political and social initiatives, found in many Aboriginal societies.

Problems with the implementation of the *Draft Declaration* parallel those in the literature on human rights. These issues (either ironically or fittingly, depending on your perspective) map directly onto the most unique and essential aspects of Indigenous rights, as well as those Aboriginal claims that hold the most promise for enriching the discourse and language of rights. Rather than discussing the *Draft Declaration* itself, this paper will examine the barriers to its acceptance, implementation and will present the set of such problems as defined by both the opponents and champions of Indigenous rights. In the course of this discussion, the benefit, necessity and urgency of honouring Aboriginal claims will demonstrate that Indigenous rights are nothing less than an ethical imperative in the theory and practice of human rights.

### THE PROBLEM OF THE GROUP IN 'MAINSTREAM' RIGHTS THEORY

Non-Aboriginal group rights theories fall somewhere on a continuum between the liberal-individualist and the corporatist, pacing with the philosophical debate between whether the group or the individual is 'ontologically prior:'

Liberal-individualist approaches are distinguished by their focus on fundamental individual interests as the only acceptable grounds for according the status of a moral right to claims advanced by collectivities. In contrast, corporatist approaches focus on the community as a previously existing base from which individual action departs. (Corntassel & Holder, 2002, p. 130-1)

Both extremes view group membership and its importance to the individual as primarily psychological – a sort of 'psychological good'. Unfortunately, a conception of the importance of group membership that focuses on psychological well-being downplays or omits the fact that certain strong groups may play a role in securing more tangible aspects of one's well-being (Corntassel & Holder, 2002, p. 135). It additionally paves the way for the claim that individuals may function just as well psychologically "in the absence of secure identification" (Corntassel & Holder, 2002, p. 135). In mainstream rights theory, the influence of community is mental instead of actual, psychological instead of political and emotional instead of social, with the result that physical and economic security are not at stake. Yet protecting and improving the physical and economic well-being of Aboriginal people is the principal concern of Native groups. Contrary to common assertions, these goals are neither fully nor easily realized via the nation-state.

Ultimately, despite a rich discourse, the theoretical development of group rights in the 'mainstream' fails to address key aspects of Indigenous rights. In order to embrace Native concerns within group rights, "[...] the material and pragmatic interests served by collective claims must be integrated with symbolic and psychological interests in a way that preserves the symbiotic nature of their relationship" (Corntassel & Holder, 2002, p. 150). The corporatist's view of the importance of collective life and the individualist's view of the value of individual persons are *both* necessities (Corntassel & Holder, 2002, p. 151). The inclination to reify or essentialize either 'communal identity' or 'personal identity' should be recognized as constituting a false dichotomy in group rights theory.

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only two articles on which governmental and indigenous representatives have reached a consensus deal with indigenous individuals' right to citizenship and the equality of men and women (Indigenous Peoples Fund's Human Rights Commission, as cited in Cevallos, 2005, par. 24).

### THE PROBLEM OF THE GROUP IN 'MAINSTREAM' RIGHTS PRACTICE

In constructing an argument for (or indeed against) Indigenous rights, it cannot be forgotten that definitions have conceptual and practical usefulness. Definitions of Aboriginality, within or in conjunction with the language of rights, have thus far been used to omit Native peoples from political consideration through stressing a conceptual universalism that undermines equality in the practical sense. Procedural limitations thus created are used to avoid the issues of collective rights in general, and claims of the right to self-determination in particular. The existing language of "people," "populations" and "persons who are members," as well as the continued controversy over the term "peoples," constitute evidence of an "atomistic bias that does not adequately protect those for whom communal life is vital" (Corntassel & Holder, 2002, p. 127).

Recognizing collectivities as rights-bearing entities is essential to the just resolution of some of the most urgent Aboriginal issues. For Native peoples, outside determination of a membership criterion – determining who is and is not Native – is commonplace, violating (among other things) individuals' freedom of association. There is little doubt that, with respect to Indigenous peoples, "[s]tates have used the power of definition, historically and still today, to avoid their human rights obligations under international law" (Ketley, 2001, p. 332). From the Aboriginal perspective, then, "[...] collective rights claims are, first and foremost, about the concrete implications of the manner in which one's communal membership links one to the social world outside one's group" (Corntassel & Holder, 2002, p. 138). Yet while there has been some recent recognition of the rights inhering in groups, individual rights – rights of *persons belonging to groups* – remain the sole enforceable claims. Human rights bodies will not hear claims presented by Aboriginal groups, particularly those which pertain to the collective right of self-determination (Ketley, 2001, p. 353). Further, even though claimants must be individuals asserting that their existing human rights have been violated, no one has yet been internationally recognized as *legitimately* representing a Native collectivity.

The idea of personal compensation for the violation of rights (especially as commonly framed, in terms of financial reimbursement to the individual for property devalued, confiscated, or destroyed) is also insufficient vis-à-vis Native claims. Even when the discussion is limited to talk of material losses, for example of traditional lands, the existing language of rights is inadequate. Land, rather than a commodity, is perceived as a link to one's ancestors, part of a 'spiritual compact' of stewardship and an essential component of cultural continuity; it cannot, therefore, be reduced to its market price, nor can adequate reimbursement ever be provided for the loss or pollution of traditional territories and resources. Other aspects of cultural erosion are even more difficult to quantify: for example, how is a group to be justly compensated for the loss of a language? Ultimately, "not accepting that collectivities are (at least in the abstract) potential rights-holders is close to impossible without discarding most indigenous practice altogether" (Corntassel & Holder, 2002, p. 130).

Temporality in approaches to rights practice is also a barrier to the pursuit of Aboriginal claims. Current rights measures tend to be ahistorical, looking neither very far back nor very far into the future, while impacts on Indigenous cultures are both incremental and cumulative (Ketley, 2001, p. 360). In light of deliberate erosions and manipulations of Native 'status' on the part of the state; the degradation of and encroachment on traditional lands; the lack of effective support of Native languages, material and spiritual traditions; long-term assessments and future prognoses are essential to the survival of Aboriginal peoples. Additionally, cultural preservation by its very definition calls for the consideration of future generations, to whom Native peoples believe they have concrete responsibilities, yet this 'inter-generational equity' is not recognized in either conventional human rights theory or practice (Ketley, 2001, p. 366).

### THE PROBLEM OF THE UNSUITABILITY OF MINORITY STATUS

Because attention to ‘Indian’ concerns paced with the rise of the civil rights movement in North America, it was not until the 1970s that the United Nations would discuss Aboriginal issues as anything other than a problem of discrimination against minorities (Ketley, 2001, p. 337). Despite their coincident broths, minority and Indigenous claims were, from the outset, already estranged,<sup>7</sup> since the “[...] Indian orientation towards separatism and self-determination was at variance with the black concern at that time for integration” (Svensson, 1979, p. 431).

Minority rights should be credited as the avenue through which group rights have entered into political and legal practice, as they “[...] have served to focus the attention of the international community on the cultural dimensions of human rights, developing this culturalism within the interstices of sovereignty” (Thornberry, 2002, p. 416). These instruments are not without their limitations, though, and shortcomings announce themselves quickly when minority rights are employed in the service of Indigenous claims. Both minorities and Indigenous peoples aim for perpetuation as distinct groups, including the preservation and promotion of their culture, customs, and language and both are in a non-dominant position in the wider society. Indigenous peoples, however, have several distinctive features that mark them as a non-minority: the centrality of land in group identity, including a claim to land rights; a focus on internal self-determination as a principal goal, signifying autonomy, self-directed development, and *communal control of traditional resources*; collective decision-making as a norm; self-identification, on the part of the group and individual, as the basis for membership; and a shared history of injustices and continuing state of inequality based solely on Indigenous status. Minority rights instruments, by way of contrast, typically omit any reference to autonomy as a group right (Thornberry, 2002, p. 414), targeting instead “[...] discrete individuals unjustly treated as members of a disadvantaged group defined racially” (Svensson, 1979, p. 430), while *access to state-provided resources*, and the state’s sanctioning of minority identity and citizenship rights, are principal aims.

Perhaps most importantly, because Indigenous groups see themselves as ‘first peoples’, distinct from minorities, the complexity, confidence, and visibility of Indigenous identity and Aboriginal claims call for consideration in a separate category of rights (Thornberry, 2002, p. 416). Ultimately, even the best intentions employed in bringing Indigenous peoples under the ‘shelter’ of existing human rights through minority status amount to “a denial of the inconvenient social, historical, and political fact of [Indigenous] peoplehood” (Scott, 1996, p. 816-17).

### THE PROBLEM OF THE STATE AS THE ARBITER OF RIGHTS

While the right to political autonomy was prioritized in the latter half of the twentieth century, with newly and not yet independent colonies the world over calling attention to the injustices of the former European empires, the concept of sovereignty was narrowed in order to address *only* these concerns. Colonization became, in the United Nations system, defined so as to practically omit all peoples whose ‘conquerors’ still lived among them. This inclusion of territorial geography and ethnic/cultural criteria to establish the legitimacy of claims to self-determination is known as ‘salt-water colonialism’ (Vamvakas, 1995, par. 13) – wherein your colonizer’s seat of power is an ocean away – and it still serves to frame Indigenous issues as domestic matters<sup>8</sup> within international law. In the domestic arena, the conflict of interest in

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<sup>7</sup> The history of the pairing of these ‘classes’ of issues is typically ironic: “No minority rights provisions had been written into the Covenant of the League of Nations, apparently because Australia and New Zealand wanted to avoid any international scrutiny of their treatment of Aborigines and Maori” (Sanders, 1998, p. 73).

<sup>8</sup> Even Canada, a country lauded for its attitude toward multiculturalism and its reputation as a ‘peacekeeping’ nation, has hidden behind this barrier. “When Canada accepted the jurisdiction of the World Court in 1931, it made a

having states and state-oriented bodies as the arbiters of Indigenous rights is self-evident: “The state cannot be the source of justice for self-determination claims on behalf of Indigenous peoples because of its interest in the outcome. Even international governing organizations are biased toward the state, as they generally represent the interests of a population of states” (Smith, 2004, p. 1236-7).

Political and legal objections to the notion of sovereignty are plentiful in discussions of Indigenous issues and have been points of contention from the start. Yet “claims that self-determination and self-government are divisive and impossible in practice miss the heart of what Indigenous people are seeking” (Behrendt, 2001, p. 8). Such claims rest on an ongoing mischaracterization, in which certain detractors either confuse or conflate the concepts of ‘self-determination’ and ‘statehood’ (Boldt & Long, 1984, p. 553; Wheatley, 2003, p. 88). While both of these concepts serve the idea of autonomy, at their heart they are not relevantly similar, for self-determination shows a distinctively *inward* orientation. Indigenous groups, for the most part, seek some form of political and spiritual insulation from state encroachment (as well as control of certain pragmatic resources<sup>9</sup>), but do not harbour separatist ambitions (Boldt & Long, 1984, p. 547; Niezen, 2003, p. 126; Comtassel & Holder, 2002, p. 149; Thornberry, 2002, p. 419; Ketley, 2001, p. 357). Not only are Indigenous concepts of self-determination almost universally restricted to control over their own (internal) affairs, rather than political representation in the broader system (Boldt & Long, 1984, p. 553), Craig Scott (1996) has also commented that,

If one listens, one can hear the message that the right of a people to self-determination is not a right for peoples to determine their status without consideration of the rights of other peoples with whom they are presently connected and with whom they will continue to be connected in the future. (p. 819)

Given the existence of treaty documents (at least in the ‘settlement Commonwealth’ nations of: Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, as well as in the United States), the recent insistence on the characterization of Aboriginal groups as ‘domestic dependent nations’ is at least contradictory, if not actually ironic. International in nature, ‘Indian’ treaties – legal and binding documents, since abrogated by states – promised Native nations most of the very same rights now being debated (Clinton, 1990, p. 746).

Aboriginal persons harbour the same need expressed in the ‘mainstream:’ to participate in their governing institutions and to have the institutions most directly involved in their communities accurately reflect *their* needs and *their* identities (Niezen, 2003, p. 133). Some of the most democratic states show a surprising lack of comprehension of this particular issue. Equally surprising is the lack of recognition that international law does not now and has not ever affirmed a right to unilateral separation from existing states, even if the separatist group has an internationally recognized right to self-determination (Scott, 1996, p. 818). In light of these facts, “leaving statehood as the only way for a people to achieve recognition of their right to self-determination is, on the face of it, *more* likely to encourage strident irredentism” (Niezen, 2003, p. 140). On the whole, state resistance is neither necessary nor well justified. In the *Report of the United Nations Meeting of Experts on Practical Experience in the Realization of Internal Self-government of Indigenous Peoples*:

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reservation concerning domestic issues. Prime Minister Bennett, speaking in the House of Commons, stated that the reservation would prevent any discussion of Indian treaties or the treatment of Indians” (Sanders, 1998, p. 74).

<sup>9</sup> For example, in the Canadian context, the right to use traditional hunting or fishing grounds, and what has come to be known as ‘Native control of Native education’.

[...] experts concluded that indigenous peoples have the right of self-determination as provided for in the International Covenants on Human Rights. [...] They also considered that indigenous self-government was not merely a right of indigenous peoples, but also could be beneficial to the state and the natural environment. (as cited in Burger, 1998, p. 13-4)

Native people assert the right and ability to hold a sort of ‘dual’ or ‘multi-constitutional citizenship’, in which their duties flow through and link relationships at the level of the person, nation, and nation-state (Cornthassel & Holder, 2002, p. 129). Given the existence of federalism as a functioning political system, not to mention the corpus of international law that exists above the state’s domestic functioning, it cannot be said that different layers or spheres of rights are unworkable in practice. As Craig Scott (1996) notes, “[...] it does not help to hold onto certain dichotomies. According to such dichotomies, either you are this people or you are that people not, Heaven forbid, both. Either you are within this state’s jurisdiction or you are outside this state’s jurisdiction, not, Heaven forbid, both” (p. 819). In the final assessment of self-determination (and opposition to the concept), continued state insistence that Indigenous rights are merely cultural and do not include aspects of national autonomy, “perpetuates the Eurocentric view of Indigenous peoples as ‘cultural artefacts’ rather than dynamic communities with complex social, political, and economic systems” (Ketley, 2001, p. 362). Thus, the ethnography t constructed describes a disadvantaged, confused people articulating a misdirected longing for a romanticized and irretrievable past – a characterization that has proven useful in assimilationist campaigns for literally hundreds of years.

### THE PROBLEM OF ACCOUNTABILITY

Part of the argument against Indigenous rights rests on the assertion that group rights tend toward repression of the individual. Again, the contention is rooted in an odd, almost defiant mischaracterization of both human rights and Aboriginal claims. Since ‘mainstream’ rights are fundamentally about balancing the interests of the individual against broader concerns, human rights, in both theory and practice, are *already* embroiled in the ‘contest’ between the personal and the greater good. Still, multitudes proclaim the ‘possibility of tragedy’, while few entertain the ‘possibility of congruence’ if group rights and individual rights were both to be put into practice, and thereafter found in one other’s company (Garret, as cited in Johnston, 1989, p. 26). Ironically, states – the principal opponents to the recognition of Aboriginal rights as group rights – routinely suspend the human rights of Aboriginal persons under the rubric of respect for the ‘special character’ of Native groups.<sup>10</sup> It is for this reason that Johnston (1989) urges that “[t]he inclination of the anxious individualist to dismiss the claims of communality [...] be tempered by the record of atrocities committed against groups in the modern era” (p. 26). It is interesting to note that states are collectivities (representing and housing populations), yet these entities are neither painted as unaccountable nor as necessarily repressive. Indeed, on the international stage, states appear to be individuals writ large, and bear certain rights and responsibilities accordingly (Niezen, 2003, p. 139).

A clearer understanding of the (apparent) mutual exclusivity of individual and group rights can be attained via an examination of the evolution of the liberal-individualist position. Svensson (1979) describes the dominant liberal democratic concept of individual rights as, at its root, a reactionary idea which emerged to counter the medieval doctrine of the supremacy of the

<sup>10</sup> Aboriginal peoples in Canada, for example, are not in practice covered by the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* or the *Canadian Human Rights Act*, omissions justified by appeals to their status as separate and distinct peoples. This amounts to a reprehensible (if creative) use of the *idea* of Native self-government against the *realization* of Native self-government. See, among others, Kent McNeill, *Aboriginal Governments and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (<http://www.yorku.ca/ohlj/PDFs/34.1/mcneil.pdf>).

group (p. 424). Unfortunately, the groups that were philosophically targeted in the Middle Ages – the socio-political entities of Church, monarchy/aristocracy, and guild – were not the only ones to fall:

As the monarchy rose above the traditional communities of medievalism, it attempted to utilize them as instruments of its own power. Thus community *per se* came to be branded with the stigma of oppression. [...] Those multidimensional communities (bound by ties of race, religion, language, culture, lifestyle, economic system and social order all at once) which continued to exist were, in effect, defined out of political existence, at least in received theory. (Svensson, 1979, p. 422, 426)

Contemporary multiculturalism, then, is truly the flowering of political individualism, in which the co-existence of countless groups represents the triumph of none<sup>11</sup> (Svensson, 1979, p. 422). Concordantly, though communities may enjoy certain privileges, there are no true group rights in contemporary practice (Johnston, 1989, p. 24; Svensson, 1979, p. 438).

There *is* a certain amount of tension between individual and collective rights; however, “that [groups] may also stifle their members on occasion does not invalidate their positive aspects” (Svensson, 1979, p. 435-6). Negotiated limits on Indigenous self-government can – and should – address the human rights of individual members (Sanders, 1998, p. 85), while the wider society and its legal and political institutions provides an ever-present ‘last line of defence’ against groups’ oppression of individual members, who may opt to leave the collectivity or to pursue personal protection under domestic or international human rights instruments. Nevertheless, there is a strong case to be made for the conceptual compatibility of collective rights as external protections *promoting fairness between groups*, and individual rights as internal protections *targeting persons within groups* (Niezen, 2003, p. 137). “The objective is not to downplay equal treatment for individuals but to extend to groups equal rights to preserve their integrity” (Boldt & Long, 1984, p. 550).

### THE PROBLEM OF UNIVERSALITY AND CULTURAL RELATIVISM

The human rights movement is, by its very nature, profoundly antirealist (Niezen, 2003, p. 116). Universal treatment, connoting universal equality, is not only an alluring concept, but is also designated a bulwark against cultural relativism. Special measures within human rights, however, are not properly characterized as relativistic. They do not herald the elimination of ethical standards and a free-for-all in claims of moral behaviour, but are instead necessary for the securing of ‘substantive equality’ (Behrendt, 2001, p. 6; Scott, 1996, p. 818; Das, 2001, p. 302-3). Gunther describes the universalism of human rights as, in its intent, not a ‘simple universalism’, “abstract, epistemic, and essentialist”, but a ‘complex universalism’, which is procedural, deliberative, and dialogical, and which “makes the step from difference to dialogue” (as cited in Thornberry, 2002, p. 114). Special rights, then, constitute an ethically defensible form of differentiation (Svensson, 1979, p. 429; Niezen, 2003, p. 115). As Judge Kotaro Tanaka<sup>12</sup> famously said, “[t]he principle of equality before the law means [...] the principle to treat equally what are equal and unequally what are unequal. [...] To treat unequal matters

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<sup>11</sup> It can, therefore, be argued that Liberalism is fundamentally at odds with the idea of the ‘persistent’ group, as “It was one of the prime justifications of the superiority of democracy that it did not allow permanent minorities” (Svensson, 1979, p. 425-6).

<sup>12</sup> Dissenting opinion in the *South West Africa Cases* (Ethiopia v. South Africa, Liberia v. South Africa) (Second Phase), 1966. For an excellent discussion of the principle described by Judge Tanaka, see Patrick Thornberry, *International Law and the Rights of Minorities*, Oxford: Clare Press, 1991.

differently according to their inequality is not only permitted but required” (as cited in Jonas & Donaldson, 2001, p. 19).

While sovereignty is the most difficult aspect of Indigenous rights for states to endorse, special rights or special measures present the major obstacle to the acceptance of Aboriginal rights within public opinion. Ordinary citizens have taken to heart what has been called the “new political formula of justice = equality = sameness” (Svensson, 1979, p. 430), and show either a lack of understanding, or a certain amount of personal resentment of ‘special’ treatment. The fact is, though, that declarations of equality and the prohibition of racial discrimination are just that: declarations and prohibitions, relatively ahistorical and surprisingly passive. They cannot, alone, undo centuries of unequal historical treatment, which has served to overwhelmingly deprive and impair Aboriginal peoples within their ‘host’ state’s legal and political systems. Rights and ‘special measures’ must be paired, however, in order to have any meaningful effect, as “[w]ithout special measures, rights would be empty rhetoric, ineffective in achieving real equality. Without rights as their objective, special measures would be no more than gifts from the advantaged to the disadvantaged” (Jonas & Donaldson, 2001, p. 17).

### THE PROBLEM OF DILUTION AND THE SPECTRE OF INTOLERANCE

‘Purists’ often cite the weakening of standards as an inevitable consequence of the addition of Indigenous concerns to the current roster of international human rights. Brownlie, for example, bemoans “the proliferation of academic inventions of new human rights and the launching of new normative candidates by anyone who can find an audience” (as cited in Niezen, 2003, p. 133). While there is merit to the assertion that the future strength of human rights lies in the protection of a core of the most widely applicable and defensible claims, that core need not exclude group rights to remain strong (if it is particularly strong now, that is, and properly regarded as sacrosanct). Human rights standards must not be allowed to devolve into an aloof stasis, or used as an excuse for outright intolerance (Thornberry, 2002, p. 426). The inclusion of different rights perspectives in global manifestos is, at least potentially, itself a great good. Up until the *Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, cultures “long accustomed to bureaucracy and law” provided the only representatives in the drafting of international rights instruments, despite the vast numbers of peoples whose traditions are found outside of – and may therefore serve to interrogate, balance, or enrich – such forms (Niezen, 2003, p. 97). Indeed, the broadening of language of human rights to more pointedly address issues relevant to women, ethnic minorities, and religious and linguistic groups has helped to define and spur action on practices and conditions that had previously proven both theoretically and practically vague (including, inter alia: apartheid, armed ethnic conflict, and modern slavery) (Thornberry, 2002, p. 102). Concordantly, it is worth remembering that neither the *United Nations Charter* nor the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* contain any mention of minority rights or decolonisation (Sanders 74), while the concept of ethnocide is mentioned only in the *Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Burger, 1998, p. 7).

General Assembly Resolution 41/120 of the United Nations sets out specific criteria<sup>13</sup> for new human rights standards, none of which are especially easy to satisfy, while rights theorists have proposed salient procedures by which new standards may be developed (or the existing set

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<sup>13</sup> According to this resolution, new human rights standards should:

- (a) be consistent with the existing body of international human rights law;
- (b) be of fundamental character and drive from the inherent dignity and worth of the human person;
- (c) be sufficiently precise to give rise to identifiable and practicable rights and obligations;
- (d) provide, where appropriate, realistic and effective implementation machinery, including reporting systems; and
- (e) attract broad international support.

pared down or strengthened).<sup>14</sup> Ultimately, that a particular undertaking may prove difficult to plan or execute is not sufficient justification for the abandonment of ethical causes. The language of human rights offers critical advantages in the service of Indigenous claims, to the extent that no other vehicle can be said to serve the same purpose. As Behrendt (2001) has observed,

The rhetoric of rights [...] offers a means of communication and discourse, a way of expressing harms felt and identifying and communicating aspirations. We now also, due to the international human rights regime, have a set of international standards against which we can measure our treatment by government action and laws and more objectively provide evidence of violation and abuse. (p. 4)

## CONCLUSION

Native groups constitute a collectivity of individuals, rather than a collection of individual interests or cultural affectations. Aboriginal people are not properly characterized as minority group members holding individual rights; what is at stake in their claims is not just personal well-being, but collective well-being and their very existence. Since collective rights *do* serve the well-being of persons who are members of the collectivity, the protection of group rights thus protects individual rights. Further, since Indigenous rights provide a means by which equality may be achieved by hitherto omitted groups; these rights absolutely honour widespread concepts of the universal worth of the human being – concepts at the heart of human rights in both theory and practice. Problems with Indigenous rights lie mainly in their acceptance and implementation, wherein a certain fear and misunderstanding on the part of non-Native actors can be found to have greater influence than any philosophical or practical weakness in the argument for the rights themselves. Despite the fact that Native peoples have expressed a desire to “maintain and freely develop their identities *in coexistence with* other sectors of humanity” (Das, 2001, p. 302, emphasis added), fears and misunderstandings remain. It is for this reason that Russel Lawrence Barsh (1996) has fittingly called the elaboration of, and countervailing resistance to Indigenous rights, “a case of the immovable object and the irresistible force” (p. 782).

The hallmark of Native claims has been their consistency; the hallmark of Native groups as claimants, their patience. Both have already spanned centuries, showing a tenacity which acknowledges that self-determination is a goal that will require work in both theory and practice, involving dialogue that may prove uncomfortable for actors who remain haunted by the idea that Indigenous rights encroach upon the sovereignty of states (Niezen, 2003, p. 116). In the final assessment, an attempt to conceptualize, justify and promulgate Indigenous rights, enriches our understanding of human rights, broadens the scope of acts constituting human rights violations, encourages democratic dialogue, offsets the extremes of cultural intolerance and cultural relativism and promotes substantive equality – an equality of outcomes, rather than mere intentions. Such an attempt, in the words of Ronald Niezen, “is an effort to find a conceptual and moral orderliness out of the chaos of globalized differences, through structured consensus rather than auto-da-fe or sword of truth” (2003, p. 95). Indeed, in an age of globalization and multiculturalism, the Native perspective is especially salient, asserting “[...] the right to be recognized as human whatever one’s difference, rather than having difference serve as a basis for exclusion from the rights to which all humans are supposed to be universally entitled” (Scott, 1996, p. 814-5). A concerted effort to broaden existing conceptions and frameworks to include not only group rights, but those specific rights essential to Aboriginal collectivities, is not only

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<sup>14</sup> For a particularly cogent and compelling discussion of these procedures, see James W. Nickel, *Making Sense of Human Rights: Philosophical Reflections on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

imperative to the survival of Native peoples *as peoples*, but also offers much to the discourse of human rights itself.

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## The Impact of the News Media in Shaping Canadian Development Assistance Policy

Erica Martin<sup>1</sup>

**ABSTRACT** – *Canada's development assistance policy has recently undergone an extensive revision and these changes have remedied flaws identified in Canada's policy. This flawed policy was the product of a myriad of forces and one significant factor that is often overlooked is the contribution of the media. Canada's news media has often been criticized for its poor coverage of the developing world, in both volume and content. This paper will examine these deficiencies, and how this behaviour shapes government policy. The paper will discuss parallels in coverage and policy, examining CIDA's spending in both volume and regional allocation. Further, public attitudes of ODA will be discussed, exploring the complex relationship between the public, decision makers and the press.*

**RÉSUMÉ** – *La police Canadienne d'assistance au développement a récemment connue une révision considérable, et ces changements ont pu remédier aux défauts identifiés dans celle-ci. Cette police défectueuse était le produit d'innombrables forces dont un facteur notable, bien que souvent sous-estimé, la contribution des médias. Les médias Canadiens ont fréquemment été critiqués pour leur couverture insuffisante du monde en développement, tant en volume qu'en contenu. Cet article analysera ces carences, et montrera comment ce comportement contribue à former la politique gouvernementale. Cet article discutera des parallèles qui existent entre la couverture médiatique et la police, en étudiant les dépenses de l'ACDI tant en volume qu'en allocation régionale. De plus, les attitudes publiques de l'ODA seront discutées, tout en explorant la relation complexe qui existe entre le public, les décideurs, et la presse.*

### INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the Canadian government has received substantial criticism for its Official Development Assistance (ODA) policies. One important factor that is frequently overlooked when examining policy formulation is the role of the media. This paper will focus on the effects of the media on Canadian ODA policy, detailing how the media may negatively

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is a much condensed version of a project Erica Martin completed for her Joint Honours in International Development Studies and Political Science at McGill University in the spring of 2005. The author would like to thank Stuart Soroka, who supervised an earlier (and much longer) version of the paper. Thanks are also extended to Alexa Martin-Storey, Amanda Lea Lowe and two invaluable anonymous reviewers for their input. Finally, the author would like to thank Editor in Chief Sam Grey for her tireless work and practical advice.

influence policy decisions.<sup>2</sup> The paper will focus predominantly on national news coverage of developing areas and development issues, exploring its impact on policy in terms of volume of aid and specific (geographic) allocation.<sup>3</sup>

The influence between media, policy and the public is multi-directional. The media can influence policy through two pathways: by influencing the decision-makers directly and by influencing the public, who then urge the government to act. The first pathway – the direct impact of the media on the government – will be the focus of the paper. In examining the second pathway, it was noted that, in terms of ODA policy, the government appears to be unresponsive to the public and therefore the media's impact on the public may be of little consequence (Otter, 2001). However, as shall be discussed in the final section, the media's role in fostering an unresponsive policy machine may be significant.

In terms of media effects, development assistance policy is an interesting issue to examine. First, in terms of policy formation, the media has greater potential to influence foreign policy, largely because such policies cannot be experienced firsthand by Canadians. Their access to foreign events is exclusively mediated by the media and thus, the influence of the media is significant. Additionally, when compared to other domains of the foreign policy, development assistance is generally more flexible, and therefore has the potential to be more responsive to domestic factors (Morrison, 1998, p. 29). There are several reasons for this malleability. ODA is not subject to the same international constraints that affect most foreign policy sectors. Additionally, much of the difficulty associated with defence, peacekeeping or international trade is not an issue, as recipient countries are determined by Canadian policy preferences and regrettably, not real-life conditions. Canadian policymakers also have many options, as development assistance is in high demand, leaving more room for manoeuvrability. Further, foreign aid levels do not affect Canadians on a day-to-day basis – the ODA budget can be slashed (as it has been in the past) without receiving much attention from the Canadian public. For the majority of Canadians, the media is the only conduit for information regarding changes to ODA levels and with little media attention to cuts, the government may reduce spending levels without repercussions. To understand the repercussions of this situation, we will begin with an overview of media behaviour.

### **MEDIA BEHAVIOUR**

The Canadian media has been criticized – at length – for its poor international coverage, with a particular dearth felt in news of the 'developing world'. Burton (1995) states, "The treatment of international affairs is deficient in breadth, depth, continuity" (p. 67). Long-term issues and interests are infrequently examined and stories rarely go beyond surface; facts to discuss the wider context. One major critique is that news stories are presented in an episodic manner<sup>4</sup> and this lack of background is magnified by lack of analysis within news stories (Pike, 1996, p. 11).

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<sup>2</sup> The focus on media effects is not meant to imply that the media is the only factor effecting policy formulation. Many other variables motivate ODA spending, particularly humanitarian motives, economic motives and political strategic motives, and the media effects are likely found in addition to these forces. However, as discussed by Van Belle et al. (2004) it is possible that these common motives have less clout in Canadian policy formation (p. 108). Canada may have fewer political/economic interests in the developing world than do most other donor countries, and policy decisions often run counter to humanitarian explanations. Because of this, domestic forces may play a greater role than is generally assumed, and this paper will argue that the most pressing domestic force is the media.

<sup>3</sup> Although the purpose of the essay is not to discuss the utility of development assistance, the author of this text believes that ODA is a positive initiative, and this bias is present throughout the paper.

<sup>4</sup> Iyengar classifies news reports into two main categories: episodic and thematic. He writes: "The episodic category [...] consisted of stories that depicted issues predominantly as concrete instances or events, while the thematic category included stories that depicted issues more generally either in terms of collective outcomes, public policy debates, or historical trends" (Iyengar, 1991, p. 18).

Not only is Canadian coverage of international events of poor quality, but it is also low in volume. The amount of international coverage has declined significantly and steadily, hitting an all time low in the 1990's. Though recent research has indicated a slight increase by 2000 - and the impact of this will be discussed - the overall volume remains shockingly low (Burton, 1995, p. 68; Soderlund, 2002).<sup>5</sup> Developing area items are most neglected, as international content focuses predominantly on Europe and the United States. This omission is replicated in foreign policy coverage; Canada's relationship with Asian countries receives only limited coverage and Burton (1995) discusses "the dearth of items pertaining to Canadian relations with the 3<sup>rd</sup> world, especially Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and the Middle East" (p. 52). While Canada- U.S. relations comprised 45% of such coverage, relations with Africa received barely 1% of foreign policy items (Burton, 1995, p. 63). This analysis also found that development issues were lacking in international news items, where the overwhelming focus was on economic areas (usually trade), followed by military or political matters, while international development and international human rights received little coverage (Burton, 1995, p. 61).

Canadian media outlets tend to lack foreign bureaus and reporters in the field, leading to a dependence on foreign news sources, particularly wire services (such as Associate Press or Reuters). Stemming from this disparity, coverage of developing areas suffered the most. For example, when the *Globe and Mail* was forced to make cutbacks, it was the Latin American and African 'desks' that were closed (Pike, 1996 10). Unfortunately, Canadian news sources lack sufficient foreign correspondents to compensate for the closure of these bureaus – Buckley (1998) estimated that all Canadian newspapers combined had only thirty journalists (approx.) overseas, compared to more than forty for the *New York Times* alone (83). The lack of Canadian bureaus and Canadian correspondents has three major effects for developing world news: less coverage, less context and less of a Canadian dimension to stories.

Coverage of Canadian Foreign Policy is declining in proportion to international news – when Third World issues are discussed, neither Canada's overseas involvement nor its specific policy in that country are mentioned, due to the growing reliance on foreign news sources (Burton, 1995, p. 51). Journalists, in determining the subject matter for stories, look for a 'scoop', usually meaning a specific event. This goal often translates into a failure to cover long-term trends and structural problems, such as systemic violence and poverty. Increasingly, reporters are only sent to developing countries during a crisis and "an item such as development aid does not warrant mention" (Halton, 2003, p. 509). Since there are so few reporters in the field and so few permanent bureaus, positive developments do not make it onto the news. Reporters only show up during disasters, looking for the 'scoop', and ending up with negative portrayals of the developing world. This works to exaggerate the media's propensity to deliver 'exciting' news. Earthquakes, civil war, and disease get coverage, while positive developments are ignored. As a spokesperson for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) stated, "The developing world is not on the map unless the story offers mayhem or a Canadian in jail" (Pike, 1996, p. 11).

This type of coverage gives a skewed representation of the developing world. The only images to which a Western audience is exposed are those of violence and tragedy. The progress made by developing countries, or the success stories of development assistance, that may evoke optimism, get little coverage, re-enforcing the notion that these nations are hopeless (Halton, 2003, p. 516).

As soon as the crisis is over, the press moves out and on to the next disaster. The result is well documented violence and chaos, but the difficult years of rebuilding that follow the emergency never receive much attention. Reporters are sent to cover the 'main event' and once

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<sup>5</sup> While the data of the 2002 survey is less pessimistic than that of the 1995 work, the outlook remains bleak. While this group of authors is currently researching the post-9/11 period (as understandably, the preeminence of international news has changed since that date), more recent data is currently unavailable (Soderlund, 2002).

that event is over, they are ‘parachuted’ to the next ‘scoop’, with the end product being a series of disasters merely presented to the audience, with little context or follow-up. The press then systematically ignores the next stage – reconstruction and development. The public never sees the rebuilding that occurs and the important job that development aid achieves, is left out of the audience’s view.

Aside from poor coverage of the developing world, Canadian media coverage of ODA policy is inadequate. During the massive spending cuts of the ODA envelope throughout the 1990s, the media generally remained silent and this silence has been identified as minimizing policy discussion (Burton, 61, p. 1995). Understandably, the media had other priorities; cuts to domestic spending were covered extensively. Nonetheless, ODA was hit harder proportionally than other almost all other sectors<sup>6</sup> and this drastic downsizing should have received attention (Morrison, 1998, p.413). Due to the media’s omission, few Canadians were aware of the spending cuts that occurred and this may have contributed to the public’s current tendency to overestimate levels of spending (Morrison, 1998, p. 413).<sup>7</sup> Ignorance of the government’s low development spending was exacerbated by the cessation of the Public Participation Program.<sup>8</sup> Beginning in the early 1990’s, funding for the program was gradually reduced and in 1995 it was cut completely as CIDA funding was slashed. When this happened, the media became the main channel through which to Canadians learned about CIDA’s activities and about Canada’s role in the world (Morrison, 1998, p. 414).

CIDA’s activities have generally received little media attention, aside from a few periods of very heavy criticism, when the agencies fault becomes the sudden fixation of journalists.<sup>9</sup> Morrison (1998) described one such era, following the appearance of a story on several poorly planned projects of the agency: “Ottawa’s two daily newspapers tried to outdo each other in a lively campaign of CIDA bashing during the winter of 74-75” (p. 138). This style of coverage affects decision makers: during this period, these newspaper pieces were a constant source of criticism during Question Period<sup>10</sup> (Morrison, 1998, p. 137; Rawkins, 1994, p. 158). This type of coverage may have an adverse effect on public opinion, as CIDA’s activities only penetrate public consciousness during periods of disparagement, leaving the agency with a tarnished image.

### **MEDIA AND POLICYMAKERS**

While the media’s influence on the public is extensive, this impact may be negligible to policy outcomes, as the relationship between public opinion and governmental policy is less than clear (Otter, 2001). The following section will examine the potential for media effects to act directly on policymakers,<sup>11</sup> after which discussion will turn to the relationship between the public and the media.

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<sup>6</sup> Throughout the cuts, spending on environmental issues was the only sector reduced more than was CIDA’s budget (Morrison, 1998, p. 413).

<sup>7</sup> Polling data indicates that the public generally overestimates the amount that the Canadian government spends on overseas development. One possible explanation is the lack of awareness that Canada cut funds substantially, and no longer lives up to its reputation of ‘hitting above its weight’ (Morrison, 1998, p. 413).

<sup>8</sup> In 1995, a project known as the Public Participation Program (which was intended to inform Canadians on Canada’s role in development and developing areas) was cut. Since that time, however, initiatives through CIDA’s Development Information Program has made significant progress, and the quality of development education within Canada is again on the rise.

<sup>9</sup> These periods have resulted in reforms of the agency, such as in 1974-1975 and again in 1979, following the release of the Auditor General’s report (Morrison, 1998, p. 138; Rawkins, 1994, p. 158).

<sup>10</sup> ‘Question Period’ is a daily, highly visible (in fact, televised), 45-minute period in the Canadian House of Commons, during which the prime minister is asked questions by members of the opposition and backbenchers. See Susan Munroe, *Your Guide to Canada Online* <<http://canadaonline.about.com>>.

<sup>11</sup> Canada’s official development assistance is largely allocated through CIDA, and this paper will focus predominantly on the this agency in examining media effects.

Perhaps the most researched and well documented media effect is agenda-setting (Iyengar, 1987). ‘Agenda-setting’ is the term used to describe the press’s ability to tell the public what issues are important. The media influences the public or the policy agenda – not telling the audience *what to think*, but simply *what to think about* (Cohen, 1963, pp. 232-3). Agenda-setting occurs through selective coverage – coverage of all events is impossible and therefore only those that receive media attention wind up on the public’s and policymakers’ agendas. This is not to deny that there are other means by which an issue can become a priority; individuals may be touched personally by an issue or may witness an event firsthand, giving such issues pre-eminence. Nonetheless, the agenda-setting capacity of the media is amplified in the arena of foreign events and foreign policy. As Soroka (2002) writes, “Foreign affairs events most often take place beyond the realm of personal experience – if we learn about these events, it is almost surely the product of media coverage” (p. 43).

This is why the media is particularly influential with regards to ODA policy. Not only is it such malleable policy domain, it is also quite susceptible to the agenda-setting process, like other sectors of foreign affairs. Important issues can attract government attention without media attention, but significant coverage, in the government’s view, builds a sense of urgency and a call for action around an issue (Noel, 2003, p. 193). The media engages in agenda-setting in foreign policy in several ways, including with its ability to draw attention to specific regions or countries and to attract attention to specific issues (O’Hefferman, 1993, p. 203).

Another significant media effect is issue saliency. This term describes the finding that while the media is unable to alter an individual’s basic attitude towards an issue, through increased coverage, the media is able to make specific issues more important, or salient, to the public. This is particularly relevant to the issue of development assistance, as it is an issue with high support, yet little saliency.

A cursory examination of Canada’s policy machine reveals possible pathways through which the media may exercise influence. When a panel of CIDA and Department for International Development (DFID) employees were asked to describe their regular day (panel at the Foreign Affairs Building, March 16, 2005), the role of the media was evident: each panellist related how their day began with approximately two hours of reading and reviewing the news for international and foreign policy items, so that they could prepare their bosses (The Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Junior Minister for International Cooperation) for any items that might arise during Question Period that afternoon. The employees discussed how it was possible to determine the questions that would be raised based on the content of the morning news (panel at the Foreign Affairs Building, March 16, 2005). This description clearly indicates how the media play a substantial role in determining which issues receive attention.

This significant role of agenda-setting may be derived from the perception that the media represents public opinion. Powlick (1995) determined that the news media is the single most important determinant in the bureaucracy’s perception of public opinion (p. 436) and decision makers may mistakenly perceive public attitudes and media coverage to be relatively synonymous, using news coverage as an indicator of public interest. The media is not always representative of public attitudes and this false assumption by decision makers would result in less public influence on policy. If the news media is used as a measuring stick of public opinion (an inaccurate indicator at best), the media, not the public, would have a great impact on policy.

Research carried out in the U.S. illustrates this impact,<sup>12</sup> particularly Payalisan’s 1996 study of human rights records and aid allocation by the American government during the 1970s and 1980s, when the importance of a good human rights record was a mainstay in aid rhetoric.

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<sup>12</sup> While U.S. governmental spending differs significantly from that of Canada (in purpose, volume, and public support), this research has nonetheless shown media effects relevant to the present discussion. Further, little empirical research exists on the subject in the Canadian context (Van Belle et al. (2004) are the notable exception), and examining relevant American research is useful in filling this gap.

Despite the claim of commitment, Payalisan found there to be no relation between documented human rights abuses in a country and the level of funding it received from the U.S. government during the same period (Payalsian 1996, p. 97). Nonetheless, media coverage of human rights abuses was an important factor, as the level of negative coverage a country received strongly impacted allocation (Payaslian, 1996, pp. 95-6). This study indicates the agenda-setting mechanism, as policymakers appeared only to shun those oppressive regimes who received publicity. Further, Payaslian demonstrated how the media's portrayal may be more powerful than actual conditions, as it was the news coverage of human rights abuses – not the abuses themselves – that affected spending levels (1996, pp. 96-7).

### **MEDIA EFFECTS ON CANADIAN ODA POLICY**

To understand the detrimental the media can have, it is important to briefly present the common criticisms of Canada's ODA programs. Canada's development assistance policy was found to be flawed on several counts: the poorest countries of the developing world were not a priority, with the particular omission of African nations (Morrison, 1998, p. 389);<sup>13</sup> aid was too dispersed, running small projects in more than a hundred different countries without making a significant impact in any (Van Belle et al., 2004, p. 166); and the government showed a lack of focus in decreasing attention to long-term development assistance in favour of headline-grabbing temporary disaster relief (Morrison, 1998, p. 391; CCIC, 2004, p. 2). Perhaps the most frequently cited flaw in Canadian ODA policy is the deplorable level to which spending has fallen in the last fifteen years. The assistance envelope fell to 0.49 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) in 1991-1992, after cuts during the Mulroney era; slashes from the Chrétien administration dropped it down to 0.25 by 2000, which was its the lowest in 30 years (Otter, 2003, p. 122).

What role does the media play in this flawed policy? In examining these defects, parallels appear between ODA policy and media behaviour. Canada's aid policy was deemed confused and disjointed – a government report stated that CIDA needed a stable policy “which comes from knowing that the basic challenges will last beyond the fall or spring catalogue” (Morrison, 1998, p. 338). Domestic pressures play a major role in CIDA's incoherent policies (Tomlinson, 2001, p. 70); particularly important, therefore, may be the attention CIDA officials pay to media coverage of the developing world. As has been discussed, the media's treatment of these issues is disorganized and incomplete, and bureaucrats' attentiveness to this coverage may account for defective policy.

CIDA's policies seem to parallel the media's treatment of the developing world, as both are brief and sporadic. Developing areas news is certainly irregular – it is not a steady ‘beat’, and coverage occurs only when something notable merits the dispatching of a correspondent. The result is unsystematic coverage; yet because coverage occurs only during extreme circumstances, it is reported with the greatest urgency. A certain correlation can be found between this type of media coverage and CIDA's ‘spread too thin’ dispersal of aid (a major defect in ODA policy). The cause of the agency's over-extension has been identified as the continual addition of fresh projects in new countries of interest, while scaling down, but not closing, existing projects. Media agenda-setting can be said to have some effect here, as each time a new country receives substantial media coverage, CIDA sets up a small project. The result is ineffective aid, “spread a mile wide and an inch thick” (Van Belle et al., 2004, p. 166).

CIDA has been labelled as suffering a conflict between long-term and short-term development objectives – this has been described as the agency's “most enduring crisis,” in which the media plays an integral role (Morrison, 1998, p. 429). The 1990s saw increases in funding to emergency relief, at the expense of development initiatives with a longer horizon.

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<sup>13</sup> Canadian aid in the past has been criticized in the pas because assistance allocation favours trading partners and the more affluent of the Third World (Morrison, 1998, p. 389).

Many indicate that the media has played a large role in this crisis, as stories that encourage emergency relief are quite telegenic. Natural disasters and human conflict situations are much more likely to receive media coverage than continuing poverty or long-term inequality, despite their comparably tragic effects (Morrison, 1998, p. 429). In focusing on telegenic disasters, the agenda-setting effect evokes quick pledges of aid from decision makers. This would be a positive outcome, except that it can occur at the expense of other important issues – issues that the media ignores.

Further, with its focus on crisis situations, the media encourages a negative view of the developing world, which may itself affect policy. In concentrating on famine and war, coverage overlooks the possibilities for improvement in the Third World. A representation of these countries as primitive polities ruled only by kleptocrats and oppressive dictators encourages the view of a hopeless South, where aid is pointless. In order to mobilize public support for development assistance a “vision of possibility” must be created; it is critical to plant the idea that change really can occur (Gillies, 1997, p. 169). Further de-legitimizing ODA is the manner in which news stories about developing areas are presented – because correspondents are frequently ‘parachuted’ into the region, they lack familiarity with the situation, and resulting stories lack context and depth, becoming episodic in nature (Burton, 1995, p. 57; Halton, 2003, p. 500). The episodic nature is particularly problematic: in explaining the result of his research, Iyengar (1996) writes that “Attributions of responsibility for poverty – both causal and treatment – [became] significantly more individualistic when news coverage was episodic. Conversely, thematic coverage elicited a greater preponderance of societal attributions” (p. 157). Iyengar’s research on the repercussions of thematic and episodic stories indicates that the current journalistic practices work to convince the audience that citizens in developing countries live in poverty due to their individual shortcomings. A core assumption of ODA is that poverty has larger underlying causes, and a media that fosters the perception that poverty has individualistic roots may deter support for ODA. More responsible reporting and more in-depth reportage are necessary to properly convey news of developing areas.

While the media does influence volume of ODA funds, it has even greater potential to influence how this assistance is spent.<sup>14</sup> The reduction in international, particularly developing areas news has been mirrored by reductions in foreign aid – those regions that entertain the least coverage, receive the least amount of aid. Particularly illustrative of this is the African continent, which is seldom on the news, and especially absent in discussions of Canada’s foreign policy: Africa-Canada relations receive less than 1% of foreign policy coverage (Cooper, 1997, p. 231). Conveniently, the cuts CIDA made in the 1990s hit Africa the hardest, particularly reducing spending in the Sub-Saharan countries, where six bilateral programs were discontinued (Pratt, 1994, p. 9; Cooper, 1997, p. 231). Due to incredible poverty in the region, these budgetary decisions call into question the motives of the agency. Canadian aid focuses on countries that receive greater media attention (such as Asia), and therefore lacks a real commitment to the humanitarian concern of poverty alleviation or amelioration (Morrison, 1998, p. 370, 389), though recent initiatives may change this.<sup>15</sup>

Despite these parallels, empirical studies must be examined to confirm the direction of causation (from media behaviour to policy outcomes). Canadian research on this topic is lacking,

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<sup>14</sup> The decision making process determining regional allocation is quite different from the mechanisms that determine the size of the ODA budget. While the government, in determining the amount of funding CIDA receives, has to balance public support for health care, education and all other spending priorities, CIDA has only to balance the public’s preference as to geographic allocation, and this may be more malleable. Due to a potentially less ‘competitive’ decision making process, perhaps regional allocation is more affected.

<sup>15</sup> April 2005 brought major revisions to Canada’s Development Assistance policy, with the unveiling of a new Foreign Affairs policy. Although these changes addressed many of the flaws in policy discussed in this paper, they have yet to take effect. This paper, therefore, focuses on Canada’s ODA policy as it has been for the last two decades, acknowledging that policy may be significantly different in the future.

the notable exception being a 2004 study by Rioux, Van Belle et al., and Potter. This team examined the impact of the volume of coverage on a particular country and the amount of aid subsequently received, controlling for other important variables.<sup>16</sup> Their study confirmed that media had an impact – findings indicated that for each story in the *Globe and Mail*, a country received roughly an additional \$43,393 in development assistance (colloquially converted). This study included all country coverage (therefore including negative coverage of a country) and hence the possible effects of negative vs. positive coverage is difficult to discern. Nonetheless, since media's coverage is not representative of levels of need in the developing world, the negative repercussions of this reactive policy path are evident (Van Belle et al., 2004, p. 482). While selective reporting is necessary, the result of this agenda-setting is that aid may not be allocated where it is most required.

### **MEDIA EFFECTS ON PUBLIC OPINION**

Another avenue through which the media may influence policy is through its effect on the public. Canadian Public opinion on development assistance is highly favourable – the most recent data (2001) indicates that 76.4% of Canadians think it is important to provide assistance to poor countries, while a majority of Canadians (53%) think that Canada should increase the amount of aid the nation currently provides (Noel, 2004, p. 4).<sup>17</sup> This high support appears to be stable across time, as literature in the 1970s and 1980s cites public support as being between 75 and 80 percent (Noel, 2004, p. 10). The stability of general public support implicates a low responsiveness in the government, as levels of spending in development assistance were slashed dramatically in the 1990s while public opinion remained unchanged (Noel, 2004, p. 10). The government maintained that citizens, in acknowledgement of the general financial state of the country, supported these cuts, though this shift has not been documented empirically in opinion polls (Noel, 2004, p. 10).<sup>18</sup> The disjuncture between public opinion and policy decisions provides evidence that the government is unresponsive to the public in this policy domain; therefore, examining the media effects on the public may be irrelevant, as this pathway will not impact policy.

Essential, here, is an understanding of why the government is unresponsive to public wishes and the media may again play a key role. One key reason the government may not listen to the public is because of the low saliency of the issue. While Canadians express high support for ODA, its ranking as a spending priority is less optimistic: development assistance ranks close to the bottom of a listing of public concerns, falling below all domestic issues except for the Arts (Noel, 2004, p. 15). Because the issue is not particularly salient, decision makers have little reason to listen to opinion polls; “put simply, there are no votes in foreign aid” (Otter, 2003, p. 16). Because of this, during times of austerity, aid could be cut heavily without electoral repercussions (Stairs, 2003, p. 250)... and this is where media could play a key role. As has been discussed, the media cannot actually alter opinions on an issue, yet it does have the ability to increase the saliency of the issue through increased coverage. Increasing the saliency of development assistance could greatly benefit development spending, because Canadians are already supportive ODA, yet the issue ranks behind most other policy domains on their list of concerns. Potentially, the lack of responsiveness among decision makers is not permanent, and could be eliminated if the public put more priority on the issue. Increased media coverage would simply

<sup>16</sup> Their research indicated that a country's gross national product (GNP), a country's trade relations with Canada, and a country's membership in the Commonwealth were all significant factors; controlling for these, media coverage of a country also had an impact.

<sup>17</sup> On increasing Canada's aid: only 26% of Canadians disagree with the proposition, while 21% are neutral (Noel, 2004, p. 4).

<sup>18</sup> A 1995 government report indicated that public support was at 82%, with a full 74% for maintaining or increasing the current level of aid (Otter, 2003, p. 122).

amplify the already existent positive attitudes of Canadians towards ODA and perhaps give this sector the priority required to incite action from policymakers.

This is particularly significant in the Canadian context, as increasing the issue saliency of development assistance would not have a positive effects on spending levels in all donor nations. Illustrative of this is the divergence between public attitudes in the U.S. and Canada. America is one of the few donor countries where only a minority of the population supports foreign aid (Noel, 2004, p. 12). In the U.S., then, increasing the saliency of development assistance would actually decrease public support; increased coverage would simply strengthen existing opinions, which are largely opposed to foreign aid, with the result that the reduction of foreign aid spending would become a bigger priority. Canadians, in contrast, are more favourable to ODA spending – they have a perception of themselves as benevolent global citizens and are proud of their good international reputation, earned through United Nations and aid work (Munton, 2001, pp. 532-533; Van Belle et al., 2004, p. 104). Although these attitudes are not standard cross-nationally (and therefore increasing coverage is not always the method through which to increase public support), since Canada is the focus of this paper, it is useful to examine the ways in which the media decreases saliency.

The low saliency of development assistance policies is perpetuated by the media's behaviour in several ways. Minimal coverage of the developing world reinforces the perception that these areas of the world are not significant. When discussing Canada's foreign relations, coverage focuses overwhelmingly on Canada-U.S. relations, ignoring important links to the developing world, and strengthening the view that developing regions are unimportant. ODA policy is further minimized in foreign policy discussions, as other aspects of foreign policy, such as trade and military issues, dominate the news. While these are no doubt significant sectors, ODA has long been an essential part of Canadian foreign policy and denying the importance of its role further minimizes support. Additionally, due to reliance on wire services, stories on the developing world lack a Canadian dimension – any relations that Canada has with the country receiving coverage are omitted. This leads to the perception that Canada is not an active country on the global stage, undermining the important work that CIDA performs. Low saliency is likely perpetuated by the lack of knowledge Canadians have of Canada's aid program – a paucity that can itself, perhaps, be linked to spotty media coverage. Survey data indicates that most Canadians believe that the government spends five times the actual amount on development assistance, and when informed of the real levels of spending, those who believe that Canadian ODA spending should increase nearly doubles (Noel, 2004, p. 11).<sup>19</sup> One of the reasons why Canadians are uneducated on ODA spending is the media's failure to discuss government action, as the massive cuts that occurred in this sector went unnoticed in media reportage. If Canadians were aware of the low that spending had reached, they would perhaps be more insistent on government action.

This lack of information may decrease policy responsiveness in other ways as well. Since ODA policy cannot be observed and is rarely experienced firsthand (foreign news is, of course *foreign*, occurring beyond national borders), Canadians must learn about it second-hand. Since 1995, there has been no public information program on development assistance, leaving the media as the sole conduit for educating citizens (Morrison, 1998, p. 414).<sup>20</sup> Therefore, when the media does not play a role as an educator, the public will be left unaware of shifts in policy and if the public does not notice changes in policy (because the media does not inform them), decision-

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<sup>19</sup> Noel found in a 2004 survey that Canadians believed, on average, that 10.5% of the federal budget goes to aid, while the actual figure is less than 2%. Greater information can make massive differences in opinions – the percentage of those who believed the current aid budget was not sufficient increased from 24% to 44% when they were informed of the actual amount spent (Noel, 2004).

<sup>20</sup> While it is naïve to demand excess civic responsibility from the press, as an institution that commands such influence needs to recognize the ramifications of its actions. While it is unwise to state that the media could fully replace a development education program, a responsible media will more successfully educate Canadians.

makers do not face a public response to their actions (Soroka, 2005, p. 3). This may cause the lack of responsiveness that has been observed on the part of the government. The media again fosters unresponsiveness through its misrepresentation of public opinion; for example, a common claim made by journalists is that the developed world is experiencing 'aid fatigue' (Otter, 2003, p. 121). This claim of 'exhaustion' has been cited by policymakers, and has been used to justify the erosion of ODA spending, despite a lack of empirical support. Here, then, media and policymakers are in consensus, yet neither are in line with public opinion (Noel, 2004, p. 10). In siding with the media, the government is, in fact, ignoring public opinion.

## CONCLUSION

Extensive similarities between media behaviour and Canada's ODA policy are evident: low coverage and low spending, attention to specific geographic areas, unsystematic coverage and scattered spending, coverage lacking in context, unfocused allocation and an overwhelming focus on crisis situations rather than long-term development. However, many of the assertions of media effect discussed have been speculative, and the causality is likely multi-directional. More sophisticated media effects models conclude that influence is likely multi-directional (for example, see Soroka, 2002, p. 11). While this paper focused predominantly on the media's ability to direct spending, other factors likely contribute to the similarities between media behaviour and governmental policy – for example, countries that receive aid from Canada, or are more politically important to Canada, may get greater media coverage. Similarly, countries that are politically important to Canada tend to be larger aid recipients, and due to that political significance, also tend to get greater media coverage. Further, it is possible that ODA is simply not important politically, causing the government and the media to give it less than their full attention. These are all alternative explanations that should be explored in the future, and a reasonable conclusion is that the effect reciprocal: while media effects policy, policy also affects the media.

Further, despite parallels, it is not the intention of this paper to blame the media for every flaw in Canadian development policy; many other factors effect ODA policy, and while this paper focuses on media influence, this is not meant to deny other important forces.<sup>21</sup> Finally, despite the civic responsibility placed on the media, it is unrealistic to expect the media to fully educate Canadians. Ultimately, news is a business, and expecting the media to replace an educational program is naïve. Much of the 'undesirable' media behaviour (for example, reducing coverage to cut costs or covering only exciting events), is necessary to maintain profitability. Nonetheless, if, as indicated here, the media does play a substantial role in shaping policy, it should be aware of the repercussions its actions have (Burton, 1995, p. 57).

In the past, CIDA has made attempts to address this issue and these efforts should be acknowledged. Responding to the lack of media coverage on developing area issues, in 1996 CIDA sponsored a conference for journalists, journalism students and representatives of nongovernmental organizations. The purpose of the gathering was to educate the media on development issues, with the hope that this would encourage a greater volume and better quality of coverage (Pike, 1996, p. 11). Events like this may bring about improvements, though funding such workshops is difficult to justify in face of low aid envelopes; nevertheless, as has been discussed, the media may have the ability to increase support for ODA and hence educational sessions may be worth the expenditure. Hopefully, such efforts will educate the media to better influence public opinion, as a populace educated and interested in development issues would have positive repercussions on Canada's policies.

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<sup>21</sup> As discussed before, Canadian policy is the result of various forces, and other factors, such as trade relations or Commonwealth membership, have been found to correlate with higher levels of aid.

Ultimately, however, the responsibility to change ODA programs is that of decision makers, not the media, and discussing the potential of change in media behaviour does not deny that primary responsibility for development assistance policy lies with the government. Perhaps most useful would be efforts to decrease agency governmental permeability, so that the influence of the press did not result in flawed policy, though simply decreasing the responsiveness of the government to reportage is not a solution – as has been discussed, the government already displays tremendous unresponsiveness to public opinion. The penetration of public opinion may indeed benefit aid levels, so selective insulation – rather than total unresponsiveness – may be the solution.

Since the first draft of this paper, massive changes have been planned for Canadian ODA policy, indicating that perhaps this needed insulation has occurred. These changes, in fact, address the many criticisms of policy addressed in this paper. Despite a new direction, though, the media will likely continue to play an important role in policy formulation and assessment of their impact should continue – indeed, the recent improvement in ODA policy may support the case for media effects, rather than disprove it. While more recent data is unavailable, a resurgence of international news coverage and foreign affairs following the events of September 11, 2001 has been identified and may have had the effect of putting the developing world on the map once again and putting pressure on policymakers for action. Throughout the 1990s, when international reporting hit an all time low (Soderlund, 2002, p. 77), ODA spending dropped; with the recent proliferation of international reporting, perhaps a matching policy change was unavoidable. Further research of post- 9/11 media behaviour is necessary to confirm or disprove this thesis. In the final analysis, while this is a positive repercussion of media effects, the possible negative effects cannot be ignored, and the media's influence remains uncertain as a source of policy change. Despite possible beneficial effects, greater government insulation of media influence may still be the path to solid ODA policy.

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# Logical Framework Analysis: A Planning Tool for Government Agencies, International Development Organizations, and Undergraduate Students

Andrew Middleton

**ABSTRACT** – *This paper provides an example of how framework analysis (a management planning tool used extensively by the major development organizations) can allow undergraduates to reflect on how they can maximize their efforts in humanitarian intervention. The example of a small-scale development project, “Wells for Africa,” set up by the author during his undergraduate studies, will be used to illustrate the effectiveness of this tool in project management.*

**RÉSUMÉ** – *Cet article est un exemple de comment une analyse squelettique (un outil de planification de gestion utilisé considérablement par les principales organisations de développement) peut permettre aux étudiants de refléter sur les moyens qu'ils ont de maximiser leurs efforts en intervention humanitaire. L'exemple du projet de développement à petite échelle, "Wells for Africa" ("Puits pour l'Afrique"), mis sur pied par l'auteur de cet article durant ses études du premier cycle, sera utilisé pour illustrer l'efficacité de cet outil en ce qui concerne la gestion de projets.*

## INTRODUCTION

Canadian students in International Development Studies (IDS) are passionate about getting involved in groups and organizations who address the social needs of people throughout the world. Student action can be defined in many ways, from a small donation to a well-known nongovernmental organization (NGO) active in development (Oxfam, World Vision, CARE, etc.) to taking a year to work for an organisation such as CUSO (Canadian University Students Overseas) on a particular development project or starting a small humanitarian project on one's own (the example to be used in this paper). Assessing where to concentrate one's efforts presents major choices for students: What do I want to do? Which organizations should I get involved with? How can I maximize my time and resources to do something I believe in? All of these are questions that go through the mind of the IDS student.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how a management tool called Logical Framework Planning (LFP) can assist students with answering some of these important questions. To illustrate the use of this tool, I will share my experience with a project I initiated as an undergraduate called “Wells for Africa”<sup>1</sup> and how the project not only made an impact on the

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Middleton created “Wells for Africa” in 1998 as part of the Mission and Service Group of St. Mary's United Church, Ontario. The project has constructed 21 water wells in small rural communities in Oyo State, Nigeria and is

lives of a number of small rural communities in Nigeria, but also acted a learning tool throughout my undergraduate education. Although I encountered the LFP tool only after the “Wells for Africa” project began, it has proven useful in assessing the project in retrospect and it will be helpful to students both in maximizing their volunteer contributions and in analyzing the choices available. It can be as relevant for evaluating whether to sponsor a child for World Vision as it is to starting one’s own project and to assessing whether one should or should not get involved with ‘development’. LFP, although time consuming, can provide a step-by-step guide to the process of specifying one’s intermediate and final objectives and it can be used to evaluate any proposed intervention. In the process of explaining the LFP, the value of the methods and perspectives of certain academic disciplines outside of the traditional IDS ‘sphere’ will also be demonstrated.

### LOGICAL FRAMEWORK PLANNING

LFP was created by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to assist in the planning, management and evaluation of its development interventions (Coleman, 1987, p. 251). It has been described as an interlocking set of concepts that, when used together, allow project planners to identify the logical linkages between a set of means and a set of ends. As an effective management tool, it has now been utilized in a variety of modified forms by many development agencies.

Figure 1  
Logical Framework Planning Matrix

<b>Narrative Summary</b>	<b>Objectively Verifiable Indicators</b>	<b>Means of Verification</b>	<b>Important Assumptions</b>
<b>GOAL</b>	Measurement of goal achievement.	Sources of information. Methods used.	Assumptions affecting Purpose-Goal linkage.
<b>PURPOSE</b>	End of project status.	Sources of information. Methods used.	Assumptions affecting Output-Purpose linkage.
<b>OUTPUTS</b>	Magnitudes of outputs. Planned completion date.	Sources of information. Methods used.	Assumptions affecting Inputs-Outputs linkage.
<b>INPUTS</b>	Nature and level of resources necessary. Cost. Planned starting date.	Sources of information. Methods used.	Initial assumption(s) about the project.

Source: Coleman, 1987, p. 252.

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currently financing the construction of sanitation facilities in rural villages in collaboration with the Sacred Heart Hospital, Abeokuta, Nigeria.

LFP operates as a 4 x 4 matrix. The narrative summary describes an activity or intervention; it allows the identification of “inputs” that lead to a set of “outputs,” which should accomplish a “purpose” that is an integral to achieving the ultimate “goals” of a project (Coleman, 1987, p. 252). Each of these four stages needs to be subjected to a concrete means of verification. “Assumptions” are factors one assumes will (or must) take place in order for the narrative summary to run its course and achieve its aim. The middle two columns of the matrix describe the ways in which one may measure what *could* happen as well as what *actually* happens. “Objectively verifiable indicators” are means by which one can verify whether a given activity actually led to an output. The “Means of verification” column describes the precise method by which this verification can be measured.

This narrative summary can help a student to define his or her activities, by allowing the student to imagine the output of certain actions, how this output would lead to the achievement of a specific purpose and the ways in which that purpose could contribute to a wider goal. For example, one can imagine donating \$20 a month to support the education of a child in Bolivia. This action would lead to an output (the child attending school), which would fulfill a purpose (better-educated future generations), which would lead to the wider objective of social and economic development in the region. In this case, one assumes several things: that the child wants to attend school; that schools are available; that the quality of education available will lead to the student being better educated; and that opportunities will be available for the student to use his or her education to make a difference in the future economic and social development of the region. An objectively verifiable indicator of success could be that the child is physically attending school, and the means of verifying this could be through a school record of attendance, and/or a receipt from the school showing that a donation had been used toward that specific child’s education. Many NGOs provide this exact type of information in the course of establishing accountability to their donors.

### THE “WELLS FOR AFRICA” PROJECT

Prior to coming to Canada, I lived in Nigeria for ten years, working for an agricultural research institute in Ibadan. Although I managed hotel and catering operations, I was able to witness firsthand the institute’s numerous projects targeting the improvement of food security, income and the overall well-being of resource-poor people, primarily in the humid and sub-humid zones of sub-Saharan Africa.

Following my arrival in Canada, I knew that I wanted to do something to help the rural people of Nigeria. Some of the areas in which I envisioned making an impact were: improved nutrition, availability of affordable primary education, health improvement, and gender equality. I decided that I wanted to concentrate on health improvement and began by conceptualizing the factors that would lead to improved health: access to water, improved nutritional levels, local health clinics, availability of affordable drugs, etc. Deciding that I wanted to focus on access to water, I considered the ways in which access to water could be improved. I realized that many villagers relied on the local stream as the only source of fresh water. UNICEF has been working on improving access to water in Nigeria and had identified many of the initiatives that constituted improved access. After considering these options, I decided that building wells in small villages was the way that I could personally intervene to achieve the wider objective of improving health in rural villages.

In Figure 2, the first three levels of the Logical Framework Planning matrix – *inputs*, *outputs* and *purpose* – are specific to the “Wells for Africa” project itself. Purchasing construction materials and building a well are directly related in providing access to improved water. Access to improved water is, however, only *one* contributor to the achievement of the wider objective of improved health (which is the greater goal of the development project).

Figure 2  
LFP Matrix for the “Wells for Africa” Project

	<b>Narrative Summary</b>	<b>Objectively Verifiable indicators</b>	<b>Means of Verification</b>	<b>Important Assumptions</b>
<b>GOAL</b>	Improve the health of villagers in rural communities.	Improvements in village residents’ health.	Life expectancy; child and infant mortality; number or workdays missed due to ill health.	Reduction of water borne disease is a major factor in general health.
<b>PURPOSE</b>	Reduction of water-borne disease.	Reduction in Guinea worm, bilharzias, diarrhoea and other water-borne disease.	Statistics from local health clinics in the reduction of patients due to water-borne disease.	Water from the well reduces water borne disease.
<b>OUTPUTS</b>	Construction water well; access to improved water.	Availability of improved water.	Videos, pictures and surveys showing number of villagers accessing water daily	Village elders will allow construction.
<b>INPUTS</b>	Purchase construction material. Basic hygiene workshops.	Existence of well.	Pictures and videos of villages where wells were built.	Funds can be raised to purchase materials.

In using the LFP process of narrative summary, I had prepared a process of “linkages” that described how building a well would lead to improving the health of people in a rural village. This was a very personalized undertaking heavily influenced by projects I had seen during the time I lived in Nigeria. Another student may have decided on a different way to improve health or may have opted to pursue another method of improving access to water; indeed, each student will have a different aim based on her/his own personal aims and objectives. Even if I could just as easily have decided to donate money to UNICEF or The Carter Foundation – organizations that were already working in this field and region – I chose to create a small project. In part, this decision stemmed from the fact that I had the local contacts necessary to accomplish the work.

Deciding on what to do can be based on personal experience, articles or books that one has read, a professor’s interests or presentations that have been made by an organization. In my own case, I not only based my decision on personal experience, but I engaged in research on statistics for access to water in the developing world, the organizations or groups that were working in that field or region and on the concerns and needs of a wide range of villagers.

In this example, in order to show how the matrix was assembled, I have shown a top-down construction (where the project emerges from ‘outside’), contrary to the normal, bottom-up approach (where the project is initiated from the ‘inside’). This highlights the point that the matrix is not merely a blueprint. Initially, I based the matrix on my own personal beliefs and experiences; after completing my degree in IDS and reading many articles from development professionals, I would construct the matrix differently. The way I originally conceptualized the development intervention is different from how I perceive it now. This re-conceptualization has

resulted in an open and flexible approach where each iteration is itself a learning process. As the project expanded, it was essential to remain open to the variety of and fluctuations in interest that each well construction brought.

If I were beginning an LFP for the “Wells for Africa” project today, although I would begin with the same ‘wider objective’ – the improvement of the health of rural villagers – the remainder of the narrative summary would be determined using a more consultative approach. The beneficiaries would have been an integral part of planning and would have been instrumental in designing the activities, outputs and purpose of the intervention. This may have also led to changing the wider objective, if the beneficiaries did not feel that health was an area that required attention. Informal discussion with a wide variety of villagers, followed by structured and semi-structured interviews, would have revealed their needs and concerns and although this would have been costly, such an approach would have given the project had a better chance of making a positive impact. Discussants and interviewees would have been drawn from a range of villagers, with representation from different genders, professions, ages, and social status (i.e. landowners, landless labourers, children and orphans, labourers and the heads of households).

Although villagers were not involved in the initial construction of the narrative summary, many were involved in each of the other stages of project planning and execution. Due to the nature of the intervention and as I was residing in Canada, I did not visit during the first five years of the project, nor did I have any direct contact with the beneficiaries except through the project co-ordinator. My previous experience in hotel management also made me realize that the positive impact of the project needed to exceed the actual cost of the project – the funds I would use to travel to Nigeria and undertake a personal evaluation of the wells would be enough to build another ten wells. Hence my decision to use a local co-ordinator; to provide constant feedback on the functioning of the wells that we had constructed and on the impact those wells had on the village.

Each time sufficient funds had been raised to construct another well; the project co-ordinator visited a set of villages to assess the need for access to improved water. Need for access was considered greater if the village was reliant on a dam or stream for their water supply and if there was a high prevalence of guinea worm. The co-ordinator then spoke with the village council to negotiate its involvement in construction, its ownership of the well and the future management of that well. After the successful completion of this stage, a contract was drawn up between our organization and the village council; describing the council’s agreement to the construction of the well and its future role in maintaining the well and ensuring equitable access. At the well’s opening ceremony, video footage was taken of the well and of the villagers using it. A plaque was placed on the front wall recognizing the donors who made the construction possible and letters from the beneficiaries were distributed to the donors. This not only showed the donors how their money had been spent, but also provided information and promotional material for future donors. With the project completed, it would have been for our organization to sit back and feel elated that my ‘vision’ of aid had been achieved.

Measuring the performance of any intervention can be done by using the four E’s: Efficiency; Effectiveness; Economics; and Equity (Open University, 2001, p.22). Evaluating performance and impact – as shown in the two middle columns of the Logical Framework Planning – allows one to define criteria on how the project is *or is not* achieving its goals at each stage.

The top two rows of the middle columns of the LFP matrix deal with assessing of the *efficiency* of the project. In the case of “Wells for Africa,” I forwarded funds from Canada to a colleague in Nigeria who then engaged the project co-ordinator to work with the village elders and council in constructing the well. The first question that arose was: did these individuals use the money to build the well? Pictures and videos of each well were taken to show the materials that were purchased, to document the process of building the well, to prove that the well functioned and to show village residents accessing the well’s water.

The same two rows of the LFP matrix can also provide one with an *economic* assessment of the project. This can be done in a rather straightforward manner, by calculating the cost of the well construction divided by the number of village inhabitants and divided again by the longevity of the well. In this case, each well costs approximately US\$ 1,000.00 to build and each village has approximately 750 inhabitants, therefore the cost of the well is approximately US\$ 1.33 per inhabitant. We believe that the wells will last at least ten years; therefore each well costs 13 cents per person, per year. NGOs use these kinds of statistics to encourage donation (for example, stating that *x* cents per day will sponsor a child in a developing country). Apart from the estimation of the longevity (some of our wells are now 5 years old and functioning well), the other factors involved in the calculation are known and confirmed and can be used not only to prove to donors that their money was well spent, but also to attract new donors. However, as a development professional analyzing the best way to use the funds at your disposal, you would need to do a comparison with the costs and impacts of other related projects. This evaluation process is widely used by many development organizations and can also be used by the student of development, not only as a learning tool but also as a means of determining the best possible investment of his or her time and/or money.

While moving through the LFP matrix, the evaluation becomes more complex where one begins to encounter factors beyond one's control. In the case of the "Wells for Africa Project," the purpose of building the wells was to reduce the transmission of debilitating water-borne diseases, thus *efficiency* must not compromise *effectiveness*. During my own evaluation of this project, I found that although the wells had been built within budget and in the time frame expected, the assumptions surrounding the achievement of this purpose did not exactly meet with the criteria laid out when the narrative summary was written. One of the underlying assumptions in my initial narrative summary was that access to improved water would lead directly to health improvements. I realized that improved access to water was only one aspect of water management. Improved sanitation and health education were other factors that, when added to the construction of wells, would allow the "Wells for Africa" intervention to achieve its wider purpose.

This realization was brought about by the emergence of several problems during the course of evaluating the completed wells projects. Although the water was clean and plentiful, villagers often believed that it should be reserved for drinking and that water for washing should still be collected from the stream. This counteracted efforts to halt the spread of guinea worm, a parasite that easily infects anyone who comes into contact with infected stream water. Guinea worm still existed in the village, though its incidence had been reduced through access to water from the well. In a continuation of the original project, simple latrines were dug and maintenance of those latrines was discussed with village elders in order to encourage improved sanitation. Another problem that arose during the course of evaluating the completed wells: equity in accessing well water. We discovered that villagers believed the well was for their use only and locked the wells so that visitors to the village could not gain access. Thus visitors were obliged to use the stream, which could be contaminated with any transmitted infections (including cases of Guinea worm). In order to address these problems, educational workshops were set up with the local Ministry of Health, instructing villagers in basic hygiene, the spread of disease and the simple precautions that maximized well efficacy. Taking action on these unexpected developments allowed us to keep 'on track' in achieving our overall aim of improving village health.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> After identifying these problems, the project could have drawn up logical framework matrices that addressed each new intervention in hygiene and sanitation.

## CONCLUSION

Constant monitoring and evaluation allows one to determine whether or not a project is moving in the direction envisioned during the design phase, and to take necessary action when the unexpected happens, or when assumptions are shown to be false. Although students of development often expect projects to run according to the initial intervention blueprint, in practice this is rarely the case. We are forced to continuously modify, negotiate, and generally ‘craft’ our way along if we are to carry out an activity – and to do it well. The Logical Framework Planning approach is also an excellent tool for addressing issues of accountability, and in evaluating whether or not a project has met its initial expectations. In the case of the “Wells for Africa” project, it has helped me to understand how our organization was accountable both ‘upwards’ (to donors) and ‘downwards’ (to beneficiaries). The LFP allowed me to maintain contact with the different groups involved, and devise ways to use the information gathered for the maximum benefit of stakeholders.

The process of using LFP also helped me to understand that the wider objective of the “Well for Africa” project – improving health – was an integral part of achieving the overall goal of ‘development’. According to the UNDP, this depends on the real wealth of a nation; its people; and their capacity to create an enabling environment for the enjoyment of long, healthy, and creative lives (UNDP, 1999, p.1). Providing access to improved water was the equivalent of giving villagers the first step on the ladder to achieving this goal. The project allowed me to focus on the four questions that address capacity building: Which capacities are to be built? Whose capacities are to be built? What aims are achieved in capacity building? And what process can capacities be built? (Open University, 2001, p.48). The initial interventions carried out by “Wells for Africa” proved to be not only a learning process for beneficiaries, it also improved my own capability of achieving future success in development interventions and it helped the donors see that their money was accomplishing the aims for which it was intended.

The wells improved the health of the residents of the rural community, reducing the debilitating effects of water-borne disease which were compromised their possibility of enjoying the aforementioned long, healthy, and creative lives. The Logical Framework Planning approach revealed how such steps toward the improvement of a specific health concern could effect long term social change, it helped the process of project planning and evaluation, and it helped me – hopefully the LFP can be useful to others who wish to get involved in development interventions. At the 2005 Huron University College graduation ceremonies, author Joan Barfoot advised graduates to “be curious not cynical” (personal communication, June 14, 2005). As a student at the 2005 InSight Conference stated, IDS students are “allergic” to anything to do with business and management (personal communication, June 4, 2005). The goal of this paper has been not only to explain the LFA and its uses, but also to convince students not to be cynical about the methods and perspectives of ‘outside’ disciplines. Rather, students should be curious about these disciplines and how their insights can help one to achieve one’s goals, whatever they may be.

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## The Cost of Life: Patent laws, the WTO and the HIV/AIDS pandemic

Yalnee Shantharam

**ABSTRACT:** *More than one third of the world's population cannot access essential drugs, and more than half of these people live in the poorest regions of Africa and Asia. As the number of people living with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) continues to rise, the need to address the problem of access to patented medicines, such as antiretroviral therapy, has emerged as an issue of global importance. A heated debate is ongoing between rich and poor countries concerning patent laws and affordability of essential drugs to treat illnesses like tuberculosis, malaria and HIV/AIDS.*

*This paper will explore the challenges poor countries face in the provision of HIV antiretroviral medication. The formulation of the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement and the Doha Declaration within the World Trade Organization (WTO) will be analyzed for their effectiveness in increasing the access of poor countries to affordable medicines. The role of international agencies, bilateral aid organizations and governments will also be examined as part of an effort to outline possible solutions to the problems of affordability of and access to essential medicines.*

**RÉSUMÉ:** *Plus d'un tiers de la population mondiale n'a pas accès à des médicaments essentiels, et plus de la moitié d'entre eux vivent dans les régions les plus défavorisées de l'Afrique et de l'Asie. Tandis que le nombre de personnes infectées par le Virus d'Immuno-déficience Humaine (VIH) ne cesse de croître, le besoin de résoudre le problème d'accès aux médicaments essentiels dont, par exemple, la thérapie anti-rétrovirale, surgi comme un sujet d'importance globale. Les pays riches et les pays pauvres sont en continuel débat sur la question de lois de brevet et sur l'accessibilité des médicaments essentiels destinés à traiter des maladies telles que la tuberculose, le malaria et le VIH/SIDA.*

*Cet article explorera les défis auxquels font face les pays pauvres dans leur approvisionnement en médicaments anti-rétroviraux contre le VIH. La formulation de l'Accord des Aspects des Droits de Propriété Intellectuelle qui touchent au commerce (ADPIC) ainsi que la Déclaration de Doha au sein de l'Organisation Mondiale du Travail (OMT) seront analysés dans leur efficacité à faciliter l'accès des pays pauvres à des médicaments abordables. Le rôle des agences internationales, des organisations d'aide bilatérales, et les gouvernements seront également analysés dans l'effort de concevoir des solutions plausibles aux problèmes d'accès aux médicaments essentiels.*

### INTRODUCTION

In the year 2005, global health concerns and World Trade Organization (WTO) patent regulations stand at a crossroads. As the last of the member countries of the World Trade

Organization begin to fully comply with the deadline of the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement, concerns are heightened over affordability and access to vital medicines needed to battle the HIV AIDS pandemic. At the heart of these concerns is a debate about patent laws governing pharmaceutical products established within TRIPS and their relation to the subsequent 'Doha Declaration' that addressed the primacy of public health over intellectual property rights. The nature of the pandemic makes this debate all the more urgent, since ninety-five percent of the 40 million people infected with HIV live in developing countries (many in sub-Saharan Africa) and the numbers of new cases continue to soar (Russel, 2002).

The Human Immunodeficiency Virus is currently the most deadly virus known to mankind: over 20 million people have died in the twenty years since the discovery of the virus and an additional 88 million remain infected. The catastrophic proportion of the pandemic is unprecedented; it has already surpassed the devastation caused by the bubonic plague in the fourteenth century. Threatening every corner of the globe, the HIV/AIDS crisis has unforeseeable political, social, economic and humanitarian implications. To highlight the viciousness of the disease, it is worth noting that sub-Saharan Africa the number of children orphaned by AIDS at the end of 2003 was 12 million. In 2003, individuals aged 15-24 accounted for half of the new HIV infections worldwide, with more than 6,000 becoming infected with the virus every day. It is estimated that six million people in low and middle-income countries do not have AIDS drugs that could save their lives (Avert, 2005b).

The term Highly Active Antiretroviral Therapy (HAART) is used to describe a combination of three or more anti-HIV drugs (Avert, 2005a). The formulation of Highly Active Antiretroviral Therapy began in 1987 with the first group of antiretroviral drugs known as Nucleoside Reverse Transcriptase Inhibitors. It has since been discovered that in order for antiretroviral treatment to be effective for a long time, more than one antiretroviral drug must be taken at a time. In industrialized nations, AIDS deaths have been dramatically reduced partly because of the availability of antiretroviral medication. The cost of a year's worth of standard treatment of the combination therapy is estimated at US \$10,000- \$15,000. This price level, however, puts AIDS treatment out of reach of most of the developing world.

### **TRADE RELATED ASPECTS OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS**

For the past several years there has been widespread debate over access to antiretroviral agents for HIV patients in poor countries. The pharmaceutical industry views the patent system as essential to its business model. Under the patent system, an inventor is entitled to a limited monopoly for a period of time – typically twenty years (Oh, 2001). This exclusivity in production rights enables the maintenance of high prices during the patent term, which increases the profit incentive for investing in costly research and development processes. Once the patent expires, generic competitors crowd the market and force down the drug price. The pharmaceutical industry argues that the temporary profit incentive protected by patents spurs innovation and the development of new drugs.

Developing countries view patent laws differently. These countries believe that they should be able to override patent rights of large pharmaceutical companies. The United States and other rich countries, determined to change and universalize patent laws, achieved important extensions of patent protection in the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement, which entered into force January 1, 1995. This agreement requires that all member nations of the World Trade Organization live up to defined standards of intellectual property protection. The TRIPS Agreement requires member countries to adopt and enforce 20 years of patent protection for products (including medicines) invented and patented in another member country (Russel, 2002).

Public health advocates have pointed to the critical importance of using the TRIPS Agreement's 'safe-guard' measures designed to mitigate undesirable outcomes from protection of

intellectual property rights. Two of the most important safeguards in TRIPS are ‘compulsory licensing’ and ‘parallel importing’.

### **Compulsory Licensing**

Compulsory licenses can be issued by governments to allow a competitor to manufacture a patented product or process. This enables a government to manufacture a patented product without the patent holder’s consent and encourages the production of drugs for their citizens at prices lower than the patent-holding pharmaceutical company charges (Fayerman, 2004).

Many rich countries provide some forms of compulsory licenses, either in their patent laws or under specific sector legislation. Compulsory licenses are regarded as a crucial element in the patent laws of these countries and are mechanisms used to promote competition and prevent abuse of patent rights and monopolies. These licenses are an important tool for increasing affordability of drugs while safeguarding the legitimate interests of the patent holder.

Provisions that relate to compulsory licenses are contained in Article 31 of the TRIPS Agreement. This article makes mention of five possible grounds for the granting of compulsory licenses: in the case of refusal to deal, in situations of national emergency, to remedy anti-competitive practices, in cases of public non-commercial use and to facilitate the use of dependent patents (Bailey, 2002).

The compulsory license provision in the TRIPS Agreement, however, is not sufficient for a majority of developing countries. At present, only four developing countries – Argentina, Brazil, China and India – have strong enough national pharmaceutical sectors to be able to develop and manufacture new medicines through generic drug production (Oh, 2001). These countries are in a position to use compulsory licenses to enable domestic firms to manufacture cheaper versions of patented drugs. Other developing country members of the WTO that do not have domestic manufacturing capacity to produce generic drugs do not, therefore, benefit from compulsory licensing. The TRIPS Agreement stipulates that a compulsory license must be “predominantly” for the supply of the domestic market (Correa, 2003).

### **Parallel Importation**

Parallel imports involve the import and resale, without the consent of the patent holder, of a patented product that is marketed more cheaply in another country (Oh, 2001). Article 6 of the TRIPS Agreement allows each member country of the WTO the freedom to incorporate parallel importation into its national legislation. The underlying concept for parallel imports is based on the principle of exhaustion of rights, which states that the patent holder has been rewarded through the first sale or distribution of the product and no longer has the right to control the use or resale of the product. According to Article 5(c) of the TRIPS Agreement, each member state is free to establish its own regime for the exhaustion of patents. This means that TRIPS does not extend patent protection to secondary sales of patented products. Using parallel importation, countries with limited resources can buy drugs at the lowest world price and then redistribute the drugs domestically (Bailey, 2002).

### **Problems with TRIPS ‘safeguards’**

Compulsory licenses and parallel importation are important provisions that, if effectively implemented should encourage wider access to vital medicines. However, these TRIPS provisions, however, are coupled with numerous conditions, making them difficult to utilize effectively. Furthermore, although the TRIPS Agreement allows for these ‘safe-guards’ to be employed for the protection of public health, some rich countries have interpreted the provisions relating to compulsory licenses very narrowly (Bailey, 2002). The Thai government, for instance,

was forced by American threats of high tariffs on Thai exports, to ban parallel imports and to restrict the use of compulsory licenses for pharmaceutical drugs. (Oh, 2001).

The bilateral pressure applied on the South African government by the US Administration is another example of the lack of clarity on TRIPS safe-guard measures. South Africa was the target of a 1998 legal challenge by 39 pharmaceutical companies, which sought a court declaration that the South African legislation on compulsory licensing was illegal. The challenge was dropped in 2001 after a cascade of negative publicity, but the political pressure exerted by more powerful nations and the fear of litigation has left other poor countries hesitant to use the safe-guard measures provided by the TRIPS Agreement (Correa, 2003).

### **THE DOHA DECLARATION ON THE TRIPS AGREEMENT AND PUBLIC HEALTH**

During the late 1990s, a group of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), including Oxfam and *Medicins sans Frontières*, argued that the requirements of international patent laws led to increased prices for antiretroviral drugs. Encouraged by the success of public campaigns and by the South African government's victory, developing countries seized the opportunity to ensure that the TRIPS Agreement supported, rather than undermined, public health. Brazil and a group of African countries, working with NGOs, brought the issue of TRIPS and drug access to the global debates preceding the November 2001 WTO ministerial meeting in Doha, Qatar. This meeting of the world's trade ministers to organize a new round of trade negotiations led to the Doha Declaration on the TRIPS Agreement and Public Health. The Declaration marked an important step forward in the global campaign for affordable medicines by affirming that TRIPS "should be interpreted and implemented in a manner supportive of WTO members' right to protect public health, and in particular, to promote access to medicines for all" (Abbot, 2002).

The Declaration clearly asserted the primacy of public health over intellectual property rights in the statement that "the TRIPS Agreement does not and should not prevent governments from taking measures to protect public health" (Attaran, 2003). The Declaration also clarified some of the key public health safeguards in TRIPS that had been contested by the US and by large Northern-based pharmaceutical companies. It affirmed the rights of governments to: authorise the use of a patent without the consent of the patent holder (compulsory licensing) and determine the grounds upon which such licenses are granted; determine what constitutes a national emergency – including, but not limited to, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, in which cases the procedure for issuing a compulsory license becomes faster and easier; and authorize imports of patented goods from the cheapest legitimate international source (parallel imports) without challenge (Bailey, 2002).

#### **Case In Point: Zambia**

In countries in sub-Saharan Africa, HIV/AIDS continues to be a major killer. HIV prevalence is estimated at 1 in 5 adults in South Africa and Zambia, and 1 and 4 adults in Botswana and Zimbabwe (McElrath, 2002).

Zambia's most critical developmental and humanitarian crisis today is HIV/AIDS. The projected life expectancy has reduced from 60 years at birth to 37 years due to the pandemic. The high mortality rate among adults has increased the number of orphans to about one million as of 2002 (UNAIDS, 2003).

Figure 1: **Zambia HIV and AIDS estimates**

Adult (15-49) HIV prevalence rate	16.5% (range: 13.5% -20.0%)
Adults (15-149) living with HIV	830,000 (range: 680,000-1,000,000)
Adults and Children (0-49) living with HIV	920,000 (range: 720,000-1,100,000)
Women (15-49) living with HIV	470,000 (range: 380,000-570,000)
AIDS deaths (adults & children) in 2003	89,000 (range: 63,000-130,000)

*Source: 2004 Report on the global AIDS epidemic, UNAIDS.*

As a country with a high HIV prevalence rate and very little financial resources to purchase medicines for those infected, Zambia is an example of a sub-Saharan country that cannot afford the expensive patented versions of HIV/AIDS medicines. The cost of a year's worth of standard treatment of three antiretroviral combination is estimated at US \$10,000-15,000, a price level putting AIDS treatment out of reach of most of the developing world (Oh, 2001). Although generic competition and public pressure helped to bring down the price of the patented brand-name triple anti-retroviral (ARV) drug cocktail from around US \$10,400 to around US \$930 per person per year in sub-Saharan Africa, the brand-name medicines are still largely out of reach of citizens of poor countries (Bailey, 2002).

For countries such as Zambia, resolving the legal problems of Article 31 of the TRIPS Agreement does not necessarily solve the economic one. Only about 8% of sub-Saharan Africa HIV/AIDS patients are receiving antiretrovirals, partly from purchases of brand-name products, partly from generics, and partly from donations by brand-name manufacturers. To provide drugs to all patients who need treatment for HIV requires financing beyond the level of any currently global funds, even if the drugs are available at relatively low prices. The World Health Organization and the United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS estimate that six million people with HIV in developing countries need antiretroviral therapy. Even at reduced prices for treatment, the cost for therapy for six million people would amount to \$1.8 billion (Bailey, 2002).

The cheapest generic version of a triple anti-retroviral drug cocktail was available from an Indian firm, Ranbaxy, at US \$295 per person per year (Bailey, 2002). These imported generic versions allow governments to treat three times as many people than with the brand-name medicines. In 2005, of the 700,000 people estimated to be on ARV treatment in developing countries, approximately 50% relied on Indian generic production (MSF, 2005). Cheaper generic versions of new vital medicines will no longer be available, however, after the Indian generic drug industry is forced to fully comply with the TRIPS Agreement by a 2005 deadline. On March 23, 2005, the Indian parliament passed a new law to become compliant with the TRIPS Agreement. The Indian generic drug industry, which has been a supplier of a portion of the sub-Saharan African market, will no longer be able to manufacture many life-saving drugs that are protected by patent laws.

The majority of developing countries rely on imported medicines and will therefore be affected by the restrictions that TRIPS will place on generic imports. Although Argentina, Brazil, China and India have the capacity to produce generic drugs, most other developing countries have insufficient manufacturing capacity to produce new generic equivalents themselves. In developing countries where a large proportion of the population live below the poverty line and

most medicines are paid for by individuals, higher costs for medicines will have grave consequences for the health of the population.

A crucial problem identified at Doha remains unresolved: the TRIPS Agreement restricts countries from producing and exporting cheap generic versions of new medicines. This will prevent countries without sufficient manufacturing capacity – a vast majority of developing countries – from finding affordable sources of new medicines to treat diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Many developing countries cannot afford expensive patented medicines and neither can they produce cheap generic versions.

### THE ROLE OF MSF AND THE WHO

Many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have voiced concern and have created public campaigns as well as funded projects in the fight for affordable HIV antiretroviral therapy. Medicins sans Frontières (MSF), an NGO that has been at the forefront of this struggle to provide affordable medications to the developing world, has created the Campaign for Access to Essential Medicines. MSF advocates for a combination of policies and strategies to lower drug prices on a sustainable basis: encouraging generic competition; voluntary discounts on branded drugs; global procurement; and local production. MSF also supports developing countries that implement legislation to prioritize access to medicines and demands that trade policies give the highest level of protection to public health. The three basic pillars to the Campaign for Access to Essential Medicines are as follows:

1. *Overcoming Access Barriers*: MSF Access to Essential Medicines Campaign is pushing to increase access to specific medicines;
2. *Globalization*: To support good quality local production and the importation of less expensive essential medicines and to support the implementation of existing international trade rules that were designed to protect peoples' access to essential goods such as life-saving medicines;
3. *Stimulating Research and development for neglected diseases*: MSF is demanding that governments, the drug industry, international organizations and nongovernmental organizations address the chronic crisis of research and development for neglected diseases and invest in the development of effective, affordable and easy-to-use medicines for these diseases (MSF, 2005).

The World Health Organization's 3 by 5 Initiative, has a global target to provide three million people living with HIV/AIDS in developing and middle income countries with life-prolonging antiretroviral treatment by the end of 2005. The WHO and UNAIDS will focus on five critical areas:

1. A new service to ensure an effective, reliable supply of medicines and diagnostics;
2. Rapid identification, dissemination and application of new knowledge and successful strategies;
3. Simplified, standardized tools to deliver antiretroviral therapy;
4. Urgent, sustained support for countries;
5. Global leadership, strong partnership and advocacy (WHO, 2005).

Both MSF and the WHO have committed action plans and campaigns to bring affordable medicines to those in the developing world. MSF has recognized the Doha Declaration and supports the statement, although the organization has also recognized that it is not being followed to the benefit of poor countries. MSF calls for revisions to the TRIPS Agreement to allow greater flexibility in the export of medicines as well as stipulations that surround compulsory licensing

used in national emergencies. Although both campaigns are dedicated to bringing HIV/AIDS antiretroviral medication to the developing world, without significant changes in patent laws the cost of medicines will continue to remain high for those countries without manufacturing capacity, and in turn medication will reach fewer people (MSF, 2005).

### **CANADA'S ROLE: BILL C-9**

Following the Ministerial meeting in Doha Canadian lawmakers drafted Bill C-9, an enactment to amend the Canadian Patent Act and the Food and Drugs Act. Also known as The Jean Chrétien Pledge to Africa, this Act implements a decision by member countries of the World Trade Organization to waive certain trade obligations that have prevented developed countries from authorizing the export of lower-priced versions of patented medicines to poor countries that lack manufacturing capacity. Although Bill C-9 received Royal Assent on May 14, 2004, regulations have yet to be adopted for its full implementation (Industry, 2004). Still, it is hoped that Canada, being the first country to pass such legislation, will serve as an example to lead other nations to adopt and implement similar policies.

### **ALTERNATIVES TO COMPULSORY LICENSING**

Alternatives to compulsory licensing that have been suggested to help increase access to essential medicines include price discrimination, voluntary donation schemes, bulk procurement programs and publicly funded research and development. Price discrimination is the process of varying the price charged for a product based on the country in which it is sold. Under this arrangement, the price is set to what the citizens of each of the countries can reasonably afford. Using the price discrimination model, pharmaceutical companies would maintain their price and profit structures in wealthy countries while allowing the developing world access to needed drugs. An alternate (and perhaps complementary) method of distributing medicines in the developing world is to encourage companies in wealthier countries to voluntarily donate surplus supplies of certain drugs. This could perhaps generate favourable publicity and governments could encourage this by providing tax incentives for pharmaceutical companies willing to participate (Fayerman, 2004). Whether such a strategy could address the tremendous demand for affordable antiretroviral drugs in poor countries, however, is questionable.

The bulk procurement suggestion involves a group of poor countries pooling available resources to obtain large quantities of needed drugs to help treat their populations in situations of national emergency. Pooled procurement requires regional blocs of countries to work together to solve a common problem, rather than negotiate individually with a distant exporter. The advantages of this strategy would be that collective negotiations and bulk purchasing are both ways to pressure pharmaceutical companies for lower prices.

Another suggested alternative is publicly funded research and development. Publicly funded research has been argued to lead to greater availability of medical supplies to treat tropical diseases, which is otherwise neglected by pharmaceutical companies in the developed world as an investment that does not reap financial benefits. This model would call on governments of rich countries to provide more funding to universities and for-profit research institutions to study tropical diseases (Fayerman, 2004). It would require active lobbying to generate the political will in rich countries for governments to undertake such an unconventional approach to development assistance. Yet, as the only non-market solution, this strategy would make governments – rather than corporations – responsible for providing for public health.

## CONCLUSION

With more than a third of the world's population in dire need of essential drugs, the priority must be to re-establish the public health measures of the TRIPS Agreement that are meant to ensure the fair and equitable distribution of life-saving drugs. Compulsory licensing and parallel imports are policy options that are clearly permitted under the TRIPS Agreement. The divergent views on the provisions of the TRIPS Agreement must be addressed and altered to allow maximum flexibility for governments in developing countries to interpret and implement these provisions.

There continues to be a fundamental imbalance in the TRIPS Agreement – one that urgently needs to be addressed. The TRIPS Agreement enables countries to override a patent if, for example, prices are too high or supplies are limited. Countries that are capable and wealthy enough to possess manufacturing capacity can take advantage of this to produce their own cheap generic versions of medicines. The majority of poor countries are unable to take advantage of the TRIPS Agreement because of their lack of manufacturing capacity. Consequently, they are unable to override a patent to import medicines since the last of the exporting countries, including India, have now begin to fully comply with the TRIPS Agreement. These are important issues that have yet to be resolved.

As four years has passed since the formulation of the Doha Declaration on Public Health, challenges continue to exist in the provision of affordable HIV Antiretroviral Therapy. With countries now fully complying with the TRIPS Agreement, there is an urgent need to generate a greater initiative to go beyond affirming public health interest over intellectual property rights. Issues of affordability and importation of generic medication need to be pushed to the forefront and solutions need to be agreed upon. The Doha Declaration, although an important step forward, needs greater political support in order to realize the goal of providing essential medicines to the developing world.

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## Voices of the Present, Visions of the Future: An Exploration of Undergraduate International Development Studies in Canada

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*ABSTRACT – This document presents a condensed version of a student-authored evaluation of undergraduate International Development Studies (IDS) in Canada. The specific foci of the project were the ‘personality’ of IDS; the character of the various programmes teaching Development Studies in Canada; and the identity of the student drawn to this academic field. In all aspects of the investigation, the analytical lens employed was focused through the unique perspective of the undergraduate scholar. Presentation of the national data is followed by analysis and observations, and the report as a whole culminates in a set of recommendations. These recommendations are intended to depict the views of the wide diversity of IDS students surveyed; to be applicable to a broad range of Development Studies programmes and to speak – with passion and persuasion – to IDS as a field of study in Canada.*

*RÉSUMÉ – Ce document présente une version condensée d’une enquête menée par des étudiants sur les études du développement international (EDI) au Canada. L’objectif principal du projet était de mieux connaître la personnalité des EDI, les caractères des différents programmes enseignant les EDI au Canada et l’identité des étudiants attirés par ce domaine d’études. Dans tous les aspects de l’enquête, le seul point de vue analytique utilisé était celui des étudiants de premier cycle. La présentation des données nationales est suivie par des analyses et des observations et le rapport mène à une série de recommandations. Ces recommandations ont pour but de décrire l’opinion très diversifiée des étudiants en EDI interviewés, d’être applicables à un grand nombre de programmes d’EDI et de parler avec passion et conviction des EDI en tant que domaine d’études au Canada.*

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In addition, warm thanks are owed to the programme chairs, representatives, and coordinators who gave their time to participate in this research project (both in supporting the initial questionnaire and in giving personal interviews), including: Alan Anderson, Anita Beaudette, Andrea Bumstead, Jill Campbell, Jennifer Clapp, Myron Frankman, Len Friesen, Aradhana Parmar, Ruth Rempel, and Rebecca Tiessen.

## INTRODUCTION

No study has ever been undertaken with the specific purpose of investigating undergraduate concerns, backgrounds and interests, as well as their opinions regarding the structure, content, cohesiveness and effectiveness of International Development Studies (IDS) programmes. Undergraduates engage with development in unique ways, characterized by an idealism and activism that, in the course of the research project, did emerge as exceptional. As these students are, in many ways, the strength of undergraduate Development Studies in Canada, an investigation that begins and ends in questions of their identity serves also to inform a discussion of the character of the various Canadian IDS programmes and the personality of International Development Studies as a field. As the project itself was also undergraduate-driven, and fuelled by students' discussions, it is with the undergraduate student of Development Studies that the heart of the research lies.

Acknowledging that “[s]urvey research is the most widely used social research technique,” (Neuman, 2003, p. 303) the project undertaken was intended to establish a starting point for dialogue around particular issues in Development Studies, rather than to test a single theory or narrow set of hypotheses about undergraduate IDS students. Key questions were not difficult to isolate – many sprang from prior research in this area, while others emerged through conversations with undergraduates in various fora. How is IDS studied at the undergraduate level? What is unique about this academic engagement? What normative perspectives underpin the different baccalaureate programmes offered? Do IDS undergraduates hold particular views, undertake specific activities, express certain ambitions, and exhibit unique personality traits? What do students see in IDS that initially draws them to this discipline, and what holds their attention as they move through their education? What recommendations would students at the end of their B.A. studies make to strengthen Development Studies on their own campuses and across Canada? Is it even possible to talk about ‘undergraduate IDS programmes’ as a group, or are institutional variations so great that huddling them under one moniker and making recommendations for all, is impossible?

The identity of the International Development Studies student was a particularly compelling issue, perhaps because the researchers were themselves members of the group being studied. IDS students have been portrayed – in the recruitment as well as the academic literature – as better travelled than the wealthiest jet-setters; as linguistically adept as Henry Higgins; possessed of enough ethical fibre to make Aristotle blush; intelligent to the point of exceptionality and committed to the point of fervour. Exaggeration aside, from the point of view of the researchers, the problem with a strong group identity was that one could fit or fail to fit that mould. Currently, concerns about ‘not belonging’ do exist among students within the discipline; these beg for recognition and perhaps, action. The project, therefore, set about not only investigating, but deconstructing that identity and seeking out alternatives, using individual identity as a partner to the idea of community that so strongly permeated the research and its findings. In doing so, a decision was made to highlight diverse perspectives as opposed to emphasizing superficial characteristics (which are already over-advertised, if not over-examined). The project team was not as interested in the facts of experience as it was in the motivation for gaining experience and the use(s) to which experience would be put by undergraduates. They were not as intrigued by the IDS student as a being described statistically, in the manner of “identity politics,” as they were by the idea of the student of development as a member of a philosophical<sup>2</sup> or ‘imagined community’.

Investigations informed by these ideas quickly uncovered what would become the theme of the project: the centrality of personal engagement in undergraduates’ relationship with

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<sup>2</sup> For this wonderfully apt description the project team is grateful to Peter Tamas. Peter Tamas, comments made at the InSight Conference (London, Ontario), 4 June 2005.

development and its study. That engagement could be mental, emotional, physical, spiritual, moral, political or social; it manifested itself in academic, co-curricular, and 'everyday' life; it motivated the selection of IDS as a course of study, fuelled the entire trajectory of baccalaureate study, and informed goals that lay well beyond the achievement of an undergraduate degree.

### BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY: THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE PROJECT

The project initiative came out of an upper-year class in project evaluation, part of Trent University's International Development Studies programme. As it was not the intention of the current project team to repeat or supplant previous survey research on International Development Studies in Canada, the work presented in major studies from 1993-5 (authored by Edna Einseidel and Aradhana Parmar)<sup>3</sup> and 2002-3<sup>4</sup> (authored by Keith Child and Carly Manion) was carefully considered in the design and execution of the current evaluation project. Those prior surveys provided the footing for the current work, which endeavoured to clarify or probe certain questions those surveys addressed while re-framing the issues in order to specifically investigate and articulate the undergraduate 'voice'. Changes that could be traced over the years between 1993 and 2005 were identified and included in the data analysis, in the hope of locating specific examples of the rapid growth, ideological progression, and heightened sensitivity to local and global forces that mark IDS as an ever-evolving field of study.

Figure 1  
Project Participation

		Survey Participants	Non-Survey Participants	Total Participants
1.	University of Calgary	25	4	29
2.	Dalhousie University	25	3	28
3.	University of Guelph	26	7	33
4.	McGill University	16	3	19
5.	Menno Simons College / University of Winnipeg	16	5	21
6.	University of Ottawa	0	3	3
7.	Saint Mary's University	12	4	16
8.	Saint Thomas University	0	1	1
9.	University of Saskatchewan	13	0	13
10.	University of Toronto	0	2	2
11.	Trent University	18	12	30
12.	University of Western Ontario	0	1	1
13.	Wilfrid Laurier University	7	1	8
TOTALS		158	46	204

Questionnaires collected information from 158 upper-year undergraduates in IDS, representing nine different universities. A literature review provided background data on those

<sup>3</sup> Between 1993 and 1995, Edna F. Einseidel and Aradhana Parmar of the University of Calgary undertook a significant study of IDS programmes in Canada, funded by a grant from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC). Their methodology involved a literature review; a survey of coordinators, instructors and students; and a final workshop. The survey sample comprised eighty-two undergraduates from three Canadian universities.

<sup>4</sup> In 2002-2003, graduate students Keith Child and Carly Manion undertook research (also funded by IDRC) intended to provide an overview of the opinions of students – both graduate and undergraduate – in International Development Studies. 117 third-year, fourth-year, and graduate students from six Canadian universities were selected to complete a questionnaire, while twenty-five students from two schools participated in a series of group interviews.

nine programmes, as well as a substantial history of IDS a field of study within Canada.<sup>5</sup> Participant-observation and structured ‘round-table’ discussions at InSight 2004 and InSight 2005 allowed the use of qualitative techniques in gathering data from undergraduates, while interviews with programme representatives were carried out in order to augment background data, clarify certain student issues, and garner feedback on the preliminary findings. Those findings were then presented to attendees at the 2005 CASID-InSight Conference, and subsequent discussion incorporated back into the process of data gathering and analysis. Given that InSight 2004 had seventeen undergraduate participants representing six universities and InSight 2005 drew thirty-five attendees from ten different IDS programmes across Canada, a significant breadth and depth of undergraduate input was secured. The project, as a whole, underwent ethical review at Trent University before any work commenced.

A decision was made, contrary to the methodology employed by Child and Manion, not to divide respondents using international/domestic taxonomy (though such a breakdown would have been possible). This was an ideological decision, as one of the themes that emerged from the data – and indeed from discussions with undergraduates – was ‘community’. International students studying development in Canada are part of the student community in IDS, according to the goals of the programmes in which they pursue their studies. Additionally, in analyzing data, the project team did not find significant differences in the opinions of international students, when compared to their domestic counterparts, that would justify an ideological division of this population. If data was to be aggregated along domestic/international lines, rather than (or in addition to) institutional or programmatic lines, it was not clear that each school’s character would shine through such divisions. Further or alternate sub-divisions subsequently became difficult to dismiss or justify – if domestic/international disaggregation, why not male/female? Or by joint-major? The data gathered and analysis performed was not intended to provide a set of statistics, or to underscore the uniqueness of sub-populations (which, in the case of the international sub-population, is already both known and highly valued by faculty and students alike), but an opportunity for dialogue on those issues that unify the IDS student population as a whole.

Figure 2

**Overview of Survey Sample**

		Total Survey Respondents	Female	Male	Domestic	Foreign
1.	University of Calgary	25	16	9	23	2
2.	Dalhousie University	25	19	6	20	5
3.	University of Guelph	26	19	7	25	1
4.	McGill University	16	9	7	11	5
5.	Menno Simons College	16	12	4	15	1
6.	Saint Mary’s University	12	7	5	10	2
7.	University of Saskatchewan	13	6	7	13	0
8.	Trent University	18	15	3	14	4
9.	Wilfrid Laurier University	7	5	2	7	0
TOTALS		158	108	50	138	20

The formal project report includes not only data and discussion at the national level, but also a series of ‘sub-evaluations’ on each of the IDS programmes involved in the research

<sup>5</sup> These are available in the full-length report.

project.<sup>6</sup> Because the project team was motivated more by what the disciplinary 'average' concealed than by what it appeared to reveal, analysis actually began with individual Development studies programmes before moving to the national level. The decision to investigate the opinions, traits, ambitions, recommendations, choices, and perceptions of undergraduates in the context of their 'home' institution is also an admission that the researchers view International Development Studies programmes, their undergraduate students, and IDS as a field of study as, to some extent, mutually constitutive; the growth of any one element or actor is interlocked in a 'feedback loop' with the growth of the others.

Because the scale and scope of the project were not suitably offset by available time and financial resources, the project team makes no claims of the statistical significance of the study. Scientific certainty, however, was not the explicit goal of the work; indeed, evaluation is as much an art as a science.<sup>7</sup>

## DATA AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

### Student Profile: Characteristics

The survey found that the majority of International Development Studies undergraduates were female (68%), full-time students (94%), between twenty-two and twenty-three years of age (57%). Most students studying IDS were Canadian (87%). Of the international respondents, the majority came from countries in Latin America (38%) and Europe (24%). Most of the students surveyed were bilingual (40%), and had an academic average in the A- to A range (51%) both in Development Studies courses and in their general academic average (i.e. across all courses, in all disciplines). The majority of respondents chose to complete an honours degree (64%), in which a joint major was the most popular academic path (31%). Most of those IDS students who completed an honours joint major did so by combining the discipline of International Development Studies with either Politics or Political Science (30%), Languages (13%), or Economics (8%).

Linguistic ability was found to be significantly higher in the 2002-3 survey than in the current research project; this result, however, may have been influenced by that fact that almost half of Child and Manion's survey sample was made up of students from McGill (a university in a major Francophone city, where functional bilingualism is likely far higher than in other regions of the country) and Dalhousie (where language study is a mandatory component of an IDS degree). The 2005 results should not, therefore, necessarily be taken as evidence of a drop in either linguistic skill or in the inclination to study languages.

### Student Profile: Experiences and Activities

The survey revealed that although most respondents had visited a 'less developed'/'developing' country (LDC) during a holiday or personal visit (66%), a significant number had traveled to an LDC for the purposes of volunteer work (46%) or study (43%). Because prior surveys did not inquire about the reasons for undergraduate travel or the number of LDCs visited by students, longitudinal analysis was not possible for this area of inquiry. It is interesting to note, even in the absence of long-term trends, that a mere 8% of respondents surveyed in the current project had never visited an LDC, while over a third had visited four or more 'developing' nations.

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<sup>6</sup> In the formal project report, complete findings are available for: The University of Calgary, Dalhousie University, The University of Guelph, McGill University, Menno Simons College, Saint Mary's University, The University of Saskatchewan, Trent University, and Wilfrid Laurier University.

<sup>7</sup> See Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, 2nd Ed. (Newbury Park: Sage, 1990).

In addition to academic and work experience abroad, many respondents had also volunteered in Canada for an extensive time period (24% having done so for more than five years). When volunteering, students were principally drawn to the sectors of education and youth development (59%); social services (34%); civic and charitable service (32%); athletic or recreational work (30%); and arts and cultural support (27%). This volunteer experience, both at home and abroad, may be the most evident manifestation of IDS students' desire to extend themselves to the world beyond their own borders, while at the same time remaining aware of (and responsive to) the needs of their 'home' community. This being said, almost half of students (46%) were not actively or regularly volunteering at the time of the survey – a fact that most likely stems from the academic stress one encounters in the final leg of baccalaureate study.

Most respondents had past work experience: 45% had more than five years of such experience, though not necessarily related to development. Almost half (41%) did not work at a paid job during the academic year (or at least not at the time the survey was completed). While most of the students surveyed were involved with on-campus student organizations (53%), the overwhelming majority of students surveyed were not active in their university's IDS students' association (84%), citing a lack of free time as the main reason for this disengagement (71%).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION <sup>8</sup>

### Student Motivations

Students enter university with an idea of Development Studies – and indeed, of development itself – already enconced in their minds. This idea is based, at least in part, on prior exposure to development issues, most often through high school classes and via the late-twentieth century explosion of (typically shallow) media reportage on the 'Third World'. Pre-existing notions of development and its study are tested in students' first courses in International Development Studies.

Over three-quarters (80%) of students surveyed indicated that a personal interest in development issues was their primary motivation in choosing IDS as a field of study. Acknowledging that this response category overlaps, to a great extent, with most of the other options provided (for example, travel experiences or humanitarian aims), and that 'personal interest' is certainly an open statement with a wide variety of possible interpretations, a decision was made early in the project to include this particular option, and to use precisely this phrase. As Child and Manion (2004) noted, "the question "Why IDS?" is one that many students have encountered elsewhere" and "trying to isolate a single factor [is] often a difficult task" (p. 171). Given these observations, and in the wake of preliminary, informal discussions with classmates, the research team decided that "a personal interest in development issues" was not only an appropriate inclusion in a list of motivators for the study of IDS, but also a necessary one.

That decision paid off. Surveys from 158 undergraduate students, representing ten very diverse programmes, revealed that a personal interest in development issues was paramount in influencing initial disciplinary choices. As one respondent noted, "I couldn't believe there was a degree in everything that I found compelling in the world around me." The fact that recommendations of peers or mentors were not found to be significant motivators, while travel experiences ranked as highly influential, only serves to support the importance of this 'personal engagement or 'personal perspective' to the International Development Studies student. It is also interesting to note that "liked the programme or the professors" was not a popular response,

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<sup>8</sup> The research team acknowledges that extreme caution is called for in drawing longitudinal inferences from the data, given that the current survey sample was not random, that the present and prior surveys asked different questions, and that each project's context was distinctive. The data sets from 1993-5, 2002-3, and 2005 are therefore not directly commensurable. The following results and discussion should be read with this caveat in mind.

indicating that it is not the structure of the degree or the personality or prestige of the instructors that is key to students' selection of IDS as an undergraduate degree; but the subjects, concepts, and dilemmas examined during baccalaureate studies in development. The issues are the lightning rod – their widespread relevance and absolute urgency draw the attention of particular students immediately, and show an ability to hold it indefinitely.

The second and third most popular motivators for choosing IDS as a field of study – an interest in or concern for social justice and humanitarian reasons – were sometimes, but not always, selected in tandem. When these concepts were coupled by a respondent, it could be said to suggest that the student perceived no difference between the two, but it is also possible that students who feel drawn to social justice issues also possess humanitarian inclinations. Differentiating between two motivations does not preclude being influenced by both. That being said, in discussions with undergraduate students, humanitarianism was almost invariably associated with “charity” and certain obligations associated with wealth or privilege (as one participant at InSight 2004 put it, “upper-middle-class guilt”). A concern for social justice, on the other hand, was normally characterized as having to do with sensing and acting upon ethical imperatives; fostering normative concepts of society and the interconnectedness of humanity; and participating in positive social transformation at any level, and on any scale. One possible overlap between humanitarianism and a concern for social justice may be found in the idea of “being of service” in one’s career and life – this is, in fact, a goal that many International Development Studies students articulate.

Once they had established Development Studies as their chosen academic discipline, students overwhelmingly selected their courses based on a like or dislike of the subject matter. Again, this lends weight to an ‘engagement’ theme. Students were not motivated to any significant extent by practical considerations of either grading formula or reading load, while a like or dislike of the professors was found to exert only moderate influence (though this varied greatly from school to school). As Child and Manion (2004) have pointed out, “[t]his should be good news for teaching staff who, from time to time, wish to remain ‘usefully offensive’”(p. 177).

### **Student Preferences and Choices**

Granting that programmes have varying requirements (meaning that some courses or programme elements are not optional), components of an IDS degree have been classified, for the purposes of this research, as ‘choices’. The logic employed in this decision asserts that, for example, students who have an aversion to course requirements in a single-major programme can often avoid these hurdles by enrolling, instead, in a joint-major or concentration programme, without having to abandon Development Studies altogether. Another factor acknowledged by the researchers is that the choices students make will often correlate with the opportunities and resources available at their home institution. Still, the data yielded several interesting results.

In many cases, Economics credits provided a line of demarcation between a single-major in IDS and a joint-major with another discipline<sup>9</sup>. This speaks to the heritage of Development Studies which has been, from the point of its inception, closely associated with economic theory and methods of analysis, yet has proven reticent (or possibly unable, in the case of resource constraints) to incorporate ‘critical economics’ or ‘economics for IDS students’ in typical curricula. As almost three-quarters of respondents indicated that Economics courses were a part of their undergraduate degrees in Development Studies, and only 16% of students surveyed felt that economics requirements would strengthen existing programmes (remembering, of course, the fact that many programmes already have such a requirement). Thus the general concern over a

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<sup>9</sup> See, for example, the degree requirements at Trent University.

possible abandonment of Economics, as expressed by Child and Manion and often voiced by faculty, was not supported by the current study.

Almost two-thirds of respondents indicated that they had also studied or planned to study, a foreign language – again, this is often a programme requirement, which may cloud the issue of choice. Nevertheless, students expressed that language study was, rather than a degree ‘must’, a means by which they could more soundly engage with the ‘developing’ regions and peoples with whom their studies were concerned. In this case, language study should be regarded as being as much about the self-directed search for more meaningful understandings as about a disciplinary or programmatic norm.

Over half of the students surveyed noted their intention to travel to ‘less developed’ countries (LDCs) as part of their degree. By way of contrast, work, volunteer, and co-op experiences ranked quite a bit lower. Taken together, these observations would seem to indicate that professional considerations (i.e. gaining experience relevant to employment post-graduation) are less important to the individual than fostering a deeper personal engagement with development issues and ‘developing’ areas. It is also interesting to note the type of ‘Southern exposure’ preferred by students: while traveling to LDCs was a definite priority, doing so through exchanges or Year Abroad Programmes (YAPs) was not. This finding supports earlier assertions that university-mediated travel experiences are often prohibitively expensive (Cameron & Grey, 2004, p. 12).

Figure 3

**Top Ten Topics of Interest in Undergraduate IDS (2005)**

1. Human rights, conflict, and cooperation
2. Culture and development
3. Relations between industrialized and developing countries
4. Ethics of development and international intervention
5. Area studies
6. Participatory approaches to development
7. Health and education
8. Environment and development
9. Social movements and civil society
10. Regional development, urbanization, migration, etc.

*For the complete list (23 topics, ranked), see the full project report.*

Figure 4

**Top Ten Topics of Interest in Undergraduate IDS (2002-3)**

1. Education
2. Environmental issues
3. Participatory approaches to development
4. Gender and development
5. Health
6. Rural development
7. Regional development, urbanization, migration, etc.
8. Globalization
9. Country case studies
10. International organizations/institutions

*Source: Child and Manion, 180.*

In rating their interest in development studies topics, students’ choices overwhelmingly articulated both strong normative concerns and an affinity for current issues. Of some concern is

the fact that, of the ‘top ten’ topics listed, few are taught in IDS curricula and fewer still are the subject of stand-alone courses. In pursuit of topics of interest, however, students were not willing to sacrifice a strong grounding in core (theory) courses merely to gain a plethora of electives. In expressing the ideal balance between “a strong grounding in a few core courses” and “the widest possible variety of course options”, IDS undergraduates felt that programmes should lean toward a strong foundation, but keep considerations of course variety and the breadth of students’ personal interests in mind when bringing in (or changing) electives.

Figure 5

**Top Ten Topics of Interest in Undergraduate IDS (1993-5)**

1. Theories of development and underdevelopment
2. Country case studies
3. Relations between industrialized and developing countries
4. Regional development, urbanization, migration, etc.
5. Environment and development
6. History of the evolution of the international economy
7. Promoting awareness / developing global citizenship
8. Development planning
9. Canada – developing country relations
10. Role of development studies

*Source: Einsiedel and Parmar.*

In looking at change over time in topics of interest, 1993-5 findings (see Figure 3) showed that “theories of development and underdevelopment” topped the list of most interesting areas of academic study, followed by “country case studies”. Of the top ten topics in 2002-3 (see Figure 4), “education” and “environment” appeared in first and second place. It is possible that, since the current survey included twenty-three topics (versus thirteen in 1993-5 and eighteen in 2002-3), students responded to the greater variety by simply picking the rarest or most novel options; however, the appearance of certain topics in all three listings does not support such a conclusion. As “regional development, urbanization, migration, etc.” and “environment and development” are issues of both prominent and long-standing concern, the appearance (and strong ranking) of new entries would seem to reflect a genuine concern for just-emerging and steadily ascending issues in the study of development, such as human security, rights, ethics, and civil society. It also reflects a recently rearticulated concern for genuine alternatives, rather than ceaseless analysis of familiar, failed, or problematic theories of development.

Not surprisingly, the pedagogical method preferred by undergraduates in IDS was “an open discussion of development issues”. This speaks to the student preference for normative and current topics, both of which lend themselves well to discursive fora, as well as underscoring the importance of a personal engagement with development issues. International Development Studies students seem to wish to be convinced, through strength of argument, rather than instructed, through strength of the status of a lecturer’s authority. They voice a strong desire, in the process of learning, to give ear to the full range of opinions on any given issue. In survey responses, undergraduates also expressed a view of qualitative techniques as far superior to quantitative (74% of respondents ranked the former as “very valuable,” while only 11% ranked the latter as such); again, this is not surprising, given the evolution of Development Studies away from statistical research and into more ‘humanistic’ approaches, and a rather widespread disdain for quantitative and statistical methods among current faculty (Child & Manion, 2004). In examining the value of different pedagogical methods, there is an interesting disjunction between “practical components” and “qualitative and statistical techniques” – oddly enough, it would seem that students do not regard quantitative methodologies as ‘practical’.

## Student Opinions

Generally, students were quite pleased with the resources available in their International Development Studies programmes. When compared to other disciplines in the same university, most aspects of IDS programmes earned “good” or better standing – unfortunately, they did not excel in any particular area.

On the whole, students felt that library holdings could be improved, particularly audio-visual and print materials. It bears mentioning, though, that when asked to name the top three recommendations for the improvement of Development Studies programmes, “better resources” was not considered a priority (ranking nineteenth on a list of twenty-two items, and attracting only 6% of respondents). Direct comparison of responses from current and previous years is difficult (as the scales used in the 2002-3 and 2005 surveys were different), but the general trend indicates that undergraduate reviews of library holdings and audio-visual resources were consistent from 1993 through 2005. An important consideration in longitudinal analysis is the fact that, in the 2002-3 survey of IDS students, no comparison group was provided. Child and Manion’s findings, therefore, may represent more of a rating of current programmes against an ‘ideal’. The current survey not only provided a comparison group – the resources of other academic departments on campus – it also allowed responses to be checked against students’ suggestions for programme improvement, with the result that academic resources, while not well reviewed, were not seen as a pressing issue.

Particular shortcoming of the ‘average’ Canadian IDS programme were the quality of the Development Studies students’ association – all of which failed to rank as highly as their counterparts in other academic disciplines – and faculty responsiveness to student concerns. Given that few International Development Studies programmes are the priority of their home institution’s administrative body, it seems reasonable to caution that faculty’s ability to register and act upon student suggestions is, in turn, contingent upon the autonomy and ‘muscle’ that a programme is capable of exerting. Resources, especially support staff and direct faculty appointments, are key concerns in this area, for obvious reasons. In addressing the apparent weaknesses of IDS ‘clubs’, the fact that such organizations experience repetitive ebbs and flows of student involvement is certainly relevant. The importance of semesters or even years abroad (including a requirement of such overseas experience at certain universities) exacerbates these interruptions in student leadership in the on-campus International Development Studies community. Again, as with library resources, the improvement of faculty responsiveness and extracurricular offerings were not priorities for undergraduates and this should be kept in mind when looking over ‘middling’ reviews in these areas.

Considering the emphasis placed on experiential learning throughout the survey responses, it is interesting to note the gap between students’ opinions of the availability of domestic versus the support of international educational opportunities. While “support of study abroad opportunities” received the highest rating of any IDS resource, “support of co-op/field placements in Canada” received the lowest, ranking “poor” when compared to opportunities available in other disciplines. Few programmes involved in the current research project prioritized the Canadian context as a legitimate locus of development activity; fewer still dedicated significant effort to supporting student participation in this setting. This remains a serious concern, as the financial burden of study abroad makes local opportunities, for many students, the only feasible means by which practicum, co-op, or field experience may be gained. For others, the ‘home front’ is a development priority in itself. The needs of both of these ‘orphaned’ groups call for consideration.

Faculty skill, particularly professors’ knowledge of their academic field was highly appreciated by respondents. Ability in lecturing and facilitation ranked somewhat lower, with skill in the lecture hall lagging behind faculty members’ ability to effectively lead seminar groups – naturally, expertise in an area is no indicator of the ability to engage an audience, as most

undergraduates (in any discipline) will attest. Relatedly, in characterizing the difficulty level or challenge of International Development Studies courses (when compared to other disciplines), one third of students ranked offerings in IDS as “more difficult or challenging,” while only ten percent rated them as easier. This finding becomes even more interesting when students’ averages are added to the ‘mix’: though courses in IDS are described as more challenging or difficult, students’ grades in Development Studies courses are as high or higher in these credits than in their general academic averages (across all courses). It would appear that a challenge is being set within IDS in Canada and that undergraduate students have not hesitated in rising to that challenge.

Overall, the programmes surveyed rated very well in terms of support offered to the student body: almost ninety percent of students felt comfortable approaching faculty with either concerns or suggestions, while programmes’ acceptance of diversity was highly regarded. Again, this finding represents a slight increase from the survey results published by Child and Manion, which may indicate a genuine increase in student satisfaction in these areas. Faculty-student interaction was an area of some concern, though, as a quarter of the undergraduates surveyed were not sure if structured lines of communication existed in their IDS programme or if students had been made aware of those lines. Again, programme resources may be at issue; however, all of the programmes surveyed indicated that, even without dedicated support staff in place, avenues of communication between students and professors *did* exist. Better advertising of these resources would seem to be necessary. This being said, the current project team wishes to echo the statement of Child and Manion (2004), in that “[i]t is important to acknowledge that this survey did not measure the frequency with which students require, or ask, for action to be taken on their behalf by administrators” (p. 173) and the opinions expressed in both surveys may reflect isolated incidents or the fact that poor experiences, however infrequent, can leave a lasting impression that outweighs other, more positive episodes.

Undergraduate students at the close of their baccalaureate studies felt well-informed by their educational experiences: 61% of respondents said that their programme prepared them for understanding global issues “very well”, while a further 38% felt “fairly well” informed. This represents a slight increase over both the 1993-5 and 2002-3 findings. Preparation for graduate studies or a career in development fared less well in the rankings, with only a quarter of respondents feeling “very well prepared” for their advanced degree studies and a scant 13% feeling “very well prepared” to act on employment opportunities. Though this represents a drop from the survey years 1993-5, Einseidel and Parmar’s sample consisted of only eleven students, and therefore may have yielded data that was not strongly indicative of the views of the wider population. The 2005 figures also represent a drop from the survey years 2002-3, though, in which the sample was quite strong (97 respondents). It may well be that this drop indicates a growing concern about career and academic paths available to undergraduate students of development studies, in which case it should be identified as a pressing issue and further investigated by faculty and programme administrators. Fittingly, students make precisely this request in their suggestions for programme improvement.

### **Student Outlook and Perceptions**

On the survey questionnaire, students were offered a forced choice between two contrasting characterizations of IDS, running roughly parallel to the debate over the divide between theory and practice in development and its study. Over three-quarters (82%) of students stressed that IDS was *not* a purveyor of job training for individuals considering an international career; they chose, instead, to assert that “Development Studies seeks to create a critical space in which to examine inequality, poverty, and power at a global level.” This finding speaks to the aim of every programme surveyed, whose mandates collectively and powerfully call for a critical

engagement with development issues, if not an outright challenge to the ‘status quo’ (which a lack of critical analysis allows to persist).

In a related forced-choice question, undergraduates reflected on their personal perceptions of development itself, in the wake of their baccalaureate studies. Opinions ranged from cynical to critical, but did not stray as far as optimism. With a slight preference for “my outlook is more critical or balanced,” views were almost equally split between this option, “I feel more cynical or frustrated about development” and “I have gained a better understanding of the world around me.” This finding represents a welcome change from the 2002-3 research results, in which almost all of the students interviewed or surveyed indicated that they were “much more cynical and pessimistic about the future” as a result of taking classes in IDS (Child & Manion, 2004, p. 183). As Child and Manion’s specific question was not included along with their results, few ideas about the nature of this shift can be offered. It is possible that students were not given a range of choices in describing their perceptions of development, that the flow of interview questions brought certain negative feelings to the surface or that this apparent “pessimism” is better characterized by another term. As Child and Manion themselves noted, “[i]f we can interpret student pessimism as the product of critical awareness, then our findings might not be such a bad thing” (2004, p. 183).

### Student Ambitions

Close to half of respondents indicated that they intended to apply to graduate school after completing their B.A. in Development Studies. Interestingly, when they did indicate that they planned to look for work immediately following their undergraduate studies, students showed no real preference for either the domestic or international setting. Types of agencies took precedence over geographical concerns, with students favouring employment with (in order of preference) non-governmental organizations (NGOs), government entities, the private sector and multilateral agencies. The fact that working for non-governmental organizations ranked significantly higher than working for multilateral agencies may well indicate a preference for ‘grassroots’ approaches to development, versus ‘traditional’ international/global approaches. This contradicts the results of Child and Manion’s 2002-3 research, in which respondents overwhelmingly favoured employment abroad – regardless of the type of organization acting as the employer – over working in Canada. This finding may be seen as reflecting the recent shift in Development Studies (at least in some programmes) toward de-emphasizing the “International” part of the IDS acronym, and a turning toward the North, the West, and the local context as legitimate subjects of critical inquiry.

Figure 6  
**Most Popular Post-Graduation Plans (2005)**

1. Apply to graduate school
2. Travel
3. Find a job overseas – NGO
4. Find a job in Canada – NGO
5. Undecided

*For the complete list (13 items, ranked), see the full project report.*

Unfortunately, the 2002-3 survey of IDS undergraduates failed to include applying to graduate school as an option when asking questions about students’ future plans, but data does exist for the 1993-1993 survey years. In Einseidel and Parmar’s study, one-fifth of respondents voiced an intention to continue their studies at the graduate level, while one-quarter indicated that they would be looking for a job after earning their B.A. in International Development Studies.

This drastic increase in planned graduate study, in the years between 1993-5 and 2005, may reflect the changing job market in Canada as much as it does any 'pure' inclination to pursue higher education or a career in academia. A Master's degree is now considered all but a prerequisite in many lines of development-related work, whereas a B.A. carried more weight in the early 1990s.

Figure 7

**Preferred Employment in the Field of Development (2002-3)**

1. Non-governmental organization – overseas
2. Government agency – overseas
3. Multilateral agency – overseas
4. Non-governmental organization – in Canada
5. Government agency – in Canada

*Source: Child and Manion, 178.*

Figure 8

**Most Popular Post-Graduation Plans (1993-5)**

1. Find a job in Canada
2. Apply to graduate school
3. Travel
4. Find a job overseas
5. Apply to professional school

*Source: Einseidel and Parmar.*

### Student Feedback and Recommendations

In making recommendations to strengthen International Development Studies at their 'home' institutions, undergraduates chose to rearticulate longstanding (and long misunderstood) concerns. Greater emphasis on career preparation was the clear 'winner' in the bid for greater attention within existing programmes, while the related issues of improved provision of internships and co-ops also ranked in the top five (those in other nations placing third, while Canadian opportunities tied for fifth). Students are accustomed to a surprisingly common counterargument to this plea, which, when stripped of equivocation, runs along the lines of: "that's not what university is for". Unfortunately, such a retort misses the heart of what students are seeking.

Contrary to the findings of Child and Manion (2004), no evidence was found to support the assertion that IDS students across Canada feel that there is "not enough emphasis on skills-based training" in existing programmes (p. 174). Classes on 'how to be a development worker' are not a commonly desired by IDS undergraduates, nor do these students seem to want a hybrid college/university education (it also bears mentioning that academia provides a legitimate career path, and that not every student who aims for a career has his or her sights set on 'development work'). Support for the finding that students do *not* overwhelmingly desire skills-based training in the course of their university studies can be found in the overwhelming number of students who declined to classify Development Studies as "seek[ing] to provide the training necessary for students to become better-informed development/international workers"; in the emphasis on critical thinking and strong theory courses in questions on pedagogy and curriculum; and in the inclusion of "more *information* on job opportunities and co-ops" in the listing of top recommendations for the improvement of IDS programmes. It would appear that Development

Studies undergraduates are looking for co- or even extra-curricular offerings that address the issue of career preparation. In this, as in their purely academic pursuits, IDS students would like to put their sharpened critical faculties to work on the problem, by cultivating an awareness of the total array of available opinions (or in this case, options). Indeed, there is no reason why the undergraduate whose learning experience has involved a deliberate fostering of critical reasoning – as most IDS programmes in Canada assert is a major aim of Development Studies – should *not* want to employ that same reasoning in other areas of his or her life.

Figure 9

**Top Five Recommendations to Improve IDS Programmes (2005)**

1. Greater emphasis on career preparation
2. Greater integration of theory and practice
3. Provision of internships or co-ops – overseas
4. More information on internships and co-ops
5. Provision of internships or co-ops – overseas, and  
Courses taught by Southern academics (tie)

*For the complete list (22 suggestions, ranked), see the full project report.*

Figure 10

**Top Five Recommendations to Improve IDS Programmes (2002-3)**

1. Introduce or expand co-operative programs for students' development/employment experience
2. Increased emphasis on practical components
3. Expand course selection
4. Enhanced relevance of courses offered to areas of specialization (of students)
5. Lower teacher/student ratio (i.e., smaller class size)

*Source: Child and Manion, 184.*

Figure 11

**Top Five Recommendations to Improve IDS Programmes (1993-5)**

1. Internship or practicum – within Canada
2. Internship or practicum – outside Canada
3. A study abroad program
4. More faculty research on development
5. More or better teaching resources, etc.

*Source: Einseidel and Parmar.*

Where the current research does resonate with the findings of the 2002-3 survey is in echoing Child and Manion's call for "a more balanced approach" to the question of the theory/practice schism in development and its study (2004, p. 175). The second most popular recommendation of undergraduates in the current (2005) research project was that IDS programmes should endeavour to provide "greater integration of theory and practice", a response selected by over one-third of respondents. If students are drawn to Development Studies as more than just one degree option among many, if they strive to actually employ the particular insights and frameworks for understanding global issues that IDS provides, it makes sense that they would seek to find a useful balance between the theoretical and 'real world' realms. Unfortunately, while IDS programmes have been quick to identify this concern, they have been somewhat slow to act upon it.

Another departure from the work of Child and Manion surfaces in questions of IDS curricula. Whereas the 2002-3 survey findings showed that “students seemed willing to concede that they are poorly positioned to make informed decisions about curriculum design” (2004, p. 176), the current research project revealed an undeniable confidence in undergraduate opinion on this issue. While it is possible that dialogue with fellow undergraduates simply provided a comfort level that was not achievable in earlier (graduate student or faculty-driven) initiatives, for whatever reason, the students surveyed spoke with aplomb about which subjects merited addition to the existing roster of IDS courses. The topics that students were most likely to recommend were (in order of number of mentions): religion/spirituality and development; practical opportunities and experiential learning; ethics; gender – rather than women’s – issues; development evaluation; non-‘Eurocentric’ alternative development models; critical or development economics (i.e. for the economics for the IDS student); Indigenous development issues; and ‘orphaned’ area studies, especially Eastern Europe and the Middle East. The possibility of interdisciplinary expansion was also welcomed by students at the undergraduate level. As Child and Manion noted (quoting an interviewee in the 2002-3 study): “[...] expanding the traditional field of development studies might strengthen the conceptual and theoretical choices available to development practitioners, thereby enhancing the effectiveness of efforts and strategies deployed by those working in the field” (2004, p. 181).

Understandably, students’ recommendations tended to parallel the gaps in available courses and other programme elements at each institution, though calls for better-subsidized ‘year abroad’ opportunities; ties with less so-called ‘legitimate’ or traditional disciplines (for example, Media Studies and Native Studies); more ‘Canadian content’; and more autonomous and better supported programmes topped the list of ideal modifications right across Canada. Students also tended to strongly support the idea of core courses in every programme year, as a sort of theoretical armature on which to build a degree. Among the components students found most helpful, enjoyable, or essential to their study of development were (in order of the number of mentions): introductory courses; upper-year core courses; theory and concepts; area studies; gender and development; economics; courses addressing peace and conflict; and practicum and practical skills courses (including project evaluation).

The final two ‘top’ recommendations offered by respondents speak to the very heart of the academic discipline of Development Studies, as seen through the eyes of its undergraduates, and to the theme that emerged throughout data gathering and analysis in the current research project. A personal engagement with course material is of paramount importance to students in IDS, and the desire for personal contact with development issues and ‘developing’ or ‘less developed’ areas (and their peoples) can be heard resounding in the call for more courses taught by Southern academics, and in their desire for greater integration of theory and practice.<sup>10</sup> Undergraduates’ views of development as a field of study embrace both *active* and *passive* connotations of ‘learning’. Instead of hearing about the global South, they would experience it firsthand; if they cannot experience it firsthand, they would hear about it from an individual whose perspective is distinctively ‘Southern’. Students, in every area of their studies, seek to know the full range of voices speaking on a given issue (both in and out of the classroom), and to be allowed to critically judge, *for themselves*, which of the many arguments being articulated have merit. Similarly, undergraduates assert that theory and practice are too cleanly segregated in university study, while they would purposefully blur that line, engaging in development itself as well as in its theoretical and philosophical foundations. This is not a call for downplaying theory as much as it is an expression of the desire to seek out theory’s *active expression*. Evidence of students’ affinity for theory can be found in several of the survey findings, particularly the call for a strong theoretical grounding within a limited array of course options. Claims that IDS students

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<sup>10</sup> These are in addition to the call for internships and co-ops, which could also be seen as merely a means of gaining specific job qualifications.

have an aversion to development theory were not supported by the results of the current research project.

### ANALYSIS AND OBSERVATIONS

The purpose of the current research project was to investigate the personality of IDS as a field, the character of the various programmes teaching Development Studies in Canada, and the identity of the student drawn to development and its study. Similar research goals have been set before, as IDS in Canada is certainly not an unexamined field, but prior surveys and analyses invariably used statistical data aggregated at the national level to speak to the diversity of identities that fall under the banner of “IDS student” or “IDS programme”. Aggregate data is much less interesting than (statistically) the facts buried within the totals and averages and (philosophically) the uses to which data will eventually be put. The problem with aggregate data is not only the ‘average’ produced – which by its very definition obscures diversity – but the loss of possible explanations that can only be found through an examination of the data in disaggregated form. Because the project team was motivated more by what the ‘average’ concealed than by what it appeared to reveal, data analysis moved dialectically between the individual Development Studies programmes and IDS at the national level. This process allowed the researchers to identify and compensate for non-representative trends and fluctuations, so that a set of observations and recommendations could emerge that depicted the views of the wide diversity of IDS students surveyed, that were applicable to a broad range of Development Studies programmes, and that spoke – with passion and persuasion – to IDS as a field of study in Canada. This was a very different route than the one travelled by prior survey projects.

If the previous pages of this article represent the path plotted and travelled by the research team, then the following paragraphs represent its destination.

### Variations and Trends

To a great extent, the data gathered and analysed produced expected results, and bore out the researchers’ sense that certain fluctuations and trends could be explained – in whole or in part – by the characteristics of particular institutions. Undergraduates’ choices around degree type, major options, and possible emphases or specializations largely paced with the structure of the programme that each individual student attended. This effect was also seen in students’ selection of courses from the roster of available options at their school, especially in Economics and Languages (the most common prerequisites for an IDS degree outside of Development Studies’ own core courses). Other trends, less direct but no less influential, did emerge.

For the most part, students’ self-described needs inverted the trend in available opportunities. For example, where there were few practicum opportunities, undergraduates tended to request more practica. Similarly, recommendations emanating from undergraduates inverted patterns in the structure of programmes. In institutions where there was no formal programme in place, the data yielded a high incidence of student calls for IDS to become a stand-alone department, with the support afforded other academic disciplines on the same campus. Where enrolment was especially robust and faculty appointments were few, students expressed a desire for smaller class size.

Variations in International Development Studies undergraduates’ motivations were also, to a great extent, predictable – though the relationship between student responses and institutional character, in this area, was far less direct than that observed between students’ needs and programme resources. Acknowledging that this finding may prove particularly offensive to students’ sense of autonomy of opinion, results provide compelling evidence that programme emphasis and ‘philosophy’ exert considerable influence on undergraduates’ perceptions of both development and its study. In those programmes where faculty experience and expertise was

clustered in either a disciplinary (for example, Anthropology or Economics) or geographical area (for example, Eastern Europe or Africa), students expressed an especially keen interest in those regions, approaches, or methodologies. An excellent example of this programmatic influence is the general disdain for quantitative research methods that seems to have been transferred, intact, from professors to their students.

While it seems both natural and obvious that students' future ambitions would be influenced by the opportunities placed on their 'horizon', trends and fluctuations resulting from these influences still had to be identified and accounted for. At universities where undergraduate programmes existed alongside graduate offerings in International Development Studies or related fields, students were far more likely to include applying to graduate school in their list of ambitions. More generally, a rise in the number of students aiming for graduate study almost certainly correlates with the declining influence a bachelor's degree exerts in the contemporary job market.

These findings, collectively, support the assertion that no survey of International Development Students can adequately account for the incredible diversity of views, choices, experiences, and motivations of its research subjects without first grappling with the full range of influences exerted by the particular character of the IDS programme from which participants are drawn. It is therefore a mistake to establish an IDS student as an entity without a context.

### **Community and Identity**

The current research project was principally inspired by the urge to interrogate the oft-described (and not infrequently researched) "typical IDS student". When trends that exist primarily at the institutional level are identified (as described above) and compensated for, an entirely different statistical profile emerges; yet even that 'corrected' statistical profile is problematic, and must be presented with caution. The average student profile assembled in the previous section was intended to be a useful investigative tool in the context of the current research project, to be compared to the romantic presentations in academic and recruitment literature and then deconstructed in order to find out if the whole was more – or perhaps less – than the sum of its parts. What it was not intended to be was a literal portrait of the 'typical' student of development studies. Not only is there no such student, there is no good use for such a statistical profile outside of the current research project.<sup>11</sup>

When studying International Development, course selection often entails more than satisfying a set of degree prerequisites, or building an academic specialization for use in either continued study or the job market. For the IDS student, exposed to powerful narratives of injustice, opportunism, and disempowerment, what one studies often involves strong political and ethical considerations. The corollary of this fact is that one's identity as a Development Studies student is often perceived, by the individual as well as by others, as a kind of moral statement. (As an interesting aside, it is ironic that most IDS programmes do not to include courses that deal directly with the ethics of international intervention and development, even though these are the courses that students, almost unanimously, call for in their programmes.)

Identity is a matter of more than demographics – this statement is certainly not a revelation, nor is it controversial. An investigation of the romanticized, "typical IDS student" was the keystone of the project work, as none of the usual descriptors really spoke to the underlying character of the individual drawn to Development Studies. IDS students are "activists", yet activism does not automatically entail an ethical cause. They are "well travelled", yet the fact of travel experience says little about the rationale for travel or the resources utilized. They are "linguistically adept", yet language study may not be a choice. They are more likely to be female, yet women outnumber men in undergraduate study in Canada in general (HRSCD,

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<sup>11</sup> Acknowledging that the researchers also used the statistical profiles available in earlier studies.

2005, n5). Analyses of the national and institutional data have exposed these caveats, and the formal project report deals with them at length. The fact is that International Development Studies undergraduates neither hail from one kind of background, nor do they harbour the same set of inclinations or ambitions. They will not follow the same road to arrive at the same destination. The profile that has emerged from the data and its analysis, therefore, is a portrait not of an typical individual, but of a community. That community has been described variously by the project team as a “community of identities”, a “philosophical community” or an “imagined community” – all three of these phrases are, the researchers assert, accurate descriptions.

As has been mentioned throughout discussion of the data, the principal theme to emerge from the current research project was one of a necessary personal engagement with the study of development. This desire trumps every other motivation in inspiring not only the initial selection of IDS as a field of study at the baccalaureate level, but choices in co-curricular areas of a student’s path through his or her undergraduate studies. Further, the desire to cultivate a deeper understanding of development issues and ‘developing’ areas and peoples often fuels a search for firsthand experiences in non-academic areas of the student’s life. Data reveals that undergraduates will seek out these experiences with *or without* the support of their programme, through travel, volunteering or working abroad and through participation in local community development initiatives. Nevertheless, an International Development Studies programme that does not recognize the importance of this personal engagement is not going to attract students and one that fails to provide strong avenues through which undergraduates may personally engage with development concepts and practices will fail to hold their attention.

International Development Studies is not a discipline that can be pursued entirely in the library; in fact, a move beyond the seminar room or lecture hall – as a part of degree studies, supported academically – is imperative to the undergraduate IDS student. Nor is Development Studies a field that offers exotic travel to complement an education in international issues, or a scattered, multidisciplinary field that amounts to “everything and nothing.” Despite criticisms of an interdisciplinarity that hopelessly dilutes any academic core, IDS students assert that the theoretical, conceptual and critical elements of their degree studies are more sound, more accessible and more relevant to the ‘real world’ than those offered in other disciplines.

In discussions with IDS undergraduates, it became evident that the student of International Development Studies seeks to understand not only ‘the big picture’, but also to determine his or her own place within it. Further, he or she often uses that locus as a point from which to launch purposeful activity. IDS students seek to make the step from recognition to understanding to action, using the theories and concepts provided by their formal studies in conjunction with their own personal, firsthand ‘testing’ of those theories and concepts. This, in fact, is the source of much consternation and dialogue about the theory/practice divide in Development Studies: students do not necessarily perceive these as separate elements at all. In fact, the students involved in dialogue around the current research project seemed disinclined to segregate academics and action, theory and practice, the classroom and the community, the local and the global. For example, IDS undergraduates are often described as espousing an ambition of “global citizenship,” yet interviewees described a personal perspective that did not seem to acknowledge – at least not in the traditional sense – a local/global dichotomy. The research team found that, for many Development Studies students, this binary is recast as the local and the *super-local*, as students strive to gain an understanding of the world around them that permits an ever-increasing number of people and issues to fall under the conceptual banners of “here” and “we”.

Despite being characterized as “activists,” IDS undergraduates’ ‘action’ is not necessarily situated at the extremes of either charity or revolution, with either the ‘left’ or the ‘right’. Most Development Studies students speak about a desire to contribute to positive change, but acknowledge a near-endless array of paths to that end.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

If International Development Studies is best portrayed as a community, it is certainly a diverse community, housing (as has already been mentioned) a great many identities that fall under the mantle of “IDS student” or “IDS programme”. That diversity is, as one would expect, both a strength and a challenge. Because programmes and professors are possessed of different inclinations, experiences, fields of expertise, and resources, giving voice to the widest possible range of opinions and facts on development issues, and structuring a curriculum that meets even a portion of the incredible variety of interests and needs manifested in the student body, can be an exhausting endeavour. The following recommendations, all of which were cultivated from the most popular (and widely representative) responses of undergraduate students, are offered with these limitations in mind.

### **(1) Curricular stasis or inertia should be actively countered by expanding dialogue on alternatives and critical perspectives beyond the traditional arena.**

IDS students have suggested that there is often little curricular variation over long stretches of a programme’s evolution. This stasis or inertia exists in both the roster of elective offerings and within the subject matter of core courses. In assessing core courses, students colour an emphasis on historical/traditional theoretical perspectives as absolutely invaluable; understanding the progression of thought in development and its study is not a topic that students are willing to forego. An exclusive emphasis on the traditional/historical, however, fails to pace with emerging issues and newer theoretical work, while the majority of programmes in Canada do not include perspectives (in theory, resources or pedagogy) that emerge from the global South. Undergraduates feel that there exists sufficient space for more voices in Development Studies, and assert that movement toward including such voices need not violate a commitment to the ‘lineage’ of development thought as currently taught. Action on this issue would also serve to address another important recommendation made by students: that, where possible, programmes include courses taught by Southern academics. As Development Studies was ‘born’ in the North, efforts to introduce a better balance of views may help the discipline to overcome any vestigial imperialism, and also serve to improve student interest in (or satisfaction with) theory as a topic in IDS.

As the White Paper has observed, “although IDS is itself a relative newcomer to the academy, it can, like other fields of study, be set in its ways” (CASID/NSI, 2003, p. 21). At times, it seems that IDS values the nobility of its lineage over the richness of its company. Students have expressed that there appears to be ample space in the teaching of critical approaches to development for truly alternative voices – and by ‘alternative’, undergraduates mean more than the traditional/alternative binary that exists within the mainstream, dialogue around which can slip into a ‘point-counterpoint’ exercise that may last for the duration of degree studies.

In looking at the ranking of students’ interest in various development topics, the principal observation that emerges is the importance of current issues and normative concerns to the IDS undergraduate. Elective offerings in rights, security, ethics and civil society could be made available through fostering stronger linkages with some of the academic disciplines not currently well-acquainted with Development Studies (for example, Philosophy or Native Studies) or sub-disciplines of more familiar IDS partners (for example, Peace and Conflict Studies, Religious Studies, or Applied Anthropology). In speaking to the inclusion of current issues in curriculum, the difficulty of re-vamping courses on an annual basis could be overcome by having a ‘special topics’ credit, taught on a rotational basis or by a guest lecturer. This recommendation was made last year by students attending the InSight 2004 Conference. Current issues could also be dealt with by simply extending the classroom environment, through the active support of student

participation in IDS conferences, where new or ascendant issues are a primary focus. Current issues should not, however, be overlooked, as undergraduate students express a strong desire to apply their Development Studies education to the myriad, urgent issues that ‘make the news’ every single day; and also to reverse that equation, bringing the eruption and evolution of world events to bear on the theories and approaches taught in the lecture hall and the seminar room.

Acknowledging the impossibility of offering courses in every topic of interest to students, and the fact that courses taught are dependent upon the availability and expertise of faculty, the research team would point out a recurring idea for overcoming this problem: “[t]he possibility of establishing inter-university programs in dev[elopment] studies should be explored” (suggested by Polanyi-Levitt and Trak, as cited in Einseidel & Parmar, “Literature Survey”, n.d., par. 22), and “Programs and their university administrations should further promote efforts at inter-university collaborations. CUSEC or the Canadian University Student Exchange Consortium, is an excellent step in this direction. Collaborative instructional development efforts should also be encouraged” (Einseidel & Parmar, “Conclusion”, n.d., par. 21). As this idea has recurred several times over the past two decades (most recently in the outcome document of the 2004 InSight Conference), and originated within the ranks of programme administrators to begin with, perhaps a revisiting of the notion is in order.

## **(2) International Development Studies should be ‘de-exoticized’.**

From the undergraduate perspective, development is not an issue described by borders, either in theory or practice. Many students surveyed emphasized the importance of the Canadian/Northern context – this is so much the case that undergraduates increasingly voice a desire for IDS to drop the “International” portion of its moniker. Though the discipline has moved away from the connotations associated with its former ‘Comparative Development Studies’ label, and has shifted from the North/South (or developed/underdeveloped) conceptualization to the recognition of a ‘global North’ and ‘global South’, International Development Studies has been rather slow to turn on its North-South axis. IDS is, even today, occasionally spooked by the ghosts of imperialism, the modernist project, and the surprisingly powerful legacy of Truman’s infamous speech. As a result, key concepts, terms and perspectives remain rigidly or narrowly defined: discussions of colonization tend to be restricted to what is elsewhere called “salt-water colonialism”; decolonisation is portrayed as a process that began (and ended) in ‘developing’ and ‘transitional’ countries; and although development is regarded as a process that occurs at many levels and in many nations, programmes tend to focus on very specific world regions (typically Africa, parts of Asia, and Latin America). Development Studies students call for these concepts and definitions to evolve, in order that IDS may become less geographically and temporarily constrained.

## **(3) International opportunities should be better supported, while local opportunities should be re-cast as legitimate alternatives to overseas experiences.**

Survey results revealed that travel to ‘less developed’/‘developing’ countries for the purposes of engaging in development issues firsthand was a priority for students, while doing so through structured exchanges or YAPs *was not*. One of the most serious drawbacks of structured year abroad programmes (YAPs) is that they tend to divide the student body along uncomfortable lines, as the sizeable cost involved can make participation a matter of privilege. While other, less expensive means of accessing international practicum do exist – for example, shorter study abroad programmes – only YAPs afford students the opportunity to spend an entire academic year, or to participate in both study and a co-op placement, overseas. These programmes are, for good or ill, the best of all (international) structured opportunities in IDS, making privileged access to them difficult to condone. As both enrolment and tuition increase, this divide in the

student population will only become more pronounced. It is therefore critical that a dialogue on potential sources of financial support for international opportunities be initiated at the earliest possible opportunity.

At the same time, undergraduate students emphasize the importance – and relevance – of the Northern context in the study and practice of development and the legitimacy of Canadian/local practicum opportunities in IDS curricula. While these do currently exist in some programmes, they are regarded, with very few exceptions, as the ‘poor cousins’ of year or semester abroad programmes. On the whole, students find it both curious and somewhat troubling that the ‘home front’ receives so little attention in many IDS programmes, as this presents a clear disconnect between our *sense of place* (globally) and our *existence in place* (locally) – and again, IDS undergraduates do not generally favour such dichotomies. Given the many strong regional identities (and, indeed, strong regional inequities) within Canada, not to mention the existence of distinct nations within her borders, Canadian, ‘Northern’ and Aboriginal issues present a wealth of opportunities for enriching Development Studies as a whole, and practicum in particular. In light of this, it would be appropriate to add Canadian Studies and Native Studies to the list of fields to which the interdisciplinarity of IDS should be fully extended, as existing ‘experiential learning’ opportunities in these disciplines could offer significant benefit at little administrative cost.

This recommendation being made, the current project team are mindful of Child and Manion’s observation that “IDS students [...] lack enough information about the fit between First Nations development issues and those within the international context” (2004, p. 181). Faculty support is needed to clarify the tensions and harmonies that exist between these sets of issues, and between these two fields of study. As one survey respondent pointed out, “Each has a distinct disciplinary heritage, but they are in many respects trying to arrive at the same place, and encounter many shared issues along the way.” A further point that bears highlighting is this: that although “Aboriginal development issues” placed quite low on the listing of topics of interest, that list was the product of ranking individual students’ personal interest in (rather than pedagogical, practical, or theoretical valuing of) topics in development studies. The researchers would point out that other topics – for example, “critical analysis of theories of development and underdevelopment” – also ranked quite low, yet elsewhere emerged as priorities for students seeking the best possible undergraduate education in development.

#### **(4) Co-curricular and extracurricular activities – particularly student-led initiatives – should be regarded as key programme resources.**

Because students in International Development Studies have so much of themselves invested in their field of study, strong programme support is vital to the success of the undergraduate’s educational experience. Calls for ‘responsiveness’ and ‘support’ are certainly not calls for faculty to serve students’ whims or to tailor programme elements to suit any one individual. Even preliminary data showed that lines of communication were, indeed, established in every one of the programmes surveyed; however, survey findings indicated that students were often unaware of these avenues. It is important that lines of communication be fostered, advertised, and regularly utilized by both students and faculty. This recommendation was first made by Child and Manion, in 2002-3 (published in 2004) and was strongly supported by the findings of the current research project. Conversely, there is a difference between functional and supportive communication – the ability to send e-mail to, and receive electronic replies from one’s professors does not necessarily result in a feeling of being supported.

This being said, it is not necessarily important that faculty act upon student suggestions; undergraduates are aware of and respect, the severe resource restrictions under which many International Development Studies programmes in Canada operate. Fortunately, many of students’ greatest concerns could be effectively addressed, if not actually overcome, through

creative use of the resources and networks that even the smallest and least autonomous programmes already have in place. Students' associations, inter-university projects, and regional and national students' gatherings may be, in this regard, the greatest untapped resource available to IDS programmes. Getting outside the classroom within degree studies has been widely acknowledged as a key component of an IDS education, yet co- and extra-curricular initiatives do not receive sufficient support from administrators and faculty. Such support should be seen as critical, given the prevalence of feelings of cynicism and frustration in the student body; the near-ubiquity of concerns over career preparation; the reality that many opportunities in IDS are advertised primarily by word-of-mouth; the strong desire students have to follow current issues and alternative perspectives; and the fact that many IDS undergraduates thrive on dialogue. Co- and extracurricular activities that bring undergraduates and faculty together with development professionals, researchers, and community leaders and activists would provide students with the means to address emotional considerations, practical concerns and academic inquiry simultaneously. This request is consonant with Einseidel and Parmar's (1993-5) third recommendation, that "[l]inkages between development studies programs and the institutional nodes within the field of development such as the professional and academic association, CASID, the journals, and organizations such as WUSC should be strengthened" ("Conclusion", n.d. par. 17).

### CONCLUSION

'Development' is a fluid term, with no small amount of uncertainty and tension inherent in any characterization. The field of Development Studies is, in fact, driven by ambitions and ambiguities and possessed of a long and cross-disciplinary heritage of thought. For the undergraduate student, this complex intellectual lineage is a source of both tremendous dynamism and considerable confusion. In the spring of 2004 the White Paper noted that, "The passion for the issues has given rise to some student frustration with the way that IDS is taught" (p. 20). The various contemporary development studies programmes in Canada illustrate the breadth of a complex field of intellectual endeavours linked with practical engagements; from this duality of the 'real world' and the theoretical comes much of the energy that undergraduate students sense in IDS. Unfortunately, the corollary of this fact is that "development studies as a subject area [...] continues to be characterized by a lack of internal consistency, a high degree of eclecticism that is not always productive, and 'fashion' trends in theory construction and in the areas of focus" (Martinussen, 1999, p. 354). It is a field that invites – even compels – deeper investigation into its own ceaseless evolution. The research detailed in the preceding pages represents the first such investigation from the undergraduate perspective, driven by undergraduate researchers and intended to articulate undergraduate concerns.

Individual schools may opt to use the results described in this report as a springboard into second-tier research, as a barometer of the student body, as support for increased institutional support or resource augmentation or as an informal indicator of the level of satisfaction with the programme offered. Should the survey have revealed areas of want in the culture of the discipline as taught in Canada (and as perceived by undergraduates), this research could open the door for programme faculty and staff, as well as students' associations, to play a more active and informed role in their respective institutions. Student responses to resources shortfalls may additionally be of some help in mounting a case for administrative or financial improvement in selected areas. Longer-term (and less certain) outcomes notwithstanding, it is hoped that this research project will serve to spur discussion at the baccalaureate level – amongst students, within the ranks of faculty and between undergraduates and their professors. These are the individuals who invest IDS with the unique vitality that draws successive generations to such a complex, fluid, and deeply engaging field of study.

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## About the Contributors

**Geoffrey Cameron** is studying at Trent University in his fourth year of a joint-major in International Development Studies and International Political Economy, a delightfully interdisciplinary degree that makes for a life as an academic chameleon. Last year, Geoff was a student in Ghana with the Trent-in-Ghana programme. He has interned for the Ghanaian Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice, worked for the Department of Foreign Affairs, and served as a research assistant on issues of sovereign debt write downs and the Jubilee movement. The field of IPE, in its service to the commitments of development studies, and the relationship between religious knowledge and development theory are keen interests for Geoff. You can reach Geoff at [geoffreycameron@trentu.ca](mailto:geoffreycameron@trentu.ca).

**Jill Campbell** was privileged enough to grow up in beautiful Northern Cape Breton. Despite the constant drone of fiddle music she managed to develop an interest in international issues. She has recently completed her final year of a double major in International Development Studies and History at Saint Mary's University in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Jill is particularly interested in colonial history and its complexities and impact on development in all regions of the world. She would like to pursue her studies of development in the context of a long historical process. Saint Mary's considered Jill to have an area study in Southeast Asia, yet as she has not travelled beyond the Canadian borders, she has no objection to other parts of the world. Jill can be reached at [jillms\\_campbell@yahoo.ca](mailto:jillms_campbell@yahoo.ca).

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**Erica Martin** was born in raised in beautiful St. John's, Newfoundland. She currently lives in Montreal. At McGill University, Erica studied International Development Studies and Political Science, and has just completed her Joint Honours, with a Minor in Psychology. She has been involved in many volunteer groups and clubs on campus, including holding an executive position for the International Development Studies Students Association, and the Presidency of NDP McGill. Erica can be reached at [erica.k.martin@gmail.com](mailto:erica.k.martin@gmail.com).

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**Fiona Purton** is currently in her fourth year of an Honours degree at Trent University pursuing a joint-major in International Development and Cultural Anthropology. Upon graduation Fiona plans to continue her studies in the field of International Education, an area she became interested in while in her third year with the Trent-in-Ghana Program. Fiona can be reached at *fionapurton@gmail.com*.

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## À propos des collaborateurs

**Geoffrey Cameron** en est à sa quatrième année à l'Université Trent. Il y fait une double concentration en études du développement international et en économie politique internationale, un diplôme délicieusement interdisciplinaire qui convient à merveille à un caméléon académique. L'année passée, Geoffrey a étudié au Ghana grâce au programme de l'Université Trent au Ghana. Il était stagiaire pour la commission ghanéenne sur les droits humains et la justice administrative. Il a aussi travaillé pour le département des affaires étrangères et a été assistant de recherche sur les problèmes de la réduction de la dette souveraine et du Jubilé. Le domaine de l'économie politique internationale utilisé au service des engagements des études du développement et la relation entre la connaissance religieuse et la théorie du développement sont des intérêts qui lui tiennent à cœur. Geoffrey peut être rejointe à [geoffreycameron@trentu.ca](mailto:geoffreycameron@trentu.ca).

**Jill Campbell** fut assez privilégiée pour grandir au nord du superbe Cap Breton. Malgré le bourdonnement constant de la musique des violons, elle a réussi à développer un intérêt pour les problèmes internationaux. Elle a récemment complété la dernière année de sa double concentration en études du développement international et en histoire à l'Université Saint Mary's en Nouvelle-Écosse. Jill est particulièrement intéressée par l'histoire coloniale et ses complexités et impacts sur le développement dans toutes les régions du monde. Elle aimerait poursuivre ses études sur le développement dans le contexte d'un processus historique à long terme. Saint Mary's a pensé Jill pour effectuer une étude territoriale en Asie du sud-est et même si elle n'a jamais franchi les frontières canadiennes, elle n'a aucune objection à franchir celles d'autres régions du monde. On peut la rejoindre à [jillms\\_campbell@yahoo.ca](mailto:jillms_campbell@yahoo.ca).

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**Erica Martin** est née et a grandi dans la coquette ville de St-John's à Terre-Neuve. Elle vit présentement à Montréal où elle étudie à l'Université McGill. Elle y étudie le Développement International et les Sciences Politiques, et vient de compléter un *Joint Honours*, ainsi qu'une mineure en Psychologie. Erica est impliquée dans plusieurs groupes sur le campus universitaire et ce à titre bénévole. Elle occupe notamment un poste exécutif pour l'Association des Étudiants en Études du Développement International ainsi que la présidence du NPD McGill. On peut la rejoindre à [erica.k.martin@gmail.com](mailto:erica.k.martin@gmail.com).

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**Fiona Purton** en est présentement à sa quatrième année d'un *Honours* en Développement International et en Anthropologie Culturelle à l'Université Trent. Après sa graduation, Fiona prévoit continuer ses études dans le domaine de l'Éducation Internationale, un domaine auquel elle s'intéresse depuis sa participation au programme Trent-in-Ghana au cours de sa troisième année universitaire. On peut la rejoindre à [fionapurton@gmail.com](mailto:fionapurton@gmail.com).

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## Undercurrent Author Guide

### Eligibility Criteria

*Undercurrent* publishes well-supported, well-reasoned undergraduate essays and research on international development issues. Although topical papers from all disciplines are welcome, the journal does not publish fiction, poetry, or creative writing.

Papers may include coursework past or present. Only work written while the author is enrolled as an undergraduate is eligible. After graduation, authors have six months to submit work to the journal. Although multiple submissions are welcome, only one submission per author will be published in each issue. Previously published work is not eligible for inclusion in *Undercurrent*.

Manuscripts may be written in English or French.

### Topics in IDS: the Scope of the Journal

The following list is not meant to be exhaustive; it is provided as one means by which authors may gauge the applicability of their submissions to the journal. Stand-alone terms have the words “and development” as an understood component of the topic.

Aboriginal issues	Ethics	Peace & conflict
Activism	Finance	Population
Children & youth	Food & agriculture	Population movements & emigration / immigration
Civil society	Gender issues	Poverty and income inequality
Colonialism & the processes of decolonisation	Global governance	Project management & evaluation
Comparative and international politics	Globalization	Questioning development/ development critiques
Complex emergencies and intervention	Health	‘Race’ & ethnicity
Corporate social responsibility	Human rights & human security	Regional development/ regionalism
Culture & development	Identity politics	Resistance
Debt	Information, media & the 'digital divide'	Role of development studies
Development administration/ NGO management	Intellectual property rights	Rural & agricultural issues
Development planning	International aid	Social movements
Developing area studies	International financial institutions	Spirituality, faith & religion
Economics	International political economy	Theories of development & underdevelopment
Education	International trade	Tourism
Employment & labour issues	Knowledge & technology transfer	Urbanization & migration
Environment, ecology & biodiversity	Law & justice (comparative & international law)	

Topical submissions are accepted from any academic discipline. If you have questions about the appropriateness of your manuscript please e-mail the journal with a brief description of the work.

The editorial board would be glad, as time permits, to indicate its level of interest and/or ways in which you might consider revising your work.

### **Review Process**

Although manuscripts are accepted on an ongoing basis, the submission deadline for fall issues is October 1st, for spring issues April 1st. Submissions received after the deadline will automatically be considered for the following issue.

Acceptance is determined by the editorial board, with the input of faculty advisors from Dalhousie, McGill, Trent, York, and the University of Calgary. Submissions will be evaluated according to the following criteria: topicality, relevance to a broad audience, technical merit/quality of research, creativity, originality, and clarity of expression.

Manuscripts are refereed anonymously, undergoing two blind reviews by undergraduate editors. Authors' identities are held in strict confidence by the Editor-in-Chief, whose role is to administer the board's activities and whose vote in editorial matters is never decisive. The final selection process runs for one month, from the submissions deadline for, until the publication date of, any given issue.

Publication of selected papers is conditional and contingent upon editing. With respect to submissions accepted for publication, any grammatical errors may be changed by the editors without consent of the author; however, substantive changes will not be undertaken without the author's consent.

### **Manuscript Format**

Students interested in being published in the journal should submit their articles electronically, in either Microsoft Word or Rich-Text format, as an e-mail attachment. *Please note that the journal cannot review work submitted as a WordPerfect or Adobe Acrobat file.*

Manuscripts should be set in 12-point Times New Roman font aligned left, double-spaced, titled, and have numbered pages. Tables of data should be sent as Excel spreadsheets. Images (graphics, pictures, figures, equations, etc.) should be sent as .jpg or .gif files.

The e-mail accompanying the manuscript ***must include***:

- the author's name
- article title
- an abstract of no more than 150 words
- total word count of article (excluding tables, figures, and references)
- a short biographical sketch (including name of university, academic interests, current year of study, expected year of graduation, major or intended major, and e-mail address)
- any acknowledgements (if necessary)
- name and e-mail address of a faculty member able to verify that the work was authored solely by an undergraduate student

As the review process is anonymous, the manuscript file itself should not include any identifying information (i.e. the author's name, class, professor, or grade received).

Manuscripts should range from 2,500 words (minimum) to 5,000 words (excluding tables, figures, and references), although slightly longer papers will be considered if they can be shortened in editing. The journal will consider publishing exceptional short essays (1000-2000 words) in a special section, provided they meet the requirements of one of the following:

1. *Book review*: An evaluative and critical examination of a book of eminent importance to the field of development studies. The book does not have to be published recently, provided that its insights continue to bear upon the field and that the author considers its contemporary importance in his or her analysis. The subject matter of the book and the review must be within the scope of the journal.
2. *Literature review*: A short summary and analysis of a broad selection of articles (at least 10) bearing upon a particular issue or topic. The purpose of the review should be to present a critical appraisal of the arguments and contents of established literature. The issue or topic of concern must be within the scope of the journal.
3. *Topical essay*: A brief overview of the arguments and literature, in essay format, related to an important contemporary issue in development and/or its study. The essay should both sympathetically and critically survey the full range of arguments related to the issue; it need not maintain a strong thesis, but it must observe the citation and style requirements of the journal.

Work must be written in non-sexist and non-racist language. Authors are encouraged to use a clear, accessible style, free from specialized jargon, in order to reach the widest possible readership.

Please note in your e-mail if your manuscript is currently under review by another journal. While simultaneous submissions with other publications are accepted, authors should notify *Undercurrent* immediately upon their manuscript's acceptance elsewhere. Original work selected for publication in the journal may be reprinted subsequently in another publication if *Undercurrent* is properly credited (however, please note that *Undercurrent* itself does not accept previously published manuscripts).

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Footnotes should be limited to content notes and appear in the footer of the appropriate page; all other referencing should conform to the APA parenthetical citation style.

A list of references should accompany the manuscript, showing only those works actually cited in the article.

*Please note that the journal cannot publish articles where sources are not documented both completely and correctly.*

**Notification**

Although submissions are accepted on an ongoing basis, the submission deadline for fall issues is October 1st, for spring issues April 1st. Submissions received after the deadline will automatically be considered for the following issue.

The final selection process runs for two months: in the fall, from October 1st until December 1st; in the spring, from April 1st until June 1st. Please wait until after this two-month period to query the journal regarding the status of your submission.

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## Guide de l'auteur **Undercurrent**

### Critères d'éligibilité

Le journal Undercurrent publie des articles et recherches soutenus par une argumentation solide et bien documentée, à propos de thèmes touchant au développement international. Bien que des écrits traitant de toutes disciplines soient acceptés, ce journal ne publie cependant pas de fiction, de poésie ou de récits créatifs.

Il est possible de soumettre des travaux composés dans le cadre d'un cours précédemment ou présentement suivi. Pour être éligible, l'auteur doit être en cours d'études universitaires de premier cycle. Après s'être gradué, ce dernier dispose de six mois pour soumettre un article à la revue. Un auteur ne peut voir publié qu'un seul de ses textes par numéro, ce qui ne l'empêche pas de soumettre plusieurs textes à la fois.

Les langues d'usage permises sont le français et l'anglais.

### Thèmes liés au développement international: Les champs d'intérêt du journal

Les possibilités de sujets d'articles ne se limitent pas à la liste suivante, cette dernière a pour objectif de fournir des points de repère aux auteurs se questionnant sur l'éligibilité de leur travail. Peu importe la thématique choisie, cette dernière doit être traitée dans l'optique du développement.

Administration du développement/ gestion des ONGs	Emploi & questions relatives au travail	Politique internationale et comparée
Aide internationale	Enfants & jeunesse	Politiques identitaires
Alimentation & agriculture	Environnement, écologie & biodiversité	Population
Colonialisme & le processus de décolonisation	Éthique	Questions agricoles & rurales
Commerce international	Études des régions en développement	Questions autochtones
Critique et questionnement du développement	Finance	Questions relatives aux genres
Culture & développement	Gestion de projets & évaluation	Race & ethnicité
Dette	Gouvernance globale	Résistance
Développement régional / régionalisme	Information, médias & « fossé digital »	Responsabilité sociale des entreprises
Droit & justice (droit international et comparé)	Institutions financières internationales	Rôle de l'étude du développement
Droits de propriété intellectuelle	Militantisme	Santé
Droits humains & sécurité	Mondialisation	Savoir & partage de connaissances
Économie	Mouvements de population & émigration/ immigration	Société civile
Économie politique internationale	Mouvements sociaux	Spiritualité, foi & religion
Éducation	Paix & conflits	Théories du développement & sous-développement
	Pauvreté et inégalités de revenus	Tourisme
	Planification du développement	Urbanisation & migrations
		Urgences complexes et intervention

Sont acceptés des articles d'actualité de toutes les disciplines académiques. Si vous avez des questions sur la pertinence de votre travail, veuillez s'il vous plaît écrire un courriel à la revue contenant une brève description de votre travail. Dans la mesure du possible, le comité éditorial se fera un plaisir de vous informer de son intérêt et/ou de vous conseiller sur des manières de réviser votre travail.

### **Le processus d'évaluation**

Malgré que les articles soient acceptés de façon continue, la date de tombée pour le numéro d'automne est le 1<sup>er</sup> octobre, et le 1<sup>er</sup> avril pour le numéro du printemps. Tout document soumis après la date de tombée sera automatiquement pris en considération pour le numéro suivant.

Les articles publiés sont choisis par le comité éditorial, qui est secondé par des conseillers académiques venant des universités Dalhousie, McGill, Trent, York ainsi que de l'Université de Calgary. Les documents soumis seront évalués selon les critères suivants : la pertinence dans le contexte actuel, la possibilité d'intéresser un large public, le mérite et la qualité technique de la recherche, la créativité, l'originalité, et la clarté du propos.

Les documents sont évalués à l'aveugle par des éditeurs universitaires du premier cycle. L'identité des auteurs est gardée confidentielle par l'éditeur en chef qui a pour rôle de coordonner les activités du comité éditorial et dont le vote ne peut jamais être décisif pour des questions éditoriales. Le processus décisionnel final est d'une durée d'un mois, à partir de la date de tombée jusqu'à la date de publication d'un numéro.

La publication des écrits sélectionnés est conditionnelle et dépendante de la complétion des corrections demandées. Tout en respectant la version acceptée pour la publication du journal, toute erreur grammaticale peut être corrigée par les éditeurs sans le consentement de l'auteur; cependant des changements de nature substantive ne seront pas entrepris sans l'approbation de l'auteur.

### **Format des manuscrits**

Les étudiants désirant être publiés dans la revue doivent soumettre leurs articles par courriel sous forme de pièces-jointes au format Microsoft Word ou Rich-Text. *Prenez note que nous ne pouvons accepter les documents sous forme Wordperfect ou Adobe Acrobat.*

Les manuscrits doivent être écrits avec la police Times New Roman taille 12, alignés sur la gauche, à double interligne, titrés et avec pages numérotées. Les tables de données doivent être envoyées sous format Excel. Les images (photos, figures, équations, etc.) doivent être envoyées sous format .jpg ou .gif.

Veuillez inclure dans le courriel:

- le nom de l'auteur
- le titre de l'article
- un résumé d'un maximum de 150 mots
- le nombre de mot total de l'article (excluant les tableaux, les figures et les références)
- une brève biographie (incluant le nom de l'établissement universitaire, intérêts académiques, année en cours, date prévue de l'obtention du diplôme, spécialisation et courriel)
- remerciement (si nécessaire)
- nom et courriel d'un membre du personnel enseignant pouvant attester que l'article provient d'un étudiant du premier cycle

Comme le processus de révision est anonyme, veuillez éviter d'inclure quelque information vous identifiant sur le fichier du manuscrit (le nom de l'auteur, du cours, du professeur, ou la note reçue).

La taille du manuscrit doit être entre 2500 et 5000 mots (excluant les tableaux, les figures et les références). Les documents plus longs seront considérés pour la publication s'ils peuvent être raccourcis.

Les textes ne peuvent contenir aucun langage sexiste ou raciste. Nous encourageons les auteurs à adopter un style accessible à tous, sans jargon spécialisé.

Veuillez nous informer dans votre courriel si vous avez soumis votre manuscrit à une autre revue. Bien que ces soumissions soient acceptées, l'auteur devra informer immédiatement *Undercurrent* d'une éventuelle publication dans une autre revue. Les oeuvres originales choisies pour publication dans la revue peuvent être republiées dans une autre revue si *Undercurrent* est proprement crédité.

*Avant d'utiliser des matériaux assujettis au droit d'auteurs, veuillez vous assurer d'en avoir reçu la permission.*

Veuillez contacter la revue si vous êtes dans l'incapacité de soumettre votre manuscrit dans le format requis ou si vous avez des questions au sujet de la mise en page.

### **Style des citations**

Les notes de bas de pages doivent se limiter aux notes de contenu et apparaître au bas de la page appropriée. Toutes les autres références doivent se conformer au style de l'APA .

Une liste de références doit accompagner le manuscrit illustrant seulement les oeuvres citées dans l'article.

*Veuillez noter que la revue ne publie pas d'articles dont les sources ne sont pas complètement ou correctement documentées.*

### **Notification**

Bien que les propositions soient acceptées en tout temps, la date de tombée pour l'édition d'automne est le 1er octobre et le 1er avril pour l'édition du printemps. Les propositions reçues après ces dates de tombée seront automatiquement prises en considération pour l'édition suivante.

Le processus de sélection finale s'étend sur deux mois; soit du 1er octobre au 1er décembre pour l'édition d'automne et du 1er avril au 1er juin pour l'édition du printemps. Veuillez attendre la fin de la période de sélection avant de vous renseigner sur le statut de votre proposition.

Un avis d'acceptation ou de refus des travaux sera envoyé par courriel pour toutes les propositions. Un accusé de réception est habituellement envoyé dans un délai de deux jours. Si vous n'avez pas reçu un accusé de réception dans ce délai, veuillez envoyer votre courriel original à nouveau.



## Contacting the Journal

For general inquiries:  
[contact@undercurrentjournal.ca](mailto:contact@undercurrentjournal.ca)

Submissions:  
[submissions@undercurrentjournal.ca](mailto:submissions@undercurrentjournal.ca)

Pour correspondre en français:  
[renseignements@undercurrentjournal.ca](mailto:renseignements@undercurrentjournal.ca)

Webspinner & technical issues:  
[tech@undercurrentjournal.ca](mailto:tech@undercurrentjournal.ca)

To receive news and notifications about the journal:  
[news@undercurrentjournal.ca](mailto:news@undercurrentjournal.ca)



## Web Presence

[www.undercurrentjournal.ca](http://www.undercurrentjournal.ca)

Archives of the journal can be accessed at:  
<http://www.undercurrentjournal.ca/volume.html>



## Vacancies

The editors of *Undercurrent* are all undergraduate IDS students who volunteer their time to review submissions and publish the journal once per academic term. The current editorial board is listed on the journal's website.

The editorial board is reviewed periodically and new editors are selected, as required, through an application and interview.

Vacancies will be advertised on the *Undercurrent* website when they occur, although inquiries from interested volunteers are always welcome and will be kept on file.



## Pour contacter la revue

Pour des renseignements généraux (*en anglais*):  
[contact@undercurrentjournal.ca](mailto:contact@undercurrentjournal.ca)

Soumissions (*en anglais*):  
[submissions@undercurrentjournal.ca](mailto:submissions@undercurrentjournal.ca)

Pour correspondre en français:  
[renseignements@undercurrentjournal.ca](mailto:renseignements@undercurrentjournal.ca)

Webmestre et problèmes techniques (*en anglais*):  
[tech@undercurrentjournal.ca](mailto:tech@undercurrentjournal.ca)

Pour recevoir des nouvelles et annonces à propos de la revue (*en anglais*):  
[news@undercurrentjournal.ca](mailto:news@undercurrentjournal.ca)



## Sur le web

[www.undercurrentjournal.ca](http://www.undercurrentjournal.ca)

Vous pouvez accéder aux archives de la revue à:  
<http://www.undercurrentjournal.ca/volume.html>



## Les postes vacants

Les éditeurs d'*Undercurrent* sont tous des étudiants en études du développement international qui donnent de leur temps pour réviser les articles soumis et publier le journal une fois par session académique. La liste du personnel de la rédaction est disponible sur la page web de la revue.

Le personnel de l'édition du journal est révisé régulièrement et les nouveaux contributeurs sont sélectionnés à travers un formulaire de candidature et une entrevue.

Les postes vacants seront affichés sur cette page. Toutefois, les demandes de la part des bénévoles intéressés sont toujours les bienvenues et seront conservées dans nos dossiers.

