# Norm Appropriation and the Performative Politics of Indigenous Consent in Canada

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#### What is FPIC?

- Ambiguity over meaning:
  - A duty to consult in order to seek, but not necessarily obtain consent?
  - A veto right?
- Ambiguity over scope: who can express FPIC, under what circumstances?
- Implementation challenges

Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) in UNDRIP

States shall <u>consult</u> and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions <u>in order to obtain</u> their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of minerals, water or other resources. (section 32) By Jason Tockman in Opinion, Energy, Politics I June 26th 2017



LOCAL

by LASIA KRETZEL AND KURTIS DOERING

Posted Apr 16, 2018 5:47 pm PDT Last Updated Apr 17, 2018 at 6:59 am PDT







# Supreme Court makes it clear. Indigenous peoples can't veto pipelines: Walkom

The government has to consult First Nations over resource projects. But in the end it can still override them.



Kinder Morgan asked about Indigenous consent in Vancouver court

By Dylan Waisman in News, Energy, Politics I October 10th 2017



#### FPIC context in Canada

- Historical legacy
  - Indigenous consent as foundation for legitimacy of Crown sovereignty treaties
- Duty to consult, accommodate and in some circumstances obtain consent
  - Objective is to "reconcile" Crown sovereignty with Indigenous pre-existing rights/presence
  - Crown still defines process and ultimately decides
  - Nature/scope of duty is circumstantial
  - Creates a lot of uncertainties in practice

#### Norm Appropriation

- In light of ambiguity actors seek to "make sense" of the norm
  - Unequal some actors have more resources / authority than others
  - Multiple sites international, national, local, courts, parliaments, etc.
  - Historically and institutionally contingent
- Many mechanisms / strategies
  - Policy engagement, negotiation, legal challenges, etc.
  - Protest, refusal, etc.
  - Performative / prefigurative politics

#### Appropriation: industry

- Faced with uncertainty, industry actors are also appropriating indigenous consent through negotiated agreements (IBAs)
- Private agreements with communities
- Implicitly or explicitly recognise Indigenous authority
- Consent (or non-interference) in exchange for compensations / benefits / etc.
- Consent as a bargain
- Some advantages for Indigenous communities
- A costs-benefits analysis
- Negotiation more than deliberation

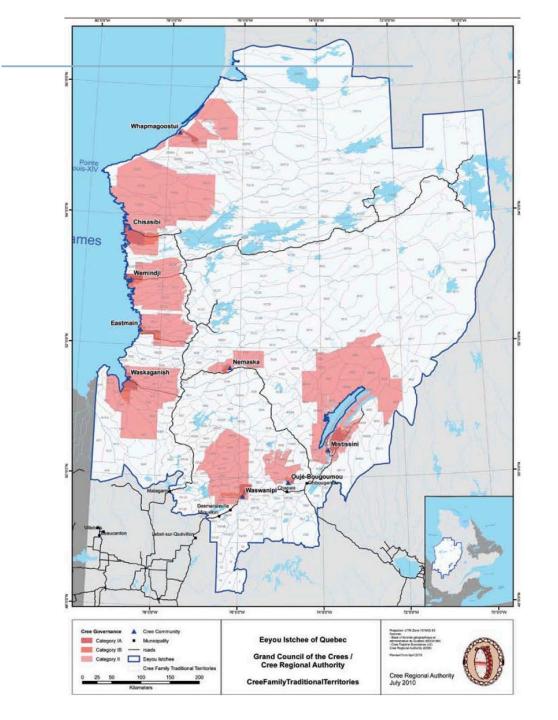
### Performing FPIC

- Create own mechanism for expressing consent / lack thereof
  - Process itself can vary
- Why it matters?
  - More than symbolic
  - Prefigurative actions can fill an institutional void
  - Produce meaning ex. FPIC as capacity to decide (self-determination)
  - Force other actors to take position engage or ignore and risk conflict



## Appropriation: Cree (Eeyou Istchee)

- JBNQA: no title but participatory rights through co-management IA boards
- Faced with expansion of mining on their traditional territory limits of JBNQA
- Cree Mining Policy: Cree are "not in principle opposed to mining development on their traditional territory ... but ... no mining development will occur within Eeyou Istchee unless there are agreements with our communities."
- Different strategy of appropriation: set process / conditions for negotiating IBAs
- Not a binding policy key is to force other actors to react
- Exemples :
  - Wemindji: Mines Éléonore et projet Azimut (Or)
  - Mistissini: Projet Matoush (Uranium) et Mines Renard (Diamant)



#### Conclusions

- Performative strategies differ, but same goal: establish substantive and procedural approach to FPIC through practice – common meaning: about authority to decide
- At same time, relational: goal is to communicate consent (or not) to others and have them recognize legitimacy of that decision
- Timing and context are key political and legal uncertainties create a critical juncture -IP can fill the institutional void

#### Limits

- 2 examples of "success" ... many failures why?
- Not accessible to all (resources, expertise)
- Diversity of approaches
- More effective when combined with other appropriation strategies?
- Does not remove concerns over epistemic / idiomatic subjugation