

FPA Voices



Kamari Clarke

**Africa and the International
Criminal Court**

**Career Paths:
Canada's
Ambassador
to Italy**

**A Career in
Indigenous
Health Leads
to a PhD**



Carleton
UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF
Public Affairs

Message from our Dean



Whenever you embark on a new project, there is always that moment when you contemplate failure.

Then, hopefully, there is a moment when you realize that your plan has not failed but has become an essential part of your organization's mission.

Thankfully, that's the experience we're having these days in the Faculty of Public Affairs.

Four years ago, a number of faculty and staff members developed a statement of guiding principles called *Moving FPA Forward: Priorities and Directions for the Faculty of Public Affairs, 2013-2018*. That document

launched projects that are now an essential part of what we do.

As we begin 2018, I am incredibly grateful to our faculty members and staff for supporting the efforts made in the Faculty over the past few years. It could not have happened without all of their hard work.

Perhaps the greatest example of this success story is **FPA Research Month**. This month-long event series in February and March highlights the success of our internationally recognized researchers through panel discussions, graduate symposiums, public lectures and more.

Previous Issue

Subscribe Here



- Archived Stories
- Magazine Signup
- Tips for Online Editor
- Tips for Designer
- Subscription Questions
- Contact Us

Front Cover: Kamari Clarke, Professor at Carleton University in Global and International Studies.

The Faculty also recognizes outstanding research through the FPA Research Excellence Award, which went to Professor Kamari Clarke of the Bachelor of Global and International Studies program in 2017. Professor Clarke will be hosting the *FPA Research Excellence Symposium* as part of Research Month on February 26. You can learn more about her research on international justice in this edition of *FPA Voices*.

So as we begin a new year, we have a lot to be thankful for in the Faculty of Public Affairs...and we have a lot to look forward to.

I hope you will be able to join us at one of our many events during the winter term. To see all of our events, please visit carleton.ca/fpa.

All the best,

André Plourde
Dean, Faculty of Public Affairs
Carleton University

FPA People

Kamari Maxine Clarke Professor, Global and International Studies

Professor Kamari Clarke's interest in international law, culture and politics began early in her university career. She studied political science at Concordia University, Law at Yale University, and did a PhD in Political-Legal Anthropology at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Recently she returned to Canada to begin a professorship at Carleton in the new Bachelor of Global and International Studies program (BGInS).

In 2017, Clarke was the winner of the FPA Research Excellence Award, which provides a generous financial award for research as well as funds for a research symposium that highlights the winner's achievements and serves as the launch of FPA's Research Month. The symposium will be held on February 26, 2018.

Professor Clarke, when you were a student, you studied political science, international relations and then political-legal anthropology. What was happening in the world at that time?

The late 1980s and early 1990s was a period of major structural transformations and violence. I was fascinated with the new institutions that were taking shape in that post-1989 moment – economic, legal, political and military. They were sparked by a range of events that led to the end

of the Cold War and the emergence of new alignments that had severe consequences for countries in the Global South.

For instance, there were new loan conditions from institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. There was corporate restructuring as well as the establishment of new extraction arrangements and free trade zones. At the same time, the military arms from the former Soviet Union began to circulate throughout Africa and Latin America. We were watching the restructuring of the global order.

But the real problem for me was the impact that these realignments were having on people's lives. On the one hand, we saw during this period the emergence of new migration patterns as mining extraction industries decimated local people's livelihoods. On the other hand, those displaced began competing for new resources, which resulted in struggles over the control of land and in significant violence.

What interested you in international law and legal institutions?

I wanted to understand one of the greatest paradoxes of our time – that of



the emergence of new international legal institutions that are often popularized as key solutions to global violence. Yet the root causes of violence are well beyond their mandate.

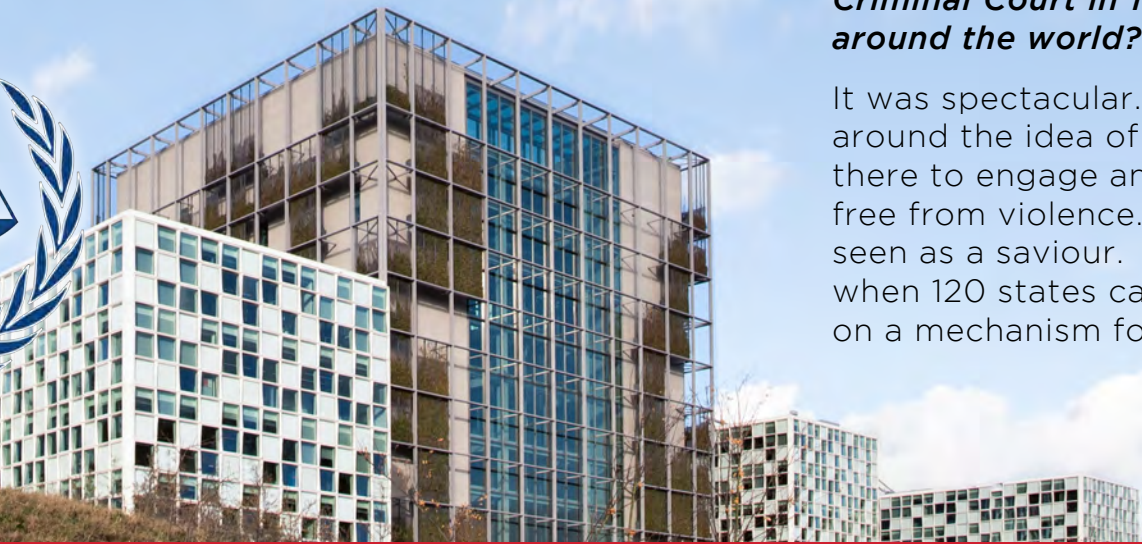
While it was clear to me that courts could play important roles in the social establishment of norms, my research in the late 1990s sought to explore the limitations and to raise a range of considerations for understanding the relationship between legal and socio-political processes.

The focus of my case studies was the emergence of the International Criminal Court (ICC). After I spent a summer doing fieldwork at the United Nations and with various non-governmental organizations working with the ICC, I realized that I needed to understand the technical language of the law – how legal reasoning works, what are its primary considerations, what are its core values and methods. I decided to pursue a master’s degree in law because, when I was attending the United Nations preparatory committee meetings for the International Criminal Court, I realized that I actually didn’t quite appreciate some of the relevant technical considerations.



How was the signing of the International Criminal Court in 1998 seen by countries around the world?

It was spectacular. There was euphoria around the idea of international law being there to engage and shape a new world free from violence. For many, the law was seen as a saviour. This was a moment when 120 states came together to agree on a mechanism for addressing core



crimes that would serve as the basis for holding high-ranking leaders responsible for mass violence against their citizens. But after fifteen years of the court's existence, all of the cases, indictments, and arrest warrants have been for Africans. And while some African states are the ones who made the referrals for arrest, the aggregate reality has caused a political uproar because for many of the court's antagonists, it seemed that "the court was targeting Africans."

Today, the court has a legitimacy problem because it's seen as being an African court. Meanwhile, the U.S.—which is not a signatory—is critiqued for committing war crimes and crimes against humanity in Iraq. The ICC Office of the Prosecutor has only recently issued a dossier that claims these crimes occurred within the court's jurisdiction. In fact, the court does not have universal jurisdiction and many of the world's most powerful states are not under its jurisdiction.

The appearance of selective justice has led to a series of African state-orchestrated pushbacks. For instance, following the indictment by the ICC of the Sudanese president, Al-Bashir, in 2009, the African Union insisted that African countries should not cooperate with the call for his arrest and transfer to the court. Since then, many countries have agreed to not arrest him and Burundi has withdrawn from the ICC. South Africa is on its way toward withdrawal from the court.

Do you think the International Criminal Court should exist?

Yes, there is a place for it—just as there's a place for an African Regional Court. But that place has a slim mandate. The ICC is a court of last resort that can engage

in judicial action if states are unable and unwilling to act. This means that the ICC is relevant after mass violence – after people have been victimized by brutal violence.

The research question for me is concerned with the complexities of justice. I'm arguing that the rise of the ICC should not be seen as the rise and cascading of a new enlightened force leaning toward prosecutorial justice. Rather, the ICC depends on state and NGO cooperation and gains its power through its moral claims to "save the victim" and end impunity by "stopping the perpetrator".

Given this, my thoughts are that we need to see the work of international justice-making as a disentanglement of the fiction of the liberal institutional order. To do this it helps to examine the way that new justice discourses are being unravelled and alternative justice mechanisms are being erected in the contemporary period.

This will be one of the topics of my upcoming symposium and is the key argument in my forthcoming book: *Affective Justice: The International Criminal Court and the Pan-African Pushback*.

Professor Clarke will host the FPA Research Excellence Award Symposium on February 26, 2018. The symposium is entitled, "Liberal International Institutionalism on the Decline? Rethinking African Treaty Withdrawals."

Visions for Equality

Imagining a world that challenges inequality and celebrates diversity

March 8, 2018

8:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

This free all-inclusive one-day conference features interdisciplinary panel discussions on the following topics:

- Perspectives of Gender and Equality
- Revolutionary and Post-Revolutionary Visions of Equality
- Intersectionality: Theory, Practice and Politics
- Equality in Our World: Global or International Approaches?
- Because it's 2018: Feminism, Law and Equality in the Trudeau Era
- Building Equity or Inequality? International Development in Theory, Practice and Education
- It's Still Cold in Here: Visions for Campus Equality
- The Shadow Side of Equality

Register at carleton.ca/fpa/visions



Carleton
UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF
Public Affairs



Career Paths

Alexandra Bugailiskis

Canada's Ambassador to the Italian Republic

Bachelor of Arts, Political Science ('79)

Master of Arts, International Affairs ('92)



In 1982, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA) student Alexandra Bugailiskis joined the then-Department of External Affairs. She had finished her coursework—but not her Master's thesis—when in 1984 she was off to her first posting in Ghana. It was a difficult time for the country and she remembers the empty store shelves.

“When word came that there was sugar, you would drop what you were doing and find a way to get to the head of the line,” she recalls.

Following her experience in Ghana, Ms. Bugailiskis worked on the successful campaign for Canada's election to the UN Security Council, which led to a project that changed the course of her career—assisting Namibia with its transition to independence.

“Working in the UN division was one of the high points of my career. I traveled to Namibia for six weeks to assist our mission in preparing for and observing the UN-sponsored elections,” says Ms. Bugailiskis, who received the first Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (PAFSO) Award for her work in Namibia. It was presented to her by Joe Clark, then Foreign Minister.

During her time there, she says she witnessed the changing face of peacekeeping.

“It was less about the military and much more about preparing for peace through policing,

community engagement and awareness,” she says.

The Namibian experience inspired her to return to NPSIA, write her thesis on the operation, and finally graduate.

“It was a fabulous opportunity to refresh those policy and theoretical underpinnings,” says Ms. Bugailiskis, who worked closely with Professor Fen Hampson. “I was also able to offer a reality check to many of the bright but less experienced students in the program.”

It also convinced her of the need for a larger game plan for governance in countries that were transitioning to a democracy.

“If you can’t reconcile the warring factions, you are only delaying the inevitable,” she explains. “We’re seeing this now in Iraq and Syria. We need to defeat ISIS, but we need to address the underlying sources of conflict, as well.”

Much of Ms. Bugailiskis’ Foreign Service career has involved exactly that—laying the groundwork for long-term change.

“El Salvador was also a place where Canada’s peacekeeping was incredibly timely and important,” she recalls, referring to her time as Head of the Political Program in Guatemala. Canada supported the UN peace process that brought a 12-year civil war to an end.

“There are still problems with criminality in El Salvador, but now there is hope for a more democratic future. Canada should be proud of its role in that,” she says.

In August 2017, Ms. Bugailiskis was named Canada’s ambassador to the Italian Republic. But prior to this role, she says her most memorable experience may have been her time serving as ambassador to Syria from 1997-2000.

“Syria was like the eye in the storm: there

was conflict all around, but not in Syria,” she says. “The people were incredibly hospitable, generous, and open to the world. I learned the definition of generosity from them.”

Ten years later, everything had changed.

“It’s been devastating to see the Syrian people treated as a source of terror,” says Ms. Bugailiskis.

That is why, after being the recipient of Syrian generosity as ambassador, Ms. Bugailiskis was so delighted to support the government’s program to bring more than 40,000 Syrian refugees to Canada.

“I’m very proud to see the incredible generosity of Canadians who have opened their doors when so many others are expressing fear,” says Ms. Bugailiskis, who also served as Canada’s ambassador to Cuba and Poland.

She credits her colleagues at Global Affairs Canada—many of whom are NPSIA alumni—for their dedication to this work. She says working abroad has provided them with a greater appreciation for their country.

“It’s really humbling when you see Canada through other people’s eyes because you realize how highly regarded we are,” she says. “You also realize how fortunate we are. That’s why we need to give back.”



Bettering Society

Ginette Thomas

PhD, Social Work ('17)

As the School of Social Work's first PhD candidate, Ginette Thomas embodies the Faculty of Public Affairs' mission to build better societies, better democracy and address regional and global challenges.

Ginette Thomas had spent more than 20 years working in health policy for the federal government and Indigenous health organizations when she decided she needed to return to university.

Her motivation was simple: there was a looming question that she could not answer.

"I was puzzled as to why health inequalities in Indigenous communities continued to persist, in spite of the many health policies that the federal government has implemented to address them," explained Thomas. "There were all of these programs and funding that I worked on, but after all those years, the gap was still there."

Thomas continued to observe this phenomenon throughout her work at the National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health at the University of Northern British Columbia and at the Institute for Aboriginal Peoples' Health at the Canadian Institutes for Health Research.

In 2012, Thomas began searching for a PhD program that would allow her to dig deeper into national Indigenous health policy.

"I'm not a social worker, but I have always worked on the social side of health policy,

so I applied for Carleton's new social work PhD," said Thomas, who became the first PhD graduate in the School of Social Work in November. Her specialization is in Political Economy. "I loved the fact that it was a brand new program without a set plan, and that I could have a role to help shape it."

For her thesis, Thomas focused on the uneven success of tuberculosis treatment as a case study. Whereas the overall national rate of TB in Canada is close to zero, in First Nations and especially Inuit communities, the prevalence of the disease remains 10 to 15 times higher than in non-Indigenous communities.

"The federal government is responsible for the health care of Indigenous people, but I didn't want to look at it from a health perspective. I looked at it from a social policy perspective: the social, governmental and political effects on their health," she explained.

Thomas spent the past five years conducting archival research at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa. She noted that the closing of the departmental library at Health Canada under the Harper government created challenges to access documentation, so she needed to turn to secondary sources in those cases.

"What I found at the root of it all was that the federal government has the power to restrict the number of people receiving federal health services. They decide who is an 'Indian' under the Indian Act and who is entitled to receive which services," explained Thomas, who worked with supervisor Professor Alan Moscovitch. "So Indigenous peoples end up having access to different levels of service depending on where they live."

Her work was a good fit for the School of

Social Work's "structural approach". The school rejects the status quo in society and is rooted in social justice and social change. It also leans heavily on Carleton's "capital advantage", which offers access to policy makers and a huge network of community-based groups, centres and resources.

Building a New Program

While Thomas conducted research for her thesis, she also developed strong connections within Carleton's School of Social Work.

"Ginette not only showed scholarly leadership with her dissertation and teaching in the school, but modelled a supportive way of working with her peers," said School of Social Work Professor Sarah Todd. "She set the tone for the doctoral program."

Among Thomas' assignments during a first-year pedagogy course was the

development of a curriculum. She created one on Indigenous health, and was then asked to teach it as an elective.

"I absolutely loved it. I used articles from aboriginal scholars and community foundations to include the Indigenous voice," she said. "I was really impressed by the calibre of students. They're very dedicated to working in a social environment. It was a pleasure to teach them."

Next Steps

Thomas is now interviewing for positions at schools of social work across North America with the hope to continue teaching. She also plans to write articles about her findings.

Thomas says she's "humbled and excited" to be the first social work PhD at Carleton, adding "I'm happy to be the first, but glad I won't be the only one."



Generation **FPA**

Stories of Inspiring Young Alumni



We're launching a new project featuring alumni who are finding early success in their careers with the help of their Carleton degree! Our first two *Generation FPA* graduates share their workplace experience in politics and the criminal justice system.

#GenerationFPA

carleton.ca/fpa/generation-fpa

FPA Research Month

Bringing Research to Life

Celebrating Academic Excellence
February 24 - March 24, 2018

#FPAResearchMonth



Join us as we explore new frontiers and innovative solutions during FPA Research Month, an event series that includes public lectures, research symposia, panel discussions, and the best of graduate and undergraduate student research.

FPA Research Excellence Award Symposium

Is International Legal Institutionalism on the Decline?
Presented by Kamari Clarke

Monday, February 26
1 to 5 p.m.

Bell Lecture

Change, Trends and Canada
Presented by the Honourable
Jean Charest

Tuesday, February 27
7 p.m.

Visions for Equality Conference

Imagining a world that challenges
inequality and celebrates diversity

Thursday, March 8
8 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

FPA Connects

Undergraduate Showcase
and 180 HRE

Wednesday, March 21
4 p.m.

carleton.ca/fpa/research-month

Events

FPA: *Author Meets Readers* with Philip Kaisary, Assistant Professor, Law and Legal Studies.

January 25 | [More information here](#)

FPA: Dean's Honour List Reception

January 29 | [More information here](#)

EURUS: "The Political Economy of Independent Ukraine: Slow Starts, False Starts and a Last Chance?" with Dr. Oleh Havrylyshyn, EURUS Visiting Scholar, Carleton University.

January 31 | [More information here](#)

African Studies: Black History Month event. "From Old to New African Diasporas: The multiple difficulties of untangling displacements and identities" with Pablo Idahosa of York University. Reception to follow.

February 9 | [More information here](#)

EURUS: "Clean Energy and Climate Policy in Canada and the EU: An Exchange of Experiences, Views, and Visions for the Future." Centre for European Studies Jean Monnet Network on EU-Canada Relations policy workshop.

February 9 | [More information here](#)

Political Science: "Research in Political Science: an event celebrating published works in 2017." *Bell Chair Speaker Series* event.

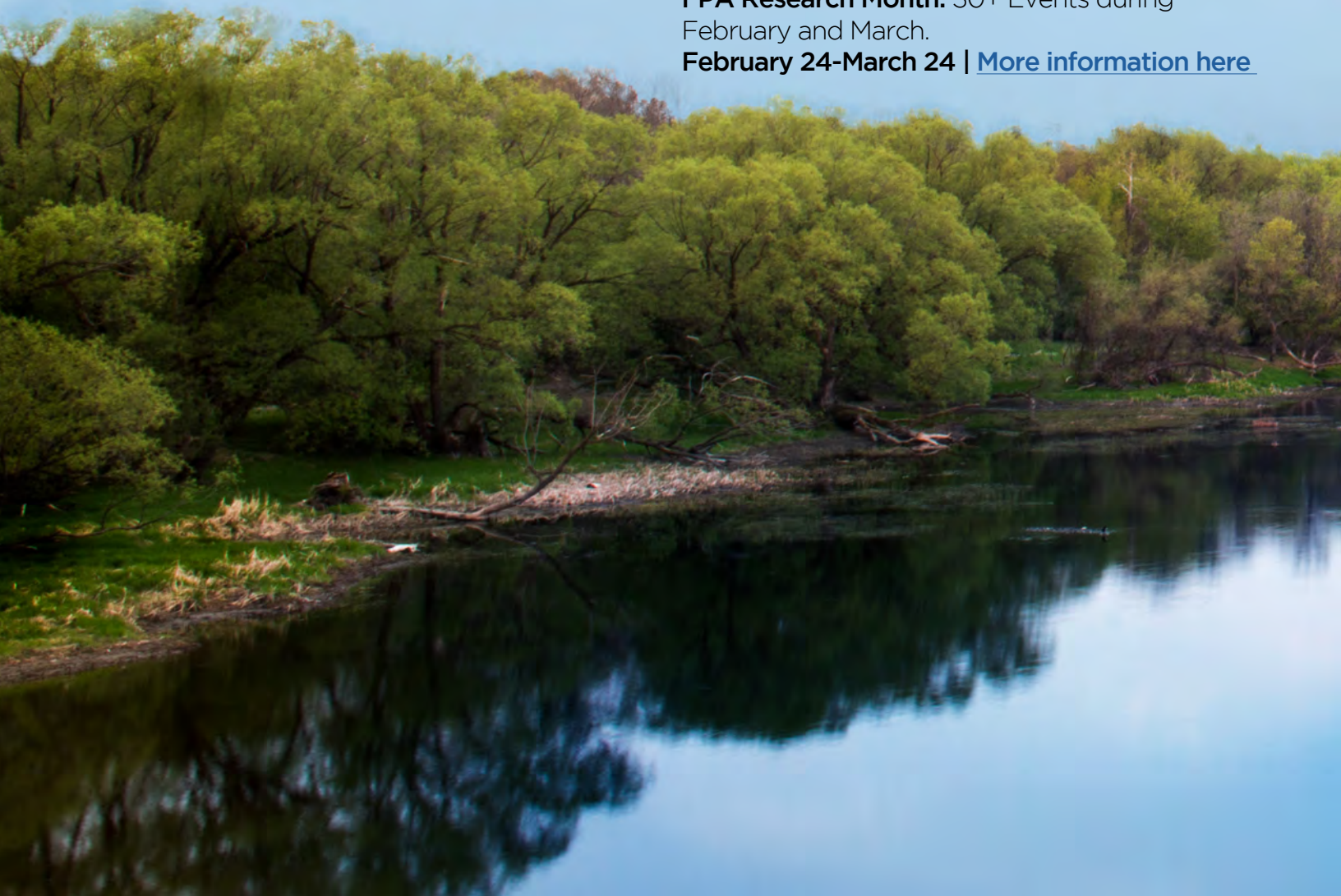
February 9 | [More information here](#)

Political Science & Political Economy: "Against All Odds: Contemporary State Formation and the Case of the Kurds" with Wayne Cox, Queen's University.

February 15 | [More information here](#)

FPA Research Month: 30+ Events during February and March.

February 24-March 24 | [More information here](#)



FPA: *Research Excellence Award Symposium* with Professor Kamari Clarke, Global and International Studies.

February 26 | [More information here](#)

FPA: *Bell Lecture* featuring former Quebec premier Jean Charest.

February 27 | [More information here](#)

Political Science: “The Five Faces of Global Inequality: A Model Proposal to Make the World A Better Place for All” with Professor Craig Murphy, Wellesley College.

February 28 | [More information here](#)

African Studies: “Solidarity and the Shifting Patterns of Hegemony in Southern Africa: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. A Conference and Festschrift Honouring Professor Linda Freeman.”

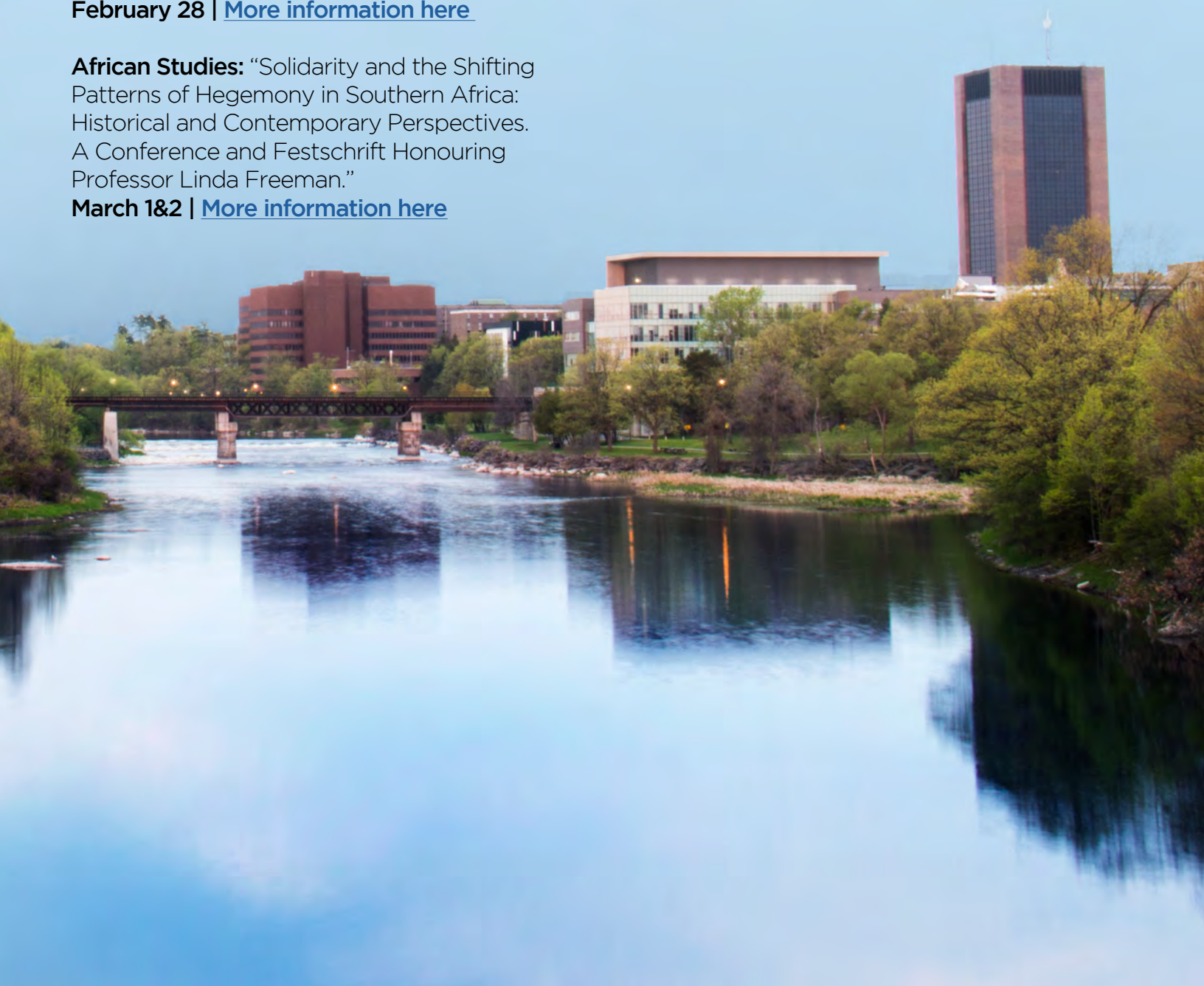
March 1&2 | [More information here](#)

EURUS: “European Union Trade Policy in the 21st Century.” Centre for European Studies Jean Monnet Network on EU-Canada Relations policy workshop.

March 9 | [More information here](#)

Journalism: *Kesterton Lecture* featuring Carol Off, host of CBC Radio’s *As It Happens*.

March 22 | [More information here](#)



FPA Voices

carleton.ca/fpa/voices



Carleton
UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF
Public Affairs