Carleton University

**‘Sure There’s Nothing in There Only Water’?:
Environmental Ethics in the Gisborne Lake Debate**

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the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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Institute of Political Economy
Faculty of Public Affairs and Management

by
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ABSTRACT

Drawing on political economy methodology and environmental ethics theory, this thesis studies the debate surrounding the development of a bulk and bottled water exportation project from Gisborne Lake, Newfoundland. The aim is to ascertain what particular environmental ethic approaches, or environmental ideologies, were present in this debate, their consequences and alternatives. Answers are sought through document analysis, interviews and by placing the issue within the context of Newfoundland and Labrador's historical "resource development," current water debates and trade issues. The research demonstrates that an anthropocentric, instrumentalist environmental ethic approach was pervasive throughout major actors and institutions, a perspective which is reflected in a continuation of politics and economics advocating for potentially self-destructive resource exploitation in the province. Non-anthropocentric, non-instrumentalist visions of Gisborne Lake are offered as an alternative to this path, the roots of which are found in the cultural links between people in Newfoundland and Labrador and the environment.

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CHAPTER I: GISBORNE LAKE DEBATE ORIGINS

It's a sure guarantee that some hour we'll be free,
Thank God we're surrounded by water....¹

Lobster pots and plastic fish crates line the thirty kilometre an hour road leading into Grand Le Pierre, Newfoundland, a community of three hundred people still reeling from the North Atlantic cod stock collapse. Kids and dogs lie on the main road below rocks painted with local names and it is here that a hand has drawn an arrow which points toward the community with the scrawl "This way to heaven."

In the summer of 2001 I followed this way, intrigued by the new hope for these people: ten kilometres inland from Newfoundland's south coast and just north of Grand Le Pierre lies Gisborne Lake, supposedly a pristine body of water now seriously contemplated as a site for a bulk freshwater exportation and bottling operation. This issue has shown itself, however, as far more than a simple debate on one proposed project. Instead, the Gisborne Lake proposal could offer insight on (and is intersected by concerns regarding), the economic and cultural history of Newfoundland and Labrador, national water export and diversion developments and policy, increasing resource scarcity and privatization as well as trade and environmental tendencies on every level of analysis, from micro to macro considerations. However, before I can come to my comparatively humble research aims and the specific focus for this thesis, to orient the reader I begin with a survey of several national and provincial political events and

¹ From "Thank God We're Surrounded by Water," a Newfoundland and Labrador folksong written by Tom Cahill and based on an Irish song, "The Sea Around Us," by Domenick Behan.

changes leading up to the Gisborne Lake project as documented primarily by media and government records.

The story of Gisborne Lake could be said to begin in 8000 B.C. when a glacier's slow southeasterly or southerly slide scarred pink granite ten kilometres inland from what would become known as the southern coast Newfoundland. Over the centuries, this gouge filled with what is speculated to be some of the purest of the world's water.² The idea to "develop" this seemingly pristine body of water, however, did not arise until national and provincial debates in the 1960s.

The 1960s are remembered as the Canadian period of mega water diversion and development projects. Indicative of the times was the completion of the Colombia River Treaty which resulting in the river's flow being controlled to allow hydroelectricity plants to capture maximum power and to manage flooding.³ This was also the time of other outrageous water diversion and exportation schemes such as the proposed Great Recycling and Northern Development (GRAND) Canal⁴ and the North American Water and Power Alliance (NAWAPA)⁵ projects.

² LGL (LGL), "Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report: Gisborne Lake Water Bottling and Export Project," (St. John's: 1998), 27.

³ Richard C. Bocking, *Canada's Water: For Sale?* (Toronto: James Lewis & Samuel, 1972), 90-2.

⁴ Frank Quinn and J. C. Day, *Water Diversion and Export: Learning from Canadian Experience*, Department of Geography Publication Series Number 36 (Waterloo: Canadian Association of Geographers Public Issues Committee, Number 1, 1992), 18, 38.

⁵ Bocking, *Canada's Water: For Sale?*, 28 and Quinn and Day, *Water Diversion and Export: Learning from Canadian Experience*, 38, 41.

In 1970 Prime Minister Trudeau shrugged a “why not?” at the idea of water exportation⁶ while the New Democratic Party (NDP), even at this early period, alerted the public to potential for environmental destruction and the loss of control of Canadian water.⁷ During this period Newfoundland and Labrador (under the direction of Premier Joseph R. Smallwood), commenced large scale industrial development as well, the Churchill (Grand) Falls hydro-electrical project in Labrador being the height of this industrialization period.⁸

Richard Bocking, an important Canadian commentator on water issues (whose work is discussed in more detail in Chapter IV) notes how “water nationalism” then arose in Canada in the early 1970s.⁹ The debate on water export and diversion appeared to be resolved by a public anxious to keep water as and where it was.¹⁰ It was during this period in 1971 that Jerry White flew over Gisborne Lake and witnessed a body of water so clear he swore the pebbles could be counted from his aerial view. Moments of awe in the face of environmental wonder affect individuals differently and for White, president of the McCurdy Group of Companies, his admiration would later inspire a business plan

⁶ Bocking, *Canada's Water: For Sale?*, 33.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

⁸ Valerie Summers, *Regime Change in a Resource Economy: The Politics of Underdevelopment in Newfoundland (1825-1993)* (St. John's: Breakwater, 1993), 174-75. See also Doug Letto, *Chocolate Bars and Rubber Boots: The Smallwood Industrialization Plan* (Paradise: Blue Hill Publishing, 1998), 104-05.

⁹ Bocking, *Canada's Water: For Sale?*, 49.

¹⁰ Richard C. Bocking, “Canadian Water: A Commodity for Export?,” in *Canadian Aquatic Resources*, ed. M. C. Healey and R. R. Wallace (Ottawa: Department of Fisheries and Oceans, 1987), 105.

to export between 15.64 and 26 billion litres (or 15.64 to 26 million cubic metres) of water a year from Gisborne Lake.¹¹

In the early 1980s the fears of American water shortages forcing exports in Canada were revived in popular media as the mega projects of the 1960s were dusted off.¹² The federal government commenced a commission on federal water policy led by Peter Pearse.¹³ Based on this commission, the federal government produced its first coherent water policy, the 1987 *Federal Water Policy*, which banned large scale diversion and export.¹⁴ (This was a policy only and had “no legislative authority.”¹⁵) Ironically, the release of this policy was followed quickly by the debate on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in Canada¹⁶ (the NAFTA’s implications and the NAFTA debate are discussed further in Chapter IV). Public opinion appeared to be against the

¹¹ John Geddes, “Hot water: Ottawa and the provinces grapple with the question of selling a precious resource,” *Maclean’s* 112,20 (1999): 26; LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” see page x and calculations based on page 9; and Michelle MacAfee, “Newfoundland ships bulk water export issue to Ottawa,” *Canadian Press Newswire*, October 1 1999, n.p.

¹² Bocking, “Canadian Water: A Commodity for Export?,” 106-07 and Quinn and Day, *Water Diversion and Export: Learning from Canadian Experience*, 41.

¹³ House of Commons (Hansard), *Private Members’ Business* (157) - *Canada Water Export Prohibition Act* (cited June 13 2002), available from www.parl.gc.ca/english/hansard/previous/157_97-04-16/157PB1E.html.

¹⁴ Christine Labelle and Frédéric Forge, “Water: Tomorrow’s Strategic Issue,” (Ottawa: Parliamentary Research Branch: Science and Technology Division, 2001), n.p. For more detail see David Johansen, “Bulk Water Removals, Waters Exports and the NAFTA,” (Ottawa: Parliamentary Research Branch: Law and Government Division, 2001), n.p. as well as Quinn and Day, *Water Diversion and Export: Learning from Canadian Experience*, 47.

¹⁵ House of Commons (Hansard), *Private Members’ Business* (267) - *Canada Fresh Water Export Prohibition Act* (cited June 13 2002), available from www.parl.gc.ca/english/hansard/previous/267_95-11-29/267PB1E.html.

¹⁶ Quinn and Day, *Water Diversion and Export: Learning from Canadian Experience*, 48-49.

inclusion of water in the Free Trade Agreement but trade proponents argued it was not part of the agreement. To clear this confusion Bill C-156 was introduced by federal Minister of Environment Tom McMillan in August of 1988 to explicitly ban water's inclusion in free trade. This legislation would have given teeth to the former policy-only statement of 1987. Unfortunately, due to the election call in the fall of 1988, the motion did not move beyond the order papers.¹⁷

In the early 1990s, with the federal opinion on water still uncertain, the Government of British Columbia issued bulk water export licenses to six companies, notably to the joint venture of Sun Belt and Snowcap corporations. However due to NAFTA fears and a desire to review the entire water export issue,¹⁸ B.C. soon after called a moratorium on water exports and litigation from these two companies ensued. (For instance, Sun Belt Water Inc. sued the province US\$220-million under the NAFTA for loss of anticipated profits from the export to California.¹⁹ Litigation continued at the time

¹⁷ House of Commons (Hansard), *Private Members' Business* (148) - *Fresh Water* (cited June 13 2002), available from www.parl.gc.ca/english/hansard/previous/148_95-02-08/148PB1E.html; House of Commons (Hansard), *Private Members' Business* (267) (cited); Johansen, "Bulk Water Removals," n.p.; Quinn and Day, *Water Diversion and Export: Learning from Canadian Experience*, 51; and "Using and abusing," *Canada and the World Backgrounder* 66,6 (2001): 6-21.

¹⁸ Opposition was mounted by social groups in British Columbia, including, notably, the Roman Catholic Bishops of British Columbia who opposed the exportation based on the reasoning that "water is a property that is a trust from God" which thus could not be commodified for profit gain. "Using and abusing," 6-21.

¹⁹ Brian Cross, *A water resource timeline* (Western Producer, cited May 17 2002), available from www.producer.com/articles/20010906/special_report/20010906h2ofuture_timeline.html; Geddes, "Hot water," 26; Ann Gibbon, "Water lawsuit claim tops deficit," *Globe and Mail*, June 18 1997, B4; Quinn and Day, *Water Diversion and Export: Learning from Canadian Experience*, 36, 43; and Darrel Stinson, *Report From Darrel Stinson* (cited May 18 2002), available from www.canadianalliance.ca/stinson/2001-05-23.html.

of this research.) The debate within the federal government on water's exclusion or inclusion in the NAFTA continued. Finally, a joint U.S.-Canadian-Mexican statement was issued in December of 1993 declaring that natural resources are excluded from the NAFTA until the natural resource is commodified. This statement aimed to quell the debate but in the end it simply restated the NAFTA.²⁰

In January of 1994 the federal NDP party introduced Bill C-202 (which becomes Bill C-232) to prohibit water transfers to put an end to the ambiguity on water and rights to exportation.²¹ There was still no federal law addressing water export, even after the inquiries and tabling of legislation in the late 1980s. Piecemeal laws relating to other subjects, such as fisheries or general dealings with the U.S. could be called upon, but none specifically dealt with water. Bill C-202 hoped to return to where the debate on Bill C-156 had ended. It was during this period, in June of 1995, that White and his McCurdy Group of Companies filed the proposal at the provincial Department of Environment and Labour to export water from Gisborne Lake.²² As this was the first proposal of its kind and as there was no policy in place to address it, the provincial government rushed to

²⁰ See House of Commons (Hansard), *Government Orders: Supply: Allotted Day - Freshwater Resources - Edited Hansard 1050 Number 177 (Official Version)* (cited June 14 2002), available from www.parl.gc.ca/36/1/parlbus/chambus/house/debates/177_1999-02-09/HAN177-E.htm#LINKT11 and House of Commons (Hansard), *Private Members' Business* (267) (cited).

²¹ House of Commons (Hansard), *Private Members' Business* (267) (cited); House of Commons (Hansard), *Routine Proceedings* (007) - *Canada Water Export Prohibition Act* (cited June 13 2002), available from www.parl.gc.ca/english/hansard/previous/007_94-01-25/007RP1E.html; and House of Commons (Hansard), *Routine Proceedings* (010) - *Canada Water Export Prohibition Act* (cited June 13 2002), available from www.parl.gc.ca/english/hansard/previous/101_96-03-11/010RP1E.html.

²² MacAfee, "Newfoundland ships bulk water export issue to Ottawa," n.p.

develop a water policy which was introduced on September 6, 1996.²³ The policy stated that licenses for bulk water export would be reviewed by the government, but that the province had more interest in local water bottling projects in order to reap the benefits of local resource development. In the late 1990s an environment assessment committee was formed on the Gisborne Lake project in Newfoundland and Labrador²⁴ as the federal debates on Bill C-232 dragged on.

Late April 1998 then saw the Government of Ontario giving water export licences to Sault St. Marie's Nova Group to export 600 million litres of water to Asia from Lake Superior.²⁵ However due to complicated International Joint Commission involvement and opposition by environmental groups and U.S. officials,²⁶ a ban was placed on water movement by the Ontario Environmental Ministry which urged Ottawa to follow the

²³ *Government Announces Water Export Policy* (Department of Environment and Labour, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/releases/1996/envlab/0906n04.htm. See also the "backgrounder" in *Government Announces Water Export Policy* (cited).

²⁴ For a list of represented departments and agencies see Department of Environment, (cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/releases/1997/envlab/0410n03.htm.

²⁵ Guy Marsden, "Troubled water: Canadian and foreign corporations want to privatize and export Canadian water," *Briarpatch* 28,6 (1999): 16-18 and Martin Mittelstaedt, "Permit to export Lakes water draws U.S. fire," *Globe and Mail*, May 1 1998, A6.

²⁶ Tom Blackwell, "Ontario bans shipping of lake water," *Canadian Press Newswire*, May 14 1998, n.p. and House of Commons (Hansard), *Fresh Water Export - Edited Hansard 1445 Number 100 (Official Version)* (cited June 14 2002), available from www.parl.gc.ca/36/1/parlbus/chambus/house/debates/100_1998-05-06/HAN100-E.htm#LINKT10.

example nationally.²⁷ Next, the Nova Group gave up (and then appealed the loss of) its license.²⁸

At this point in the spring of 1998 provincial-federal consultations were held on water export²⁹ and the Newfoundland and Labrador House of Assembly debates on Gisborne Lake intensified.³⁰ Then on February 9, 1999 the House of Commons reached the unanimous decision to adhere to the NDP's Bill C-232 which stated:

That, in the opinion of this House, the government should, in co-operation with the provinces, place an immediate moratorium on the export of bulk freshwater shipments and interbasin transfers and should introduce legislation to prohibit bulk freshwater exports and interbasin transfers in order to assert Canada's sovereign right to protect, preserve and conserve our freshwater resources for future generations.³¹

²⁷ Harris' Ontario government is said to have dropped the water export attempts due to "an outpouring of opposition from unions and environmental activists" around a critical re-election time. Shafer Parker, "It's ours to waste: Canada's water export prohibition exhibits a dog-in-the-manger character," *Report Newsmagazine*, November 8 1999, 18. See also Geddes, "Hot water," 26 and "Using and abusing," 6-21.

²⁸ It was also during this year that a federal symposium was held on water, however the results of this meeting were not released until August 2001, and only then after the use of the Access to Information Act. It was revealed that the symposium concluded NAFTA would indeed result in a federal loss of control of Canadian water after the commencement of bulk export. Blackwell, "Ontario bans shipping of lake water," n.p.; Dennis Bueckert, "Canada could be forced to export water," *St. John's Telegram*, August 22 2001, A1; and "Firm agrees to give up permit to export water; Ottawa still planning action," *Globe and Mail*, May 6 1998, A6.

²⁹ House of Commons (Hansard), *Continuation of Government Orders: Supply: Allotted Day - Freshwater Resources - Edited Hansard 1510 Number 177 (Official Version)* (cited June 14 2002), available from www.parl.gc.ca/36/1/parlbus/chambus/house/debates/177_1999-02-09/HAN177-E.htm#LINKT63 and Heather Scoffield, "Delay of export law called a threat to water resources," *Globe and Mail*, November 2 1998, B4.

³⁰ *House of Assembly - Vol. XLIII, No. 3* (cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/hoa/business/98-03-24.htm and *House of Assembly - Vol. XLIII, No. 20* (cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/hoa/business/98-05-06.htm.

³¹ This debate commences at the following citation: House of Commons (Hansard), *Government Orders: Supply: Allotted Day - Freshwater Resources - Edited Hansard 1015 Number 177 (Official Version)* (cited June 14 2002), available from www.parl.gc.ca

The Liberal government's response to the unanimous agreement with NDP's bill was to propose a nation-wide *voluntary* moratorium. (As water is under provincial jurisdiction it was reasoned that the agreement had to be voluntary.³²) Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy and Environment Minister Christine Stewart strongly requested this cooperation to allow time for national water policy development.³³ Yet less than eight months after this decision in October 1999, White's second draft of the environmental assessment had been submitted and it was "officially discharged" from the desk of Newfoundland and Labrador Environment Minister Oliver Langdon with the warning that trade concerns and approval under the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act would still be required.³⁴

Several weeks later in November 1999, Newfoundland and Labrador Premier Brian Tobin also conceded to commence legislation to ban bulk water export under pressure

/36/1/parlbus/chambus/house/debates/177_1999-02-09/HAN177-E.htm#LINK27.

³² "Using and abusing," 16-21.

³³ Johansen, "Bulk Water Removals," n.p.; MacAfee, "Newfoundland ships bulk water export issue to Ottawa," n.p.; Frank Quinn, *Federal Strategy Announced to Prohibit the Bulk Removal of Water - Including Water for Export - From Canadian Watersheds* (cited May 18 2002), available from www.cwra.org/news/arts/watexportq.html; Heather Scoffield, "Pact would stop water exports: In meantime, Ottawa invites provinces to join it in a temporary moratorium," *Globe and Mail*, December 9 1999, A14; and Andrew Wahl, "Not a drop to sell: critics worry that exporting water will leave Canada dry," *Canadian Business* 71,11 (1998): 28.

³⁴ *Environmental Assessment Bulletin* (Department of Environment and Labour, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/releases/1999/envlab/0826n08.htm; *Gisborne Lake Environmental Impact Statement accepted by minister* (Department of Environment and Labour, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/releases/1999/envlab/0909n03.htm; and MacAfee, "Newfoundland ships bulk water export issue to Ottawa," n.p.

from Federal Environmental Minister David Anderson.³⁵ Gisborne Lake was thereby effectively called off by Tobin who, in his next breath, asserted that the federal government must assume responsibility for compensating capital lost by the McCurdy Group because the ban was a federal government initiative.³⁶ Provincial Environment Minister Langdon then introduced Bill 31 "The Act to Provide for the Conservation, Protection, Wise Use and Management of the Water Resources of the Province," to permanently ban bulk water exports in mid-November 1999, which was passed unanimously a month later.³⁷ A committee was formed to review other water issues, such

³⁵ "Newfoundland to ban water exports," *Canadian Press Newswire*, October 20 1999, n.p. and Parker, "It's ours to waste," 18.

³⁶ Rob Antle, "Water under the bridge?: The province's open-ended decision not to lift the ban on bulk water is only the latest chapter in a long and tumultuous saga," *St. John's Telegram*, November 2 2001, B1; Tracy Barron, "Ban may leave firm high, dry: Tobin," *St. John's Telegram*, September 23 1999, 1; Bueckert, "Canada could be forced to export water," A1; Chris Flanagan, "Province retains water," *St. John's Telegram*, October 21 1999, 1; *National ban on bulk water exports* (Department of Environment and Labour, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/releases/1999/envlab/1001n06.htm; and Heather Scoffield, "Nfld. throws support behind national water-export ban," *Globe and Mail*, October 2 1999, n.p.

³⁷ However Grand Le Pierre's Mayor, George Fizzard, vowed to fight the legislation in order to protect his community and neighbouring Terrenceville and English Harbour East. See Chris Flanagan, "Newfoundland town fighting Ottawa's water export ban: free trade invoked," *National Post*, February 12 1999, C5. For more on this legislation and debate see Tracy Barron, "Barrett, Osborne wade into water debate," *St. John's Telegram*, November 18 1999, 4; Tracy Barron, "Law now holds water: Bulk shipment prohibited from province's water basins," *St. John's Telegram*, November 19 1999, 4; *House of Assembly - Vol. XLIV, No. 12* (cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/hoa/business/01-04-04.htm; *House of Assembly - Vol. XLIV, No. 34* (cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/hoa/business/99-11-18.htm; *House of Assembly - Vol. XLIV, No. 36* (cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/hoa/business/99-11-22.htm; *House of Assembly - Vol. XLIV, No. 42* (cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/hoa/business/99-11-30.htm; *House of Assembly - Vol. XLIV, No. 44* (cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/hoa/business/99-12-02.htm; *Legislation prohibiting bulk water removal introduced* (Department of Environment and Labour, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, cited June 9

as royalties on the bottled water industry. At this point in time the House of Assembly had its turn debating water's place in the NAFTA.

In March 2001, with the election of Roger Grimes as Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Gisborne Lake project was unearthed and a committee was formed to review the bulk export issue yet again. Grimes reopened talks on Gisborne Lake,³⁸ explicitly rejected Tobin's input, threatened to take the issue to court if the province was not allowed the authority to export³⁹ and suggested that royalties from Gisborne Lake would serve to eliminate tuition in post-secondary institutions. (The local Canadian Federation of Students and MUN Student's Union representatives, in response, criticized Grimes for bribing students and forcing a choice between education and the environment.⁴⁰)

A sway was also noted at this time in the federal government: Prime Minister Chrétien called an all-party debate on the issue, indicating perhaps a change in Chrétien's

2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/releases/1999/envlab/1118n06.htm; and *New Legislation Banning Bulk Water Removal from the province* (Department of Environment and Labour, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/releases/1999/envlab/ms-1118.htm.

³⁸ Dennis Bueckert, "Newfoundland cancels consultations on water export, federal official says," *Canadian Press Newswire*, September 21 2001, n.p. and "Using and abusing," 16-21.

³⁹ Michael MacDonald, "Brian Tobin has no sway in debate over water exports: Nfld premier," *Canadian Press Newswire*, March 29 2001, n.p. and Michael MacDonald, "Newfoundland is prepared to defy Ottawa and every other province as it pushes ahead with plans to revive the prickly debate over bulk water exports," *Canadian Press Newswire*, March 28 2001, n.p.

⁴⁰ MacDonald, "Newfoundland is prepared to defy Ottawa," n.p. and "Students denounce Newfoundland premier for linking tuition to bulk water exports," *Canadian Press Newswire*, March 28 2001, n.p.

former strict opposition to water export due to NAFTA repercussions.⁴¹ (The debate never got off the ground, however, as disagreement was rampant from the beginning. Even the choice of the committee leader was a point of great contention.)⁴² Then in late May the Environment Canada website released a call for tender on a survey of the overall value of water across the country in order to provide more information for the export debate.⁴³ Clearly the issue had not been resolved with the unanimous House of Commons' decision in February 1999. Shortly after, U.S. President Bush expressed a clear interest in speaking with Chrétien regarding the trade of water.⁴⁴

Then in a startling change of direction, on October 18, 2001 the committee reviewing water export in Newfoundland and Labrador released its report which pointed out that Gisborne Lake was not viable economically *at this time*. Legally and environmentally, the plan had won approval, but due to high transportation and labour costs, an apparent lack of markets, heavy capital investment requirements and competition from other water development technology like desalination, the profits and royalties were deemed less than anticipated (for example the royalty speculation was dropped to \$4.5 million, much of which could be "clawed back" in equalization payments to the federal government, instead of the projected \$70 to \$100 million a year). For these

⁴¹ John Manley et al., "House of Commons debates on the environment, water: April 5 [Hansard transcript]," *Hill Times*, May 7 2001, 26.

⁴² "The Grits belly-flop on bulk water exports," *Report Newsmagazine*, April 30 2001, 30 and Manley et al., "House of Commons debates on the environment, water: April 5 [Hansard transcript]," 26.

⁴³ Eric Reguly, "Water export policy already all washed up," *Globe and Mail*, June 2 2001.

⁴⁴ Barrie McKenna, "Bush eager for talks on Canadian water," *Globe and Mail*, July 18 2001.

reasons, the provincial ban on water exports was upheld and public consultations on Gisborne Lake were cancelled.

However, this continuation of the policy will change, Grimes assures proponents, if at least some of these concerns can be eased.⁴⁵ After all this discussion and debate on national and provincial levels, the Gisborne Lake project is still floating about tentatively, temporarily suspended, yet still at the forefront of some political minds. The Gisborne Lake project appears to be stalled for the current time, awaiting a more propitious moment.

This brief summary has given some indication of the span of the Gisborne Lake debate. Beyond the complex debates related to Canada's attempts to deal with similar efforts of water exportation through policy development and the scope and implications of international trade agreements, the case also reaches into topics concerning Newfoundland and Labrador's historical role as a desperate natural resource exporter, the global trend to trade and privatize water in a time of suspected scarcity, and finally many difficult environmental, ethical and cultural questions. The Gisborne Lake case has

⁴⁵ Antle, "Water under the bridge?," B1; Tracy Barron, "Taps dry, for now: Province says it has legal right to export bulk water," *St. John's Telegram*, October 19 2001, A1; Bueckert, "Newfoundland cancels consultations on water export, federal official says," n.p.; Dennis Bueckert, "Province cancels consultations on water exports, federal official says," *St. John's Telegram*, September 22 2001, A4; Michael MacDonald, "Bulk water export plan dumped," *The Windsor Star*, October 19 2001, n.p.; Michael MacDonald, "Bulk water exports from Newfoundland not viable, government concludes," *Canadian Press Newswire*, October 18 2001, n.p.; and *Minister releases bulk water report: Government to maintain ban on bulk water exports for now* (Department of Justice, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, cited June 11 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/releases/2001/just/1018n05.htm.

proven to be intersected by debates on economics, politics, culture, ethics and the environment on local, national and international levels. I address a mere corner of this issue.

But first, why is this research of importance, and why should it be done at this moment in time? First, this work could be of value because there is currently little academic discussion of the Gisborne Lake issue and its ramifications, yet as noted above it is a highly contentious issue on the fronts of politics, economics, environmentalism and culture that could potentially capture the common competition of interests over the environment in Newfoundland and Labrador. There is a substantial lacuna in the research, yet the potential implications of the decision to export water could be extensive. (Many commentators foretell, for instance, that the project could be an irrevocable national turning point setting off a chain of events as other provinces follow, or are compelled to follow due to trade agreements, this example.) Second, it is timely to address this issue now because, most importantly, *it has not yet happened*. Exportation of water from Gisborne Lake has almost become a reality but it has been temporarily stalled. Therefore, in the interim, this research could participate in the current debate rather than reflecting on a *fait accompli*. Finally, this work provides a way to see the theoretical link between environmental ethic concepts and political/economic debates come alive in practice. This research will thus be a first cut at a greater project to be pursued in my further studies, a larger scaled survey of current political ecology in new (and alternative) resource development projects in Newfoundland and Labrador.

CHAPTER II: RESEARCH INTRODUCTION

This introduction will serve as a map for the research. After a review of the broad methodological and theoretical grounding of this work I highlight the specific research question and initial hypothesis, describe the specific research methods and present an outline of the thesis chapters and their aims. Then to set the very general background to this case, this introduction to the research concludes with a description of Gisborne Lake itself and the proposed project.

1. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The point of departure for this research is the general methodology of political economy which has been succinctly summarized by Wallace Clement and Glen Williams. As these authors explain, the political economy methodology is a holistic, interdisciplinary study that emphasizes the changing ways or relationships through which material needs are satisfied. A common starting point here is that production, distribution and consumption - the basic acts of living materially - profoundly influence people and their relationships with others. Another key element of political economy methodology is the identification of struggles and contradictions that challenge dominating or “common sense” ways of conceptualizing society. From here, the “linkages” of time (history), space/place (territory), economics, politics, culture and ideology are considered each in context with the others in a dynamic way: the outcomes of our struggles and resistances are not

viewed as fixed or determined.⁴⁶ Political economy then can also deal in power, for instance who gets what and why, what ideas and discourses justify this distribution, the historical, geographic and cultural markers of these trends as well as the resistance to these patterns. However any of these links, history, territory, economics, politics, culture or ideology can be used as a valid entrance, or a way to “cut into,” an issue relating to the relationships that are developed in response to the acts of obtaining our requirements of life.

To refer to political economy as a methodology is to draw attention to the ways in which political economy can guide study. Taking the perspective of political economy focuses attention on the importance of contexts and the need to acknowledge complex interactions that arise from our livelihoods (a word taken in its broadest definition). While it may not provide specific tools to approach a chosen subject of study, political economy does guide us in the type of questions to ask. What have been the changes in this way of doing, thinking or interacting over time? What are the differences over space? How does this relate to an understanding of territory? What are the cultural influences, or how is culture influenced? What ideas and meanings are taken as inevitable, which ones are challenging this common sense, and which ones have yet to be explored? Who or what has influence, and who is influenced, and through what means? What are the sights of struggle and what is the contest? Political economy encourages

⁴⁶ Wallace Clement, “Introduction: Whither the New Canadian Political Economy?,” in *Understanding Canada: Building on the New Canadian Political Economy*, ed. Wallace Clement (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), 3-6 and Wallace Clement and Glen Williams, eds., *The New Canadian Political Economy* (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989), 6, 10-11.

this sort of line of questioning, which is to be done in the spirit of evaluation, criticism and then, where needed, reconstruction or imagining other possibilities.

More recently, political economy methodology has been turned to questions of the environment with a concerted effort, with the recognition that relationships of material sustenance and survival occur within an environment that satisfies these requirements of life in full. It is recognized that political economy deals with the interactions between people *in* an environment and *with* an environment as they attempt to fulfill their needs in order to survive. Calls for “fresh directions” in the application of this political economy methodology have resulted in the raising of questions centred on human relationships with the environment and by attempting to extend the realm of political-economic considerability to include the environment.⁴⁷ Political economists have engaged with this debate before me, and I hope to join my work to their research.

For instance, after noting the environmental “blind spot” in Canadian political economy (exemplified in Clement and Williams’ first survey of Canadian political economy), Glen Williams attempted to address this lacuna. Williams writes of the “eco-hostile” mode of North American capitalism and environmental/social degradation in Canada caused by the “super-exploitation” of natural resources for export to the United States. Rather than addressing this reality directly, Williams notes how Canadian debate on the environment (including that within political economy) has been often limited to blaming travelling American pollution and fearing the loss of territorial or political sovereignty. Instead of focusing on a fairer redistribution of economic splendour,

⁴⁷ “Rejuvenation” calls are made in Clement and Williams, eds., *The New Canadian Political Economy*, 4.

Williams challenges political economy to question the environmental costs of the production of that which some attempt to redistribute. In Williams' words, "the dependency and class theoretical frameworks employed by the new Canadian political economy during the 1970s and 1980s focused on *distribution* at the expense of addressing the ecological consequences of *production*." He advocates a new conception of the environment in which nature is seen as more than a resource that is somehow outside our lives. Environmental concerns must become another category, like gender and race, which are central to the study of political economy. This new focus, Williams asserts, would rejuvenate the critique of capitalism.⁴⁸

Adkin similarly notes the narrowness of the Canadian political economy discourse on the environment (it conserves a status quo debate centring on continued "progress," "resourcism" and nationalism), and then builds on Williams' work by posing alternatives to this restrictive debate, namely a broader focus on democratization, a true quality of life or happiness that is often denied through capitalism, the interdependence of humans and nature, as well as the rights and inherent value of nature and things in nature.⁴⁹ Recognizing this growing debate, Clement's next survey of Canadian political economy would then include an emphasis of environmental issues.⁵⁰ Environmental political

⁴⁸ Glen Williams, "Greening the New Canadian Political Economy," *Studies in Political Economy* 37, Spring (1992): 6-10, 16-22, 26-27.

⁴⁹ Laurie E. Adkin, "Environmental Politics, Political Economy, and Social Democracy in Canada," *Studies in Political Economy* 45, Fall (1994).

⁵⁰ See Iain Wallace and Rob Shields, "Contested Terrains: Social Space and the Canadian Environment," in *Understanding Canada: Building on the New Canadian Political Economy*, ed. Wallace Clement (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

economy is increasingly showing itself and I intend to contribute to its extension, but with a specific focus on the ideological foundation of particular developments.

The Gisborne Lake study is a classic case for political economy analysis in that the case centres on humans interacting with each other and with their environment in order to fulfill their needs, for instance through employment or community survival. It is a case of “developing” the environment in particular ways to build an economy and to sustain a community of people. This present case is also influenced greatly by important historical, cultural and geographical elements along with economic and political issues at global and local levels. However most importantly for the focus I take in this work, in the Gisborne Lake case we witness a struggle of *environmental ideologies* which I refer to as environmental ethic perspectives or approaches.

Here I take ideology to refer broadly to a way of thinking about the world or our relationship to it. This way in which we think about the world, these ideologies we hold, are often determined by, and determine, certain social and economic factors, even though we do not necessarily know or reflect on the origin of these ideas. In this sense, every individual possesses and acts in great part through ideology, even if in ignorance.⁵¹ An environmental ideology, therefore, is an ideology centred on ideas about the environment that inevitably affect our relationship to it. Therefore, an implicit point of departure for this research was the realization that the politics and economics of “resource development” are rooted in an ethic or ideology of the environment. Whether it be

⁵¹ In this definition I follow André Lalande, “Idéologie,” in *Vocabulaire technique et critique de la philosophie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999), 458-59, especially meaning D.

implicit or explicit in the debate, or whether it be acknowledged by or unknown to the actors, the people engaged in projects like the Gisborne Lake project act based on a vision of the environment and its worth or value. Primacy is given to ideologies as these ways of thinking about and debating on the environment are seen as shaping profoundly relationships among people and between people and the environment. There are many entry points into political economy study and my emphasis is on ideas and the way in which these ideas are expressed. At this point of study, I emphasize the various ideological groundings of the debate with only secondary and more tentative reference being made to the other political economy linkages noted above.

Indeed, as Clement makes clear, political economy seeks to explain or clarify ideas and the trends in their development. Ideas shape, legitimate and come from the ways in which people exist materially; ideas inform economic and political structures while economic and political structures inform or forward ideas.⁵² Therefore, by coming away from this case with a clearer comprehension of the patterns of ideas struggling within it, we may also have an interesting entry point into the character of the case's economic and political base, both with respect to the ideas *formed by* and *forming* this base.

2. THEORETICAL APPROACH

While guided by political economy methodology with a focus on the ideological, the work is grounded in the relatively new theories of environmental ethics (also referred to as environmental philosophy in the literature), which have been developing since the

⁵² Clement, "Introduction: Whither the New Canadian Political Economy?," 3-5.

1970s. At its most general, the environmental ethics theoretical approach is described as a critical reflection and evaluation of humans' ways of interacting in and with the environment, what humans value and how we do it, as well as the place and nature of humans in the environment.⁵³ This field encourages renewed consideration of decisions humans make with regards to the environment, of the assumptions behind these decisions as well as of values and the recognition of worth.⁵⁴

The environmental ethics field, as I viewed it from the outset primarily based on the guidance of Joseph R. Des Jardins,⁵⁵ can include under its name the studies of deep ecology, political or social ecology, ecofeminism, animal rights and so forth. Fundamentally, however, each of these studies is described as based on broad environmental ethic concepts relating to how humans envision and value the environment and each other.

What would environmental ethics theories bring to this research? This approach places the justification of decisions front and centre, focussing on *why* we act, as well as how we *ought* to act, with regards to the environment. Environmental ethics aids in unearthing the assumptions behind positions while suggesting potential alternative avenues of thought and action. Further, certain environmental ethics theory contains fairly coherent and well-developed critiques of (and alternatives to) dominant economics and politics. Both deconstructive and reconstructive, the field helps to unveil the

⁵³ Joseph R. Des Jardins, *Environmental Ethics: An Introduction to Environmental Philosophy*, 3 ed. (Belmont: Wadsworth/Thompson Learning, 2001), 6.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 8-11.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

ideologies of economics and politics with respect to the environment while proposing new paths.

Note that this study of environmental ethics perspectives has no pretence of being “neutral,” “value-free,” beyond discursive struggles or “objective.” On the contrary, the study of environmental ethics attempts to acknowledge that each of the many environmental ethic approaches is value-laden through and through. The goal of using environmental ethic theory is to sort out and clarify precisely the values, meanings and struggles for legitimacy that are found behind positions taken on the environment. Note also that the words “environmental ethics” do not refer to only one way of conceptualizing and acting toward the environment, rather “environmental ethics” is a category containing diverse environmental ethic perspectives, spanning from those that may be considered environmentally hostile to those that may be considered environmentally benevolent.

Although numerous authors related to the environmental philosophy field were insightful in guiding me to my research subject and question, because the number of contributions to the field has simply exploded, only a portion of the literature was chosen in order to make this project manageable. I focus on authors who deal with the two main dichotomies or concepts in environmental ethics theory: anthropocentrism versus non-anthropocentrism and instrumentalism versus non-instrumentalism (which could be either an inherent or intrinsic valuing of nature). The primary reason for the choice of these two concepts is their breadth. Throughout all my readings of environmental philosophy, these concepts were the most evident and widely debated. As well, they resurface throughout

the many sub-fields held under the name of environmental ethics noted above and they appear to be applicable in nearly every environmental debate.

2.1. Anthropocentrism versus Non-Anthropocentrism

Let us begin by opposing the anthropocentric and non-anthropocentric views. Theoretically this is a complex debate, in great part due to the wide definitions in use. Anthropocentrism, although it is described in numerous ways throughout the literature,⁵⁶ is perhaps best understood when we compare its classical and contemporary forms. In its classical form, anthropocentrism is composed of both ontological and ethical elements. Lynn White⁵⁷ famously outlined the ontological element: the Judeo-Christian belief that the Supreme Being created the world for humans to possess and reign over. This ontological basis of human superiority leads to ethical anthropocentrism which is characterized by humans being endowed with the highest worth, or only worth, in nature. Both ontologically and ethically, humans come to be seen as sitting at the centre of the universe wherein everything is an instrument to these humans' aims.⁵⁸ Contemporarily,

⁵⁶ For a discussion of this definitional debate see Alan G. McQuillan, "Passion and Instrumentality: Further Thoughts on the Callicott-Norton Divide," *Environmental Ethics* (E.E.) 20,3 (1998): 320.

⁵⁷ Lynn White, "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis," in *Environmental Ethics: Readings in Theory and Application*, ed. Louis P. Pojman (Boston-London: Jones and Bartlett Publishers, 1994).

⁵⁸ This definition is presented by Des Jardins, *Environmental Ethics: An Introduction to Environmental Philosophy*, 213-14; Arne Naess, "The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement," *Inquiry* 16 (1973): 95; Bryan G. Norton, "Environmental Ethics and Weak Anthropocentrism," *E.E.* 6,2 (1984): 133; Paul Taylor, "Are Humans Superior to Animals and Plants?," *E.E.* 6,2 (1984): 159; Paul Taylor, "The Ethics of Respect for Nature," in *Earth Ethics: Environmental Ethics, Animal Rights, and Practical Applications*, ed. James P. Sterba (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1995), 99-

with the theological ontology facing harsh criticism, anthropocentrism is no longer seated on such Judeo-Christian worldviews, yet it keeps the ethical portion of the above definition: the position retains a special status for humans based on, for example, rationality, freedom or moral capacities.⁵⁹ Another frequent definition of anthropocentrism is that it represents the acknowledgement that we are humans and cannot escape from our human minds to think from the perspective of things in nature. Ironically, we cannot escape our humanness, even in a quest for human non-superiority.⁶⁰ A final aspect of a definition of this term, related to this last point, is the assertion that only humans have the capacity to value, therefore it is a given that all valuing is human.⁶¹

Likewise, non-anthropocentrism comes with several uses and definitions. Confronting both the ontological and/or ethical foundations of classical and contemporary anthropocentrism, this concept could first refer to humans being worth no more than other living creatures in nature (surely this is where misanthropic charges are sometimes laid), or said perhaps more positively, that other living things are worth as much as humans. Thus the term refers to humans being “de-centred”: we are no longer

100; and Richard A. Watson, “A Critique of Anti-Anthropocentric Biocentrism,” *E.E.* 5,3 (1983): 245.

⁵⁹ This position could parallel Routleys’ “strong human chauvinism” described in R. Routley and V. Routley, “Against the Inevitability of Human Chauvinism,” in *Ethics and Problems of the 21st Century*, ed. K. E. Goodpastor and K. M. Sayre (London: University of Notre Dame, 1979), 36-37.

⁶⁰ Hargrove refers to anthropocentrism as the inevitability of a human thinking “from the standpoint of a human being.” Eugene C. Hargrove, “Weak Anthropocentric Intrinsic Value,” *Monist* 75,2 (1992): 184.

⁶¹ These perspectives on anthropocentrism are presented in *Ibid.*: 183-84, 92, 201; McQuillan, “Passion and Instrumentality,” 322; Norton, “Environmental Ethics and Weak Anthropocentrism,” 133-38; and Watson, “A Critique of Anti-Anthropocentric Biocentrism,” 252.

considered to be of the highest or only value. Non-anthropocentrism could also represent the attempt to think as if we were no longer human or to put ourselves in the “shoes” of other living beings.⁶² Finally, however, the concept could describe the human position of simply wanting to extend worth or moral considerability to things beyond us (this could occur even as we retain a certain belief in human superiority).⁶³

A clear choice of these definitions must be made to light the path before us. For the purposes of this work I take anthropocentrism to refer to the contemporary view that humans have the most value, or possess the only value, in nature. Along with this definition comes the idea that all other beings and things in nature are then used as instruments to our aims. As for non-anthropocentrism, I use this term to designate humans’ attempt to no longer consider ourselves as at the centre of a nature that is at our disposal. Instead, we recognize our interdependence and dependence within nature. It is an attempt to think beyond ourselves by either endowing other things in nature with value, or recognizing the value in nature independent of humans.

Why take these definitions? The dichotomy I describe allows us to draw attention to the placement of humans in the debate. In the anthropocentric position, as I use it,

⁶² See, for instance, Arne Naess, “A Defense of the Deep Ecology Movement,” *E.E.* 6 (1984): 265-70; Naess, “The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement,” 95-96; and Watson, “A Critique of Anti-Anthropocentric Biocentrism,” 245-49. This point could be described as Taylor’s “life-centred” or “biocentric” outlook described in Taylor, “The Ethics of Respect for Nature,” 100, 06-09.

⁶³ This perspective may be that of the Routleys’ weak human chauvinism seen in Routley and Routley, “Against the Inevitability of Human Chauvinism,” 36, in Norton’s weak anthropocentrism described in Norton, “Environmental Ethics and Weak Anthropocentrism,” 133 or in Harman’s advice to extend our anthropocentric definition of self-interest to include others in nature as discussed throughout Jay R. Harman, “Notions of Self-Interest: Reflections on the Intersection between Contingency and Applied Environmental Ethics,” *E.E.* 23,4 (2001).

humans are superior and at the centre of nature. A discussion from this perspective would focus importantly or solely on humans and our needs. In the opposite sense, the non-anthropocentric position I have described allows us to recognize when actors in the debate are attempting to acknowledge humans' interdependent state in nature or our placement as but one of many entities in the environment.

A word of clarification: some authors in the field have tried to avoid using this dichotomy due to one definition of anthropocentrism noted above which refers to the fact that we cannot escape our human minds, for all human thought is inherently human. For this reason, some insist, it is simply not possible to be non-anthropocentric.⁶⁴ Following Callicott, however, I rename this position as *anthropogenic*, which is not necessarily anthropocentric: while value-endowing may emanate only from human valuers, humans are not necessarily all that there is of value.⁶⁵

2.2. Instrumentalism versus Non-Instrumentalism

To be able to address this important "status" of humans in Gisborne Lake actors, I keep the anthropocentric/non-anthropocentric divide. Furthermore, not only is this divide useful in highlighting the place of humans, it also serves to focus on *value*: what can or cannot be used or valued in nature, and how so. Clearly there are strong links between the definitions I take of anthropocentrism and non-anthropocentrism and conceptions of

⁶⁴ This point is raised, for example, in Hargrove, "Weak Anthropocentric Intrinsic Value," 201-02.

⁶⁵ J. Baird Callicott, "Rolston on Intrinsic Value: A Deconstruction," *E.E.* 14,2 (1992). See also Bryan G. Norton, "Epistemology and Environmental Values," *Monist* 75,2 (1992): 221.

value. These links are important in highlighting the relationship between our perspective on the place of humans and our position on who or what has value, who or what can be used instrumentally and how. Depending on how humans are placed within nature I believe that certain conceptions of value frequently follow this placement.

Above we see that non-anthropocentrism as I use it is closely tied to non-instrumental valuing, which I describe as a thing in nature having value beyond its capacity to be used to achieve a human's goal. This could be intrinsic (endowed by humans) or inherent (independent from humans; existing beyond human valuing in nature), concepts I explain below. Conversely, anthropocentrism is closely tied to instrumental value, the position (which is frequently held by the pragmatist school) whereby a thing is valued only because it is a means to an end: it is used as a tool to achieve something else that is of value.⁶⁶

2.2.i. Intrinsic or Inherent Value

When there is evidence of non-instrumental value, does it belong to the category of inherent or intrinsic worth? I understand these terms as reflecting the objective/subjective divide, perhaps best characterized by the Holmes Rolston III – J. Baird Callicott debate.⁶⁷ With regards to inherent value, value exists in nature, independent of a human valuer. It is objective value in the sense that it does not rely on a

⁶⁶ For a discussion of these terms see, for instance, Taylor, "Are Humans Superior to Animals and Plants?," 150.

⁶⁷ A concise elaboration of this debate can be found in Norton, "Epistemology and Environmental Values," 213-18. (Note, however, that on a semantic level Norton seems to have switched the term "inherent" with "intrinsic" value.)

human subject or it is independent from a conscious valuer. Value is “out there” even if humans are not there to witness it. What specifically is of worth in this case? Each living thing in nature has its own “good,” “welfare,” or “well-being” which can be forwarded or impeded. Thus this “good” should be respected and protected rather than harmed.⁶⁸ (Rolston asserts this inherent value is the best, and perhaps only way to defend nature as any other position places the valuing onus on conscious actors rather than nature itself, subordinating the environment to rational beings.⁶⁹) Conversely, intrinsic value is subjective in that value is *given* to something in nature by a human subject. Whether it be for aesthetic, spiritual, cultural reasons or so forth, this thing is deemed to be worthwhile in itself and therefore to be protected and not merely used as a tool toward something else. Yet without this valuing agent there would be no value “out there” in the world.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ For discussions of inherent value see Taylor, “Are Humans Superior to Animals and Plants?,” 151-59 and Taylor, “The Ethics of Respect for Nature,” 99-101, 09, 11. See also the presentation of Regan’s inherent value (which indicates the right of living things in nature to not be treated as a means or instrument) in Julian H. Franklin, “Regan on the Lifeboat Problem: A Defense,” *E.E.* 23,2 (2001): 192 and Norton’s presentation of Callicott’s inherent value in Bryan G. Norton, “Why I am Not a Nonanthropocentrist: Callicott and the Failure of Monistic Inherentism,” *E.E.* 17,4 (1995). Rolston writes of the “goodness” of Earth as a whole based on its “prolific” character (regardless of a human being around to value it) in Holmes Rolston III, “Disvalues in Nature,” *Monist* 75,2 (1992): 252, 75. Note that some authors assert there is still instrumentalism contained within inherent value, for all these entities with “goods” of their own are continuously using each other instrumentally to survive, as noted in Hargrove, “Weak Anthropocentric Intrinsic Value,” 189.

⁶⁹ See, for instance, Ben A. Minteer, “Intrinsic Value for Pragmatists?,” *E.E.* 23,1 (2001): 71.

⁷⁰ For discussions of this see J. Baird Callicott, “Intrinsic Value in Nature: A Metaethical Analysis,” in *Beyond the Land Ethic: More Essays in Environmental Philosophy* (New York: SUNY, 1999), 240, 47-8; Hargrove, “Weak Anthropocentric Intrinsic Value,” 186-87; Norton, “Environmental Ethics and Weak Anthropocentrism,”

To clarify the above explication and to aid in the application of these concepts, the following chart summarizes the distinctions between the theoretical positions:

Environmental Ethics Concepts: Summary		
Anthropocentrism -humans have the highest, central or only worth in nature -all else in nature exists to serve human's needs and aims ▼	Non-Anthropocentrism -humans are decentralized -humans are recognized as being interdependent and dependent within nature: we are seen as one of many entities -value is given to other things in nature beyond humans, or other things in nature are recognized as having their own value ▼	
Instrumentalism -things in nature beyond humans are considered as means to an end or tools to get to something else of value ▼	Non-Instrumentalism -things in nature beyond humans are considered as having value besides their ability to achieve human goals: they have value "in themselves" -things in nature are therefore not to be used instrumentally in order to accomplish something else ▼	
	Intrinsic (Subjective) Value -value in nature is given to nature by human actors for aesthetic, cultural, spiritual or other reasons -without a human valuer, there is no value in nature "out there"	Inherent (Objective) Value -each living thing has its own good to be respected -there is value in nature independent of a human valuer, value exists "out there" even if humans are not there to bestow it

2.3. Fitting in Water

An important conceptual problem with practical implications to address prior to the analysis is the uniqueness of water in this debate. Water is neither a living thing as life is normally defined, nor is it a "being" as "beings" are normally thought. So how can water

136-38; Routley and Routley, "Against the Inevitability of Human Chauvinism," 47-48 and Taylor, "Are Humans Superior to Animals and Plants?," 150-51. On Callicott's subjectivist intrinsic value, see McQuillan, "Passion and Instrumentality," 317-20.

be thought of non-anthropocentrically (placed on even par with humans or given some moral consideration), or as possessing value in itself (which is either given to water subjectively by human valuers or exists objectively, independently of human consciousness)?

Although not alive in the usual sense of the term, water does sustain beings that are, in their turn, alive. As Hugh McDonald notes, “The biosphere [of which water is a fundamental element] as a whole is a condition of human and other life”; it is *the* source of all value as it is the source of all life. “Humans would be doomed without bees alone,” McDonald writes, and we would be so much worse off without water.⁷¹ Therefore, if we endow beings in nature with value, then the water that sustains these beings must also be endowed with value. The “good” of the beings rubs off on the environment as a whole, water included. Likewise, Rolston aims for a defence of nature as a whole, including living beings, collectives, processes and ecosystems that again essentially include water. If each organism has a good based on its active striving to survive and reproduce, and if each organism is an end in itself, then the system supporting this life also becomes of value insofar as each organism has value. Water is part of the “matrix in which each kind comes to be what it is.”⁷²

Thus, it is in water that we can see a challenging of the simple categories of “human” and “environment” or perhaps even see the collapse of this long-held division. When we are made of water and when all else that supports our lives is made of water,

⁷¹ Hugh P. McDonald, “Toward a Deontological Environmental Ethic,” *E.E.* 23,4 (2001): 422-4.

⁷² Rolston’s debate is summarized in Callicott, “Rolston on Intrinsic Value,” 133-34.

how can we mark a boundary to say that we are not this water? How can water be separated from any form of life?

2.4. Power Void?

Where does a discussion of power or political ecology belong in the above discussion and coming application of environmental ethic theory? The link between power or political ecology and environmental ethic theory is tight because this theory serves to elucidate the values behind the competing positions taken on an issue related to the environment. While a discussion of power or political ecology might centre on interest, or on how and why a certain position on the environment becomes legitimate and comes to dominate, or on the implications of this situation, or the forces of resistance in face of these implications, environmental ethic theory tries to uncover the profound justifications of these positions. (Indeed, in the literature political ecology can be seen as a part of, or a subcategory of, environmental ethics theory. In using broad environmental ethic theory, we can eventually come to political ecology debates.)

Likewise, in this work the emphasis is on the competing environmental values or ideologies underlying the Gisborne Lake debate as revealed through environmental ethic theory. While there will be some mention of dominating environmental ethic approaches along with comments on diffuse forms of power and resistance, and although more concerted attention to power will be a necessary addition in the future for a complete comprehension of this issue, an analysis of power structures or power theorization was

not possible in the time allowed for this thesis. For the moment, the analysis remains in the realm of examining the clash of environmental ethic approaches.

In focusing specifically on the diverse environmental ethic approaches intersecting in this case study I am responding to calls for this type of research frequently found in the literature. Getting at the ideas behind the power discussion has been encouraged repeatedly. My initial recognition of this was through the work of Robert Babe who notes that although it is invaluable for its contribution to the deconstruction of power relations, political economy must be complemented with ethical considerations or “a ‘public philosophy’ – a belief, a faith, a hope that transcends mere greed and will to power by recognizing the ultimate dignity and equality of all human beings.”⁷³ We see a movement toward this point in political economy as well, for instance as seen in Andrew Sayer’s recent calls for a renewal of a debate on the normative judgements and morality inherent in politics and economics, which would serve to rejuvenate the field.⁷⁴ Further work on environmental social construction also uncovered this concern. John Hannigan, for instance, asserts that political economy by itself is not sufficient for understanding environmental issues. We also need to consider the “moral entrepreneurship” of environmental issues.⁷⁵ Next, Canadian water commentator Richard Bocking notes the

⁷³ Robert E. Babe, *Communication and the Transformation of Economics: Essays in Information, Public Policy and Political Economy* (Boulder: Westview Press Inc., 1995), 82. Some of these themes continue to appear in the chapters of Robert E. Babe, *Cultural Ecology: Communication, Environment and Development* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming).

⁷⁴ Andrew Sayer, “Moral Economy and Political Economy,” *Studies in Political Economy* 61, Spring (2000).

⁷⁵ John A. Hannigan, *Environmental Sociology: A Social Constructionist Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 40.

importance of ethics and values, for “there will remain fundamental value judgements to be made by the people of Canada” with regards to water development issues, he says.

For Bocking,

Sound economic analysis is essential to provide information for the assessment of alternatives open to society, but many of the deepest questions surrounding the damming and diversion of Canadian rivers must be resolved in the end as questions of ethics and values, as these relate to the land and people of Canada.⁷⁶

These authors and many more like them suggest a need to expose the values underlying current perspectives toward the environment, and perhaps to create new values and perspectives (or remember those of old) to build in healthier directions.⁷⁷ These calls have also come closer to home. Texts such as *Just Fish: Ethics and Canadian Marine Fisheries*⁷⁸ (which has as one of its aims to explain the values underlying fisheries policy on both coasts of Canada), are indications of new spaces in the more local environmental ethics debate.

So while those seeking detailed analysis of power structures in the Gisborne Lake case may be disappointed with this text, readers who seek a closer treatment of the ideologies clashing in this case may be more satisfied. At the same time, this analysis of

⁷⁶ Bocking, *Canada's Water: For Sale?*, 114.

⁷⁷ Similarly, Bakker recently asserted the need to expand the discussion of water privatization to include a study of shifting “attitudes,” “symbolic and cultural significance” and our “conception of water, but also our relationships with nature, the state, the market, and one another.” For her, ethical positions are implicitly shaping water policy. Comments are taken from Karen Bakker, “The Political Ecology of Water Privatisation” (paper presented at the Studies in Political Economy Annual Conference: Political Ecology, Carleton University, Ottawa, February 1 2002).

⁷⁸ Harold Coward, Rosemary Ommer, and Tony Pitcher, eds., *Just Fish: Ethics and Canadian Marine Fisheries, Social and Economic Papers* (St. John's: ISER, 2000).

environmental ideologies is certainly not void of a discussion of power, instead it is the first measured step in that very direction.

3. RESEARCH QUESTION AND INITIAL SPECULATIONS

Founded on the political economy methodology and environmental ethic theory, several questions guide this research. What specific types of environmental ethic approaches are struggling in the Gisborne Lake debate case? What are the consequences of these environmental ethic perspectives, and what are the possible alternatives to them? What does this tell us about the flavour and implications of the politics and economics influencing this case? By asking these questions I aspired to clarify who is driving and resisting the commodification and exportation of Gisborne Lake's freshwater and who is using what form of environmental values to support that interest. It was hoped the answers would look behind the obvious positions taken in the debate to reveal the specific orientations of environmental ethics underlying the political and economical debate on Gisborne Lake from the perspective of central resource developers and development resisters in the province and to consider the general implications of these standpoints.

With the above questions at the forefront, at the start of this research I speculated that economic considerations were almost purely driving the issue from an anthropocentric, instrumentalist environmental ethics perspective, with rare thought to other possible paths such as non-anthropocentrism or a look to non-instrumental worth in nature. The exportation of water from Gisborne Lake was pursued, I suspected, for the

profit gain of the McCurdy Group of Companies, the royalty gain of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador or the employment gain for local people, which would loosen dependence on social programs. Further, I speculated that save for the minimal adherence to environmental assessment policies, little thought was given to environmental concerns. The effect of this void, I imagined, would be an unbalanced focus on monetary gain that would signal in the long term a threat to ecosystems and all that inhabits them. As the following chapters will demonstrate, the general flavour of these initial speculations has been supported by the research, however there are important subtleties to draw out.

Note, however, that this study is held within specific parameters. The research emphasizes the last years of the debate, since around 1996 when development projects for Gisborne Lake became more obvious, to the time of the research in the summer of 2002. Although this case could have been considered from an international, national, regional or very local, community perspective, I have focussed on the provincial level in order to understand the issue within the context of general resource development in Newfoundland and Labrador. This will allow for future comparisons with a range of other similar activities at the provincial level and permit this issue to be placed within the complex, unique historical context of Newfoundland and Labrador. Therefore, primarily I have sought provincial documents and interviews with the major provincial actors in the debate.

4. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

4.1. Preliminary Document Study

The initial stages of the research were devoted to reviewing documents relating to Gisborne Lake or more generally to water issues in Canada and internationally. Specific types of documents included: academic articles and texts, national and provincial newspapers, websites concerning relevant actors, as well as municipal, provincial, and national government policy papers or information. This step allowed me to establish a more detailed timeline of events as well as a more substantial list of involved actors.

4.2. Core Method: In-Depth Interviews

The review of media and documents related to Gisborne Lake had revealed an unmistakable repetition of involved actors at the provincial level. Once the major Gisborne Lake debate actors at the provincial level had been identified and I had a firmer handle on the issue thanks to the document review, I selected a manageable number of these individuals to interview, the main method of this research. Then to be certain I missed no actor who was not noted in the document analysis, during each interview I asked the interviewee to list the important actors from all sides of the debate as well as to list further people I should contact. The interviewees concur with my choices of major actors. A discussion of this core method, the justifications for its use and the interviewed actors is continued before the presentation of the interview data analysis in Chapter V.

5. *CHAPTER OUTLINE*

Using the data gathered from these specific methods and grounded in environmental ethics theory and political economy methodology, the research questions on the Gisborne Lake debate are addressed in six coming chapters.

Chapter III: The Landscape – Provincial Context and Chapter IV: The Landscape – Global Water and Trade serve as an introduction to the major debates in which the Gisborne Lake case is embedded: the complex context of Newfoundland and Labrador's historical resource development, global debates on water and the North American Free Trade Agreement. Although these discussions are not the focus of this research, following the methodology of political economy they must be given attention because they form the important periphery to the Gisborne Lake case and help guide the general conclusions to be made on this case.

Chapter V: Mapping Actors zones in on the precise subject of this research: the provincial actors in the Gisborne Lake debate, their environmental ethic perspectives and a consideration of alternative paths. This chapter reveals interesting environmental ethic groupings of the interviewees and allows us to see environmental ethics perspectives at work. Following this analysis is a discussion of alternative ways of envisioning Gisborne Lake based on the environmental ethic theory, hints from interviewees and cultural artefacts from Newfoundland and Labrador.

Chapter VI: Institutional Leanings serves as a discussion of issues and processes introduced through the mapping exercise. This chapter includes an analysis of the specific type of environmental ethics present at an institutional level, primarily seen

through the Department of Environment and the contentious documents it produced on Gisborne Lake.

Chapter VII: A Tentative Approach: Development Discourse, in recognition of important connections between this case and the concept of development that were only realized after an analysis of this case, is a more provisional addition to this research. This chapter contains a brief presentation of one way of describing the concept of development, the discourse it entails, its effects as well as the resistance to it. At this time, comments are also made on the diffuse nature of power and resistance in this particular case.

Finally, Chapter VIII: Conclusions returns to the original research aims and foundations to comment on lessons learned in this case and with regards to the limits and uses of the research components. At this time connections are made between the Gisborne Lake project and the history of “resource development” in Newfoundland and Labrador. Here thought is also given to future directions for this research.

Now with the foundation of the research in place (the broad methodological and theoretical considerations, research questions, initial speculations, specific research methods and thesis outline), the rest of the introduction serves to describe Gisborne Lake as an area and concludes with a description of the plans for the lake’s development.

6. GISBORNE LAKE

Before coming to the debate on Gisborne Lake, or how it is represented as an *idea*, I feel it is crucial to ground the discussion in some comments on what the Gisborne Lake area is like physically. Note that information for these descriptions is taken primarily from the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) documents, as cited throughout the text. During conversations and interviews that stress Gisborne Lake's *implications*, the body of water or the area itself is easily forgotten. Indeed, the majority of the main actors in the debate have never been near it, and the majority of those who have come close to the lake have merely flown over it by helicopter.

Currently Gisborne Lake⁷⁹ is known as being located at longitude 54°47'-54°52' West, latitude 47°45'-47°50' North and, according to the EIS documents, at 152 to 158 metres above sea level.⁸⁰ Approximately ten kilometres inland from the southern coast of Newfoundland, the lake lies north of the head of Fortune Bay, the community of Grand Le Pierre⁸¹ and Grand Le Pierre Harbour. Gisborne Lake is not accessible by car and

⁷⁹ Gisborne Lake was named after Frederic Newton Gisborne, a promoter of telegraphs and the first geographical surveys in Newfoundland. Gisborne made many difficult journeys through southern and interior Newfoundland updating maps of the area in the mid-1800s. J. K. Hillier, *Exploring the Newfoundland Interior: Geology and Communications* (Memorial University of Newfoundland and the C.R.B. Foundation, cited May 17 2002), available from www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/nf_interior_geo.html.

⁸⁰ LGL, "Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report," 27.

⁸¹ Based on the most recent available statistics (1996), the community of Grand Le Pierre had a population of just over three hundred people, but was losing approximately 8% of this population each year (the average age here was 31.4 years). Every single person described himself or herself as "non-immigrant population" with no "visible minority" members indicated. Of people aged twenty-five and older, 48.6% of the community had less than grade nine education, 18.9% had a high school certificate, trade or non-university diploma, while no one was cited as having completed a university program. As for income, the average in the community was \$12,261. While only fifty

residents often travel there by all terrain vehicles (ATV) or by snowmobile, weather permitting. (It is a long and rough thirty six kilometre return trip that takes about five hours.⁸²) Of course, the older generations remember long hikes in.

As for its basic layout, Gisborne Lake has a north-south oblong shape. Along its border it is fed by nine “tributaries” or feeder ponds and streams coming mostly from the west, north and south and it is drained solely through Southwest Brook⁸³ which is to the west. There is one prominent island in the north of the lake and a peninsula (containing several small bodies of water) that juts into the lake from the west for three and a half

people described themselves as “in the employed labour force” and there was an unemployment rate of 44.4%, many more individuals engaged in unpaid housework, child care and/or senior care. Of those that had worked over the past year, sixty people were involved in the tertiary service industry while twenty were engaged with manufacturing or construction industries. *Statistical Profile: Grand Le Pierre, Newfoundland* (Statistics Canada, cited October 30 2002), available from <http://strategis.ic.gc.ca/scdt/businessmap/engdoc/9999.5.1.193.2.html>.

⁸² I visited Gisborne Lake on November 1, 2002 during a trip to Grand Le Pierre, thanks to the generous assistance of two people from that community.

⁸³ Southwest Brook, the drainage place for Gisborne Lake, drops 150 metres over its eight-kilometre trip to Long Harbour and the Atlantic Ocean during which it is joined by six other tributaries. The river averages fifteen to thirty seven meters in width and flow speed over the year varies from 0.04 cubic metres a second to fifty three cubic metres a second. Although it is most often a slow river (a 1.5% to 2.0% slope), 2.4 kilometres upstream from where the river meets Long Harbour is a large falls 30.5 metres high, seven metres wide and at a slope of 70°. Seven hundred metres up river from this point is another falls 12.2 metres high, twenty metres wide and at a slope of 80°. (This set of falls acts as a total barrier to saltwater fish entering Gisborne Lake from upriver.) After these falls, the water goes through a gorge and a minor flood plain to the ocean. Colin Karasek, “Water Resources Component Study: Final Report (Revised),” in *Addendum: Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report: Gisborne Lake Water Bottling and Export Project* (St. John’s: 1999), i, 2; Eugene Lee, Scott Grant, and Robert Buchanan, “Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study,” in *Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report: Gisborne Lake Water Bottling and Export Project* (St. John’s: 1998), 10, 12; LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 58; and LGL Limited Environmental Research Associates (LGL), “Addendum: Gisborne Lake Water Bottling and Export Project,” (St. John’s: 1999), 49.

kilometres, dividing Gisborne Lake in half.⁸⁴ To the south and the east, hills rise slowly but continually until the 320 metre high Nine Mile Hill to the east, whereas the extreme southern end is steeper. To the north and northwest are fairly gentle hills or flat land and the land in the west descends slowly to the crest of the valley containing Long Harbour.⁸⁵ The shoreline of Gisborne Lake is sandy or comprised of silt in the north, extreme south, and on the peninsula. The west and east shores are typically rocky.⁸⁶

This area is specifically classified as a South Coast Barrens eco-region (which extends from Port aux Basques to the Burin Peninsula), a sub-region of Maritime Barrens. The Maritime Barrens are typically areas dominated by low, dense plants (“dwarf shrub heath, bogs and shallow fens” or “scrubby vegetation”) with scattered balsam fir forests.⁸⁷ True to its category, the area surrounding Gisborne Lake is dominated by tough, low plants and has few forests, save those between Gisborne Lake and Mary Ann Pond, on the northern islands, and along the shore of the peninsula and the south of the lake.⁸⁸

As for the climate approximately one hundred and fifty to two hundred centimetres of precipitation falls on Gisborne Lake each year, mostly in November and most minimally in August. Less than half of this precipitation is in the form of snow, indicating fairly mild winters. Snow (which begins in October and continues until May)

⁸⁴ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 28.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 27.

⁸⁶ Robert Buchanan and John Christian, “Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study Addendum,” in *Addendum: Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report: Gisborne Lake Water Bottling and Export Project* (St. John’s: 1999), 9.

⁸⁷ Karasek, “Water Resources Component Study: Final Report (Revised),” 3-4.

⁸⁸ Ibid. and LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 29-32.

falls predominantly in January and February, about fifty to sixty eight centimetres per month.⁸⁹ Summers are cool with a great deal of fog from the North Atlantic Ocean. August, the warmest month, sees temperatures ranging from a minimum low of 5°C to a maximum high in the low twenties. Winter temperatures are temperate: February, the coldest month, sees a minimum low of -12°C to a maximum high of 3°C.⁹⁰ Throughout the year winds mostly originate from the west or southwest, coming in from over the ocean and delivering precipitation. Winds are strongest in January and February, around twenty four to thirty two kilometres per hour, and are weakest in July and August, at around seventeen to nineteen kilometres per hour.⁹¹

As for its water, which is central to this debate, Gisborne Lake has an area of 26.2 square kilometres and an average depth of 5.6 metres which allows it to hold up to 147 million cubic metres. (Note that one cubic metre is equivalent to one thousand litres.) The peninsula that divides the lake in half (north-south) is an important marker for depth: the northern portion of the lake is shallow at around five metre's depth, whereas the southern half (particularly two kilometres north of the southernmost tip) can reach as deep as thirty metres.⁹² Water levels fluctuate approximately 0.48 to 0.85 metres throughout a year, being lowest in August and September and highest in February to May.⁹³ Most runoff from Gisborne Lake happens in April to May and the least from July

⁸⁹ Karasek, "Water Resources Component Study: Final Report (Revised)," 10 and LGL, "Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report," 24-27.

⁹⁰ LGL, "Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report," 24.

⁹¹ Karasek, "Water Resources Component Study: Final Report (Revised)," 10-11.

⁹² Lee, Grant, and Buchanan, "Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study," 33.

⁹³ Karasek, "Water Resources Component Study: Final Report (Revised)," 47, 67 and LGL, "Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report," 46.

to September.⁹⁴ (This is said to be typical of Newfoundland rivers: the flow is heavier in spring, tapers off in the dry summer months and becomes heavy again in the fall months.⁹⁵) Further, evaporation due to solar radiation, though negligible during the winter ice period, becomes more significant throughout the summer months. Over a year, approximately 570 millimetres of water evaporate from the lake.⁹⁶ October 30 and June 1 respectively mark the dates of the first and last air frost, although water freezing occurs in late December, to an average thickness of twenty five to fifty centimetres, and thawing happens in late April.⁹⁷

With regards to purity or clarity, Gisborne Lake is described as “oligotrophic” with a low level of dissolved organic carbon which is said to make the lake very clear. It can indeed be “considered pristine” and “crystal clear,” environmental reports tell us, because chemicals would not be required to disinfect the water (perhaps simply the use of ultra-violet light would suffice). The lake’s low alkalinity, however, does put the lake at risk of acid rain.⁹⁸

There is more, of course, to Gisborne Lake than its water and points of geographical interest, for it is also a home to many species.⁹⁹ To begin, moose forage on

⁹⁴ Karasek, “Water Resources Component Study: Final Report (Revised),” 30.

⁹⁵ Lee, Grant, and Buchanan, “Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study,” 26.

⁹⁶ Karasek, “Water Resources Component Study: Final Report (Revised),” 38.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 34, 38.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 53-54 and LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 52.

⁹⁹ Note that archaeological consulting has noted that there is nothing of archaeological value in the areas slated for construction around Gisborne Lake, LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 74 and M. P. Stopp, “A Stage 1 Historic Resources Assessment of Gisborne Lake,” in *Environmental*

the barrens surrounding Gisborne Lake in the spring, summer and fall. During more severe winters they move from the barrens to forests, potentially the black spruce and balsam fir forests south of Gisborne Lake, but they can stay on the barrens all year during a mild winter.¹⁰⁰ Likewise, caribou frequent the area. Three herds may be present at some time throughout the year: Middle Ridge Herd (which contains approximately twenty thousand animals), Mt. Peyton Herd and Tolt Brook Herd (both with a total of less than two thousand animals). These herds have a territory of ten to twelve thousand square kilometres and Gisborne Lake is on the southern border of this range.¹⁰¹ Caribou are at Gisborne Lake in winter (they arrive from the north in December and January and return north in the spring) and perhaps at other times of the year, although no extensive caribou trails are evident. The Gisborne Lake area contains suitable food for caribou all year round, especially the low scrub and wetland environments and north of Gisborne Lake provides good travelling ground for these frequent movers. Caribou have been observed to the west, north and east of Gisborne Lake and on rare occasions to the south.¹⁰² With regards to smaller mammals, snowshoe hare are drawn to the coniferous forests in the Gisborne Lake area and the rare arctic hare finds the Gisborne Lake region

Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report: Gisborne Lake Water Bottling and Export Project (St. John's: 1998).

¹⁰⁰ LGL, "Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report," 32-33.

¹⁰¹ From early May to late June caribou move from their wintering area to calve. From early July to late September they move on to their summer ranges. Then early October to late November is the mating season and the movement to the winter range which they occupy until late April.

¹⁰² Hugh Broders and Tom Northcott, "Caribou Component Study," in *Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report: Gisborne Lake Water Bottling and Export Project* (St. John's: 1998), 1-32.

to be appropriate during winter as there is less snow cover during the milder winters of that area.¹⁰³ There are also populations of otter, mink, coloured fox and perhaps even the rare lynx.¹⁰⁴

Birds are also habitants of the Gisborne Lake area. Canada geese are found around the region returning to the south coast of Newfoundland every March or April from their over-wintering along the U.S. eastern seaboard to await the melting of snow off the moss and lichen-covered barrens. Egg incubation takes place from May to early June after which time the geese move to rearing areas where there is more sedge growth.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, common loons arrive as soon as Gisborne Lake thaws and nest close to the water to feed on fish until their migration back to the southern U.S. in mid-August. They can be found on Gisborne Lake's peninsula and on the eastern shore across from the peninsula.¹⁰⁶ Also using the area are common merganser or gossander which need Gisborne Lake's crystal clear water to hunt their underwater prey. They arrive as soon as the lake thaws and stay until October or until the lake freezes, laying eggs in April until Mid-May in tree holes along the water and are found in the spruce and fir forests between Gisborne Lake and Mary Ann Pond, on the northern island and on the north shore's sandy beaches.¹⁰⁷ Black ducks are another species noted for migrating in during the fall (or simply over-wintering in Newfoundland) and nesting around Gisborne Lake in

¹⁰³ LGL, "Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report," 33.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Jytte Selnø and John Christian, "Avifauna Component Study," in *Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report: Gisborne Lake Water Bottling and Export Project* (St. John's: 1998), 3-4.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 4, 21.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 5, 21.

well-concealed nests on the ground in mid-April.¹⁰⁸ The presence of raptors around Gisborne Lake is notable as well. Bald eagles spend the winter along the southern coast of Newfoundland if food (fish, waterfowl and avifauna) is available in ice-free bays. Nested high above ground, bald eagles have territories of one to two square kilometres and lay eggs in April.¹⁰⁹ Further, there are osprey or fish hawks who nest high off the ground and hunt fresh and salt water fish in the area. They also return to their permanent nests, migrating back in late April and they are more often seen to the south of Gisborne Lake and sometimes in the Grand Le Pierre Harbour.¹¹⁰ The greater scaup is also seen in various locations in the area.¹¹¹ Other birds are observed surrounding Gisborne Lake including various ducks, greater scaups, members of an unknown falcon species, herring gulls, spotted sandpipers, other sandpipers, great black-backed gulls, common terns, and common ravens.¹¹²

As for fish in Gisborne Lake's waters, two species are said to dominate: ouananiche (or landlocked salmon, the most frequently observed fish) and brook trout (in a smaller population). Both seem to be concentrated off Gisborne Lake's northern island and to the southeast, although ouananiche are found in deeper water while brook trout prefer

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 5.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 6.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 6, 26.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 22.

¹¹² LGL, "Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report," 69-70.

shallower water.¹¹³ In the fall, spawning occurs along the shore of Gisborne Lake, in the feeder streams and in Southwest Brook prior to the falls. Fry appear in the spring.¹¹⁴

Gisborne Lake, flowing into the ocean, also affects the saltwater environment. Surrounding the community of Grand Le Pierre and in Grand Le Pierre Harbour¹¹⁵ are lobster, cod and winter flounder throughout the year, whereas herring, lumpfish, mackerel, squid and capelin are present on a seasonal basis. Herring live in shallow inshore water and spawn in the harbour in spring. Cod move from inshore waters to the continental shelf in temperatures of -0.5 to 10°C while juvenile cod find suitable habitat in the “gut” near shore. Lumpfish spawn in the spring and summer along the shallow shore and otherwise are deeper “bottom-dwellers.”¹¹⁶ The salt-water “commercial” invertebrates and fish include crab, lobster, lumpfish, scallop, cod, herring and turbot.¹¹⁷

Nine commercial fishing boats are found at Grand Le Pierre Harbour. This fishery takes place in 1.36 square kilometres of water in Grand Le Pierre Harbour and outside the harbour along the shore to the east for four hundred metres and to the west for seven hundred metres¹¹⁸ in the pursuit of lobster (from April to June at fifty metres’ depth), cod

¹¹³ Lee, Grant, and Buchanan, “Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study,” 16 and LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 62.

¹¹⁴ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 61.

¹¹⁵ Grand Le Pierre Harbour and a government wharf are at the top of the west side of the harbour. Inside the harbour the ocean floor is at seven metres’ depth, whereas in the outer harbour area it is fifty to one hundred metres in depth. A gravel shoal separates the inner and outer harbours. Lee, Grant, and Buchanan, “Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study,” 36.

¹¹⁶ Buchanan and Christian, “Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study Addendum,” 2-4.

¹¹⁷ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 65.

¹¹⁸ Buchanan and Christian, “Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study Addendum,” 2.

(using cod traps on either side of the harbour at eighteen to thirty-seven metres' depth from July to November), and herring (from April to June gill nets are laid from shore out to one hundred metres' depth).¹¹⁹ Gill nets are also laid for mackerel, lumpfish and winter flounder from the shore outside the harbour until the 183 metres' depth contour.¹²⁰

Based on this brief survey of Gisborne Lake and the area this place can be understood as a unique area home to an abundance of life. However it is important to recognize that even this impressive look at Gisborne Lake is based narrowly on the information conveyed in the environment assessment reports (issue is taken with these in detail in Chapter VI) which neglects a more in-depth analysis of the area including insects, "lower" level inhibitors of water areas and perhaps other undocumented birds, mammals and so forth. Yet even based on the potentially limited environmental reports, as the descriptions of the area are read we can imagine the movement of species in and out of the area: the coming of the caribou in the winter alongside snowshoe and artic hare; the waters of Gisborne Lake alive with trout and salmon, otters and mink; and the return of the birds in the spring, their nesting, fledging and then departure in the fall, who all the while observe the scene from on high.

6.1. "Developing" Gisborne Lake

It is for this place that the plan to export water in bulk and bottled form came. White and his McCurdy Group of Companies proposed the construction of 1) a structure (a "dam or

¹¹⁹ Lee, Grant, and Buchanan, "Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study," 36.

¹²⁰ Buchanan and Christian, "Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study Addendum,"

weir”) to control the outflow of water into Southwest Brook; 2) an intake pipe at the south of Gisborne Lake; 3) a ten kilometre, forty-two inch diameter pipeline buried two metres beneath the ground (which would cross the main road to Grand Le Pierre, Grand Le Pierre Brook and other rivers); 4) 1700 meters of tunnelling under rough terrain to deliver the water to 5) a bottling plant to be constructed either on the gravel shoal jutting from the east into Grand Le Pierre Harbour or midway between the southern tip of Gisborne Lake and the harbour; 6) a bulk export dock, platform and mooring structure in the southeast corner of Grand Le Pierre Harbour (directly across from the community of Grand Le Pierre) built for large tankers and container ships up to 385 metres in length and sixty metres in width. Finally, both the bottling plant and the marine dock would require the construction of 7) a road along the eastern side of Grand Le Pierre Harbour to link the sites to the main road, Route 211.

Extracting water from Gisborne Lake was probably planned in this particular way for a few practical reasons. First, the community boundary of Grand Le Pierre encompasses all of Gisborne Lake but only a small portion of its run-off stream, Southwest Brook. Extracting water from Southwest Brook would therefore either mean entering on another community’s territory or creating an even longer pipeline to carry the water within Grand Le Pierre’s boundaries. Also, even if Grand Le Pierre boundaries did encompass the lake and all of its run-off stream, extracting from Southwest Brook still would not be a desirable way to proceed due to the position of Southwest Brook’s opening which is far up into narrow Long Harbour. The trip between the southern tip of Gisborne Lake to Grand Le Pierre Harbour by pipeline and then a trip out into Fortune

Bay by tanker is much shorter and perhaps much less difficult than the tanker trip from the opening of Southwest Brook, down Long Harbour and into Fortune Bay.

As for quantities, these structures would result in the capacity to withdraw 300,000 to 500,000 cubic metres of water per week or 15,640,000 to 26,000,000 cubic meters per year for export to unnamed “world markets.” Approximately one hundred jobs would be created during construction for up to two years, one hundred and fifty more would be expected when the bottling plant’s operations peaked five years after the start of production, plus there would be employment gained at the loading docks and so forth. Further, the McCurdy Group boasted of expected gains for the province from taxes, royalties and administrative fees, such as permits.

Environmentally, (and we return to this in much greater detail in Chapter VI), the original environmental assessment reports described this development as having no important consequences. The construction and operation of the project could occur with “little environmental disturbance”¹²¹ or “without significant environmental impacts.”¹²² Although the project was said to be designed for a thirty year lifespan as noted in the original November 1998 Environmental Impact Statement, in the July 1999 amended report the lifespan is described as “now considered to be in perpetuity, there will be no decommissioning phase.”¹²³ Jerry White and his McCurdy Group of Companies (which sponsored the environmental impact studies) explicitly state that the development of

¹²¹ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” x-xi, 1, 5-21.

¹²² LGL, “Addendum,” 1.

¹²³ Ibid., 21.

Gisborne Lake is massive and irreversible yet there will be no substantial disruption of the geography, vegetation, and species detailed above.

This chapter has put several key pieces of the research in place. The research's methodology, theoretical perspective, question, methods and chapter breakdown have been clarified and then from here the chapter concentrated its look specifically on Gisborne Lake, its physical properties and the general area to which it belongs, as well as the plans the McCurdy Group has for its development. Chapter III now presents a more detailed description of peripheral themes that are nonetheless fundamental to the Gisborne Lake issue.

CHAPTER III: THE LANDSCAPE – PROVINCIAL CONTEXT

If we were to step back from the Gisborne Lake debate and observe it from a distance, two impressions might strike us. First, we could be overwhelmed by the detail, complexity and connections that make up the full Gisborne Lake landscape and that define it as a unique, singular scene. At the same time, we could also notice the generality of the view and see patterns within it that we have seen in other places. The Gisborne Lake debate is, in one instance, both distinctive in itself and yet so reminiscent of other cases of its kind.

Of course, here lies the interest in looking: Gisborne Lake raises its own distinguishing set of issues just as it may serve to point to the core of similar cases, whether they be close to home or on a global scale. This one case may serve as a microcosm of a myriad of overwhelming cases, and thus it could be one way to pry open some general conundrums. Yet, scanning the Gisborne Lake horizon likewise challenges us with new puzzles.

This chapter and the one following it centre on the generalities of the Gisborne Lake case. They serve to highlight the general background elements important to comprehending the very specific issue of Gisborne Lake. Although the coming pages point out the elements that are essential to understanding the complete issue at hand, these issues are not the direct focus of this research. The aim here is to make the debate's framework visible in order to place Gisborne Lake in its very complex context. Therefore, in political economy fashion, a humble nod is made to some of the historical, cultural, social and economic connections related to the topic before we move on to the

specific focus of this research, environmental ethics. On this basis Chapter V will focus solely on the Gisborne Lake debate and actors to draw out the case's distinctiveness.

To begin, Gisborne Lake is at the intersection of three major discussions: the first I refer to as Newfoundland and Labrador studies, the second is the water debate and the third is related to the NAFTA. As for the first, Gisborne Lake can be seen as a wholly Newfoundland and Labrador debate, one deeply connected to the history, culture, economics and politics of this province. To grasp Gisborne Lake thought must be given to what Newfoundland and Labrador means. This is the topic of the current chapter. Then to further complicate the task, nor can Gisborne Lake be grasped in full until it is understood as existing within the water debate, which is a thriving contemporary deliberation from local to global levels. Finally, the free trade deal era, in particular the NAFTA, has proven to affect the Gisborne Lake debate extensively. A discussion of water and trade is found in the next chapter.

1. NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR STUDIES

An appropriate starting point for grasping the meaning of Gisborne Lake within the context of Newfoundland and Labrador (at least since European settlement in the 1500s), is the work of Harold Adams Innis. Innis contributed greatly to the origins of political economy as well as to an understanding of Newfoundland and Labrador's relationship with its "natural resources." Important for this research, Innis' theories placed emphasis on the interaction between the social, political, economic and environmental structures, as

well as the relationships of dependence and exploitation that arise from this interaction.¹²⁴ More specifically, and most related to the discussion on Newfoundland and Labrador, guided by the work of Babe¹²⁵ we see that Innis made a great contribution through his theory of staples. To Innis' contribution, I also add two comments from more current, local intellectuals: Peter Neary's *The Political Economy of Newfoundland, 1929-1972* and Valerie Summers' *Regime Change in a Resource Economy: The Politics of Underdevelopment in Newfoundland (1825-1993)*.¹²⁶ These authors are often in accord with Innis' findings and they signal that the themes of Innis' writing continued in Newfoundland and Labrador after his time and perhaps even today.

Innis' staples theory linked transportation, geography, society, culture, politics, economics, history and technology to "relations between imperial centres and colonial margins."¹²⁷ In the case of Newfoundland, Innis showed how the fishery staple trade was established to satisfy European demand for fish. The North Atlantic fishery began in the mid-1500s predominately with the French, English and Portuguese,¹²⁸ although England eventually came to dominate the area of Newfoundland, viewing the fishery as "a nursery

¹²⁴ Robert E. Babe, *Canadian Communication Thought: Ten Foundational Writers* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 58-59, 64-70; Clement, "Introduction: Whither the New Canadian Political Economy?," 6; and Clement and Williams, eds., *The New Canadian Political Economy*, 7, 18-27, 36-41, 55.

¹²⁵ Babe, *Canadian Communication Thought: Ten Foundational Writers*, 51-88.

¹²⁶ The point of using these authors is not to compare and contrast their theoretical and methodological basis. Despite potential differences of approach taken by these authors, they raise similar themes with regards to Newfoundland and Labrador's economic and political history, which is the focus in this discussion.

¹²⁷ Babe, *Canadian Communication Thought: Ten Foundational Writers*, 65.

¹²⁸ Harold A. Innis, *Essays in Canadian Economic History*, ed. Mary Q. Innis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 29.

for seaman, a market for English manufactured products....”¹²⁹ The colony of Newfoundland became for England “a great English ship moored near the Banks during the fishing season for the convenience of English fishermen.”¹³⁰) Thus Innis shows us a fish that staple was all about “the expansion of the Empire.”¹³¹

As Newfoundland was nothing more than a fishing station for European trade, Innis showed how local infrastructure and government were “subordinated” to fish production: in the staples trade, “Agriculture, industry, transportation, trade, finance and governmental activities tend to become subordinate to the production of the staple for a more highly specialized manufacturing community.” (In turn, of course, the “motherland” becomes dependent on these staples and the markets of the colonies.)¹³² According to Summers, the shipping of the benefits of Newfoundland’s fishery back to Europe resulted in a state of underdevelopment in the colony. Agriculture and other resource development were strongly discouraged, outside St. John’s local government was rare and residency on the island was long prohibited as a local fishery was thought to detract from the gains to be brought back to England.¹³³ Regardless of these restraints, the focus was certain to stay on fishing in Newfoundland because, unlike Canadian Maritime provinces, for instance, which would diversify their economies into multi-staple trades (ranging from a focus on other fish species besides cod, agriculture, mining and

¹²⁹ Ibid., 30.

¹³⁰ Quoted in Ibid., 37. (See also Summers, *Regime Change in a Resource Economy*, 2.)

¹³¹ Innis, *Essays in Canadian Economic History*, 27.

¹³² Harold A. Innis, *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change: Selected Essays*, Harold A. Innis, ed. Daniel Drache (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1995), 5-6.

¹³³ Summers, *Regime Change in a Resource Economy*, 20-24.

even silver fox farming¹³⁴), agriculture or other staples were not easily developed. Newfoundland's rough geography and climate were blamed.

Although settlement was strongly discouraged,¹³⁵ settlements did expand in Newfoundland in the 1700s. Permanent courts appeared in 1809 and the "expansion of private property was steadily strengthened."¹³⁶ Finally, democratic, representative institutions, a change from pure British colonial control, were established in 1832.¹³⁷

Innis stressed that at the point of settlement, a strong trade in goods from Europe was developed. Europeans coming to North America desired goods from their homeland rather than adapting to what could be found in their new environment. (In fact, in the specific case of Newfoundland, as compared to other regions, it had to "import from abroad practically the great mass of the necessities of life."¹³⁸) The "heavy borrowing from the peoples of the old world" of emigrants in Newfoundland resulted in dependence on Europe. This augmented pressure on the local people to have something to trade (staples) in return for "motherland" goods.¹³⁹

Through all of these comments, Innis was emphasizing how a "legacy of dependence" or a "biased" relationship was created from the start between the colony of

¹³⁴ Innis, *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change: Selected Essays*, Harold A. Innis, 52-62.

¹³⁵ Innis, *Essays in Canadian Economic History*, 32.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

¹³⁷ Peter Neary, ed., *The Political Economy of Newfoundland, 1929-1972* (Vancouver: Copp Clark Publishing, 1973), 10 and Summers, *Regime Change in a Resource Economy*, 2.

¹³⁸ Quoted in Harold A. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954), 482.

¹³⁹ Innis, *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change: Selected Essays*, Harold A. Innis, 3-5.

Newfoundland and Europe.¹⁴⁰ Innis saw Canada's economic history as "dominated by the discrepancy between the centre and the margin of western civilization"¹⁴¹ which the staples trade exacerbated:¹⁴² staples from the margin were sent to the centre to be manufactured and then sold back to the margin.¹⁴³

The dependency of Newfoundland, however, was particularly marked by Newfoundland's "single-staple economy," the cod, which worsened dependence and oppression.¹⁴⁴ Although fish from Newfoundland were sold to an enormous market (for example throughout Canada, U.S., Britain, Spain, Italy, Greece, Portugal, Brazil, South America and the West Indies),¹⁴⁵ the fish staple was a vulnerable one for several reasons. First, there was the problem of distance: Newfoundland was in some cases farther than other fish suppliers, for example farther than Portugal was in its fish sale to Britain.¹⁴⁶ There was also tough competition from various countries, such as from France, Iceland, Norway, Portugal. As well, in an effort to protect domestic markets, some countries placed import duties on Newfoundland fish.¹⁴⁷ Another problem for the dispersed and

¹⁴⁰ Babe, *Canadian Communication Thought: Ten Foundational Writers*, 65-7.

¹⁴¹ Innis, *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change: Selected Essays*, Harold A. Innis, 3-5.

¹⁴² For Innis, staples "inevitably deepen relations between a centre and its periphery." Original emphasis, quoted from Babe, *Canadian Communication Thought: Ten Foundational Writers*, 82.

¹⁴³ Innis, *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change: Selected Essays*, Harold A. Innis, 3-5.

¹⁴⁴ Babe, *Canadian Communication Thought: Ten Foundational Writers*, 67. Note that according to Innis, the rise of a new staple (or perhaps the loss of a former one?), combined with technological change causes a "period of crisis" and new terrains of power. Babe, *Canadian Communication Thought: Ten Foundational Writers*, 64-5.

¹⁴⁵ Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy*, 456-57.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 460.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

fairly individual-based Newfoundland fishery was the difficulty of standardizing and grading fish.¹⁴⁸ While the cod fishery was decentralized and “depended ultimately for its efficiency on the individual fisherman,” (thus changes in the industry were “slow and gradual”),¹⁴⁹ as Innis makes clear throughout *The Cod Fisheries*, this was in the end a downfall because international markets required a massive, standardized product. As there was little centralized processing and as each fishing family did all the steps from the catching to the final preparing of fish for sale, it was difficult to organize the sale of cod and cod products *en masse*.¹⁵⁰ (As for the fishing families, the cod fishery was organized in such a way that all the risk was on the actual primary catcher of fish and little risk was on the shoulders of capital owners. Innis showed how the profit of these people took precedence over “a bare subsistence for the primary producer.”¹⁵¹) Another major difficulty for Newfoundland in the fish trade identified by Innis was its “position as a producer of a commodity that is consumed in tropical countries with a large Catholic population and low purchasing power,” while it was simultaneously in competition with “recently industrialized fishing regions” and paying prices for other commodities that were set by North American standards. The prices for products Newfoundland bought, such as flour beef and pork, were typically higher and steadier than cod prices.¹⁵² Newfoundland found itself in the position of selling to poor countries and buying from rich. (Then in desperation to sell fish, Newfoundland sellers often pushed fish prices

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 458.

¹⁴⁹ Innis, *Essays in Canadian Economic History*, 29.

¹⁵⁰ Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy*, 468.

¹⁵¹ Quoted in Ibid., 482.

¹⁵² Ibid., 481.

down even farther.¹⁵³) Worse, prices for cod were noted to “rise more sharply and fall farther” than any other product’s prices resulting in extreme “expansion” and “depression.” Much noted was the “vulnerability of Newfoundland’s narrowly based, export oriented economy to the forces of the international marketplace.”¹⁵⁴

Until the 1920s the largest occupational group in Newfoundland was still based on the fishery and in the 1920s and 1930s, the need was seen for “economic diversification” away from the volatile and export-centred international fishing market.¹⁵⁵ It was not until this point that the dependence on the fishery began to be challenged by other “extractive resource industries” and service sector employment. (Iron ore developments on Bell Island and pulp and paper industries in the west are frequently noted.) First attempts at industrialization were “labour intensive light industries” such as manufacturing which failed in great part due to Newfoundland’s distance from markets. With the failure of these industries, in the next round of development attention was turned to “large scale exploitation of the mineral, forest and water power resources,” most dramatically in Labrador’s interior. (Note that Labrador was annexed to Newfoundland in the 1920s.) Yet even through the 1949-1972 period, the fisheries retained a high percentage of labourers and were supported by heavy subsidies.¹⁵⁶

To break the dependency on the fish staple, Newfoundland and Labrador extended into massive extraction industries which brought with them, ironically, a new

¹⁵³ Ibid., 476.

¹⁵⁴ Neary, ed., *The Political Economy of Newfoundland*, 21.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 9, 11, 15.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 177-78.

dependence: foreign capital.¹⁵⁷ New development ideas in the province would not stray far from the idea of staple development or from the heavy resource extraction and exportation mode, such as mining. Summers explains how a key tool in the continued domination of Newfoundland by Britain (and then Canada) was capital. While foreign financial resources funded Newfoundland and Labrador's developments, policy in the province would reflect the interests of the dominant external actors rather than local interests.

Why, as Summers describes, was Newfoundland heavily or totally dependent on the investment of external actors? British banks' stringent lending policies, the exportation of profit back to Europe, public spending on relieving poverty, the lack of local sufficient, stable currency and banking, as well as a volatile staples economy (the major source of public revenue) are all noted by Summers as Newfoundlanders' "barriers to investment" which left the door open for foreign investors.¹⁵⁸ In fact, as Neary notes, "massive public concessions" were made to attract foreign involvement.¹⁵⁹ Time and time again, development projects would be publicly funded (in that private rights were given to access public resources), but privately owned and would predominately benefit private business. The development of mining industries and hydroelectricity are cases in point here: both required "great concessions to corporate power" in order to get capital to start the projects. Beyond a few good construction jobs for the local area, very few

¹⁵⁷ Summers, *Regime Change in a Resource Economy*, 14.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 30-42, 81-83. Summers makes several brief but insightful connections between British rule in Newfoundland and the International Monetary Fund's actions in developing nations, for example see Summers, *Regime Change in a Resource Economy*, 138.

¹⁵⁹ Neary, ed., *The Political Economy of Newfoundland*, 17.

benefits were felt. The most dramatic benefits, cheaper products or energy or enormous profits, were exported out of the area.¹⁶⁰

In the 1930s, Newfoundland's economy and therefore government was still severely threatened by fish market fluctuations, added to the effects of the depression. In 1934, Newfoundland relinquished responsible government for a British-directed Commission of Government which demonstrated, Neary asserts, "the growing power of Newfoundland's creditors over the weak and increasingly desperate Newfoundland government." Neary reads this change as that "the interests of Newfoundland's bondholders had been placed before the interests of responsible government" or Newfoundland's independence.¹⁶¹

Through Commission of Government, external actors "balanced the budget" in Newfoundland and planned for its economic future - Newfoundland politics were deemed too chaotic and irrational to be able to do this alone - in true authoritarian style.¹⁶² Britain regained control of Newfoundland's "commercialism"¹⁶³ and initiated fishing boards, rules governing cod export, curing standards and fish movement studies as well as introduced fishing managers or "experts," in the form of chairman, inspectors and advisory committees.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ John Crosbie, "John Crosbie (1972)," in *The Political Economy of Newfoundland, 1929-1972*, ed. Peter Neary (Vancouver: Copp Clark Publishing, 1973), 212-17; Neary, ed., *The Political Economy of Newfoundland*, 177.

¹⁶¹ Neary, ed., *The Political Economy of Newfoundland*, 21-22. See also Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy*, 483 and Innis, *Essays in Canadian Economic History*, 38, 41.

¹⁶² Neary, ed., *The Political Economy of Newfoundland*, 66.

¹⁶³ Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy*, 483.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 477-78.

Then after World War Two, the people of Newfoundland demanded more control of their government which Britain, entering a period of divesting itself of colonies to concentrate on rebuilding itself, was ready to concede. (Neary thus describes Newfoundland as “one of the first beneficiaries of the post-war collapse of the European world empires” and remarks how Newfoundland’s history often resembles that of the “emerging ‘third world.’”¹⁶⁵) Colonial rule would continue in Newfoundland until its 1949 entrance into confederation with Canada. Summers explains how Britain ensured Newfoundland “chose” Canada.

Two concepts used by Summers serve as an excellent way to summarize the key points of Newfoundland’s history. Summers elucidates how the province has been marked by what she calls “external dependency” and “internal dualism.” The first concept, which is defined as a relationship of dominance with something outside a region which “distort[s] the internal functioning of the dependent social formation,”¹⁶⁶ points to Newfoundlanders’ lack of control over their land due to British (and then Canadian) meddling, as well as due to international markets that rapidly changed the value of Newfoundland’s most important staple, cod. (Summers cites more recent Canadian interference in reference to fisheries management and current equalization payment processes.) These themes of Newfoundland’s economic history are also seen in Innis’ and Neary’s work. Colonial oppression and dependence on the “motherland” and single-staple economy vulnerability combined with rare opportunities to move beyond this single staple are frequently cited as influencing what Newfoundland would become.

¹⁶⁵ Neary, ed., *The Political Economy of Newfoundland*, 103.

¹⁶⁶ Summers, *Regime Change in a Resource Economy*, v.

As for the second concept in Summers' theory, this external dependency had the effect of creating internal dualism, defined as domestic tensions and cleavages. In Newfoundland, these conflicts were predominantly between those classes involved in (and reaping the benefits of) capitalist expansion and those still involved in "traditional pre-capitalist modes of production" (this cleavage can often be understood as the split between urban St. John's and rural communities).¹⁶⁷ Similarly, although Neary describes Newfoundland as a most "homogenous" population "[e]thnically and linguistically," he demonstrates how it was shaped by "striking religious pluralism," by urban (or Avalon area) versus the outport "hinterland" conflicts and by divisions between merchants and fishing communities (or what would become conflicts between corporations or developers and industrial workers).¹⁶⁸

Thus we can begin to perceive the complexity of the Newfoundland and Labrador case. Here we have the contrast of an area boasting of great "natural resources" yet suffering from a certain "underdevelopment." Many have attempted to alleviate the scarcities that exist, but often there is some form of dependence on external actors who frequently end up exploiting the local resources, controlling local governance and eventually exporting most of the development's benefits out of Newfoundland and Labrador. Through all this, social tensions are created between those who are participating in the development and those who are left outside.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 5-7.

¹⁶⁸ Neary, ed., *The Political Economy of Newfoundland*, 10-11, 19.

In the 1950s Innis described life in Newfoundland as particularly “filled with hardship, poverty, and oppression.”¹⁶⁹ Then in 1973 Neary left readers with the observation that Newfoundlanders and Labradorians continue “their long and tortured search for economic security and political stability.”¹⁷⁰ Twenty years later Summers concluded her analysis by remarking that in the province, although it is a place of great potential, and although promises of improvement are continually made with each new project and each new government, “Development and the eradication of regional poverty remains an elusive dream.”¹⁷¹ The struggle for improvement continues in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Thus, as the three authors above emphasize, to get at what Newfoundland and Labrador *means* or at least *meant* is to talk of dealing with various forms of poverty, dependence on external actors or capital (therefore weak local government), and divisions within society. Further, and of importance for this work, the history of Newfoundland and Labrador since European settlement can be read as marked by a heavy or full reliance on raw environmental “resources” and the many relationships of exploitation that ensue from resource extraction.

1.1. Environmental Scheming

With this general understanding of Newfoundland and Labrador’s history since the 1500s, more specific mention must now be made with regards to the expansion to other

¹⁶⁹ Babe, *Canadian Communication Thought: Ten Foundational Writers*, 67.

¹⁷⁰ Neary, ed., *The Political Economy of Newfoundland*, 180.

¹⁷¹ Summers, *Regime Change in a Resource Economy*, 16.

resources beyond the fishery. As noted above, since the 1920s, in acknowledgement of the economic and social problems caused by the fishery staple, thoughts turned to other resources. Conveniently, packed into an area nearly double the size of Great Britain are (seemingly) endless “natural resources” in humanly uninhabited, “wild” spaces. In its tourism industry, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador has taken advantage of these impressions, boasting of two provincial beauties in particular, Gros Morne National Park and Labrador. As for the first,

This is where giant arctic hares make their home, and woodland caribou and moose can be found. Steep valley slopes are alive with lichens, mosses, and tuckamore trees. Orchids thrive, over thirty wild species in all. Berries answer to names like bakeapple, partridge, and alpine bear. Gros Morne is like no other place on the face of the earth. Come see our wild side.

Or visit Labrador,

one of the last great wilderness areas on earth - a colossal frontier. Over 300,000 square kilometres of unspoiled land. [...] Wildlife roam in spectacular numbers. The largest barren ground caribou herd in the world lives here, the George River Caribou Herd, over 600,000 strong. There are moose, wolves, lynx, porcupines, and polar bears. Whales, seals, and giant arctic hares. It's wild.¹⁷²

These are just two examples of the province's reputation for being untouched, pristine, and bountiful. This conception is, of course, a myth that is becoming more unbelievable as the minutes pass. Directly alongside messages of natural beauty, Newfoundland and Labrador is acclaimed as a great exporter of raw resources such as oil, fish, newsprint,

¹⁷² *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism* (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, cited August 1 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/tourism/welcome/default.htm and *Where to Go* (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, cited August 1 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/tourism/mainmenu/wheretogo/default.htm.

iron ore and hydroelectricity¹⁷³ which, of course, implicate the pumping, trawling, clearing, blasting and damming of the “impeccable” nature in the province. Ironically, these messages of the unspoiled and the plentiful exist just as boil-water orders keep hundreds of communities across the province in fear of their tap water, as acid rain decimates freshwater fish, as cod stocks plummet to a simply unimaginable depth and as the city of St. John’s pumps innumerable litres of raw sewage each day into its prized “oldest port in North America.” (The sewage “bubble” is turned off, of course, when tourist masses are in town, such as when cruise ships come to port.)

Still, over time the myth and lure of inexhaustible, untouched, pristine natural resources has produced a long train of schemes, some more far-fetched and frivolous than others, to raise Newfoundland and Labrador up from its status of poor, based on what could be taken from nature, the quicker, the better. This has often been referred to as “desperate development” and Joseph R. Smallwood is the figure in Newfoundland and Labrador history remembered for starting the scheming in a serious way during his reign as premier from 1949 to 1972.

Smallwood was the driving force behind the creation of sixteen new manufacturing industries in Newfoundland which would include the production of hockey sticks and skates, rubber boots, chocolate bars, batteries, gypsum, cement, fine leather and fur goods, textiles, hardwood, press board and paper. The great majority of these industries failed, and failed miserably, taking with them a great public budgetary surplus and then

¹⁷³ *About Newfoundland and Labrador: Provincial Economy* (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, cited August 1 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/nfld&lab/economy.htm.

sometimes leaving a bill with the province. Smallwood set out to industrialize Newfoundland and Labrador and to ensure employment for its people, however there was no clear plan behind the industrialization, decisions were made in haste and secrecy with little public consultation, corruption was rampant (particularly on the part of Smallwood's central negotiator, Alfred Valdmanis), and extremely generous terms were granted to companies with little assurance of gains for Newfoundland and Labrador. It was difficult for the province's industries to be competitive with Canadian industries in the first place due to high costs of transportation from the province. Then there were the further complications of a workforce unskilled in the newly introduced industries, a lack of modern equipment, and in some cases the extra costs of importing raw material for those industries not based on local resources.

After the failure of Smallwood's manufacturing industries, his next attempt was the development of mega-projects financed by foreign direct investment. Smallwood's mega-projects were characterized by the hasty giving of great swaths of resources to any company loosely promising to bring employment and growth to the province. Access to minerals and forests were handed over to foreign companies while the greatest benefits of this development (jobs, taxes, royalties) were often lost due to overly generous contracts or out-of-province secondary processing.¹⁷⁴

The Churchill Falls hydro-electricity project is a typical, and the most widely known, example of this period of mega-development. This late 1960s project in Labrador aimed to sell hydroelectricity to the U.S. market, but as Quebec disapproved of

¹⁷⁴ Summers, *Regime Change in a Resource Economy*, 173-75.

delivery lines crossing its borders on the way to the U.S., Newfoundland and Labrador had to sell the electricity to Quebec, which would then re-sell it across the border. A long-term, low-rate, non-indexed deal was given to Quebec to Newfoundland and Labrador's great disadvantage, especially in light of the 1970s oil crisis.¹⁷⁵ Newfoundland and Labrador still struggle to rectify this contract and to avoid a repeat of it in the Lower Churchill development negotiations currently led by Premier Roger Grimes.

During the Moores' administration of 1972 to 1978 offshore oil development was offered up as the political saving grace of Newfoundland and Labrador's economy.¹⁷⁶ Yet in 1993, Summers described Hibernia as "one of the most costly regional development projects in Canadian history and one of the biggest gambles in Newfoundland history."¹⁷⁷ Although the provincial government can finally celebrate oil as "the highest valued commodity" produced by the province¹⁷⁸ (a monthly "record" of 10.7 million barrels were produced from the Hibernia and Terra Nova projects in November 2002¹⁷⁹), critics speculate that the benefits have been, or will be, negligible due to the federal equalization formula.

Brian Peckford was the next to take to the stage as premier to fight unsuccessfully for Newfoundland and Labrador to regain its control over its resources and for the

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 174-75. See also Letto, *Chocolate Bars and Rubber Boots*, 104-05.

¹⁷⁶ Summers, *Regime Change in a Resource Economy*, 180-81.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ *About Newfoundland and Labrador: Provincial Economy* (cited).

¹⁷⁹ *Record Production in November has 2002 Production Approaching 94 Million Barrels* (Economic Research and Analysis Division, Department of Finance, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, cited February 4 2003), available from www.economics.gov.nf.ca/indOil.asp.

province to be an “equal partner” in confederation. (For this he was eventually dubbed the “bad boy of confederation.”) But Peckford would envision a mega-scheme of his own: he created the infamous large scale hydroponics project in the province referred to as the Sprung project. Sprung lasted from 1987 to 1989, cost Newfoundland and Labrador over twenty million dollars and thus resulted in the growth of perhaps the most expensive cucumbers in history.¹⁸⁰

Today the province witnesses increasingly invasive resource development. For instance, talks began in 2002 of developing two more hydroelectricity sites downstream from Churchill Falls, Gull Island and Muskrat Falls. Production is speculated to begin around 2010, but is complicated by Innu Nation land claims, environmental concerns and citizens’ memories of the negotiating terms for Churchill Falls. As well, iron ore and nickel production from sites in Labrador continue and will be enhanced by the production from Voisey’s Bay in 2006. In the fishery, now focussed primarily on crab, shrimp, cod, flounder, turbot and herring, there is a steady increase in the volume of fish caught and a rise in aquaculture. As for offshore oil, more projects are in development: 2005 will see oil production from the White Rose project. Overall, the economy in Newfoundland and Labrador is growing primarily based on expanded resource development. (In 2003, the province’s gross domestic product (GDP) is expected to grow more than any other

¹⁸⁰ For a brief period in the early 1990s there was even discussion in all seriousness of a scheme to import garbage by barge from New York to be burned in incinerators in Long Harbour, Newfoundland. Due to opposition (in great part based on environmental concerns), from the local SNAGG (Say No to American Garbage Group), this project was suppressed.

Canadian province.)¹⁸¹ Yet in all of these projects, the same concerns remain. Will adequate royalty and taxation regimes be established so that the province will reap benefits of resource development or will all this be to the advantage of foreign or private business? Will the economic benefits be negligible due to federal equalization payments? Will there be employment opportunities for local people and investment in local communities, or will the benefits be exported along with the resource?

Reviewing these schemes for resource development in Newfoundland and Labrador, several trends are notable. Small scale, community-based, lightly-treading development using local, historical knowledge have been overlooked for monstrous, technological solutions which entail massive environmental degradation or at least the real potential for it, and the promise of vast profits. Yet seldom are real, stable benefits felt by citizens through employment, corporate taxes or government royalties. Although the plans have been motivated by the aims of alleviating poverty and unemployment in the province or bringing young people home from their exodus to mainland Canada and beyond to find work,¹⁸² these effects have not been as noticeable as expected.

With this discussion on natural resource development we add other key elements to understanding Newfoundland and Labrador to the previous comments of Innis, Neary and

¹⁸¹ *The Economic Review, November 2002* (Economic Research and Analysis, Department of Finance, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, cited February 4 2003), available from www.economics.gov.nf.ca/review2002/default.asp.

¹⁸² According to Statistics Canada (and even the more statistically-generous Government of Newfoundland and Labrador), this province is experiencing nothing short of an exodus of young people. By 2026, Statistics Canada forecasts that approximately 465,000 people will inhabit the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, 83,000 less than there are right now. Further, 40,000 people have moved out in the last five years. Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, "Newfoundland Demographics Study: Report on Demographic Consultations & Regional Economic Trends," (St. John's: 2001), n.p.

Summers. The desperation of low employment, a comparably lower standard of living and severe out-migration joined with the myth of endless and pristine natural resource opportunities have resulted in massive schemes for instant economic improvement which often require outside capital (thus outside control), plus environmental destruction. In the end, often the province is left with short-lived benefits or exported benefits and has sustained environmental sacrifices. Although this pattern of hasty, large scale environmental development appears deeply rooted in Newfoundland and Labrador history, in opposition to this reckless, desperate development stand important elements of culture.

1.2. Culture

The place of land and sea in idealized Newfoundland and Labrador culture counters the unabashed environmental exploitation repeatedly demonstrated in the province. This is a crucial and long-standing contradiction. Although I save a more detailed discussion of this for the closing of Chapter V, no brief talk of this province would be complete without a word on the importance of the environment in the cultural lives of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians. Based on the art of this province, the songs, poetry, visual art, craftwork and so on (which some argue reveal the very “soul” of the province¹⁸³), Newfoundland and Labrador is depicted as a place where the lands, waters

¹⁸³ Michael Cook notes that due to Confederation and resettlement, in twenty years “the ritual and mythology, as practiced in reality, died. And in the death throes the sleeping, visionary spirit of the soul of Newfoundland manifested itself in the imaginations of those whose task it is to record the joys and agonies of life about them, the artists.” Cook asserts that we can have access to the spirit of Newfoundlanders

and animals *are* the humans, so close is the connection. To be in nature - to respect it, to be humbled by it, to be in awe faced with it, to celebrate it, to long for it, to work with it, to attempt to understand it – this is to be a Newfoundlander and Labradorean. Consider the closing words of a poem by John Steffler. After a fairly gruesome depiction of men slicing and gutting cod, the narrator is struck with the following thought:

the world suddenly seems to be all
 alive, blood running inside
 of us and outside of us, inside
 our hands and over them, with little
 between the two, a cover of skin
 keeping me in or out I'm not
 sure which, but some sharp
 bones have gone into my hands
 and some of the running blood is mine.¹⁸⁴

There is such a blurred line between Newfoundlanders and Labradorians and nature that we cannot speak of one without the other, the art tells us. The division between the environment and people is unclear, and perhaps non-existent. Repeatedly conveyed is the sentiment that Newfoundlanders and Labradorians are called back to the land or sea if they stray too far, and should the people be forced to break their relationship with nature due to “modern progress” or changes like the cod fishing moratorium, a painful scar will remain. Throughout the poems, songs and art of Newfoundland and Labrador, as will be shown in more detail at the end of Chapter V, again and again humans are recognized as being made of the same core as nature.

through the art that tried to represent them. Michael Cook, “Culture as Caricature. Reflections on a Continuing Obsession: Newfoundland,” *Canadian Literature* 100 (1984): 72-73.

¹⁸⁴ John Steffler, “[five tons of fish slippery as],” in *Wild on the Crest: Poems of the Sea, Newfoundland and Labrador*, ed. Mary Dalton, et al. (St. John's: Jeroboam Press, 1995), 54-55.

Yet to stay within that well-loved environment, there must be something to materially sustain the people. Ironically this frequently implies employment projects harming the very environment so integral to the character of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, and so integral to the reasons for admiring and longing to stay in this place. Bocking notes that water policy is essential to the very “survival of this nation.” Canada’s waters are so fundamental to Canadian identity and sovereignty that eventually, as we bring more harm to these water systems, we will come to harm the country and ourselves. He states:

we must ask to what extent it is possible to eliminate the basis on which to a considerable extent rests the *idea* of Canada, without damaging the nation itself. We have seen how central the free flowing water of Canada is to the conception of their nation held by Canadians. With the continuation of present water development patterns, it will at some point become clear to Canadians that the Canada they believed in no longer exists, that the best of it has been sacrificed in a few decades of dam building. What will happen to the spirit of the nation, its will to live [...]?¹⁸⁵

Likewise, and perhaps even more so, this is the case of this province. The environment is the fulcrum of who Newfoundlanders and Labradorians are culturally and their pride in their place of origin is great. Yet the environment is harmed by development projects aiming to keep people here. How can this dissonance be sustained?

CONCLUSION

This section has attempted to convey some sense of the Newfoundland and Labrador context that includes stark dependence on and exploitation of the bounty of nature, fears of poverty, realities of depopulation, schemes of all sorts and a deep connection with the

¹⁸⁵ Bocking, *Canada’s Water: For Sale?*, 174-75, 79.

environment. These comments cannot hope to be more than a taste of the complex social, political and economical contexts in which our Gisborne Lake case is embedded.

Let us consider the links between all these comments and the development of Gisborne Lake: there are deep fears throughout Newfoundland and Labrador of being “had” again, of losing great benefits to, or being controlled by, external forces; there are worries about not being able to have and hold private investment; there are social tensions caused between those who stand to gain from the development of Gisborne Lake and those who do not, just as dissonance is caused when the gains of this development will be tasted at the expense of the environment which founds the Newfoundland and Labrador character; there are the high hopes for an industry or project that will finally bring jobs and income into the province to relieve the underdevelopment and slow the out-migration; and yet there are also the fears that Gisborne Lake is just another quick-fix scheme, another promise of big money and jobs that will ultimately *cost* Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, that will make the province look ridiculous and mismanaged once again, or that will even result in a loss of employment when secondary processing takes place somewhere else. Gisborne Lake sums up a great deal about, and is greatly influenced by, the provincial context. Still, the framework is not complete. Our landscape of Gisborne Lake must also include a word on the more general debates on water and trade, the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV: THE LANDSCAPE – GLOBAL WATER AND TRADE

1. *THE WATER DEBATE*

On my map of the world, Gisborne Lake is invisible. The Aral Sea, the Yellow River and Victoria Lake are quite plain, but Gisborne Lake is unidentifiable. Could the exportation or exploitation of this comparably tiny lake have grave consequences, locally or even globally? Some commentators would answer this question in the affirmative noting how the results would be damaging and serious, whereas others would suggest the effects would be miniscule if we consider the area in its entirety. Environmental degradation is a good reason to cause us to reconsider the development of Gisborne Lake, but if there was no potential environmental degradation, what would be the concern about Gisborne Lake? Why should we not export the water from this one lake when Newfoundland and Labrador encircles so many more water resources?

This particular body of water is symbolic of thousands of others worldwide that are on the verge of, or already have been, commodified or somehow ill-used to feed the growing demands of industry (agricultural and other) and wasteful water users. Although the effects may be comparably smaller than those of the Hoover Dam and although fewer people and wildlife might be affected than by the Three Gorges Dam, Gisborne Lake is part of a pattern of thinking about and dealing with water. By learning about the motives behind this local policy we may gain insight into the more extreme national and global ones: Gisborne Lake is a small, but perhaps representative example of what is going on in the general water debate. The same ideologies guide many of these projects. So while the commodification of Gisborne Lake *itself* may not make a dramatic impact on the

world, it represents a way of doing that, in the aggregate, does have momentous, nefarious consequences.

Prominent intellectuals and activists have felt compelled to comment on this current water problems. Consider this sample of recent titles: in 2002 there was *Blue Gold: The Battle Against Corporate Theft of the World's Water* by Maude Barlow (Council of Canadians) and Tony Clarke (Polaris Institute),¹⁸⁶ *Water* re-published by journalist Marq de Villiers (Winner of the Governor General's Award),¹⁸⁷ *Water: Privatization, Pollution, and Profit* by renowned environmental activist and physicist Vandana Shiva,¹⁸⁸ *Water: Local-Level Management* by David B. Brooks (International Development Research Centre)¹⁸⁹ and *Le Monde diplomatique's* issue devoted to the topic of "Le ruée vers l'eau" (the "water rush").¹⁹⁰ Just prior to these in 2001 was *The Water Manifesto: Arguments for a World Water Contract* written by the former President of the Group of Lisbon, Riccardo Petrella.¹⁹¹ While these are all distinct books with unique perspectives, what is similar is their deep and specific concern over the current route the world is taking on the value of water. What is of concern?

¹⁸⁶ Maude Barlow and Tony Clarke, *Blue Gold: The Battle Against Corporate Theft of the World's Water* (Toronto: Stoddart, 2002).

¹⁸⁷ Marq de Villiers, *Water*, 2 ed. (Toronto: Stoddart, 2000).

¹⁸⁸ Vandana Shiva, *Water Wars: Privatization, Pollution, and Profit* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002).

¹⁸⁹ David B. Brooks, *Water: Local Level Management, In_Focus* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2002).

¹⁹⁰ Ignacio Ramonet et al., eds., *La ruée vers l'eau, Le monde diplomatique: Manière de voir* 65 (Paris: 2002).

¹⁹¹ Riccardo Petrella, *The Water Manifesto: Arguments for a World Water Contract* (Halifax & London: Fernwood Publishing & Zed Books, 2001).

The authors frequently point to dams, leaky water infrastructure, greedy or corrupt industries, water pollution of all kinds, wasteful irrigation systems, unreasonable demands placed on water systems (the over-mining of ground water; water-intensive cash crops in lieu of tried and true, local minimum-water plants; desert cities), and the diversion or altering of river and lake systems. These actions, put in one sentence, leave humans, animals and ecosystems with either less water or water of a much poorer quality. With this change come consequences as varied as the massive migration of people, increasing tensions between human communities, losses of biodiversity and substantial climate changes. However of these authors, Shiva is most clear in pointing to the similar root of these actions and subsequent changes: the human community, with all its great technological capability, has neglected the value of water. For this writer, it is to be shared by all species of plants and animals, by all parts of nature, and certainly not sold or abused for the profit gain of one group of humans. The value of water, Shiva writes, is beyond monetary value. It is a sacred gift of nature that is essential to all of nature.

Of course, the Canadian landmark in the water debate dates back farther than these titles. Richard Bocking is frequently credited with writing the first and most continually influential text on the water of this country in 1972, *Canada's Water: For Sale?*¹⁹² Thirty years ago Bocking recognized that the concern over water was, and ought to be, an immediate one. American cries of water scarcity of the day (particularly from the southwest agricultural areas) were apparent to Bocking who documented the U.S. as turning its attention toward Canada to fulfill this shortage. (Yet he notes how "Water

¹⁹² Bocking, *Canada's Water: For Sale?*

shortage is a state of mind.” In reality, the U.S. may need cheaper or cleaner water, he writes, but they are not facing water shortages.¹⁹³) Pollution, out-dated “pioneer times” water laws (first come, first served, use it or lose it mentalities), over-mining, wastage and overly subsidized agriculture are said to have put stress on our neighbour’s water, but Bocking states that exporting water to the U.S. would not be helpful, rather it would drive on out-of-control development and water wastage while continuing the myth of continuous water availability. In actual fact, those who support exportation or large scale diversion are those who stand to gain directly from it, and often on the backs of those who lose out: the contractors who build the infrastructure and the recipients of the water (often huge agribusinesses which will not be paying the full costs of bringing the water), claim the advantages while the local people from where the water is taken and taxpayers in general assume the environmental, economic and social costs. Hence Bocking reveals water projects as political gestures or technological showmanship that are environmentally and socially destructive as well as seldom even economically feasible.

In place of exportation or large scale diversions (which would be so costly as to be unviable), Bocking notes alternative solutions that ultimately add up to living within our environments and developing flexible responses to water problems that would not limit the options of future generations: price it (beyond minimum needs, water should be metered and priced to discourage wastage); use technology efficiently (such as smarter irrigation); repair infrastructure wastages; recycle it; stop polluting it; maintain ecosystems that protect it (forests, marshes); think of less destructive, less irrevocable and

¹⁹³ Ibid., 101.

less short-lived regional development or employment development methods; use less damaging energy sources; attempt to understand the complexity of water ecosystems; conduct post-project assessments to verify the real costs and benefits of large scale projects; and finally, at a more abstract level, we must acknowledge water's finitude and adapt to the constraints in which we must live.¹⁹⁴

Bocking's comments continue to set the pace for opponents to invasive water development. Like many recent authors he documented the actions resulting from the degradation or overuse of water, he noted the alternative, more sustainable ways to use water, he made the important link between water and human identity and finally he recognized the importance of studying and perhaps altering how water is valued and who counts in this valuing. The worth attributed to water will guide (mis)treatment of it.

In complete opposition to the tenets of this group of writers, however, are those who are encouraging the further commodification of water, such as Gisborne Lake. The pro-export, pro-diversion or pro-"water development" people assert that water is just like oil or trees or fish which we constantly export, that water is fully renewable, that there is no such thing as water scarcity and, sometimes at the same time, that it is morally desirable to export water so the world's thirsty people can have access to it. As well, uniquely highlighted in the Gisborne Lake case is the premise that water exportation will be an amazing source of employment. These are some of the basic premises expressed by water corporations such as Lyon des Eau, McCurdy Group and Sun Belt, by "sceptical

¹⁹⁴ Ibid; Bocking, "Canadian Water: A Commodity for Export?."

environmentalists” and academics like Bjørn Lomborg,¹⁹⁵ by local, provincial, national and American politicians seeking to buy or export water for profit and pro-business “think tanks” such as the Fraser Institute. Such positions are seen through the analysis of the interview data in the next chapter.

Although Gisborne Lake is rarely named throughout this water debate, it has an important place within this literature. When we debate the benefits or drawbacks of, for instance, the gigantic North American Water and Power Alliance (NAWAPA) project of the 1960s, I believe we are also discussing Gisborne Lake and what is to be gained or lost by such commodification and alteration of water systems. The water debate allows us to see Gisborne Lake as an opportunity for profit at a time of water scarcity or yet another technological solution to wasted, polluted water by a private investor aiming to put a price on public waters. The potential effect of the development of Gisborne Lake could follow those of other water development projects: the loss of local control over water, environmental damage, the continuation of the myth of water plenty in the west and the less tangible effects on human identity, as noted by Bocking. Gisborne Lake is one case of many within a general discussion of water, hence the general water debate forms part of the landscape of this issue.

2. THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

Likewise, the NAFTA also forms an important part of the Gisborne Lake background and is frequently mentioned in the debate. As well, although the NAFTA is not focussed

¹⁹⁵ Bjørn Lomborg, *The Skeptical Environmentalist: Measuring the Real State of the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001).

entirely on environmental issues, there are some important environmental links to be made. Below I briefly note the NAFTA's origin, how it was raised in the Gisborne Lake debate, the "official" opinions on the NAFTA commissioned by the provincial Liberal and Progressive Conservative (PC) governments and how these were used.

The NAFTA, signed in 1993 between the Government of Canada, the Government of the United Mexican States and the Government of the United States of America was built on the former General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and had the following points as its major aims: to expand global trade, markets, competitiveness, employment opportunities and innovation; create trade rules to benefit the three parties and decrease trade distortion; and to improve working and living conditions. All this was to be done environmentally and in cooperation.¹⁹⁶

2.1. NAFTA Opponents' Fears

From the beginning of the debate on Gisborne Lake, the NAFTA was raised by opponents to the project as a key reason to prohibit the project. The opponents noted several fears concerning NAFTA. First, it was frequently said that water is not included in the NAFTA agreement until it enters into commerce as a good or product for sale. However, if one province begins exporting water, water then becomes defined as a good and is subjected to all NAFTA provisions.¹⁹⁷ Exporting Gisborne Lake's water, or

¹⁹⁶ "North American Free Trade Agreement (Government of Canada, Government of the United Mexican States and the Government of the United States of America)," (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 1992), preamble.

¹⁹⁷ Bueckert, "Canada could be forced to export water," A1; Ryan Cleary, "Water sales could fund MUN: Grimes," *St. John's Telegram*, March 28 2001, 1; and *House of*

possibly even banning bulk water export on anything but environmental grounds, would trigger the NAFTA.¹⁹⁸ (Note that some commentators suggest water may already be included as a NAFTA good.¹⁹⁹)

The feared impact of the NAFTA was that the agreement would give U.S. or Mexican companies equal access to export Canada's water as Canadian companies and would compel Canada to export its water.²⁰⁰ The NAFTA could make the U.S. and Mexico entitled to treatment as Newfoundland and Labrador or Canadian companies without discrimination or without favouritism toward local aims.²⁰¹ Worse, commentators feared that the Gisborne Lake project would set a precedent that would enable foreign countries potentially unlimited access to buy and sell Canadian water.²⁰² the NAFTA would "unleash a cascade of greedy U.S. companies which covet Canada's

Assembly - Vol. XLIV, No. 12 (cited). As well, see PC MHA Osborne's discussion in *House of Assembly - Vol. XLIII, No. 25* (cited June 9 2002), available from www.gov.nf.ca/hoa/business/98-05-13.htm.

¹⁹⁸ Antle, "Water under the bridge?," B1; Bernie Bennett, "Province under scrutiny: How it handles Gisborne Lake will affect rest of country, says Council of Canadians head," *St. John's Telegram*, October 19 1999, 3; Bueckert, "Province cancels consultations on water exports, federal official says," A4; Barb Sweet, "Trade lawyers not worried about bill's 'fatal flaw': NAFTA chapter on investors' rights is 'scare mongering' and won't affect proposed law," *St. John's Telegram*, November 26 1999, 4; and Glen Whiffen, "Canada's water at risk: expert: Floodgates will open unless PM takes action, says Vancouver economist," *St. John's Telegram*, April 8 2001, 1.

¹⁹⁹ Whiffen, "Canada's water at risk: expert," 1.

²⁰⁰ Bueckert, "Canada could be forced to export water," A1.

²⁰¹ Bob Benson, "Bulk water exports too risky: Barlow," *St. John's Telegram*, May 11 1999, 4; Norman Doyle, "Accurate arithmetic on water exports," *St. John's Telegram*, October 30 1999, 11; and Bill Sears, "Glance through the papers reveals water's value," *St. John's Telegram*, June 11 2001, 6.

²⁰² Benson, "Bulk water exports too risky: Barlow," 4; Dennis Bueckert, "No bulk water for U.S.: Chretien," *St. John's Telegram*, July 19 2001, A1; Whiffen, "Canada's water at risk: expert," 1; and Kathleen Winter, "Bulk water, life blood," *St. John's Telegram*, October 30 1999, 19. As well, see Osborne's comments in *House of Assembly - Vol. XLIII, No. 20* (cited).

water;”²⁰³ the U.S. would drink Canada dry.²⁰⁴ In one sentence, therefore, the Gisborne Lake project was viewed, through its triggering of the NAFTA, as endangering all of Newfoundland and Labrador’s (and potentially Canada’s) water.²⁰⁵

Another disagreeable effect of the triggering of the NAFTA would be the power it would give foreign companies to sue Canada if it tried to ban bulk water export or limit companies’ profit making. (Two oft-cited examples of corporations’ power to sue governments are noted: the successful ETHYL Corporation lawsuit against Canada which resulted in Canada revoking a ban on the potentially toxic gas additive MMT, and the case wherein Sun Belt Water Inc. sued the province of B.C. for US\$220-million under the NAFTA for loss of anticipated profits from the export to California when B.C. banned bulk water export. Litigation was continuing at the time of this research.)²⁰⁶

²⁰³ Bob Benson, “Grimes’ drummer has familiar beat: Echo of Smallwood in new premier’s marching style,” *St. John’s Telegram*, June 3 2001, 6.

²⁰⁴ Doyle, “Accurate arithmetic on water exports,” 11.

With regards to the position of the U.S. government on Gisborne Lake, one of the most startling aspects of this case came to me through An.PC who speaks of the encouragement he got from some representatives of the American Consulate General and U.S. Ambassadors to *continue* his pressure on keeping the ban on bulk water. First thoughts would tell us that the U.S. would encourage talks of Canada loosening its control on water, however according to An.PC, he was receiving the opposite message for the following reason: apparently, some politicians in the U.S. feared the Gisborne Lake project because the original proposals to ship to the Middle East would mark the *global* sale of Canada’s water - and the U.S. does not want to see its “Northern stock of resources” depleted.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. and Dorothy Inglis, “Just say no to water exports,” *St. John’s Telegram*, October 3 1999, 12.

²⁰⁶ Harris in *House of Assembly - Vol. XLIV, No. 12* (cited). See also Benson, “Bulk water exports too risky: Barlow,” 4; Inglis, “Just say no to water exports,” 12; Lana Payne, “Water, water everywhere,” *St. John’s Telegram*, September 19 1999, 11; Nick Rolfe and Ashley Miller, “Students speak out against water exports,” *St. John’s Telegram*, June 17 2001, 7; Deana Stokes, “Lawyer says province at risk if water act

Future water export legislation and environmental legislation would be impeded (or overturned) and lawsuit retaliation would follow if corporate water export profits were endangered (to be settled by a trade tribunal).²⁰⁷ It was feared that regardless of environmental consequences, the trade of water would not end but would be only proportionality reduced for all the NAFTA trading partners.²⁰⁸ Environmental protection therefore would be inhibited and thus the environment would be put at risk.²⁰⁹ All these effects of the NAFTA would be irreversible and placing restrictions on the trade of bulk water thereafter would be difficult.²¹⁰

Overall, the NAFTA implications would have had the effect of weakening governments and strengthening corporations, commentators indicate. Canada's sovereignty would be threatened as it would no longer have control over its water and its legislation.²¹¹ Therefore the most common solution presented by those concerned about the NAFTA was to explicitly remove water from the NAFTA.²¹²

flows as is," *St. John's Telegram*, November 23 1999, 4; Sweet, "Trade lawyers not worried about bill's 'fatal flaw'," 4; and Whiffen, "Canada's water at risk: expert," 1.

²⁰⁷ Osborne in *House of Assembly - Vol. XLIV, No. 12* (cited). See also Bill Blaikie, "Water vulnerable to opportunism," *St. John's Telegram*, October 18 1999, 6; and Rolfe and Miller, "Students speak out against water exports," 7.

²⁰⁸ Benson, "Bulk water exports too risky: Barlow," 4.

²⁰⁹ John Huxter, "Here's your trouble: Yanks stuck in the water pipe," *St. John's Telegram*, May 29 2001, 6 and Martin van Mirbach, "Wise to ban bulk water exports," *St. John's Telegram*, November 9 1999, 6.

²¹⁰ Editorial, "Maybe we can bottle the air, too," *St. John's Telegram*, May 16 2001, 6 and Payne, "Water, water everywhere," 11.

²¹¹ Bueckert, "Canada could be forced to export water," A1.

²¹² Whiffen, "Canada's water at risk: expert," 1.

2.2. Legal Opinions

In response to the public's and opposition's NAFTA fears, the Liberal government under Premier Tobin and then under Premier Grimes sought legal opinions on the implications of the NAFTA for Gisborne Lake from the spring of 1998 to the spring of 2001. Initially, opinions were forwarded to the government by Gary Horlick, representative of the O'Melveny and Myers law firm in Washington, D.C., from May 1998 to September 1999.²¹³ Unsatisfied with Horlick's perspective on the NAFTA, the Liberal government sought a second opinion from Geoff Kubrick, representative of Flavell Kubrick & Lalonde from August 1999 to May 2001.²¹⁴ Finally, a very brief statement was received from Donald McRae, professor of common law at the University of Ottawa in April 2001.²¹⁵ Although frequently cited as proof of there being no legal impediments to the Gisborne Lake project in political debates, all of the documents related to these legal opinions were kept confidential within the Liberal government until PC Member of the House of Assembly (MHA) Tom Osborne successfully used the Freedom of Information Act to gain access to the documents. Frustrated with the Liberals' secretive legal opinions and desiring opinions of their own, the PC government sought the advice of Barry Appleton (cited to have successfully acted against Canada in every NAFTA-based lawsuit). Noted below is a summary of all this legal advice which centred on discussions

²¹³ Gary Horlick, Fax, May 27 1998; Gary Horlick, Fax, August 6 1998; Gary Horlick and Carries N. Capwell, Fax, June 1 1998; Gary Horlick, Peggy Clarke, and Ana Caetano, Fax, September 22 1999; and Gary Horlick, Kristin Mowry, and Ana Caetano, Fax, July 1 1999.

²¹⁴ Geoffrey Kubrick, Fax, November 23 1999; Geoffrey Kubrick, Fax, April 17 2001; Geoffrey Kubrick, Fax, August 20 1999; and Geoffrey Kubrick, E-mail, April 2 2001.

²¹⁵ Donald McRae, Letter, April 12 2001.

as to when water is defined as a good, when the NAFTA obligations apply, the obligations of non-discrimination and no trade restrictions, who is ultimately responsible for ensuring NAFTA compliance, if the Gisborne Lake project would be setting precedent setting and the intricacies of protective environmental measures.

A common point of departure for these lawyers was a discussion about whether water was defined as a “good” under the NAFTA. Two opposing opinions were offered. For Horlick and Appleton, water is *already* considered a good under the NAFTA, both in its natural state and when it is prepared for sale. This includes sea water and water in the form of ice and snow. Appleton shows how the definition of goods in the NAFTA includes all the products of the GATT which specifically mention “waters, including natural or artificial waters and aerated waters, not containing added sugar or other sweetening matter nor flavouring; ice and snow,” as goods. The GATT is clear in stating “ordinary natural water of all kinds” is included here, “whether or not it is clarified or purified.”²¹⁶ Horlick and Appleton conclude that water *in all of its forms*, even in its natural state, in the ground or on the earth’s surface, is treated as a good under the NAFTA. However, for Appleton, the NAFTA *obligations* do not apply to water until it is traded.²¹⁷ Horlick agrees with Appleton’s opinion, but he also suggests that the NAFTA obligations may already apply to natural waters even before preparation for trade.

A difference of opinion on this point is seen in Kubrick and McRae who assert that water is not defined as a good until it is traded and that governments are not forced to

²¹⁶ Barry Appleton, *Navigating NAFTA: A Concise User’s Guide to the North American Free Trade Agreement* (Toronto: Carswell, 1994), 201.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 202.

trade water. Kubrick notes that the NAFTA purposefully excludes water but that water immediately becomes defined as a good when it enters into commerce, or when it becomes a product for sale. All water is a good once it has been put in a container or prepared somehow for sale, whether the container is a truck, plane, boat, pipe or bottle. Until containerized, water is not a good and the NAFTA does not apply. (Kubrick also explains how *banning* bulk water export for any reason that is not environmentally related would also serve to define water as a good, therefore enacting the NAFTA's powers.)

While these lawyers may disagree on water's definition or when the NAFTA rules apply, all can find agreement as to the NAFTA's implications. Primarily, all agree that the NAFTA is founded on non-discrimination through the "most favoured nation" and "national treatment" clauses.²¹⁸ The "most favoured nation" clauses ensure all parties are

²¹⁸ Horlick, Mowry, and Caetano. Horlick et. al. reflect on, as do all the other lawyers, two crucial NAFTA clauses, "National Treatment" and "Most Favoured Nation." In the NAFTA's Part Two, Chapter Three, Section A, Article 301, "National Treatment" is defined as follows: "1. Each Party shall accord national treatment to the goods of another Party [...] 2. The provisions of paragraph 1 regarding national treatment shall mean, with respect to a state or province, treatment no less favorable than the most favorable treatment accorded by such state or province to any like, directly competitive or substitutable goods, as the case may be, of the Party of which it forms a part." Then in Part Five, Chapter Eleven, Section A, Article 1102, "National Treatment" is further described as meaning that: "1. Each Party shall accord to investors of another Party treatment no less favorable than that it accords, in like circumstances, to its own investors with respect to the establishment, acquisition, expansion, management, conduct, operation, and sale or other disposition of investments. 2. Each Party shall accord to investments of investors of another Party treatment no less favorable than that it accords, in like circumstances, to investments of its own investors with respect to the establishment, acquisition, expansion, management, conduct, operation, and sale or other disposition of investments. 3. The treatment accorded by a Party under paragraphs 1 and 2 means, with respect to a state or province, treatment no less favorable than the most

treated equally and without favouritism, meaning that once bulk exporting began, Gisborne Lake's water would have to be exported without discrimination to the U.S. or Mexico and that U.S. or Mexican companies could not have been prohibited from setting up their own water export companies in Canada. Second, "national treatment" clauses ensure foreign investors and investments get the same treatment as domestic. Domestic companies and investments cannot be favoured, and foreign investors cannot be disadvantaged any more than domestic in all aspects of business. (For example, export goods cannot be priced higher than what people pay domestically.) If an attempt is made by a government to impede the export of water by a foreign investor, dispute settlement processes can take place.

Next, the lawyers are clear on the NAFTA's prohibition of trade restrictions. They note that once bulk water is commercially exploited it is a violation of the NAFTA to restrict access to it or to restrict its sale and export. Nor can any surcharges be placed on the water, unless they are placed on the product in every instance, domestically and abroad. Again, any such restrictions could result in trade disputes. As well, while the

favorable treatment accorded, in like circumstances, by that state or province to investors, and to investments of investors, of the Party of which it forms a part."

As for the meaning of NAFTA's "Most Favoured Nation" obligation, in NAFTA's Part Five, Chapter eleven, Section A, Article 1103, it is defined in this way: "1. Each Party shall accord to investors of another Party treatment no less favorable than that it accords, in like circumstances, to investors of any other Party or of a non-Party with respect to the establishment, acquisition, expansion, management, conduct, operation, and sale or other disposition of investments. 2. Each Party shall accord to investments of investors of another Party treatment no less favorable than that it accords, in like circumstances, to investments of investors of any other Party or of a non-Party with respect to the establishment, acquisition, expansion, management, conduct, operation, and sale or other disposition of investments." See "North American Free Trade Agreement."

total quantity of water to be exported could be controlled in some circumstances, it can never be done with discrimination to the other trading partners or in favour of the domestic province or nation. All trading partners would see their quantity of exports reduced to the same degree. Based on this tenet of no trade restriction, therefore, Horlick and Kubrick note how the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador could not try to ensure local employment from Gisborne Lake by restricting water processing to the local area. Regulations that insist products be processed locally to help local economies would be a trade restriction unfair to foreign companies.

Finally, there is also agreement on which entity is held responsible for NAFTA violations. If a province violates the NAFTA, Canada will be held responsible and responsible for compensation as Canada was the signatory to the NAFTA, even if Canada tried to stop that province's trade-violating action. Here Kubrick notes the complexity of Canada's water jurisdiction circumstance: water is under provincial jurisdiction therefore it is difficult for the federal government to force provinces to act in ways that would comply with the NAFTA. Yet at the same time, the federal government is responsible for any ramifications of trade agreement violations related to water. Infringements of trade agreements will give rise to challenges resolved by a dispute resolution panel.

A point of discord with regards to the NAFTA's implication is whether the Gisborne Lake project in Newfoundland and Labrador would set a precedent throughout Canada. Horlick states that the Gisborne Lake project would have set a dramatic precedent for other provinces and the nation: if the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador permits bulk water exports for sale, "then Canada is responsible for ensuring

that no other Province deny the sale for export of bulk water and that no other Province afford treatment less favourable than the one afforded by the Province of Newfoundland.”

Conversely, Kubrick and McRae assert that exportation from Gisborne Lake would not mean that other provinces have to export their water. Exporting from one lake does not mean all lakes are commodified and the Gisborne Lake project will not set a standard to be followed by the rest of the country. Provinces may have very different ways of treating investors non-discriminately and do not have to harmonize trade standards. However, Kubrick, adds that the Gisborne Lake project would initiate the NAFTA in *Newfoundland and Labrador* and therefore give the NAFTA parties equal and non-discriminatory access rights in “like circumstances” to export water in *that province*. Canada would then have to ensure that foreign and domestic exporters in Newfoundland and Labrador are treated equally.

Alongside these NAFTA implications are possibilities to restrict trade for environmental reasons. Kubrick and Horlick explain how environmental protection standards may be used to restrict trade to preserve the life and health of animals, plants and humans. These standards can be set by each province, they can be as strict or as lenient as the province chooses and they must be respected by all other trading partners. (Of course, the same environmental standards must apply to every trading partner equally and without discrimination.) These standards cannot be tightened once trading begins, therefore Kubrick recommends that if water exportation were to proceed, governments should ensure the Gisborne Lake project faced intense and demanding environmental

standards. (Ensuring there are numerous conditions to be met by a project before commencement will also limit challenges from future parties claiming “like circumstances.”)

However, the reasons for environmental standards must be scientifically proven, legitimate environmental reasons supported by coherent water policy. Further, the environmental measures must not create trade “distortions”: the measures must not be used as hidden trade “barriers.” If hidden economic barriers are suspected, trading partners can challenge environmental measures. Finally, Kubrick adds that the standards must be the least restrictive of trade as possible.

2.3. Implications for Gisborne Lake

At the very least, together these four legal opinions show that once bulk water exportation occurred from Gisborne Lake there would be significant implications for the province of Newfoundland and Labrador including an inability to ensure local water processing or to favour local employment, an inability to restrict trade once it begins and an inability to increase environmental standards for future water exportation projects beyond those used in the Gisborne Lake project.

What the NAFTA means environmentally, and for the Gisborne Lake case more specifically, is that environmental standards are crucial. Officially, high standards will be respected, but once exportation begins and the NAFTA comes into effect these standards can only be lowered. As well, the environmental assessment documents are key: once a project passes environmental assessment, environmental reasons cannot be used to

restrain trade activities. Finally, we see how environmental protection measures can be construed, and challenged, as trade barriers. Governments that want to restrict trade for environmental reasons have to be able to prove the validity of their restrictions.

Also in relation to the Gisborne Lake case is the NAFTA implication of compelling Newfoundland and Labrador to offer like treatment to foreign and domestic companies alike, without the ability to restrict where product processing occurs. The NAFTA seems to ensure the right of companies to continue on with the province's long history of exporting the processing benefits of resource development, and leaving the area with the environmental consequences if the provincial government has not been careful to set stringent standards.

Based on the three legal opinions it had commissioned (and while ignoring the PC's legal advice), the Liberal government released the "Export of Bulk Water from Newfoundland and Labrador" ministerial committee report in October 2001 (the committee was initiated by Premier Grimes in March 2001 as part of the re-opening of the Gisborne Lake debate). However, the above-noted NAFTA implications for the province of Newfoundland and Labrador were side-stepped and instead, Environment Minister Kelvin Parsons summarized the report in a press release as stating that

there is no legal impediment to a bulk water removal project" for "two of three legal opinions indicate that while approval of a bulk water project in Newfoundland and Labrador could create trade consequences for this province, it would not render all water resources in Canada a 'good' under NAFTA, and, therefore, would not create a precedent for the other provinces."²¹⁹

²¹⁹ "Export of Bulk Water from Newfoundland and Labrador: A Report of the Ministerial Committee Examining the Export of Bulk Water," (St. John's: Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2001), 1-2. Within this report we read that NAFTA does

Overall, Gisborne Lake is reminiscent of other NAFTA debates prevalent in our time. The fears accompanying the Gisborne Lake project are present in almost any opposition to projects implicating the NAFTA and other free trade endeavours. At the same time, the corporate constitution provided by the NAFTA may encourage a

not consider water as it is naturally found as “a good” or “a product,” but once this water is taken from its natural environment and containerized, it becomes a good and is subject to NAFTA. This means that Newfoundland and Labrador may be obliged to give the other trading partners, Mexico and the U.S., equal treatment in “like circumstances,” which means that each new investor and project would have to follow the same process as the first Gisborne Lake project. If the new projects pass through these processes as the Gisborne Lake project did, then it is a “like circumstance.” Projects or exportations led by Mexican or American companies would face the same scrutiny as Canadian or provincial companies. As well, if water becomes a good for exportation, future control of bulk export in the province becomes limited, and restricting the export from the province would not be possible. Environmental protection could be an exception to these impediments which restrict export. However to restrict trade on this basis, the environmental protection measures would have to be demonstrated to be necessary using “objective criteria” and by using “properly documented scientific assessments” so as to avoid the accusation that environmental measures are truly a trade barrier. “Export of Bulk Water from Newfoundland and Labrador,” 3-5.

Note that there are parallels to be made between the environmental assessment documents (discussed at length in Chapter VI) and the method of obtaining legal opinions on Gisborne Lake and NAFTA. This process could be read as follows: the legal opinions sought by the Liberals were, like the EIS, commissioned and paid by an interested party who continued to seek legal opinions until it heard what it needed to hear to support its cause. Even then, legal opinions were read highly selectively. Further, just as the executive summary of the EIS was unquestionably accepted by supporters of the Gisborne Lake project as proof of zero negative environmental effects (even though Buchanan, the manager of that research project states there are negative effects to be expected), the legal opinions commissioned and selected by the Liberals to support the opinion that there were no fears of NAFTA repercussions were also unquestionably accepted, even though the actual documents cited by the Liberals were not transmitting this message and even though equally credible legal opinions with opposite findings were received by the Liberals. It may be correct to assert that the legal opinions chosen were those most suited to the politicians’ cause.

Note that the actors using this legal advice acknowledge the slippery nature of legal opinions. For instance, Grimes admits lawyers can say what anyone wants to hear: “Now, anyone who wants to present an argument, depending on how you couch the question, can get a lawyer that says you have a position.” (Langdon echoes a similar idea: “you get a room full of lawyers, you get a roomful of divergent opinions.”)

continuation and deepening of previous resource development patterns in the province. Finally, from an environmental perspective, the debate on this trade implication points to the importance of stringent and genuine environmental assessment processes and documents. Once environmental standards have been set and met it is difficult to raise these standards or to use environmental measures to restrict trade at a later time. Instead of *reactive* environmental policy, environmental policy must be thoughtful and forward-looking toward the very long term. These points form another important back-drop to the Gisborne Lake case.

CONCLUSION

With the aim of providing a wide-lens survey of the historical landscape of the Gisborne Lake issue, Chapter III opened with the assertion that Gisborne Lake presented a unique yet familiar case and with the promise that Gisborne Lake could deliver some keys to understanding a general body of such cases just as it presents new puzzles of its own. This point has been underlying the discussion in the last two chapters but should be summarized explicitly.

In the previous chapter I began with a consideration of Newfoundland history, politics, economics, society and culture. Through this context, Gisborne Lake becomes seen as an example of, and as a result of, Newfoundland and Labrador history which brought a particular sort of underdevelopment and scarcity. Gisborne Lake exemplifies the Newfoundland and Labrador context, which is marked by unique fears of outlandish schemes, by poverty and unemployment, by a culture shown in art as being close to

nature and by severe out-migration. Gisborne Lake is part of Newfoundland and Labrador's pattern of desperate development. There is desperation to export the water of Gisborne Lake for the preservation of rural communities (through employment opportunities), to stave off the exodus and "bring Newfoundland's sons home," as well as to demonstrate the investment potential of this province. Thus we see the publication of construction plans and environmental assessments even before potential buyers for the planned product are established. In the debate around Gisborne Lake, the trade aspect of the project becomes almost secondary. Among all this is also reluctance on the part of many people to continue environmental exploitation in the province. The development of the lake is envisioned as a shameful act by those placing importance on the role of nature in the meaning of Newfoundland and Labrador

In this chapter, Gisborne Lake has been placed within the context of the world water debate, a dialogue on water as a resource, property, a plumbing system, an ecosystem, a life-blood, human heritage, a human right, a sacred gift or part of the common good. Gisborne Lake can be viewed through this debate as inseparable from the world's pollution and commodification of water, the world's increasing demands on water, and the attempts to privatize this water. In light of a scarcity of water in quantity or quality, attempts like the Gisborne Lake project are made to commodify water systems for private monetary gain that were once considered public property. In the meantime, the public and water systems are left defenceless because there is often little regulation (or very reactive regulation) to protect water and public interests from private projects.

These points mark the Gisborne Lake debate as well as a multitude of other water development projects.

Finally, the Gisborne Lake debate is also understood within the realm of free trade agreements that mark our period, in particular the NAFTA. Gisborne Lake comes to stand for the general problems of the NAFTA: clearly there are extensive powers given to companies (equal treatment as local companies, the ability to challenge government legislation and so forth), but what exactly this power will be is ambiguous. Thus fears of trade unknowns mark the Gisborne Lake case like any other project potentially implicating the NAFTA. Losses of national sovereignty and common resource are feared, as is the loss of the ability to halt or rein in projects once they have begun.

Taken together the three contexts presented over the last two chapters (Newfoundland and Labrador scarcity and development concerns, global water issues and free trade topics), frame the Gisborne Lake case and show it as an example of many other similar cases in these same contexts. It is in this way that a Gisborne Lake case study could be an entry into these larger issues and could be enriched by a comprehension of these broad debates.

With the Gisborne Lake case and its context made more visible and we can now turn to the specific thesis of this research. For embedded in the history, culture, economics and politics so interesting to students of Newfoundland and Labrador history, driving along the general water debates, influencing free trade debates and underlying the whole of the specific Gisborne Lake case are environmental ethic ideologies, or specific ways of

thinking and communicating about water or the environment in general and its value. With the broad context of this specific case acknowledged we turn now to a consideration of the struggling environmental ethic approaches in this case, the focus for the rest of this text.

CHAPTER V: MAPPING THE ACTORS

This chapter focuses on mapping the major provincial actors along the various positions of environmental ethics. The ultimate aim here, in one sentence, is to review the interviews, show similarities of position and argument among the interviewees, and then comment on the different patterns of environmental ethics underlying how these actors are perceiving and discussing the issue.

We come to this point in the following way. First, I describe the interview and analysis methods. Next, the positions of the groupings of actors are described and the groups are “mapped” according to environmental ethic positions. Then after summarizing the findings of this process, in a more tentative step, the chapter presents alternatives to the more pervasive environmental ethics approaches.

1. INTERVIEW METHOD

Interviews were the main way to obtain the data that would allow me to “map” the Gisborne Lake actors. Why did interviews serve as the core method? I could imagine no other practical way of obtaining the information I needed to ascertain the more profound visions of nature held by people involved with the Gisborne Lake debate than through direct conversation with them. The documents I analyzed in the first stages of research are often evasive on these points with which I am most concerned (indeed, these absences in the documents was one of the reasons for this research), and specific answers to the specific questions I note below were needed to compare the actors and see the approaches

to the environments behind the more obvious positions on Gisborne Lake. This information could not be obtained from sources other than the actual actors.

I also rely on personal statements of those directly involved with the case based on a lesson learned in previous research. Over the last two years I researched the meaning and implications of the poetry, song and art in response to the resettlement era in Newfoundland and Labrador. (From 1953 to 1972 approximately thirty thousand rural people were removed – some say *forcibly* removed - from their communities to make way for the modernization of the province.) While the documents and artistic pieces I discovered were certainly useful, clearer comprehension of the issues came from conversations and formal interviews with the involved academics, artists and so forth. These interactive meetings gave substance to the policy papers and artistic expressions allowing *what was at stake* to come into focus. Thus the current research is based on this assumption that the most informative insights will be drawn from personal exchanges with people. Policy documents, media pieces and so forth are important to set the textual stage, but the essential justification or rationale for action will come from individuals speaking outside of these documents. The interviewees and their role include:²²⁰

²²⁰ (For ease of reference, the following list is also included in Annex I.) Unless otherwise stated, all future references to these individual's statements come from the personal interviews cited in the footnotes that follow their names.

Unfortunately, there remain holes in this list of actors, namely Brian Tobin, the former Premier (Liberal) who closed the Gisborne Lake issue for a time by banning bulk water exports, several Members of Parliament, such as Bill Matthews and George Baker who were involved in the issue and the Council of Canadians' local representative, Bill Hynd. I have continually sought a meeting with these people but in many cases I never received a response to my request. Notwithstanding these gaps, I feel I have made contact with an important group of Gisborne Lake actors and feel comfortable drawing conclusions based on this material.

- **Anonymous Environmentalist/Activist (An.E/A):**²²¹ involved in organizing opposition to the Gisborne Lake project
- **Anonymous Liberal Member of the House of Assembly (MHA) (An.L):**²²² an advocate for the project
- **Anonymous Progressive Conservative (PC) MHA (An.PC):**²²³ an opponent of the project
- **Bolt, Paul:**²²⁴ current mayor of Grand Le Pierre, an advocate for the project
- **Buchanan, Robert:**²²⁵ Project Manager for the environmental assessment of the Gisborne Lake Project at LGL Limited Environmental Research Associates (LGL), the environmental consulting firm
- **Dominie, Ken:**²²⁶ Assistant Deputy Minister (ADM) of the Department of Environment who worked on higher level bulk water policy in general and acted as a federal liaison with other provincial environmental offices
- **Doyle, Norman:**²²⁷ Member of Parliament (MP) for St. John's East, active in organizing public forums on Gisborne Lake in St. John's
- **Fizzard, George:**²²⁸ former mayor of Grand Le Pierre, an advocate for the project
- **Grimes, Roger:**²²⁹ Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador, interested in re-opening the debate on Gisborne Lake (after a ban on bulk water put in place by former Premier Brian Tobin), in order to have a fair and comprehensive analysis of the issue
- **Harris, Jack:**²³⁰ Provincial New Democratic Party (NDP) leader, an opponent of the project
- **Langdon, Oliver:**²³¹ former Minister of the Department of Environment who was ultimately responsible for the environmental assessment process

For a time I also considered including media figures in this work, such as Bill Rowe from the Open Line radio program and Russell Wangersky of *The Evening Telegram* (the provincial newspaper). For the questions of this research, however, I have not included these people for I saw them as being on the fringes of the debate, *commenting* on the actors' positions rather than becoming the major actors I was seeking. While a media analysis of coverage of the Gisborne Lake issue would be a worthwhile and engaging piece of research, it is not the focus of this work.

²²¹ Environmentalist/Activist (anonymous), Personal Interview, September 10 2002.

²²² Liberal MHA (anonymous), Personal Interview, September 26 2002.

²²³ PC MHA (anonymous), Personal Interview, August 26 2002.

²²⁴ Paul Bolt, Personal Interview, October 31 2002.

²²⁵ Robert Buchanan, Personal Interview, September 6 2002.

²²⁶ Ken Dominie, Personal Interview, October 23 2002.

²²⁷ Norman Doyle, Personal Interview, October 15 2002.

²²⁸ George Fizzard, Personal Interview, October 31 2002.

²²⁹ Roger Grimes, Personal Interview, September 16 2002.

²³⁰ Jack Harris, Personal Interview, October 2 2002.

- **Lucas, Wayne:**²³² President of the Newfoundland and Labrador Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), active in organizing opposition to the project
- **Strong, Carl:**²³³ Chair of the Gisborne Lake Assessment Committee at the Department of Environment
- **White, Jerry:**²³⁴ the proponent of the Gisborne Lake project and owner of McCurdy Group of Companies (a company focussed on construction, land and building development and ready mix until this project)

Now without going too far with technicalities, it is worthwhile to take a moment to explain how I apply the concepts discussed in what follows and how I came to the data I analyze below.

1.1. Operationalizing Theory: "Seeing" Environmental Ethic Approaches

As for the actual interview process, the interviews were semi-structured and ranged from a duration of forty minutes to almost two hours. The fourteen interviews were conducted during the summer and fall of 2002. I came to the interviews with a question sheet that outlined general topics as well as more specific questions I wanted to address. In the majority of the interviews, the interviewee took the lead and dominated the interview while I tried to direct the conversation toward areas of specific interest to my work as the opportunity arose. (See Annex II and III for a copy of the introduction letter and consent form as well as an example of a question sheet used during the interviews.)

Generally, in these interviews I was seeking to understand the issue from the perspective of each particular actor which required asking questions on how the

²³¹ Oliver Langdon, Personal Interview, October 8 2002.

²³² Wayne Lucas, Personal Interview, October 24 2002.

²³³ Carl Strong, Personal Interview, September 11 2002.

²³⁴ Jerry White, Personal Interview, January 6 2003.

interviewees became interested or involved with the issue, their position as well as primary and secondary concerns, how they saw the debate evolve and expressions of public opinion, where the debate is now, their future speculations, their hypothetical evaluation of the project if it had proceeded as it was planned, and what they consider to be the environmental and trade/legal concerns. These questions allowed me to get at positions, justifications and then environmental values.

After transcribing the relevant portions of the interviews, I created a one-page summary sheet for each interview to give me an at-a-glance review of comments related to environmental ethics (in this way, each interviewee could then be compared to all others based on the same specific points) and I then applied the textual analysis method which is introduced in the next paragraph. Where topics had not been specifically addressed in an interview (for instance in a minority of cases, some areas were not addressed due to time restrictions), I often felt confident in extrapolating based on the interview and past literature review. The points of comparison include:

- primary, secondary tertiary concerns (to see if the environment was a concern and where this concern ranked compared to others)
- benefits or disadvantages of the project proceeding as it was planned (to see if the environment was considered at risk)
- the conceived worth of Gisborne Lake if it was not developed
- ideal outcome (what the actor would have liked to see happen to Gisborne Lake and why)
- future speculations (reactions to future developments or continued opposition to development)
- public opinion (how the actor responded to concerns of the public regarding the environment)

Then to apply the concepts of environmental ethics, I analyzed the statements on Gisborne Lake made by each actor interviewed.²³⁵ To do this, first I began by exploring the normative or prescriptive framing of each actor or group of actors. Said differently, I considered what these actors say ought to be done, or their estimations as to what is right to do with regards to the development of Gisborne Lake. This is the actors' *position*. Then the underlying and supporting *arguments* for these opinions are explored. Why do they take this position? For what reasons or justifications? Answers to such questions bring the rationale for the actors' position into focus. Based on these points, we could come to my specific interest: often implicitly, these justifications or rationale are based on environmental *values* that allow us to situate the actor within environmental ethics theory. By studying how an actor argues we can ascertain values of higher and lower importance and see how environmental concerns fare in that competition of interests. This process is made clear in the following discussion of the actors.

2. PATTERNS IN ENVIRONMENTAL ETHIC APPROACHES

Based on the review of each interview, several groupings of actors became obvious. The most evident demarcation of the interviewees is along positions, between those who argue the Gisborne Lake project should proceed as planned (that is, a project with bulk exportation *and* bottling components), and those who argue that the bulk portion of the

²³⁵ During the winter of 2001 I worked with Dr. Denis Dumas at the Department of Philosophy, University of Ottawa, on the theory and application of environmental ethics. When I was confronted with the challenge of actually seeing ethics in debates on an environmental issue Dumas explained his method which I tested on a small scale in a course paper and continue to use in this text.

project should not proceed, but that a smaller water bottling operation alone would be suitable. We could lay the group out as follows, with separated sub groups:

Proceed as planned	Bottling only, zero bulk
<p>I. Strong Buchanan White Dominie</p> <p>II. Bolt Fizzard</p> <p>III. Langdon Grimes An.L</p>	<p>IV. An.PC</p> <p>V. Doyle</p> <p>VI. An.E/A Lucas Harris</p>

According to the actors on the left of this table, what ought to be done or what is right to do with regards to Gisborne Lake is to follow the plan that was proposed by White and tailored by the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) developed by the environmental consulting company LGL. Likewise, those in the right column claim that the best future for this body of water does not include bulk water developments but perhaps only bottling. In large terms, therefore, this is how the interviewee group can be divided on normative or prescriptive terms.

The above, of course, is a quite superficial understanding of the actors' standing in the Gisborne Lake debate. We turn now to the specific arguments, rationale or justifications supporting these normative positions that allow us to further differentiate

the group and focus in on the underlying (and competing) environmental ethics seen in the case.

This research is looking for environmental ethics perspectives, or the values and principles with respect to the environment that guide the more obvious positions held by the actors. Individuals may have similar positions on Gisborne Lake, as shown above in the two-column chart, however their justifications for these positions may differ greatly. Why focus on the ethics behind the positions? From what I have seen in the debate, *positions* are apt to change as the situation is altered in even the smallest way and when this happens we then see that the actors who we thought held similar positions were actually approaching the issue from different environmental ethic perspectives. An example is needed to clarify this assertion.

Take for instance the case of An.PC: his position on Gisborne Lake is similar to the Lucas, Harris, An.E/A grouping in that he believes the project cannot proceed as planned and that there should be no bulk exportation and only a bottling operation. His ethical approach to the environment, however, is closer to the instrumentalism and anthropocentrism of Grimes, Langdon and An.L group. His reason for opposing the Gisborne Lake project relates to concerns about the NAFTA, not environmental worries. If the political situation surrounding the NAFTA changed tomorrow and An.PC could be assured the NAFTA would not be triggered by this project, then he would fully support the project as it now stands. Lucas, Harris and An.E/A, however, would still be reluctant to support the project even if the NAFTA fears were soothed because they feel the project as it now stands goes against their environmental ethic perspective which holds that

nature would be harmed by the project and that we have no right to act in this manner towards that lake and ecosystem.

Looking at environmental ethics, therefore, allows us to separate which actors are truly focussed on environmental issues and which are concerned with other issues, such as trade or getting the maximum economic advantage from the project, which may ultimately harm the environment. Positions are slippery because as circumstances change, so do the positions held by actors. However ethics and values, more stable than the shifting tides of positions, are perhaps a more accurate way to divide the actors. Thus we now consider the actors in groupings of similar environmental ethics grounding. A revised chart of the actors will summarize this discussion.

2.1. Strong, Buchanan, White and Dominie

Position

This group consists of the most unequivocal supporters of the project as it now stands with the EIS standards.

Arguments

The arguments in support of the project are fairly consistent. First, for these four actors there are no fears of NAFTA implications. This opinion is primarily founded on the legal advice obtained by the provincial Liberals, the majority of which are said to state that the NAFTA clauses would not come into effect should bulk water exportation occur from

Gisborne Lake.²³⁶ Similar to the argument of Strong and Buchanan, Dominie states that “our view here was that by allowing Gisborne Lake to go ahead that would not obligate us for any other project, nor would it obligate any other province to follow suit,” although he does acknowledge that ultimately a judge would have the final say to interpret the NAFTA. If after Gisborne Lake there were other projects brought forward it would be evaluated individually with no obligation based on Gisborne Lake: “the provinces are generally in charge of their own resources,” Dominie states. As for White, he is both unsure what the NAFTA will bring and also convinced that the federal government (here White exhibits some confusion as to the trade agreement) has no control over the province’s water. Frustrated by the continuous discussion on the NAFTA, White cites that his biggest regret with regards to the Gisborne Lake project was not exporting water by tanker to St. Pierre (an island of France off the coast of Newfoundland where a buyer for the water had already been established), as soon as he received environmental assessment approval. White wanted to clearly activate the NAFTA once and for all to end the debate on its effect: “I really should have triggered NAFTA. That was my biggest mistake. I should have made them deal with NAFTA.”

²³⁶ If NAFTA did come into effect, according to Strong, this would only be good for the province as foreign companies would come to Newfoundland and Labrador and “set up shop” under the same regulations as current companies, which would result in more employment creation in the province. Says Strong, “there were some [legal] firms that said, yes, it’s a big worry that foreign interests like U.S. interests could come to Newfoundland and demand the same sort of process for an alternative body of water that might be surplus to our needs. I didn’t see a problem with that, the more the better in my view. There would be various contracts and permits that would be reviewed” to judge every five years “whether that water was still surplus or not.”

In addition, these actors look to the enormous advantages to be gained by the project as a reason to support its commencement as it now stands, which include local jobs,²³⁷ income and sales tax to the province and perhaps royalties to the provincial treasury (royalty gains seem less certain for all but White who had offered the provincial government one dollar for every cubic metre of water exported). Both the local community and the province as a whole would gain economically. Of course, another advantage for White would have been the private profits gained from the project. Although White explains that “We’d [stakeholders in the McCurdy Group of Companies] like to be billionaires, but Gisborne Lake wouldn’t have done it for us,” still, there would have been worthwhile profits for the company from Gisborne Lake’s development.

Finally, these actors claim this project gives no cause for worry from an environmental perspective. Buchanan, manager and co-author of the EIS attests that “Environmentally, that was a good project.” He states this “unequivocally”: “Compared to other projects, Gisborne Lake is very environmentally sound.” The other actors trust in the EIS and the experts behind it who conclude there would be no adverse environmental effects. Attests Dominie, “if you read the EIS, my interpretation of it is that this particular project could be sustained by the amount of water in GL. [...] It was felt to be environmental acceptable.” Likewise White trusts the conclusions of the EIS which he interprets as stating there would be “zero effects, no negative [environmental] impacts.”

²³⁷ Buchanan qualifies this statement by asserting that proceeding with the project predominantly on the basis of job creation would be a short-sighted motivation. He sees more money being made on royalties as well as on the spin-offs seen from spending on construction and by people with increased and steadier incomes.

There is, however, an interesting variation on this last point within this group: Buchanan is unique here in that, unlike Dominie and Strong, he admits that when the EIS concludes that the Gisborne Lake project would have “no effects” this is in fact an “over-boiling down” of reality. There *would* be environmental damage, he says, however, by using his professional judgement and the technology and science available to him and his team he knows these damages would be minor relative to most other development projects he reviews. (We return to this interesting point in more detail in Chapter VI.) In contrast, Dominie, based on the same EIS, claims that Gisborne Lake can sustain the project with no balance being upset: extractions would be within the range of normal fluctuations of the lake’s level. Likewise Strong has absolutely no environmental fears, although he notes that other members of the assessment committee did have concerns that have yet to be resolved.

Values

What assumptions or environmental values underlie these arguments for supporting the Gisborne Lake project as it now stands? Predominantly, Gisborne Lake is envisioned as a commodity, a resource or an opportunity for economic benefits not unlike most other industries. For example, Buchanan states, “Sure, it’s fundamental for life, but so are a lot of other things,” like food, shelter and medicine which are made into commodities. “If people are willing to pay a fair price and we have enough for our own use” then water should be marketed, he says: “Get a fair royalty from the sale of water and use that money to put in good water systems.” With time water may even become of increasing

value as water scarcity increases.²³⁸ This commodification of water is, if we look back to the comments and summary of the environmental ethics concepts in use, an indication of an instrumentalist and anthropocentric perspective on the value of this lake. Water only has value as far as it is of worth to humans and here this worth is primarily profit. Here is seems to have no value outside the value it brings to humans when it is used as a tool for another end. Thus, the needs of humans receive the only consideration here. The environment is conceived of as a “natural resource” for our taking.

Further, Gisborne Lake is discussed as a resilient entity that can either endure a certain amount of damage or would simply be unaffected by this major intervention: it is a pristine, adaptable, self-replenishing body of water.²³⁹ Here we also see a faith in humans’ ability to predict, control and repair damage to the lake using scientific methods and technology. For instance, Dominie explains that

there was a dam that was purposed and like any dam, it was not unique to this area, you just account for the fish passage and stuff like that, that was a normal design feature of that particular dam. So essentially you felt that this project could be undertaken in an environmentally sustainable, proper way.

²³⁸ Strong also tells me that “I think the tax and royalty provision would have been very substantial and everyone in the province lost for that reason. I can’t imagine more than a very low percentage, less than ten percent, maybe less than two percent, of Newfoundlanders [who] would get hung up on selling ‘our birthright,’ our ‘heritage’ through exporting water, any more than they would exporting our trees and our paper. It’s a resource and we should use it to our advantage and societies’ advantage internationally.” Likewise, he states: “do the environmental studies, and if there’s surplus water there, good. Give us the royalties and make use of it rather than see it go to the ocean.”

²³⁹ Dominie explains how it was suggested that twenty-four or forty-eight hours after the water tanker leaves the wharf the lake would be replenished back up to the same level: “the amount of water that was to be extracted was well within the range of what you would find any summer or any fall, with the normal fluctuation you would find in flow anyway. So it was not marginally different than what you would find.”

White also asserts that 25% of Gisborne Lake's water could be withdrawn over at least twenty years and that the lake would remain at its "high water mark." For the proponent, the lake contains a "surplus" of water that his company could extract without impacting the lake. Overall, the lake is seen as something that should be and can be efficiently used as an instrument for human endeavours.

We can likewise witness the assumption of these actors that Gisborne Lake is the property of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador and should therefore benefit this province, a point that leads us again to anthropocentrism: this lake belongs to or is overruled by its human owners. Dominie's point is that "We obviously have to keep our own water for our own needs..." With water expected to become scarcer, we have to be "vigilant" in keeping enough for ourselves. Strong similarly notes:

I'd like to see Newfoundland administer its resources and the influence from Ottawa and [the involvement of] environmental groups or public interest groups [in the Gisborne Lake debate] without much connection to Newfoundland was to me unfortunate. We didn't seem to have control here.

During the environmental assessment on Gisborne Lake he describes the range of public involvement as "an unfortunate opportunity for too broad input." Here more specifically we see anthropocentrism, but focussed on the people of this one province.

As well, this group is surprisingly adamant in their assertions that Gisborne Lake should not be discussed emotionally or as if it was different from any other development. Strong, for instance, states that it was "disappointing" to see the debate go "off in tangents" when opponents to the project began to discuss water "as their birthright and heritage" and began "tear-jerking" over foreigners gaining access to what he refers to as

“our water.” For Strong, to think of Gisborne Lake beyond its instrumental capacities is quite ridiculous. Dominie likewise notes the emotional way in which environmentalists discussed the issue, as opposed to the “facts” and “professional knowledge” used by his department. Then to contrast the professionalism and science of his colleagues, Buchanan tells me that the argument against the marketing of water is “an emotional argument.” Here we can infer the assumption that Gisborne Lake is seen predominantly (and perhaps only) as of use to humans, strengthening evidence of anthropocentric/instrumentalist leanings for to approach this issue from a broader perspective (beyond just humans or beyond just human uses) is cause for ridicule.

The most explicit indication of the group’s ethical grounding veering toward anthropocentrism and instrumentalism comes from discussion on “waste.” Strong asserts his feelings baldly when he states that enormous quantities of water are leaving the province’s water systems and are going “out into the salt water and never serving a use to anybody.” He takes this as a personal slight on himself as a taxpayer who has lost untold revenue because these water sources have not been developed:

There was 500 years since Cabot of that water going to ocean, no one deriving any revenue from it and here were opportunities for revenue to the province, in many respects maybe just the construction dollars, even if it never made a go. Maybe if they only sold bottled water locally and went insolvent, certainly there were big benefits to a very depressed area of the province.

Strong continues:

And as a taxpayer in the province, there’s an awful lot of revenue, five years of revenue, and the construction benefits and the income tax on the workers, it could have been a huge benefit to the province that was never realized and why? Basically so more water could go to the ocean. As a taxpayer I have a problem with that and I think on these kinds of issues there’s a silent

majority that don't call Open Line²⁴⁰ and that feel that way. And the EA [environmental assessment] process does not necessarily reflect their compelling interests. Well I'm sure the politicians realize that too, and the minister and the cabinet. That's the case in an awful lot of projects.

Buchanan appears to take this position as well: "Everything is a commodity whether we like it or not," he states, and if people are willing to pay a "fair price" for the resource and if we have enough for ourselves, the water should be marketed for monetary gain to be used for other societal needs. Likewise, White regrets that the 75% of Gisborne Lake his project intended to *leave* in the lake would still run, "wasting" into the ocean.

As a last point of interest, the interview with White suggested an intriguing perspective on Gisborne Lake. For White, it is as if Gisborne Lake was *made for* such a project: the lake has "its own major filtering system;" it continually produces its own supply of water via springs; at five hundred feet above sea level it can easily run the seven kilometres downhill to a convenient "deep sea port"; and this sea port is only "870 nautical miles" to the markets of the eastern seaboard of the United States. Nature is described as creating ideal market opportunities, so again, it is only a matter a common sense to consent to developing the lake. The thought that Gisborne Lake might exist for something other than human uses is not approached by this group

Based on the above description of the group's value perspective on Gisborne Lake, this group is (along with the Bolt and Fizzard group we next encounter), one of the most sharply anthropocentric and instrumentalist of the entire group.

²⁴⁰ Open Line is a radio call-in program of great renown in Newfoundland and Labrador which seems to have large audiences and a certain political influence.

2.2. Bolt and Fizzard

Position

This second group which consists of the former and current mayor of Grand Le Pierre, the municipality in which Gisborne Lake is encompassed, is in agreement with the Gisborne Lake project as it is planned. Their position differs slightly as compared to the previous group, however, based on their micro vision of the issue, a perspective coming directly from the community most closely involved with the debate.

Arguments

Both Bolt and Fizzard argue that bottling must be included in, or must be the focus of, Gisborne Lake's development for the obvious aim of local jobs. However here the emphasis is slightly different from other actors because for Bolt and Fizzard Gisborne Lake symbolizes the chance for the very survival of their community. Grand Le Pierre is a community that suffers from extreme unemployment (both actors cite numbers as high as 90% and Fizzard says of his community: "we've got nothing, we've got no industry here, so we've got nothing"), severe out-migration of young people,²⁴¹ near desperation with regards to public infrastructure (a boil order on all water has been in place since 1997 while waste water and road developments/repair are also needed²⁴²), and the

²⁴¹ Bolt exclaims: "I tell you if something soon don't happen here, this is going to become a senior citizen's town. There's no young people going to stay around." Fizzard confirms this out-migration trend.

²⁴² Explains Bolt, if Gisborne Lake had been developed, "there could have been a lot of recreation for the children here, there're roads that need to be fixed up that could have been fixed and paved... water and sewer... we need a couple more phases of water and sewer which could have been done..."

looming losses of such integral elements of their community, such as their school (which now includes only twenty-three students and three teachers which is considered increasingly economically unfeasible²⁴³). Says Bolt, "I'd like to say to government, they'd better get something on the go soon because, like I said, the community is going to die...."

Gisborne Lake's development means jobs,²⁴⁴ and therefore taxes and increased spending, for the community (and even ten permanent jobs, Bolt tells me, would suffice) which would lessen the intensity of some of these problems. A focus only on bulk, however, would be simply a "get rich quick scheme" (a fear of Bolt's,²⁴⁵ not of Fizzard who greatly trusts and admires the developer, White). As a minor point, Bolt speculates that the development of Gisborne Lake would result in advantages for the whole region as tourists would be drawn to visit the site and surrounding area. He says there would be

²⁴³ According to Bolt, the current school situation "can't go on. We're not going to have our school open with twenty-three children and three teachers. That's not logic." Children will have to be sent by bus to a neighbouring community, Terrenceville. When this happens, "Well, when we lose our school, it's just as well we close the community down as far as I'm concerned. That's your centre of everything."

²⁴⁴ Says Bolt, "Employment was a big issues, yes. Well, we would have had about ninety percent employment here," a dramatic jump up from the current ninety percent unemployment, he says. As for types of employment needed in the project, Fizzard explains, "there's labourers, we would have needed labourers, we would have needed carpenters, drillers, different types, whatever is in the construction." Bolt adds pipefitters and welders. Both affirm that people in the area are qualified to do this kind of work.

²⁴⁵ Bolt states: "with bulk somebody would be making a quick buck for themselves." Then when asked about White's motives, Bolt responds: "I don't know, I have to wonder sometimes whether he was [looking out for the community's interests] or not. In my view, bulk seems to have been a quick scheme [...] that's what I think." He continues, "I mean, if he was so interested in building a bottling plant, why didn't he go ahead with the bottling plant and forget about the bulk? If he had the thirty million dollars that he said he had and he wanted to start everything up without government's help, well then why hasn't he gone ahead with it? Why hasn't he created a bit of employment? I don't know."

advantages in his community, in neighbouring English Harbour and Terrenceville as well as along with the whole peninsula, “because you would have had more tourists coming here to have a look at the plant and you know you could have had things built up to draw tourists here.” Another great argument to strengthen this pair’s support of the Gisborne Lake project is the advantage of having a supply of fresh water to the community,²⁴⁶ a major benefit in light of the community’s water infrastructure problem. Fizzard and Bolt affirm that the development of Gisborne Lake would somehow include a connection to the water for Grand Le Pierre, and this would be done at no cost for the community or with no tax increases.²⁴⁷

Here again, like the previous group, there are no environmental or NAFTA fears from this group. They abide by the conclusions of the EIS²⁴⁸ and trust the Liberals’ legal

²⁴⁶ Note that nowhere else have I found any indication of this point except from these two individuals. Why so? Was this a promise made by White to the community unbeknownst to the other actors? Or was it simply an advantage that other actors outside of the community deemed too insignificant to mention?

²⁴⁷ Bolt: “Well, we could have had a flow of water come in this community and our taxes would have been very minimal. We could have supplied the whole town with water, yes.” Fizzard states it was a concern that Grand Le Pierre had a boil order when Gisborne Lake is “99.9% pure.” “So why should we have to boil our water when only about seven kilometres away, here we’ve got a reservoir twelve mile long and six mile wide?” The Gisborne Lake project would include a connection for the community,” Fizzard says, “And it wouldn’t have cost us probably a nickel. It wouldn’t cost us a nickel.”

²⁴⁸ When asked if there were environmental concerns, Bolt responds, “No, not to my knowledge there wasn’t, no. They did the study to see if it would impact the caribou herds and things like that because we’ve got the caribou herd here but I don’t think... nothing to do with fisheries...” As for Fizzard, when asked about environmental concerns he notes: “of course, we was concerned about that, too, but when the environmental study impact came back and everything was in order, we never had to worry because we knew it was taken care of.” “We was assured that there wasn’t no negative [effect on the lake].”

opinions on trade concerns.²⁴⁹ A difference in opinion arises, however, when asked the question “What if there *were* negative environmental impacts?” Fizzard would not want the project to proceed with *any* adverse effects. He does not want the lake and surrounding environment harmed in any way and thinks it should be cared for: “we had to play it safe, you know. We would have made sure that the environmental part of the lake was looked after.” For him Gisborne Lake is “God-given” and “marvellous” with which care must be taken. Bolt, conversely, explains that although he does not want the lake completely destroyed (in fact he does not believe humans could actually destroy it as the water is so plentiful and as it has survived all these years²⁵⁰), environmental damage is tolerable for the great advantages Gisborne Lake represents. When asked if it still would have been suitable to pursue the project even if there would have been adverse effects on the lake he responds, “I think it would have, yeah, I think it still would have been a good project, yeah.” After all, he asserts, “there’s nothing in there only water, so I mean, why would it impact anything?”

Finally, the most interesting and unique point found of all in studying these two actors was that for both these actors Grand Le Pierre simply needs a project, *any* project to boost local employment and that Gisborne Lake is the focus of attention perhaps for a fairly arbitrary reason: it was one thing that was proposed to be developed by a

²⁴⁹ As for NAFTA, Bolt states that “It didn’t make no sense to me”: there were so many mixed messages coming from provincial politicians, “So, who can you believe?” As for Fizzard he states that “NAFTA couldn’t stop it, and the federal government, they acknowledged that, they said they could not stop it.”

²⁵⁰ “That lake will never be empty, no. If that lake would have been emptied it would have happened years ago....” Bolt scoffs at the environmentalists who talk about environmental harm coming to the lake due to the project.

developer. The community has no special reason to develop Gisborne Lake in particular, the actors tell me, it just needs to develop something and the debate happens to have become centred on Gisborne Lake. Bolt explains that “government” must start work projects to “generate some employment, whether it is through a bottling plant or something...” It does not have to be related to Gisborne Lake: Bolt is looking for “anything at all” and Fizzard asserts “any project” will do.

Values

Now from a value perspective, here we see several key assumptions or beliefs about Gisborne Lake and the environment as a whole, many showing a strong anthropocentric, instrumental environmental ethic approach. First, slightly different from the province-wide focussed actors, this group believes that Gisborne Lake is owned and controlled by *Grand Le Pierre* (rather than the province or country), which should have the final say in its development.

As with many of the other actors, Fizzard and Bolt are also frustrated that Gisborne Lake is wasting away into ocean with no human benefiting from it. Says Bolt,

I'd say there's thousands of litres everyday going out into the saltwater and it is being wasted. Even if they capped that off and bottled it, we wouldn't have to touch the lake at all. You know, that's how much is going out. Thousands of litres every day. And that's been happening for years, so how much has really gone out there, we don't know, you know. Just going out into the salt water.

Similarly, Fizzard explains (in contrast with his comments on caring for the “God-given” and “marvellous” Gisborne Lake):

Can you imagine, I mean every time you go into the store in St. John's or any of the other stores, the first thing you see on the shelves is water that was manufactured in Quebec, water that was manufactured over in Ontario. And here in Newfoundland we've got the purest water God could ever give a province and yet we're not able to produce it, to manufacture it. It's ridiculous.

For Fizzard, "Every litre of water that's going out there means money to the ... you know, revenue to the province, revenue to the federal government and also revenue to the municipal government."

Again, like the previous actors, the above comments show an assumption that water is of worth primarily to humans who find a way to profit from it. Gisborne Lake is predominantly or uniquely for human uses in order to save this desperate community. If there are no profits coming from the lake's water, the lake is of little worth. Like the previous group, these comments point toward the idea that humans have the most or only worth in nature (humans' needs are of the highest or only importance) and that the environment of Gisborne Lake is there to serve primarily or uniquely the interests of these humans in purely instrumental ways. The lake, according to this group has little value or good in and for itself.

2.3. Langdon, Grimes and Anonymous Liberal MHA

Position

This third group is distinguished from the previous based on the condition they add to their support of the Gisborne Lake project as it now stands: the bulk shipment of water must be a time-limited activity and the ultimate goal of the development must be a

bottling plant.²⁵¹ In the case of An.L and Grimes, the bulk shipment is meant to be phased out eventually when the bottling infrastructure is self-supporting. For Langdon, bulk shipment is meant to pay for the bottling operation, without being phased out necessarily.

Arguments

Their arguments for the project are similar to the first groups. They are drawn to the economic advantages from local employment and construction as well as public revenue for other societal needs in the province (health, education²⁵²) which would result in benefits for the local region and the province as a whole as water becomes a new industry

²⁵¹ Grimes describes this situation as follows: "And at some point I've indicated a willingness to go to the legislature and change that law [Bill 31 banning shipments in containers bigger than thirty litres] if it means you've got to take out some in containers bigger than that to raise the money for the plant, then I'm willing to have that debate in the legislature to change that law, knowing that the proponent would understand that they're giving a commitment that they only get to do this bigger container piece for a time-limited period while they're raising the cash to build the plant to get back to the smaller parts." Similarly, Langdon explains "There is no doubt about this, that we live in a capitalistic society." Profits are key, "and there is no business person who is going to go into business to lose. And so the proponent of the Gisborne Lake project was saying 'I need flexibility here to be able to ship out some bulk and at the same time build a bottling plant within two to three to four years so that I would have been able to pay off my capital costs, and then once the capital costs are out of the way it won't take as many dollars to be able operate and show a profit after.'"

²⁵² Grimes had specifically planned for the profits of Gisborne Lake to fund university and college education in the province. When he proposed this, he was shocked at the reaction of representatives from MUN Student's Union and the local Canadian Federation of Students who accused Grimes of blackmailing students with Gisborne Lake for free or cheap education in exchange for environmental degradation. Grimes' says that "the same student groups had come in and lobbied me for free tuition and they didn't really say 'but I don't want the money to come from this source or that source,' they had come in and lobbied us for lower tuition and if possible free tuition. But then to start putting conditions on it, to say 'well only if the money comes from something over here, I don't want the money that'll come from that'? I found that a bit strange."

(a “led industry” says An.L) in the province. For Grimes, like the others, Gisborne Lake was primarily “a development opportunity.” Gisborne Lake’s development would not bring direct money to the government, but indirectly there would be benefits like income taxes from jobs, provincial taxes on purchases and money saved on social assistance to the unemployed. An.L also notes another effect the development would have on the local areas: the slowing of out-migration from rural areas which is currently caused by unemployment.²⁵³

Again, as with the first group, the NAFTA is not worrisome for these actors based on the Liberal’s legal opinions which explain that the province would not lose control of water if bulk exportation proceeded.²⁵⁴ Even if foreign companies were to gain access to the province’s water, they would be subject to the same processes as a local company, and since local companies would be obligated to conduct as much secondary processing

²⁵³ An.L states: “you know, it’s great for somebody who’s a university professor or somebody who’s guaranteed a job and who’s got tenure in a job, and they’ve got an income coming... you can be an armchair critic. But if you’re a Newfoundlander or Labradorian out there today and your unemployed, we need developments for the unemployed people in Newfoundland and Labrador. You hear people saying ‘leave it in the ground.’ Leaving it in the ground is not going to profit anybody.” He notes how a generation of people in the province made a living and could stay in the province thanks to the Churchill Falls hydroelectrical development.

²⁵⁴ For instance, An.L states: “No, I think NAFTA was a red herring [...] The opposition was saying that if we start the bulk shipment of our water then we’d have no control over it whatsoever and that people would be coming in putting pipes in our lakes and pumping them dry and we got no control over it whatsoever. Nobody can take anything out of this province that’s on land without being governed by the regulations of the province.” Permits are always needed, so the NAFTA fear was “Absolute bullshit.”

Langdon expresses a similar point: “And we had a number of opinions, I mean for and against, you get that as well, that if the project had gone ahead *here* it wasn’t no international body you had to deal with, there were no other provinces you had to deal with. It was just within our own jurisdiction.”

as local operations, foreign companies interested in water industries would simply help to create more employment in Newfoundland and Labrador.²⁵⁵

As for environmental concerns, all three trust the conclusions of the EIS which apparently shows there would be no significant environmental impacts.²⁵⁶ For instance,

²⁵⁵ Grimes elaborates on free trade and its real implications: “Maude Barlow was at it with the Council of Canadians, Tom Osborne was at it here as well, I think the NDP might have joined into it too. They say, if you let anyone export your water, one person, one company, than these big American companies can come in here and insist and you can’t stop them from taking your water. That’s a lie. That’s an outright lie. That’s an outright misrepresentation of how the free trade agreement works. But that’s the kind of thing they were saying to people: if you let one company do it, then if a company from Louisiana wants to come in you can’t stop them. Now that’s just not true.” According to Grimes, the NAFTA functions as follows: “We’ve got to give the license and how it works is this: if you give a company a license no matter where they’re from in the free trade zone, Canada, United States or now in Mexico, then you can’t put a different set of rules around another company. So if you say, here’s the rules that a company from Newfoundland and Labrador got to fulfill [...] and if you fulfill them you’re allowed to get a license. And one of them is always you’ve got to pass environmental assessment.” Further, foreign companies cannot be treated any more harshly than the rules established for local companies: “You’ve got to decide what your procedure is, decide what your process is, decide what your criteria are, and then you can’t change the criteria for anyone else in the free trade zone.” Grimes is not concerned about foreign companies doing business here: “It doesn’t matter. You get the chances, the opportunity, to set the criteria first, and then the only thing with free trade is that you cannot have different criteria for a company because they’re from another country in the free trade zone.” As well, if ten American companies come up to take Newfoundland water and then a drought occurs in Newfoundland, “you can’t cut off the ten American companies and let three Canadian or Newfoundland companies stay ... you’ve got to cut off everybody equally.”

²⁵⁶ In Grimes’ words: “From what I’ve seen, and this was a piece of work that was done when the McCurdy Group and Mr. White was a proponent ... I didn’t see the details of it, but every briefing that I had received at that point in time indicated that the preliminary environmental assessments were already done and showed that there would not be ... that the people in charge of that, who are officials and experts in the area, trained people, not politicians, but the bureaucrats that *do* that work had already done a preliminary environmental assessment and deemed that there was not any kind of severe or adverse negative environmental impact which would stop such a project from proceeding. So I’m still sitting here today having never seen, worked through, say a thirty or forty or fifty or eighty page environmental assessment document, but believing that such a document exists, this is what I’ve been told, from officials and from people

An.L asserts that with Gisborne Lake, “from an environmental point of view, there was no effect to the environment whatsoever. You could take a tanker load of water out of Gisborne Lake and before it got outside the twelve-mile limit all the water would have been back in Gisborne Lake.” Thus there would be no effects from reducing water levels and no effects on the environment or wildlife. “It was an environmentally friendly project.” Similarly for Langdon: “For the Gisborne Lake project itself, I knew from an environmental point of view that the environment would not be adversely harmed in any way, shape or form if the project went ahead.”

There are minor variations to clarify this last point: Langdon acknowledges that minor negative environmental impacts will occur, but that these are permissible and should create no great alarm; Grimes, on the contrary, admits no negative impacts but emphasizes that there can be no development in the province without “respect for the planet” (more on this soon); and finally An.L believes there would be no negative effects, but if there were any environmental effects, even minimal ones, he would not have supported the project.

The unique focus of this group’s arguments on *bottling* comes from the belief that bulk would represent a loss of benefits to the local area and province. This perspective is in response to the province’s frequently-criticized long history of selling raw resources in bulk form to the rest of Canada or other countries with minimal return for that

who did the work for the company ... the proponents themselves of course have to go and submit their environmental information and go through the impact statement or full assessment and that the preliminary work that was done on behalf of the McCurdy Group and Mr. White clearly had been seen by government people and the early indications were that there would not be a huge or significant or adverse environmental impact either on the fresh water or the salt water.”

exportation (this was noted throughout the environmental scheming section in the introduction). Each actor in this group wants the project to bring maximum benefits to the region and province which necessarily includes local jobs.²⁵⁷ (As a useful analogy, An.L explains “In terms of the whole economic thing, it was a good industry for Grand Le Pierre.” Seventy to one hundred jobs in a community of five or six hundred “would be the same equivalent as putting something in St John’s with ten thousand jobs.”) Employment opportunities are rare in bulk shipment deals but are substantial, stable and long-term in bottling operations. There are also the spin-off effects of processing the product in the province to other industries, for example, to factories that manufacture the

²⁵⁷ Grimes notes: “One of the absolute imperatives in it would be that at some point, it mightn’t have to be from day one in the business, but the business plan would have to be one that sees the bottling of the water done in Newfoundland and Labrador and the export as a finished product, a bottled water for sale rather than tanker loads going out from our bay to be bottled and used elsewhere to create jobs and opportunities someplace else, because we’ve had enough of that, too. If someone was to bring a business plan and says that ‘I need to take out a year or two in tankers to generate enough cash so I can build a thirty, forty or fifty million dollar bottling plant and employ a hundred people,’ then I see that as being good sense.” In the same vein he notes, “There’s no good for anyone to come forward saying I just want to take bulk shipment from Newfoundland and Labrador and that’s the business I want to run. We’re not interested in that. But if you’re interested in a bottling plant and you might need bulk operations as some part of it for some defined period of time, I would be willing to talk about that.”

Likewise, Langdon observes that Gisborne Lake was worrisome for some citizens because people are “really more vigilant today I guess in having [their] resources being sent out in raw form. And that in itself caused a problem. It wasn’t from an environment point of view, it wasn’t from a cost-effectiveness, all of that could have happened. But the fact that it was going out in bulk, there was no secondary processing, and the public got really involved in that and really killed the project.” People did not want to sell “such a valuable resource in bulk like this here and not be able to get any return on it.” He speculates: “I think that the Upper Churchill deal, in the sixties when that was done, has been like an albatross for us to wear.”

plastic bottles in which the water is pumped, plus the labelling, transporting, marketing and so forth.

Values

As we saw in the last group, from a value perspective what becomes apparent from this group is an envisioning of Gisborne Lake exhibiting instrumentalist, anthropocentric leanings. First, this group holds that Gisborne Lake is Newfoundland and Labrador's property²⁵⁸ and that it should be developed for the benefit of people in the province. Also similar to the first group, here we find the frankly stated belief that the water of Gisborne Lake is only of value to humans. As it sits now, flowing into Fortune Bay, it is a total waste of revenue that could have gone to the province. Langdon, when asked if he holds this opinion responded that in two ways there could be waste: either we could be "losing" water into the ocean by not developing it, or we could be losing revenue by developing the lake in a way that does not bring "maximum returns." Although Grimes did not give an opinion on if Gisborne Lake was indeed wasting into the ocean during our interview, he was quoted as similarly stating, "We're just letting it [water] spill into the ocean" during a trade mission in Atlanta.²⁵⁹ An.L is of the same mind:

What did it really matter in terms of the scheme of things, in terms of *water* in Newfoundland and Labrador? I mean if we sent out a tanker of water out of Newfoundland a week, I mean there's more water in Newfoundland and Labrador, I mean, 55% of our total land mass is water. Now we don't have all Gisborne Lakes, don't get me wrong, but some of the people on Open Line were terrified that Newfoundland was going to run out of water!

²⁵⁸ Grimes stresses this when he talks about the uniqueness of Gisborne Lake not crossing into another province's district: "It's all our own."

²⁵⁹ Grimes is quoted in Editorial, "Maybe we can bottle the air, too," 6.

That's the kind of frenzy that was being developed. They figured that we wouldn't have any water left to drink because we were shipping it all away.

It was an "utterly ridiculous" frenzy according to An.L. He continues by stating, "Today and ever since, the water from Gisborne Lake is flowing into the ocean. It leaves Gisborne Lake all the time and is flowing out in Fortune Bay. Nobody's getting anything out of it really, right?"

Likewise, another similarity between this group and the previous groups is the valuing of Gisborne Lake predominantly or solely as an increasingly²⁶⁰ valuable commodity, resource, or market advantage that should be promoted, managed and profited from to purchase other things for the province.²⁶¹ According to An.L, for example, Gisborne Lake's water is "an opportunity to take pure Newfoundland and Labrador water and put it on the market" in mass scale, and he advocates for hooking the production of water in the province onto to major retailers, like Walmart. Gisborne Lake

²⁶⁰ Grimes speculates that "I'm still convinced that water is going to be the most sought after resource in this next century. I think there's evidence of that all over the place. And if we have it in abundance, in an environmental friendly fashion we can share it with someone else. We can meet a need somewhere else. And I think that's inevitably going to happen. So there's going to be a development opportunity associated with water, fresh water out of Newfoundland and Labrador sometime. I don't know when. I would like for it to be sooner rather than later." He sees "hundreds" of other lakes like Gisborne Lake ripe for development.

²⁶¹ Says An.L: "Gisborne Lake could have been put out there and it could have been marketed as a pure water from a pure lake in outpost Newfoundland, because that's what they consider us anyway, so we might as well use it. Everybody else in the world thinks we're out in the middle of nowhere, so if they're going to think about us this way, we might as well market it if we've got a product." Similarly, he says, "It could be marketed as something rare and different. And that's what I saw in Gisborne Lake, an opportunity to get out there and promote Newfoundland and Labrador water as a valuable resource that would attract other people in to put bottling plants and that sort of thing in Newfoundland and Labrador." Gisborne Lake represented "an opportunity to take pure Newfoundland and Labrador water and put it on the market" in mass scale. He says the province needs to hook water businesses on to major retailers, like Walmart.

is valued for its instrumental uses, what it can bring economically to the humans reigning over it from an anthropocentric position.

At the same time, Gisborne Lake is highlighted enthusiastically as abundant, renewable and pristine. Grimes describes it as “Crystal clear, pristine. [...] it’s fed not only from tributaries that feed into it but also from underground springs that bubble up into the floor so that it replenishes itself from two sources.” An.L also explains that, in actual fact, “it is a renewable resource. You’re not talking about iron ore, you’re not talking about pulpwood, or you’re not talking about fisheries and what have you. And it’s environmentally friendly. It doesn’t cause any damage to the environment whatsoever.” Similar to the impression from gathered from White’s comments, this group sees nature as having constructed a market opportunity it would be foolish to bypass.

Is this group asserting that beautiful, plentiful Gisborne Lake ought to be sacrificed for these economic gains? No, at least not overtly. Langdon states that he wants no extreme harm to come to the lake although he remarks that the province must develop to “move ahead” and admits there is uncertainty involved in ascertaining the effects of minor impacts on the lake, for instance the dam. Still he feels that “overall all it could have been a friendly project from an environmental point of view. It could have been easy to manage.” Slightly differently, An.L asserts he would not have supported the project even if there were minor negative environmental impacts: “No, I mean if it [the EIS] came back and there was an effect on the environment, I wouldn’t have supported it.” Yet when I ask if this means he would not support the project even if minimal

negative environmental effects would occur, he avoids answering this question and instead states: "But I mean it wouldn't have gotten approval by government anyway. Our environmental acts would have prohibited it from happening anyway. It passed all the tests of time in terms of all of our laws." In a similar way, Grimes, assuming the language of environmentalists, warns that there is a balance in nature that we must be careful to uphold. No development can happen without respect for this balance and the process of environmental assessment. (However when we compare these comments to Grimes' plans for economic development which are environmentally worrisome, we could question the authenticity of his environmentally careful talk. This point is discussed in greater detail in Chapter VI.) Thus at some points we are left with the impression of an instrumentalism that is tempered with a certain caution toward the environment, however this does not automatically mean a move toward non-instrumentalism. The aim of this prudence may be to preserve the lake to be able to use it instrumentally in the future for better returns when there is increased scarcity.

Based on the actor's primary envisioning of Gisborne Lake as property to be used efficiently or as Gisborne Lake as a market opportunity or commodity that is going to waste if it is not extracted and sold, this group is classified overall as assuming anthropocentric, instrumentalist ethics to ground the arguments supporting their position on Gisborne Lake. At the same time, on occasion this group could be described as upholding a certain care with regards to the environment. There are hints of some thought being given to more non-anthropocentric, non-instrumentalist ways of conceiving

the issue, however upon in many cases these appears quite questionable and may simply be environmental rhetoric.

Now if we cross the original two-column table to the “bottling only, zero bulk” position, a position that is opposed to the development of Gisborne Lake as it is now planned, we see one clear cluster of actors along with two individual actors that stand alone and lean more toward the first actors who are motivated to pursue the project as it now stands.

2.4. Anonymous PC MHA

Position

An.PC flatly rejects bulk shipments of water and encourages the development of a local bottling plant. Initially his concern was that this was “a sell out” of Newfoundland and Labrador’s resource and then his research on the NAFTA “lent a huge argument” to his position in the debate. His focus, in order of priority, is as follows: Newfoundland and Labrador resources should give maximum benefits to Newfoundlanders and Labradorians (for example through local bottling); the international trade ramifications (the NAFTA) should be feared; and, in a minor way, environmental issues are of concern. For him, “the environmental argument played only a small role in this entire debate. It was primarily resource and trade, in that order.”

Arguments

Unlike previous actors, there is no uncertainty from An.PC's perspective on the NAFTA: according to him it would be detrimental based on Chapter 11 (National Treatment and Most Favoured Nation clauses) in particular, which means for him a loss of control and benefits from water development in the province. He is basing himself on legal opinions by the Liberal government provincially as well as on the advice the PC's sought from lawyer Barry Appleton who had "acted against Canada in every single NAFTA challenge. And every one that had been decided on up to that point, he had won." An.PC states that Grimes is not being forthright when he cites his legal opinions: Grimes insists that his legal advice says it is perfectly safe to ship water, but even the very sources he quotes include warnings regarding the NAFTA implications.

Bottling, however, is a way to create jobs and gain money for the province, particularly as water becomes more and more scarce, and bottling will avoid a mass exportation of water resources being processed elsewhere. Today water can only be exported in containers thirty litres (water cooler size) or less and American and Mexican companies can have access to water in Newfoundland and Labrador if they bottle, process, label, and packaged it here, as domestic companies must do. "That bar has been set," says An.PC, "and if an American or Mexican company wants to come in here and bottle water, I've got no problem with that because it's creating employment here, it's creating a secondary product...."

Values

An.PC's position may seem similar to the coming descriptions of the An.E/A, Harris and Lucas group, or that of Doyle, but the assumptions underlying these arguments about the worth of Gisborne Lake and humans' role in it are vastly different. Like the last actors, An.PC considers Gisborne Lake to be provincially owned, just as the province owns all bodies of water in Newfoundland, and therefore he believes Gisborne Lake must benefit its local owners. An.PC's focus is primarily on retaining the resource independence of the province. As well, he agrees that Gisborne Lake would make a good product as it is a pure, unspoiled, pristine body of water.²⁶²

For this actor, Gisborne Lake is a commodity, a product and a resource that is comparable to gold and is increasing in value over time due to its growing scarcity.²⁶³ Although he admits some importance of that water in its own ecosystem, he does believe it is wasting into Fortune Bay without benefiting the humans it ought to benefit. That is a real "shame" for An.PC. Again, as we saw in previous actors, these are all strong markers of anthropocentrism and instrumentalism.

In addition, An.PC believes a water bottling development out of Gisborne Lake would change the ecosystem, but not necessarily harm it environmentally (which he would not want to do). He recognizes that water flowing into the ocean is necessary, for

²⁶² He tells me that Gisborne Lake has been shown to be "an absolutely pure source of water – unspoiled." "It's phenomena when you look at it to see how clear the water actually is," says An.PC.

²⁶³ An.PC states, for example, that the provincial water "is a much superior product than Evian or other brands that are available in the European market and from the European market and therefore I believe that our product would have a distinctive advantage over other products if it were marketed properly."

example for fish breeding grounds and an entire ecosystem. Thus for An.PC, the environmental concerns were “a small part of this whole debate. You would change the ecosystem in that area.” Therefore, the project must be done in “such a fashion that you would not cause adverse effects to the body of water itself or the ecosystems that rely on that body of water, such as the mouth of the river entering the ocean.” We must stay within the tolerable limits of Gisborne Lake. (He qualifies his statement, however, by stating: “And I’m not saying for a second that bottling water is not a good idea because I believe it is.”)

In An.PC’s case, the reasons for an environmental caution are again uncertain. While they could be based on environmental care, An.PC’s explicit ranking of concerns - where resource maximization ranks first – leads us to believe that environmental caution is suggested to ensure a continued or future product. For AnPC, Gisborne Lake is a good quality product owned by Newfoundland and Labrador that is unfortunately not serving the humans it ought in its currently unaltered state. An.PC thus places emphasis on the human benefits of Gisborne Lake and only rarely extends into the non-anthropocentric, non-instrumental ethic of seeing Gisborne Lake as serving a purpose in itself in its own ecosystem and of being exempt in any way from being used instrumentally.

2.5. Doyle

Position

A second stand-alone actor is Doyle who is uncertain about bulk exports, but not necessarily opposed to them, although he does agree with bottling alone.

Arguments

The uncertainty in Doyle's position stems from concerns about NAFTA implications which may compel the province to continue bulk exportation if the Gisborne Lake project commenced as planned and which may compel the province to open water development up to foreign companies in every trading nation. There were fears that the Gisborne Lake project would be a precedent setting action and that water would then become a good under the NAFTA. There were mixed messages on this point. Doyle acknowledges that:

there's legal people out there who say that water is excluded from the provisions of NAFTA. So therefore one project, if we decided to export water from Gisborne Lake, that it would not open the NAFTA floodgates. But there was some opinion out there from the other people in the legal community that said that by doing so, it would open the floodgates forcing Canada to allow water exports by American or Mexican companies, companies which can operate under the same terms and conditions as Canadian companies.

His solution to this uncertainty is to act cautiously, avoiding a situation where a judge would decide on a government's export rights and obligations.

As well, Doyle has environmental concerns. While bottling operations avoid NAFTA implications ("Bottled water going out little bits and pieces here and there won't do that [implicate the NAFTA]"), they also avoid the possibilities of extreme environmental degradation seen in bulk shipments. Notes Doyle,

Well I guess there's always an acceptable level of risk involved in doing these kinds of things, but the environment is very important. I worry about the science of the whole thing: nobody can really tell you anything about the long-term impact it's going to have upon the land, upon water tables, upon vegetation growth and all of that, so I mean these are important issues and I would imagine that science is continually studying all that but I haven't seen too much that would convince me that it's a good way for us to go.

Dispersed, small scale extractions are therefore preferable to mass extractions from Gisborne Lake. Finally, like the last group of three, Doyle realizes bulk operations would offer few jobs.

Values

For Doyle, Gisborne Lake is valued as a resource that is not necessarily renewable.²⁶⁴ Yet like many actors reviewed here, he envisions Gisborne Lake as property of Newfoundland and Labrador or at least of Canada²⁶⁵ (indications of an anthropocentric, instrumental standing) *and* as an ecosystem supporting animal and plant life as well as water tables. Although some of these statements appear to move toward a non-anthropocentric, non-instrumentalist environmental ethic, the justifications for environmental protection seem to be based on preserving water primarily for the use of future generations of people. Thus his position could be more so one of long-term instrumentalism.

²⁶⁴ Doyle wonders: "Is water a renewable resource? Some people say yes it is a renewable resource, I mean it falls from the sky and it's re-circulated, it goes up again and falls down. But upon researching the whole thing [...] water is not a renewable resource, [...] we're steadily losing water depth over the centuries and what have you. So from that perspective it's an environmental concern certainly. So yes, we had a lot of concerns about the environment. And it wasn't really all that well researched. [...] what environmental impact is this going to have upon us? [...] it really wasn't well known."

²⁶⁵ There is certainly a tension on this point: when I ask if, ultimately, the debate on Gisborne Lake was a question of keeping that resource for people in Newfoundland or for people in Canada, he responds with a laugh: "Well yes, [for] us both in Newfoundland and Canada." It depends on your perspective, he notes.

As well, Doyle acknowledges that there is some risk to be taken in all development, but that we must act cautiously. Certainly, he would like to reap the benefits of Gisborne Lake, for instance jobs, “but not jobs at any cost.”

We’re always concerned about jobs and that kind of thing. But I think the long term employment connected with the Gisborne Lake development could only involve, what was it, forty, fifty jobs, which would be a lot for that small area. But you know, jobs were important, but not jobs at any cost, I mean, you can’t say we’re going to go ahead with Gisborne Lake without knowing what the legal ramifications are and what the long term impacts on the environment happen to be just for the sake of jobs. You can’t do it that way. You have to iron all that out first and bring the jobs on after.

Overall, Doyle’s focus is on the negative impacts Gisborne Lake would have on humans or future humans of Newfoundland and Labrador or Canada in particular which situates him anthropocentrically. As for instrumentalism this is more difficult to ascertain: Doyle could be encouraging caution toward the environment for reasons of environmental care in and for the environment itself or due to a realization that to hurt Gisborne Lake is to hurt chances of future human sustenance or economic gain from the lake.

2.6. Anonymous Environmentalist/Activist, Lucas and Harris

Position

These last three actors are totally opposed to any bulk exportation of water but would approve of a bottling operation with an important condition added: the bottling should proceed only if there is no negative impact on the environment.

Arguments

One argument driving this position is the fear of the NAFTA impact. The NAFTA for this group would represent a loss of control of water in the province to private and foreign actors who would not be accountable to the public in the province.²⁶⁶ Lucas addresses the NAFTA in more specific terms than most actors: he notes that since the beginning of the free trade debate, it has been obvious that the agreements were going to serve and have served the benefit of Americans.²⁶⁷ According to Lucas, Chapter 11 particularly concerns him as it would give foreign companies equal access to Newfoundland and Labrador resources as local companies, opening water systems up to increasing privatization and limit governments' flexibility (for instance, Chapter 11 in the

²⁶⁶ Harris points out the ironic position taken by Osborne who opposes the Gisborne Lake project based on NAFTA implications: "Tom Osborne, the Tories, provincially and federally supported free trade. They believe in free trade, you'll hear Tom Osborne saying 'We believe in free trade.' But they don't believe that water should be part of it. Well, that's what the NDP was saying in 1987 and 88 and consistently for the last fifteen years, long before. This was our policy. When Mulroney was bringing in the free trade agreement, we said there wasn't adequate protection there and that's exactly what Tom Osborne was saying [during the Gisborne Lake debate]."

Further, Lucas explains that from Britain, France and the U.S. come the "biggest multinational water tyrants in the world and their goal in life is, I mean it's a fact of life, the goal of the private sector is to make a profit. The goal of the public sector is to provide public services to the public that are accountable to the citizens of the country, whatever country that may be. So the private sector saw water as a commodity where they could make untold billions of dollars once again."

²⁶⁷ Lucas states: "We believed in those days [early free trade days] that when you're competing with a country like the United States, three hundred and fifty million people compared to thirty million here in Canada, that certainly any deal that was going to be struck was certainly not going to be struck to the benefit of Canadians, it was going to be struck to the benefit of our neighbours to the south. And that's not saying we don't love our neighbours to the south, because we do dearly love them, but the fact of the matter is, they're a resource-starved country and their standard of living is perhaps the greatest standard of living anywhere in the world. And looking at a country like Canada that's so wealthy in natural resources you know that, I felt, and certainly CUPE felt, that the Americans would certainly look at us as a haven for natural resources."

NAFTA states a country cannot sell water to foreign countries or for royalties “unless you charge the same price to the consumer in your own province or in your own part of Canada.”) Finally, based on research that showed the public strife resulting from the privatization of water systems in Britain, France and third world countries, Lucas is alarmed that the same could happen in his province. The “turning-point” nature of this case was repeatedly acknowledged by this group. It was a “test case,” says Lucas, and that is what made it so “frightening.”²⁶⁸ The results were unknown.²⁶⁹

In addition, as Harris notes, ultimately bulk exportation (which he notes was the true main focus of White, although many supporters attempted to draw public attention to the bottling component to gather support for the project²⁷⁰), would keep the province caught up in the pattern of being “drawers of water,” exporters of raw resources to be

²⁶⁸ Further, Lucas speculates that “once you break down the barriers, and if government sold off our water, then we believe that that would then have given the right... it would have accelerated the privateers from the United States coming in and saying now we want part of your health care action, we want part of your education action.” If water goes, Lucas warns, healthcare, education and social assistance are next in line to be privatized.

²⁶⁹ Related to this is another point of An.E/A’s that makes him outstanding in this group: he notes that Gisborne Lake *in itself* is not of great importance (“Even if we drain this lake, so what?”), rather that it is important in what it represents, a potential pattern for other lakes in the province and nation. If Gisborne Lake were to be sucked dry, An.E/A notes, that in itself would not be an extreme disaster in the big picture, but if this were to happen repeatedly, we have cause to worry. “Where’s the next guy with the next one million bucks to suck up the next lake?” he asks.

²⁷⁰ This seems to be a point that greatly interests Harris. He noticed this first when viewing an early version of the McCurdy Group of Companies website announcing the sale of bulk water. Water was advertised as available for just “pennies a litre.” When Harris and his staff made this public, that line was quickly erased from the site.

In any case, if bottling had been the focus of White’s development, says Harris, he could have proceeded with his plan. “The fact that Mr. White hasn’t come forth with a stand-alone bottling plant either means that he was never interested in one in the first place or he doesn’t think that it’s economically feasible.”

processed elsewhere, for the benefit of somewhere else, with little benefit to people of the province. Like Churchill Falls, Gisborne Lake would be “a bulk sale of resources without any real participation in the market.”

As well, actors in this group feared bulk exportation would result in few jobs, an important point for Lucas who is motivated to protect workers and their families.

Then I thought about jobs, because I always think about jobs. I said, if they're going to ship away the lakes, well, what about the other argument, why not put it into bottles or containers and let Newfoundlanders and Labradorians have the jobs? After some checking, and after confirmation from the premier, it's low intensive work. There's not a lot of jobs that would be obtained from it, once you set up the factory.

There would be a few hundred jobs from construction, but they would be short-lived. Then there would be a maximum of twelve or eighteen permanent jobs.

Another concern with bulk water exportation was the final destination of the water. Harris and Lucas explain that water shipped from Newfoundland and Labrador would not end up quenching the thirst of the poor, as some project supporters would have the public believe. Instead, the water would be used by those with the money to buy it, thus it would be used to drive on over-development and over-consumption. Harris explains that some actors tried to make the Gisborne Lake debate a moral debate with questions like “why shouldn't we sell water to the thirsty people of the world?” However he is aware that the water “wouldn't have gone to the thirsty people of the world, unless they were thirsty Arabs with oil dollars to buy a tanker load of water to have a flower garden in their desert villa.”²⁷¹ Lucas agrees with the Council of Canadians' position that shipping

²⁷¹ Harris continues this thought later in the interview: “The ultimate negative vision that people have in Canada [...] is that the water of Canada would be used, for a

out water in bulk allows wealthy areas to overstep the water boundaries of their environment without ever having to realize there is a limit to water availability.²⁷²

Of course, giving water in bulk as a gift for humanitarian reasons is quite a different case for this group. As Lucas explains,

if as an example there was a major catastrophe somewhere in the third world or even in the United States, in the rich world, even in the affluent part of the world, and they needed bulk water? B'y Jesus, Newfoundlanders and Labradorians just by their spirit alone: 'come in and take it for free.' Take it for free if that means we're supporting the survival of the human race.

Likewise, An.E/A holds a firm "zero bulk" position, unless there is a humanitarian emergency.

Finally, this group fears the environmental impact of bulk shipment in particular. (Lucas cannot even fathom the great ecological and perhaps even climatic effect of the damaging of even one lake. It would be "[t]ampering with Mother Earth.") Compared to bottling, bulk exportation would mean the extraction of much greater quantities of water which would result in serious damage to the ecosystem. An.E/A speaks specifically in

price, to support a better life for the United States: more industrial development, more economic activity, a higher standard of living, and that we would essentially be a resource drained of that commodity, so our essence of life would be drained out to support somebody else. That may be too futuristic or too paranoid, but that's what drives some of the thinking about it."

Lucas similarly notes: "If we indeed do sell our water from Canada, is it going to go down to the United States perhaps to help the Mexican immigrants grow more crops? It may, in some cases, but in ninety percent of the cases, I would say it'll probably fill the rich swimming pools of people down in California and the southern states. That's a great fear factor and it has to be said. I know people who jump all over it when we say that type of thing, but it's a fact, a fact of life."

²⁷² This is one of the themes running through Maude Barlow, "Blue Gold: The Global Water Crisis and the Commodification of the World's Water Supply," (San Francisco: International Forum on Globalization, 2001) and Barlow and Clarke, *Blue Gold*.

terms of micro and macro changes and biological losses and notes that he is concerned that the precedent-setting case of Gisborne Lake might indeed begin a destructive pattern in the province and beyond. By developing Gisborne Lake in this way, humans would be “disturbing habitat” and “regimes of organizations” on the micro and macro levels. The effects on salt water ecosystems are uncertain, however there would have been disruption to the life forms in the upper level of the water (plankton, zooplankton, different crustaceans) due to water level fluctuations. (Often these organisms lay eggs on the shore and fluctuations would disturb this process.) As an “extreme example,” An.E/A cites the Star Lake reservoir where unpredictable fluctuations (like what might have happened at Gisborne Lake) occurred which were detrimental to fish populations because the micro organisms, on which the fish depend, were lost. There is uncertainty, An.E/A tells me, as to how much of a population will be affected, but there would have been “biological losses” at Gisborne Lake, although we do not yet know if only some or all would be affected and what level of disruption is acceptable. Lucas and Harris also speak of the great uncertainty accompanying the extraction of this much water and acknowledge that we need far more studies of the issue. In proposing this project, says Lucas, “we were going beyond the unknown.” Even if the NAFTA was never a concern, Lucas still would not agree with bulk shipment due to these adverse environmental effects.²⁷³

²⁷³ When I ask Harris to clarify if the Gisborne Lake issue was an environmental issue or not, he sighs in exasperation it seems and states: “Yes it was, I mean it was in some ways, in the sense of long term, big picture, slippery slope environmental issue. There were clearly environmental implications. You can’t take that amount of fresh water even going out into the ocean without having some consequences to the life of the

Why did this group not trust the conclusions of the EIS that so many other actors took as fact? Lucas and Harris describe the EIS as a document whose executive summary is basically manufactured by bureaucrats being “told” (both use this wording) by politicians. The EIS is a political document that often reads how the overseeing politician with something to gain from it would like it to read.²⁷⁴ The executive summary glazes over important details. Similarly, An.E/A notes how the environmental consultants “give the proponents what they want to hear.” He will not say the EIS is fully inaccurate, (in fact he says it is a peer-reviewed document), but nor would he act uncritically based on that document’s prescriptions as it is not a wholly impartial text.

For this group, the advantages of bottling only, therefore, include an avoidance of NAFTA implications, the use of knowable, currently established regulations, increased opportunities for benefits coming from local employment and secondary processing and a lessened chance of severe environmental disruption. Harris explains that

If we want to make a bottled water plant and bottle the water and create those jobs and export the water in bottles, we wouldn’t have a problem. Now if you went further then that and said we’re going to take so much

seabed and to the salinity of the water, the fish life that’s there. In the same way that the hydro plant in Seal Cove changes the water temperature of a portion of Conception Bay, to the detriment of some sea life and to the advantage of others, I suppose. [...] But that’s an environmental issue there. But any development has some effect. We were concerned about it only to the extent that it was being ignored. The premier [Grimes] was on record as saying, ‘we’re just taking water that’s going to be flowing away into the sea anyway. It’s going to be wasted.’ And he was criticized for making an ignorant statement, as someone who taught high school science, that that would have no effect, hundreds of thousands of gallons of water that would obviously change the salinity of the area, and that it could have no effect. Now, how much effect? I don’t know.”

²⁷⁴ Although Harris felt less competent in analyzing this document (“That’s a scientific question.”), he was frustrated by the document’s focus on bottling when bulk was clearly the developer’s primary intention.

water out that the bay into which it flows is going to be no longer fit to support the ecosystem that is there, then we'd have a problem.

Harris also supports a provincial subsidy of a bottling plant at Grand Le Pierre and believes it would only be fair for a community that was relying so heavily on this project.

These considerations, trade and environmental, were considered of more importance than the question of jobs for a struggling community. Notes Harris, "The nature of the debate was about more than Gisborne Lake and the unfortunate circumstances of the people who were there."

Values

There is a great deal to consider with respect to the values or principles underlying the arguments of this group. First, similar to the other actors, this group holds the belief that water and Gisborne Lake belongs to the province or country and should be controlled by the province (this is evident in particular in the fears of losing control of water through the NAFTA). Likewise, these three actors seem to be willing to sacrifice at least a small portion of Gisborne Lake for advantages to humans, such as jobs. These are pieces of evidence showing a slight instrumentalist/anthropocentric environmental ethic.

Then contrary to previous actors, and more along the non-anthropocentric, non-instrumentalist ethic, Harris, An.E/A and Lucas stress that Gisborne Lake is an ecosystem in balance that is part of an entire water system, is easily destroyed and will be affected by the project, however we cannot be sure as to what degree. It is clearly *not* wasting

into the ocean.²⁷⁵ Gisborne Lake, therefore, has a worth in the world beyond what it can attribute to humans needs and goals. Beyond fulfilling human needs, the lake forms part of a system with its own good to be respected.

To go a step farther, this group states that water is the essence and supporter of all life (not just human life, but also that of plants, animals and an entire ecosystem life). Therefore, say Harris and Lucas, it should not be commodified.²⁷⁶ Denying that the lake ought to be transformed into an item for economic exchange because it has an important role in the environment, and one far beyond satisfying human needs, adds to evidence of a non-anthropocentric, non-instrumentalist environmental ethic approach.

Further, more than a commodity, Gisborne Lake is seen as part of, or representing, the province's "natural heritage," an important gift for future generations, an important part of "the integrity of the Canadian water system and the provincial water system" or "the integrity of Canada's water supply" (Harris), as something belonging to all people,

²⁷⁵ For instance, Lucas states: "When Grimes made this ridiculous statement and said, 'b'y I don't know what the fuss is about water, [...] Gisborne Lake flows into the sea and it's only wasting away anyway, so why not barrel it up, or put it into containers and if we can make a profit off it, make a profit.' And right away, not being a very intelligent person, I'm not a very scientific person, but I thought right away, surely if they send these big super tankers in and they swipe away the water with the capacity that they've got, surely goodness you know it's got to have some kind of an effect on the ecosystem."

²⁷⁶ It is important to note one divergence from these comments on commodification. An.E/A *encourages* commodification because for him in order to protect water we have to set the right price on it. For An.E/A, low prices breed irresponsible resource management. If there is a low fee for resource usage or low royalties paid for its use, then "no one gives a shit about it." Resources need to be priced right to be respected, asserts An.E/A.

or as something marvellous and beautiful to admire even if we do not “use” it (Lucas).²⁷⁷

As there is a tendency in society often to abuse this water or the environment in general, we have a role to protect it and act cautiously, say Harris and Lucas, being wary of the motives of business. As Lucas insists:

Imagine: here are these water companies, and we’re supposed to trust the multinational corporations, Newfoundland and Labrador. For five hundred years we’ve trusted the business community of the world and where did it leave us? They’ve decimated our fishing as an example, decimated it. Our forestry industry has been okay, but that’s only because we’ve been on top of them, because the workers banded together and had unions and we brought in legislation in our houses of assemblies and things like that. But really, it’s the business community that – and not to be negative – but you know, their business is to make a profit. They’re not a charitable organization. And by hook or crook they’re going to make a profit.

There is so much uncertainty, legal and environmental, so we must approach the issue prudently.

These comments give us a window into what exact type of non-instrumentalist position might be held by this group, inherent or intrinsic. The indication here is of an intrinsic (subjective) value ethic which deems value as given to nature by humans, rather than existing independent of human consciousness. Gisborne Lake and the environment at large is described by this group as a shared gift for all humanity to be respected in itself based on its symbolism of a people’s “heritage” and on its aesthetic role in society as

²⁷⁷ Lucas speaks of water systems as something “every living, breathing being needs, not only humans beings, but animals, trees, everything.” It is next only to fresh air in importance, and thus he does not want it “sold on the market place like a commodity.” His organization does not want to see water, which “belongs to everybody, that belongs to mankind, be sold on the marketplace like a commodity.”

Further, Lucas states that “Gisborne Lake was an interest of, I suppose, of monumental interest to me. And the reason being is, you know, I’m not even a fisherman, I don’t even trout, you know, I’m just a dirty old corner b’y, I’m a townie. But you know I just marvel at the absolute beauty and splendour of Newfoundland.”

something to be in awe of. The value Gisborne Lake has in itself which exempts it from being used instrumentally is *bestowed* on nature by humans for reasons from a very human perspective, cultural and aesthetic. There is little evidence of objective (inherent) non-instrumental value in nature that exists beyond human valuers.

As well, Harris hits on a common feeling of this group when he notes that the environmental assessment process is a very instrumental process and should be criticized on one major point: it merely questions how a project should be done in an “environmental” fashion, but not if or why it should be in the first place. Consider his example: when a golf course was proposed for Windmill Bight, a Provincial Park and ecological rare and sensitive area with sand dunes and plateau bog that has been protected for thirty years now, the PC position was simply that there must be a full environmental impact assessment.

Now what does that mean? So, in other words, a golf course will be built to the standard of all golf courses, and blah blah blah blah. They won't say 'we're opposed to destroying the park.' They won't say 'we believe that this is a protected area and it should stay a protected area because we don't have very many protected areas left.' [...] They won't say 'there are alternative places to build this and we don't support it.' And they won't say, 'do we need another golf course?' because their leader owns three. They won't engage the real political issue. They'll side-step it by saying, we believe in a full environmental assessment. Meanwhile, the guy who's the chairman of the committee that proposes to build the golf course runs as candidate for the Tories in the by-election that was held in Bonavista North in the last little while. Where are they on these issues? They are where they feel they need to be politically as opposed to some sort of principled notion of preservation, protection and conservation and commitments to principle. Now, that doesn't make the Liberals any better, mind you. They're the ones who are doing it and who are putting up the government money to do it.

Harris would like to see the debate turn to questions of a more profound nature: "The fundamental issue is: should we do it or not?" In this way, Harris proposes a clear non-instrumental consideration of the environment.

Finally, An.E/A summarizes the feelings of this group well when he asserts that humans do have a place in this ecosystem and do have a right to have access to the water, and to even sell and share some of it, but the question is, what *exactly* is our place? How much is it right to take? "I see people as having a place here. [...] We've got a lot of problems to solve.... [...] we have to figure out what we need."²⁷⁸ We have to re-envision who and where we are, "our place," and "[t]here is a place for taking clean water and sharing or selling it." So again, we see a non-anthropocentrism ethic: humans are not the only or superior beings in the environment, rather we have the right to live along with other entities. Knowing exactly how to do this is, of course, a challenging question.

In summary, in great part this group exhibits a leaning toward a non-instrumental, non-anthropocentric (intrinsic) environmental ethic although there are still remnants of the opposite vision of nature. Gisborne Lake is acknowledged as an ecosystem easily damaged, the need for caution when interacting with the environment is stressed, and the environment is envisioned as at the centre of all life, in which we need to examine and redefine the place for humans. Yet at the same time, Gisborne Lake is still considered an owned entity, as "ours," and there is great fear that trade agreements will challenge this

²⁷⁸ An.E/A adds: "Since the industrial revolution, things have changed so much that the average perception and education has yet to catch up and become more environmentally aware."

ownership. There is room for this group to move further in this non-instrumental, non-anthropocentric direction, although a good start has been made.

2.7. Summary

To review this interview analysis section in one concise chart we can imagine placing the fourteen actors in six different groupings under the heading of some possible environmental ethic positions available in the theory chosen for this research. The actors' approaches could be simplified as follows:

Holding a Strong Anthropocentric/Instrumentalist Position	Holding an Anthropocentric/Instrumentalist Position	Hovering Between an Anthropocentric/Instrumentalist Position and a Non-Anthropocentric/Non-Instrumentalist Position	Moving Toward or Holding a Non-Anthropocentric/Non-Instrumentalist (Intrinsic/Subjective) Position
Strong Buchanan White Dominie Bolt Fizzard	Grimes Langdon An.L An.PC	Doyle	An.E/A Lucas Harris

Taken as a whole, this data indicates several general trends. First, the analysis demonstrates how the official environmental workers (bureaucrats, policy makers and the environmental consultant), and the elected officials from Grand Le Pierre express the most deeply anthropocentric, instrumentalist visions of nature. The ethical foundations of their opinions are comparable to the proponent of the project. The “behind-the-scenes” policy people and researchers come from the same ethical perspective as the

developer. The second trend revealed is that the elected Liberal and PC politicians have slightly tempered the extreme manifestation of instrumentalism and anthropocentrism seen in the first group to include some thoughts toward the possibility of the environment having a use or ends beyond human beings. A degree of environmental care and caution, whether it is authentic or not, is demonstrated. Finally, we see how the union, political left and activist-environmentalist group rejects the instrumental and anthropocentric environmental ethics approach to some degree as they consider this approach to be nothing short of a danger to nature as well to as humans. This last group veers off into non-instrumentalist, non-anthropocentric territory. However, they are not entirely free of the ethics of the Department of Environment, the local officials, the proponent, the environmental consultant and the mainstream politicians because hints of a perspective similar to these actors resurfaces from time to time in their comments, for instance in their comments on ownership. However, a real attempt is indeed being made by this last group to rethink and propose alternatives to the Gisborne Lake project, the current use of the environment and humans' present place within that environment. These actors seem to have engaged in a struggle of environmental ethic approaches with the more dominant political actors.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ These alternative messages on Gisborne Lake, however, are often less prevalent due to a lack of resources. For instance Harris places great emphasis on this point as he explains that his NDP government has only two members in the House of Assembly in Newfoundland and Labrador. Where the PC's and Liberals can devote one member almost solely to the Gisborne Lake issue, the two members of the NDP have to cover numerous issues at the same time. The impact on each individual issue is therefore comparatively lower as compared to the other parties. Similar issues also face the CUPE and environmentalists in the province.

3. FILLING AN ENVIRONMENTAL ETHIC APPROACH BLANK

Still, theory tells us there is room to move farther in the non-anthropocentric, non-instrumentalist direction taken by this union-left-environmentalist group. What would such a position look like? Dealing only with descriptions and criticisms of the Gisborne Lake debate as it happened would be unsatisfying from a political economy methodology and environmental ethics theoretical perspective. Both fields as I understand them encourage not only a deconstruction or criticism, but also a reconstruction of issues, suggestions for other paths, a discussion of fruitful alternatives.

More provisional and more hypothetical, the next pages look to other ethical possibilities in a debate on Gisborne Lake, to value systems that are non-anthropocentric and non-instrumental beyond those seen in the above fourteen interviews. To do this we should return to the theory of non-anthropocentrism and non-instrumentalism. An important point to make from the outset with this theoretical approach is that non-anthropocentrism and non-instrumentalism are world views, normative frameworks or belief systems. This theory does not encompass over-riding sets of rules that tell us what to do in every precise instance, but it is a way of thinking and approaching the world, a way of making better choices. This perspective, developed in face of the failings and dangers of the opposite perspectives (anthropocentrism and instrumentalism) present an alternative to the mindset of mainstream economics and politics. Although there are subtle differences within the theories of non-anthropocentrism and non-instrumentalism (indeed these have caused lengthy heated debates in the literature), what is at the base of

them is a recognition of the dependency rather than superiority of humans, of the worth of nature and the respect or duties it deserves.²⁸⁰

First, the non-anthropocentric and non-instrumentalist approach stresses humans' place in nature or as part of nature (as one among many beings) and not over nature. Human needs and desires are not privileged over the needs of another environmental entities except in very vital cases, where our survival is at risk. The environment is not owned by humans and nor is it of worth only through its satisfaction of human needs and standards. Further, humans do not necessarily take on a role of environmental custodians but should be expected in many cases to simply let the environment "be." In this approach, which does not slip into misanthropy as some critics suggest, humans are configured as interdependent members of the environment, neither privileged, nor neglected. The recognition of interdependence among all beings in nature suggests a move towards co-existing and co-operation (rather than competition), local sufficiency, local autonomy and decentralization (rather than hierarchy).

Another tenet of non-anthropocentrism and non-instrumentalism is the acknowledgement of each living thing in the environment having worth in itself, a well-

²⁸⁰ This general summary is gathered from Callicott, "Intrinsic Value in Nature," 240, 55-57; J. Baird Callicott, "Intrinsic Value, Quantum Theory, and Environmental Ethics," *E.E.* 7,3 (1985): 261-75; Callicott, "Rolston on Intrinsic Value," 133-34; McDonald, "Toward a Deontological Environmental Ethic," 416-27; McQuillan, "Passion and Instrumentality," 317-23; Minter, "Intrinsic Value for Pragmatists?," 58-61; Naess, "A Defense of the Deep Ecology Movement," 265-70; Naess, "The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement," 95-100; Norton, "Epistemology and Environmental Values," 222; Taylor, "The Ethics of Respect for Nature," 99-107; Watson, "A Critique of Anti-Anthropocentric Biocentrism," 245-48; and Laura Westra, "Why Norton's Approach is Insufficient for Environmental Ethics," *E.E.* 19,3 (1997): 281-94.

being, a welfare or a good of its own that can be hurt or impaired; each living thing having needs, living on its own terms and being of value to itself. Each living thing actualizes itself by living, adapting, reproducing and surviving and each living thing is an “ends” in itself. For all of these reasons, things of life are not to be used instrumentally. To take this a step farther, if individuals and species are considered of value and with goods of their own, then ecosystems, which support these individuals and species also have value and are due similar respect. As many environmental philosophers acknowledge, this worth of living things cannot be proven scientifically, rather it is a worldview or attitude adopted perhaps as a belief. To the critics who ask, “what good are things in nature?” some proponents of non-anthropocentrism and non-instrumentalism respond, “well, what good are we?” Even if we are of no “use” we may still believe we have a right to live and we may still believe we have some value beyond our use.

Duties or ways of behaving towards the environment stem from this acknowledgement of nature’s worth. In this approach, the value or good in nature and life in general must be appreciated, respected and given ample consideration far beyond instrumental value. Humans should come down from the heights of superiority to be humbled by the complexities of nature and to appreciate life. We are encouraged to avoid harming the environment and to let entities and the whole systems they comprise live out their lives, to let life happen. Then beyond respecting nature and letting it be, humans are not to harm or impede the environment and its beings. Although there will always exist some amount of killing, exploitation and change, there must be respect for life and a move toward egalitarianism among parts of nature. The aim here is an end to

the relationship of exploitation and domination between species. In addition, we are encouraged to “leave no trace.” Although this may be practically impossible, the point here is to make smart environmental decisions. (One example, to extrapolate from Naess’ 1984 article, would be the difference between a cross-country skiing path and the construction of enormous skiing resorts.)

Although thinking of the environment in terms of it deserving of respect is challenging, and although it is hardly “scientific,” people often experience affinities with nature. Those encouraging non-anthropocentric and non-instrumental thought assert that in the public there is a sensitivity toward nature and an intuitive moral sense to treat it with care because it has value. Importance is given to this human feeling, beyond scientific rationality or cost-benefit analysis.

In the end, the non-anthropocentric, non-instrumental stream indicates that the fate of humans and the fate of nature are bound together. The value of humans and the value of nature and all it supports is the same; the environment’s best interest is also our best interest. The environment is envisioned as our body, or as an extension of ourselves.

To take on this approach toward Gisborne Lake would mean assuming a new mindset or a new framing of the issue, and its implications would be extensive. The Gisborne Lake project as it is now planned would be a very invasive operation with extensive negative effects. (This is demonstrated at length in the next chapter.) It was proposed from the perspective that the lake, area and the life it supports have little value beyond what they

represent in profit opportunities for the involved parties. The project was conceived with rare acknowledgement of the value of Gisborne Lake or its inhabitants.

However, following a non-anthropocentric, non-instrumentalist approach, there could be no environmentally harmful intervention in the Gisborne Lake area unless human survival is at stake. (An important point to make here, however, is that in the great majority of cases it would be possible to avoid the choice between human survival or environmental well-being. Often it would be possible to imagine a way to have both, through compromise.) Yet as the proposal now stands, water would be sold to those who could afford the high cost of tanker-shipped water. It would not be a gift to thirsty people for humanitarian reasons. Similarly, the money received from employment generated through the Gisborne Lake project would not have been essential for human survival.

A non-anthropocentric, non-instrumental approach would seek to avoid negative environmental repercussions and to do as little damage as possible with respect for nature. A permissible project could have been one that did no harm (or very little) to the area and its inhabitants. This would mean no extensive pipeline, no blasting for underwater sea mooring facilities, no new roads through the area and no dam constructions. This approach to the environment does not mean there could never be any human action, but that it must be of a less damaging nature: it is time to work toward other non- or less-destructive ways to bring us, for example, the food, heat, shelter, light, employment and so forth that humans need or desire. This means putting human ingenuity to work (or remembering old ways of doing) to develop alternative agriculture, developing better energy sources, and so forth. Human existence will require some

amount of killing or destruction, but being guided by the principles of non-anthropocentrism and non-instrumentalism would mean treating life with all the respect possible, and to kill or destroy to the smallest degree possible only if it is a matter of our survival.

Instead of an invasive bulk exportation project, within this alternative environmental ethic approach, it would up to the community of Grand Le Pierre to focus on what it can do, non-destructively, to keep itself going. Emphasis would be placed on local sufficiency and decentralized interactions with the environment, not centrally planned mega projects. Likewise, provincially, instead of expending effort on major water schemes, the focus would be on water conservation measures and developing water policy provincially. Overall, Gisborne Lake would be approached not as property but as the place of our living and the life of other valued beings. An attitude of respect would guide actions toward Gisborne Lake along with an acknowledgement of great interdependence: what we do the environment we do to ourselves.

3.1. Themes of Newfoundland and Labrador Art

It is a well known fact that there is often more interesting history in the Songs of a Country, than in its form of political records and state documents.²⁸¹

Is such an approach so far from removed from the reality of Newfoundland and Labrador as to be implausible? Where could a basis or inspiration for such a frame of mind be found? Although a stronger non-anthropocentric, non-instrumental position was not witnessed fully in the comments of the interviewees, such an approach to the

²⁸¹ Gerald Doyle is quoted in *Old-Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland*, 1.

environment resounds in the art of Newfoundland and Labrador. If people in the province were interested in rethinking the human-environment relationship, therefore, this would not mean constructing something entirely new, but returning to or drawing on traditional themes. Of course, not every element of this particular environmental ethic position is represented culturally in the art, but the art of the province does move strongly in this direction. Similar to the theory of non-anthropocentrism and non-instrumentalism, the cultural artefacts of Newfoundland and Labrador reflect a traditional life wherein there is the following: a struggle to survive and a direct dependence on the natural world (not domination over it); a tendency toward self-sufficiency, independence and skilled adaptation; an admiration of and respect for the land and sea; a connection with nature that blurs a distinction between people and nature; a conflict with government and business interests which no longer share this connection; and a regret of changes brought by “progress” which disrupt the traditional relationships. (Note that for illustrative purposes I have focussed on examples from the poetry and song of Newfoundland and Labrador.)

Foremost, the art of this province shows people traditionally rooted *in* the environment, not reigning *over* it: the relationship between people and nature is not one of domination or ownership, but one of humans struggling or working with the environment and in the environment simply to survive. Strikingly clear is the dependence of humans on the environment in which they live. This is seen particularly in

the advice of one poem, "Recipe" by Gordon Rodgers.²⁸² Here the narrator describes what is needed for a family, including a "sheltered, / deep-watered cove with a place to / haul up boats, land to sink a well," trees to build a home and for fuel, land for a small garden, a cellar to store the crops, birds and animals for food, knowledge of the weather, seas and shores, and finally good health from cod liver oil. Everything to survive the "regular, random disasters" of life is there in the land and sea and the people adapt within that environment.

From this dependence on the environment come the pride in and the importance of local autonomy, self-sufficiency and decentralization in traditional Newfoundland and Labrador life. This is best exemplified in "Isolate":

A cove
on the Great Northern Peninsula.
One family.

We unload
thirty telegraph poles,
tell the father
that new lines
will end his separation.

Listen, he says, in this cove,
I've got my family and my boats;
I've more than I need
if everything comes in season
and when I speak,

I answer the sound
of no voice but my own.²⁸³

²⁸² Gordon. Rodgers, "Recipe," in *Wild on the Crest*, ed. Mary Dalton, et al. (St. John's: Jeroboam Books, 1995), 3.

²⁸³ Gordon Rodgers, "Isolate," in *Floating Houses* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1984), 28.

Furthermore, again and again the art praises the abilities and knowledge of humans who learned to adapt to the complexities of the environment. Men and women alike learn the skills necessary to survive, such as knitting and sewing clothing, making and mending rope, caring for children and animals, cutting wood as well as building boats and houses.²⁸⁴ These skills and this knowledge seem to be the very knot tying generations together. In “Old Newfoundland Fisherman,” for instance, a wizened man instructs the younger generations in their work of nets and line, and the young people “wouldn’t miss a syllable he said.” When the old man would scan the sky and sea tides and “sniff the laden breeze,” reading the world around him for bad weather coming, he becomes strong and timeless, an image of a learned survivor.²⁸⁵

The art also exhibits great respect, love and awe of this raw nature. Though the environment may possess a “disconsolate beauty”²⁸⁶ and be “rugged,” “rough,” “stormy,” and “bleak,” though the “unbroken waves rave mad,” the “tempests roar” and the “bitter sleet, and blinding snow” may overwhelm a labouring person, still the environment is “good” in that it feeds the animals and birds and gives as a gift to “the poor man” survival, freedom and faith.²⁸⁷ Kellend captures some of this in “Let Me Fish Off Cape St. Mary’s”:

Let me feel my dory lift,

²⁸⁴ See, for example, Otto Kellend, “What’s a Womanly Man?,” in *Wild on the Crest*, ed. Mary Dalton, et al. (St. John’s: Jeraboam Books, 1995), 8-9.

²⁸⁵ Irving Fogwill, “Old Newfoundland Fisherman,” in *Wild on the Crest*, ed. Mary Dalton, et al. (St. John’s: Jeraboam Books, 1995), 10-11.

²⁸⁶ Boyd Chubbs, “The Light is Gone, Mary,” in *Wild on the Crest*, ed. Mary Dalton, et al. (St. John’s: Jeraboam Books, 1995), 59.

²⁸⁷ R. T. S. Lowell (1847), “Newfoundland,” in *Wild on the Crest*, ed. Mary Dalton, et al. (St. John’s: Jeraboam Books, 1995), 106-07.

To the broad Atlantic combers.
 Where the rip tides swirl and the wild ducks whirl.
 Where old Neptune calls the numbers
 'Neath the broad Atlantic combers.

[...]

When I reach that last big shoal
 Where the ground swells break asunder.
 Where the wild sands roll to the surges' toll,
 Let me be a man and take it,
 When my dory fails to make it.

Take me back to the snug green cove,
 Where the seas roll up their thunder,
 There let me rest in the earth's cool breast,
 Where the stars shine out their wonder,
 And the seas roll up their thunder.²⁸⁸

Further, through all of the above themes, Newfoundlanders and Labradorians are depicted as being bound to their environment so much so that a separation between people and the land or sea is impossible. The one blends into the other. (This was captured in the example from Steffler's poem cited in Chapter II's brief introduction to provincial culture.) The environment has changed the people's bodies; they have been worn and toughened by it. Thus we read of "skin cracked by sea salt",²⁸⁹ "palms thickened / by salt-watered wounds, / scars from fish line, rabbit twine, / crisp red gills.",²⁹⁰ people who are "Sturdily grown, and fearless / As the great rocks which stand / The battling of tumultuous seas. / Calloused their hands, and cupped / From rowing long

²⁸⁸ Otto Kellend, "Let Me Fish Off Cape St. Mary's," in *Wild on the Crest*, ed. Mary Dalton, et al. (St. John's: Jeraboam Books, 1995), 118.

²⁸⁹ Michael Crummey, "Morning Labrador Coast," in *Wild on the Crest*, ed. Mary Dalton, et al. (St. John's: Jeraboam Books, 1995), 19.

²⁹⁰ Kristina Fagan, "Winter Kitchen," in *Wild on the Crest*, ed. Mary Dalton, et al. (St. John's: Jeraboam Books, 1995), 20.

against contrary winds,”²⁹¹ or a “face of seventy and seven” that is “dated by the winds of Heaven. / Through storm-torn dawns those hands, so thin, / Have brought the battered schooner in; And Lord, those eyes that saw an age ...”²⁹² Furthermore, again and again we see changes in and struggles with the land and sea written as metaphors for a person’s life. (Kellend’s piece above is a typical example of this.)

Therefore the art tells us that should people be taken away from this environment (for example through the government policies of population resettlement to industrial centres in the mid-1900s or due to the exhaustion of the cod), a painful loneliness and emptiness remains in the people. If a person leaves her place in the land and sea, she leaves part of herself behind and yearns to return (even if this is possible only in death): “No matter where he roves, / Or thrives beyond his native bawn, / His soul will haunt these lonely coves / And misty headlands in the dawn.”²⁹³ Place, in the art of Newfoundland and Labrador, is irreplaceable. The song “Outport People” emphasizes this as well:

You can launch a house easy and tow it away,
But the home doesn’t move – it continues to stay
And the dollars you make, sure they’ll keep you alive,
But they can’t soothe the heart and they won’t ease the mind.

[...]

You can’t take a man from the life that he knows,
And tear up his roots and expect him to grow;

²⁹¹ Georgina Cooper, “The Deserted Island,” in *The Deserted Island* (St. John’s: Creative Publisher, 1979), 2-3.

²⁹² Gregory J. Power, “Old Jim,” in *Wild on the Crest*, ed. Mary Dalton, et al. (St. John’s: Jeroboam Books, 1995), 64.

²⁹³ Gregory J. Power, “The Price of Bread,” in *Wild on the Crest*, ed. Mary Dalton, et al. (St. John’s: Jeroboam Books, 1995), 44-48.

'Cause if he's unwilling forced to decide,
He'll move without leaving and never arrive.²⁹⁴

Conversely, in opposition to many of these ways of thinking and doing with regards to the environment are the certain political leaders and the merchants (the business class). In the case of "Forty Thousand Strong," these "Merchants" and "Governments" (those "in love but with their purse") were deemed as having long "misruled" fishing families. They are "foes," "enemies," "the Dragons who have cowed us / down so long" that must be fought as if in "battle."²⁹⁵ Yet although people could learn to survive the cruelties of land and sea, the forces of business and politics were sometimes less tolerable. Consider "Precision" by Enos Watts, for example:

According to the elemental proposition
the island
should not have been there;
but it withstood the assault
from all compass points
of unpunctilious waves
that struck out blindly
taking only
the weakest parts of the rock.
And the men were not broken by the sea.
But other
horned-rimmed, vertically moving
half-men
knowing nothing of the taste of tears
drew neat, symmetrical
paradigms
and did
on some leisurely afternoons
what the sea could not do

²⁹⁴ Bud Davidge, "Outport People," in *All Together Now... Songs of Newfoundland and Labrador*, ed. Eric West (Ladle Cove, 2000), 34-35.

²⁹⁵ A Fishermen's Protective Union Man (1913), "Forty Thousand Strong," in *Wild on the Crest*, ed. Mary Dalton, et al. (St. John's: Jeraboam Books, 1995), 41-42.

in a thousand years.²⁹⁶

The politicians are less than human because they no longer live in the environment or respect it as more than a territory to divide up and take as profit. They are living beyond environmental understanding and therefore there is great bitterness felt towards them.

In the same way, in the art there is great regret felt in turning away from the traditional ways and becoming "modern" as these changes have the effect of splitting humans from the environment in which they thought of themselves as embedded. Dalton's "backhome blues"²⁹⁷ exemplifies these feelings.

our relation to the land's
grown problematic
a nibbling absence hovers
over these toy bungalows, these neat drives

[...]

this road has never heard of the cliffs and the sea
it barely notices the ponds alongside
this is a road to somewhere else
dallas las vegas los alamos

car culture. [...]

[...]

street lights cast a fluorescent
sheen on the ripples
the moon has been cancelled

the overgrown meadows make a gift of their smells

²⁹⁶ Enos Watts, "Precision," in *After the Locusts* (Portugal Cove, 1974), 2.

²⁹⁷ Mary Dalton, "backhome blues," in *The Time of Icicles* (St. John's, 1989), 40-41.

a slow fist is squeezing my heart
as we walk through our land conquered

A question left open by this line of Dalton's piece is what exactly has been conquered, whether it is the humans, the environment, or both together.

Like the non-anthropocentric and non-instrumental theory, the art of this province does not express rules for acting in the environment in every circumstance, instead it conveys a way of thinking about the environment to frame our actions, a vision of the environment as more than a human tool and of humans as far less superior. Within the themes of the art, traditional Newfoundlanders and Labradorians live within environments they respect and appreciate, and from which they learn to survive in self-sufficient communities. The people become a part of the environment, they are inseparable from it and therefore changes that challenge this environmental embeddedness are met with grief. There is a clash felt between these people and those who have become so distanced from the environment that they take the natural world as nothing more than a means for profit and control. Thus we can see how the non-anthropocentric, non-instrumental environmental ethic approach is not too far removed from the culture of the province: seeds of it are found in traditional life which continues to be represented in art. Perhaps this is a foundation on which to rebuild approaches to Gisborne Lake and the environment in general.

CONCLUSION

Drawing on some of the possibilities of positions available to us in environmental ethic theory, this chapter could distinguish subtle differences and similarities within the clashing environmental ethic approaches of the interviewees. This analysis permitted a grouping of actors which demonstrated a parallel anthropocentric, instrumental approach to the environment among the project proponent, the environmental consultant and the environmental bureaucrats. A slight tempering of this approach was seen in elected politicians while a challenging of this perspective was noticed in the left-union-environmentalist group. Still, the non-anthropocentric, non-instrumental environmental ethic approach was in great part unexplored, thus this chapter concluded with a consideration of the implications of this perspective. This path is not so far-fetched, for the culture of Newfoundland and Labrador celebrated in art already moves in this direction. As Mackenzie suggests, perhaps poets are precursors to alternative environmentalist ideas.²⁹⁸

Furthermore, the analysis of Gisborne Lake actors also enabled access to other questions of interest surrounding the Gisborne Lake issue including, most importantly, the leanings of the Department of Environment as well as the failings of the environmental assessment process and documents. The individual actors pointed toward a particular environmental ethic approach permeating the Gisborne Lake debate at a more process-oriented or institutional level, the focus of the next pages.

²⁹⁸ A. Fiona D. Mackenzie, "The Cheviot, The Stag... and The White, White Rock?": Community, identity, and environmental threat on the Isle of Harris," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 16 (1998): 518-20.

CHAPTER VI: INSTITUTIONAL LEANINGS

The application of concepts from environmental ethics theory to the interviews with the Gisborne Lake debate's major actors permitted the distinguishing of the positions, arguments and environmental ethic ideologies of these actors. Based on this work and complemented with key documents, in this chapter attention is turned from these specific actors to discuss more generally the *institutional* issues of environmental ethics raised from this study. Throughout the analysis several key issues became apparent which cannot be reached through a look at only the micro, individual actor level of analysis.

At a more institutional level of analysis one major theme proved prevalent throughout the research: the environmental assessment process clearly demonstrated an instrumental, anthropocentric environmental ethics perspective which was underlying the politics and economics at work in the Gisborne Lake debate. This approach is seen through several elements: the development leanings of "official" environmental workers, the significant gaps in the environmental assessment process, the failings of the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) documents, and the inability or unwillingness of Gisborne Lake project supporters (often the more dominant actors) to address arguments, environmental ethic approaches and values proposed by opponents to the development. After an exposition of these points, the chapter closes with a consideration of the many speculated futures predicted for Gisborne Lake which indicate that this debate will resurface. The environmental ethic approach of the Gisborne Lake process is therefore still relevant and may still affect this dormant issue in the future.

1. OFFICIAL ENVIRONMENTAL WORKERS

The most obvious potential contradiction in the placement of Gisborne Lake actors is seen in the concentration of “official” environmental workers (for instance the bureaucrats and politicians at the Department of Environment and the environmental consultant), expressing instrumental, anthropocentric visions of the environment while those who aim to defend the environment and who would probably define themselves as environmentalists, An.E/A, Lucas and Harris, hold an opposite environmental ethics approach.

The Department of Environment’s mandate is “To protect, conserve and enhance the Province’s environment through the management of water resources, the environmental assessment of undertakings and the control and management of substances and activities that may pollute the environment” through three divisions, pollution prevention, water resources and environmental assessment.²⁹⁹ In light of its most overarching aims to “protect, conserve and enhance,” it could be expected that the Department of Environment workers’ environmental perspective would be comparable in some way to that of environmentalists working for the same said aims outside the government. Conversely, this analysis has shown that the approach of the Department of Environment clashes greatly with that of the environmentalists. In fact, looking back over the interviews with people from the Department of Environment it is clear that these individuals are more concerned with the environmental *development* of the province rather than environmental protection, as witnessed in the frequent similarities of ethics

²⁹⁹ Department of Environment, *Department Structure* (cited January 14 2003), available from <http://www.gov.nf.ca/env/Env/default.asp>.

between the Department of Environment workers and the project's proponent. This finding is confirmed by the mission of the environmental assessment section of the Department which is to "ensure that development proceeds in an environmentally acceptable manner."³⁰⁰ Development takes priority and is only then qualified environmentally.

The clearest example of this pro-development leaning comes from Strong. He explains that his role in chairing the environmental assessment committee on Gisborne Lake was to be somehow impartial ("My job was to basically sit on the fence until all the information was in") and then make a decision to pass on to the Minister of the Department. Yet he clearly had very strong feelings in one definite direction on this issue and all issues of development in the province. As noted in Chapter V's analysis of Strong's position, for Strong, Gisborne Lake's water is a "resource" that we should use to "our advantage": "Give us the royalties and make use of it rather than see it go to the ocean," or rather than see it "never serving a use to anybody," he stated. Letting Gisborne Lake exist as it does now is insulting to him as a tax-paying citizen because it represents a loss of revenue. Strong did not take a "sit on the fence" stance from the beginning on Gisborne Lake, and rarely did he exhibit any particular care from an environmental perspective during our interview. This follows for other Department of Environment workers. For instance Langdon explains that for him the biggest issue regarding Gisborne Lake is not environmentally related at all: "The biggest problem we've got is getting the thing to market." He notes how we cannot let past development

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

failures (such as the Churchill Falls project) inhibit future development: “if you never do a deal, you never move ahead. I mean, the thing is, there’ll never be development [if you never do a deal]. And you can’t always look behind you, you have to look ahead.” The people at the Department of Environment are looking in directions other than environment protection and conservation. Dominic tells me “they” even had a name with which to market the water: “Grand Le Pierrier.” Likewise, Buchanan, the LGL environmental consultant asserts that “If people are willing to pay a fair price and we have enough for our own use,” then water should be marketed. He is concerned about a lack of economic analysis, royalty regimes, long-term employment and so forth.

Overall, throughout the “official” environmental institution, the bureaucrats and consultants they work with, there is an obvious pro-development perspective and the exhibition of an instrumentalist, anthropocentric environmental ethic vision of the environment with respect to Gisborne Lake. Rather than an emphasis on environmental concerns there is a focus on how to get the most financially from this “resource” or how to ensure its development. As one would expect, this same vision of nature has come to dominate the environmental assessment process managed by many of these same actors.

2. ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT

An environmental ethics approach leaning toward the needs of business and away from any non-instrumental, non-anthropocentric vision of the environment is most starkly seen in the environmental assessment process. To relay this finding, below I explain the environmental assessment process as the Department of Environment describes it and

then point out contradictions and loopholes of concern within this practice. Following this I propose another way of interpreting this process using the thoughts of Harris and exemplified by the contradictions in Grimes' environmentalism.

According to the provincial government's Environmental Protection Act, environmental assessment is administered by the Environmental Assessment Division of the Department of Environment and serves to "protect the environment and quality of life of the people of the province; and facilitate the wise management of the natural resources of the province." Any proposed projects that may "have a significant effect on the natural, social or economic environment" must be examined using this process to ensure the projects occur in "an environmentally acceptable manner." Environmental assessment includes four key activities on the part of the Environmental Assessment Division: consultation with the public and involved provincial departments; evaluation of proponents'/reviewers' submissions; presentation of advice to the Minister on which government decisions are based; and examination of projects that have received approval to "ensure compliance and effectiveness of mitigation."³⁰¹ The environmental assessment process is as follows:³⁰²

³⁰¹ The "real benefits" of the process are advertised to include "(i) providing for comprehensive project planning and design, (ii) maximizing environmental protection, (iii) enhancing government coordination, accountability and information exchange, and (iv) facilitating permitting and regulatory [sic] approval of projects." Department of Environment, *Environmental Assessment* (cited January 14 2003), available from <http://www.gov.nf.ca/env/Env/EA%202001/pages/>.

³⁰² Unless otherwise noted, the following description is drawn from this source: Department of Environment, *Environmental Assessment: A Guide to the Process* (cited January 14 2003), available from <http://www.gov.nf.ca/env/Env/EA%202001/pdf%20files/Guide%20to%20Environmental%20Assessment%20Oct%202002.PDF>.

- First, if it is required by the provincial Environmental Assessment Act, projects will be “registered for examination” with the Department of Environment. The registration document summarizes the project and how it will “effect the biophysical and socio-economic environment.” The public and interested government departments are given a chance to respond and the environmental assessment division then makes a recommendation to the minister.
- Forty-five days after the registration the minister announces a decision to either i) allow the project to proceed as it was registered (conditions from the Department may be added), ii) request an environmental preview report (EPR) which would supplement the registration and determine if more information is needed, for example an EIS (a detailed discussion of this document follows in the next section), iii) request an EIS “where significant negative environmental effects are indicated or where there is significant public concern about a proposal,” or iv) reject the project outright (which would come from a Cabinet decision) if “an unacceptable environmental effect is indicated, [if it] is not in public interest, and/or if the proposal is inconsistent with an existing law or government policy.”
- If an EPR or EIS is required, an assessment committee of “technical experts” is appointed by the minister from involved provincial and federal departments and document guidelines are created. For an EPR, these are released in sixty days of the announcement of the EPR requirement. For an EIS, guidelines are released one hundred and twenty days after it is stated that an EIS is required and then the public has the opportunity to comment on these guidelines for forty days. This committee will also be responsible for reviewing and evaluating these requested documents, reviewing public input and advising the minister.
- The preparation of an EPR usually requires a review of current research and not original research. The more in-depth EIS, however, requires original research on both “bio-physical” and “socio-economic” environments. As well, component studies may be required on elements such as caribou, fish or particular plants.³⁰³ Furthermore, a “public information program for the area affected by the undertaking” is required. Concerns of these “local residents” are noted in the EIS.

Note that the environmental review of a project through the provincial Environmental Assessment Act are simultaneously reviewed through the federal government’s Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (CEAA) “in an effort to informally harmonize the provincial and federal review processes in an effective and timely manner.” More involvement in a federal environmental assessment process is required only if the federal government is somehow involved in “proposing or implementing” or funding the project, if federal lands are somehow involved or if federal duties are required for the project, such as the issuing of federal licenses or approvals.

³⁰³ For more details as to what an EIS must include, see Department of Environment, *Environmental Protection Act (Amended Chapter E-14.2)* (cited January 14 2003), available from <http://www.gov.nf.ca/hoa/statutes/e14-2.htm>.

- Finally, the EPR or EIS is received by the environmental assessment committee and reviewed by the public. Recommendations are made by the environmental assessment committee to the minister, which is followed by the “Minister’s acceptance.” In the case of the EIS, added to this process is the minister’s recommendation to Cabinet, and then a Cabinet decision. Or, in the case of major public concerns, public hearings may commence on the issue. Cabinet can reject any project that may have “unacceptable impacts,” that is “contrary to law or policy,” or where a rejection of a project would be “in the public interest.” These decisions remain in place for three years and can be renewed for a maximum of another three years without the need to recommence the registration process.³⁰⁴

On the surface, this environmental assessment is a complex but thorough process that ensures environmental protection. The Gisborne Lake study, however, has revealed its substantial gaps, notably that the process is a judgement or prerogative-laden process with dangerous loopholes for exemption from environmental assessment; it has a narrow vision of the affected public; it feigns public involvement; and finally, the environmental assessment process demonstrates pre-established assumptions as to the result of environmental assessment.

The most pressing concern is the dependence of the environmental assessment process on the judgement of certain powerful individuals in government, such as the minister of the Department of Environment. This person must determine, without tangible guidelines, what is a “significant effect,” what is “environmentally acceptable,” what it means to “protect,” and what is the “public interest.” Judging from the interview data, the way in which the minister and elected politicians will value the environment and make the above determinations will be more centred on an environmental ethic

³⁰⁴ Department of Environment, *Newfoundland Regulation 48/00: Environmental Assessment Regulations, 2000 under the Environmental Assessment Act, 2000* (cited January 14 2003), available from <http://www.gov.nf.ca/hoa/regulations/rc000048.htm>.

perspective that would benefit developers rather than on a non-instrumentalism or non-anthropocentrism perspective to benefit the environment.

As well, projects are only required to be registered if the environmental protection act requires this registration, and it is the minister's opinion if that act applies. "A person shall not proceed with an undertaking unless that undertaking has been exempted or released under this Act,"³⁰⁵ but when can exemptions take place?

Where the minister is of the opinion that it is in the public interest, having regard to the purpose of this Part [Environmental Assessment] and weighing the purpose of this Part against the injury, damage or interference that might be caused a person or property by the application of this Part to an undertaking, the minister, with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, may by order (a) exempt an undertaking or a proponent of an undertaking from the application of this Part or the regulations or a matter provided for in this Part, subject to the terms and conditions that the minister may impose; (b) suspend or revoke an exemption referred to in paragraph (a); or (c) alter or revoke a term or condition of an exemption referred to in paragraph (a).³⁰⁶

Again, the purpose of environmental assessment is to "(a) protect the environment and quality of life of the people of the province; and (b) facilitate the wise management of the natural resources of the province."³⁰⁷ If in taking into consideration the spirit of environmental assessment it is the minister's opinion that a project need not follow this process, a project is easily exempted from environmental assessment. It is the minister's prerogative whether or not environmental assessment ever occurs in the first instance. An environmental assessment was required for the Gisborne Lake project, but other projects, as Buchanan warns, for instance the trans-Labrador highway (which according

³⁰⁵ Department of Environment, *Environmental Protection Act (Amended Chapter E-14.2)* (cited).

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

to Buchanan would have enormous impacts), slip through the cracks and never face every step of the officially stated environmental scrutiny process. Harris points out this danger and uses the highway example as well. Further, during a conversation with a Department of Environment bureaucrat who witnessed the trans-Labrador highway environmental assessment process, it was made clear to me that there were “short cuts” taken to “expedite” the environmental process with which many employees at the Department of Environment were not comfortable. In fact, construction had already begun before environmental assessment was complete.³⁰⁸ (In a similar way, the “environmental education and research” component of the Environmental Protection Act of “fostering an understanding of and responsibility for the environment” is something that *may* be done by the minister if she or he chooses; it is a decision of the minister.³⁰⁹)

As a second point of criticism, the environmental assessment process considers the public to mean just people in the local area of the project (which often means where people have the most to gain economically from the project). Public consultation is required where the project is said to have effects, and this is assumed to be very local: “the proponent shall provide an opportunity for interested members of the public to meet with the proponent at a place adjacent to or in the geographical area of the undertaking, or as the minister may determine ...”.³¹⁰ In the Gisborne Lake case, the EIS notes public meetings only in Grand Le Pierre, where only people from the community and several

³⁰⁸ Department of Environment Bureaucrat 1 (anonymous), Telephone interview, January 31 2003.

³⁰⁹ Department of Environment, *Environmental Protection Act (Amended Chapter E-14.2)* (cited).

³¹⁰ Ibid.

surrounding communities were present. So of course, due primarily to the economic gains promised to the people in that economically depressed area there was strong support for the project.³¹¹ The major opposition to the project in most areas across the province was neglected in the EIS. To consider only the locally affected area is, of course, too narrow from most environmental perspective which acknowledge that even the smallest local environmental changes can have far-reaching impacts, and that a broader perspective than three communities is required.

The role of the public is a further criticism to be made with regards to the environmental assessment process. Public involvement is celebrated as a key component of the environmental assessment process, but it seems unlikely that the general public would be involved. Announcements regarding environmental assessments are required to be made in two ways, by “issuing a press release” (of course, there is no guarantee that media will give any attention to this release) and by “mailing a notice to interested persons.” The Environmental Protection Act is said to ensure that copies of environmental assessment documents are made by the minister of the Department of Environment and are “available to all interested persons.”³¹² A person would make it known that she or he was “interested” by contacting the Department of Environment directly and requesting the specific documents on a specific project. If a person is not watching the Department of Environment website for new projects entering the environmental assessment process, the chances of even knowing about them could be

³¹¹ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 40.

³¹² Department of Environment, *Environmental Protection Act (Amended Chapter E-14.2)* (cited).

very slim. Further, from what has been seen with this water exportation and bottling project, even if a person is aware of the issue and does contribute her or his opinion, for example by letter, this contribution does not appear to have any real effect. The opinion is put on file, it may be briefly mention in the EIS as “one letter received in support of/against the project,” and then the process continues on its way.

In the case of the minister deciding that the Environmental Assessment Act will *not* be applied to a project, notice is made of this in the *Gazette*.³¹³ Of course, as Harris makes clear in ironic comments during a House of Assembly debate, the *Gazette* is hardly a “widely circulated, widely read” paper “on the breakfast plate of every Newfoundlander and Labradorean.” For Harris, the *Gazette* only “meets the legal requirements” which state that government policy must be made public, but it is hardly seen by the public. Available by order from the provincial government’s Queen’s Printer, it is a very formal legislative publication selling for \$3.45 per week, or for \$133.75 per yearly subscription. Although public awareness is feigned, environmental assessment is hardly a public process.

Throughout the environmental assessment descriptions and actual process another problem is the prevalence of a key assumption: it appears as though the “Minister’s acceptance” is the inevitable end to which most projects are moving. Approval is the norm, and rejection of a project occurs only in the rarest of cases. Of over one thousand projects assessed by the Department since 1982, only two or three projects have been rejected each year. The rest are modified to meet environmental standards or a proponent

³¹³ Department of Environment, *Newfoundland Regulation 48/00: Environmental Assessment Regulations, 2000 under the Environmental Assessment Act, 2000* (cited).

simply withdraws from the process if she or he faces continuous environmental assessment and continuous requests for more research.³¹⁴ The Department of Environment does not seem comfortable using its power to reject projects and seems to prefer proponents “take the hint” to withdraw through continuous requests for more information demands.

Then even if the environmental assessment and EIS process (discussed in the next section) occurs without an environmental hitch during the Gisborne Lake project discussions, the fear remains, even for those at the Department of Environment, Strong tells me, that the environmental recommendations will never be followed by the proponents once they are in the field. For instance, if water levels were getting low in Gisborne Lake and White had an empty tanker moored to the wharf, would he ignore commitments made throughout the environmental assessment process to stall exports in dry times, unbeknownst to those monitoring the project? Would he use his political influence to fill tankers even in periods of low water levels? Explains Strong, “There was mistrust, I guess, that it [environmental assessment regulation] would not be properly enforced.” In any case, reprimands for acting against the stipulations of the Environmental Assessment Act are flexible and thus potentially miniscule. (For a first conviction, a corporation would pay between \$1,000 and \$1,000,000, and the person who directed that action would face a fine between \$1,000 to \$50,000, up to six months in jail, or a combination of the two.) Has anyone actually been charged? The power to charge proponents for non-compliance with their environmental assessment commitments is new

³¹⁴ Department of Environment Bureaucrat 1 (anonymous) and Department of Environment Bureaucrat 2 (anonymous), Telephone interview, January 31 2003.

as of 2002. Prior to this, once projects were released from environmental assessment there was little monitoring for compliance and there was no minimum charge for non-compliance. Charging proponents for not proceeding environmentally is “relatively uncommon” (on the rarest occasion charges have been laid on proponents proceeding with a project without registering it at the Department of Environment).³¹⁵ This indicates either very environmentally friendly proponents or an incapacity or unwillingness on the part of the Department of Environment to check (and charge) for environmentally damaging development.

In summary, what the Gisborne Lake case allows us to see, therefore, is a questionable and precarious institutionalized environmental assessment process that may not be serving the environment or provincial citizens. An institutional tendency toward development and away from genuine public awareness and participation is apparent. With this conclusion Harris’ comments (seen in Chapter V’s analysis) on the environmental assessment process rise to mind again: Harris tells us that elected politicians hide behind the environmental assessment process. Rather than asking *why* and *if* an environmentally risky development should take place, politicians subject developments to a loop-hole riddled environmental assessment process (directed, it should be noted, by bureaucrats who have more in common with the developer than any other party), which may adjust the project every so slightly, but which rarely blocks or significantly alters the proposal. For Harris it appears as though projects are rarely halted by the environmental assessment process, rather they are revised on occasion.

³¹⁵ Department of Environment Bureaucrat 1 (anonymous) and Department of Environment Bureaucrat 2 (anonymous).

Harris' speculation is confirmed in the contradiction between Grimes' environmental comments and his development aspirations. In the first instance, Grimes lectures on the importance of taking care of the environment which is achieved through the environmental assessment process. If this process is followed he knows then that a project is perfectly suitable to take place. Therefore Grimes advocates a full environmental assessment before any development in the province. He says:

In all of these development things, I'm pro development, but understand one thing, *no* development of any resource, whether it's fresh water or anything else can occur if it doesn't pass environmental muster. That's the standard by which the people live today. You know, we've got to have that much respect for the planet that we live on that you can't just say I'm going to develop it even if it's going to destroy the world, that's crazy. So here, the precursor or all of it, and the precondition of any development that's submitted to the government is that it must pass environmental assessment. There are different forms of environmental assessment. Some require an EIS, some require full assessment, but that's determined by the Department of Environment whose responsibility is to protect the environment on behalf of the people. But we wouldn't even think about it if... that's the first thing that would have to happen. If a proponent comes along today and says I want to do something whether it's bulk shipments or whether it's to build a bottling plant, the first thing they have to do is go through an environmental assessment. And if it doesn't pass the environmental assessment, it doesn't happen, it won't happen. It certainly won't happen in any government I lead. Not going to happen. [...] Because, as I understand it, we're experiencing some environmental change as a result of people making decisions and doing things on the planet for the last number of thousands of years. And we have to be careful, very careful. We are living with some cumulated, accumulative effects of things that have been done over the years, and now I think we're at a time when we all realize we have to be more careful than ever because there is a sensitive balance in nature.

Yet several breaths later, Grimes is describing the province's future of massive resource developments focussed on oil, gas and timber, developments that are all highly questionable from an environmental perspective. Grimes is enthusiastic about the

excellent potential of these industries and does not consider what all this might mean for the environment. He clearly has no environmental qualms about these projects, yet the list of speculated development, however, would worry any person with environmental concerns:

There's no doubt in my mind that the hydro development will proceed in Labrador, Lower Churchill, Gull Island, maybe even Muskrat Falls after that. There's going to be huge infrastructure development in Labrador with respect to the Trans-Labrador highway phase three and all that implies connecting Cartwright on the East Coast to Goose Bay so that we go across and there's an uninterrupted road right through Labrador for the first time in history. There are going to be tremendous timber and wood developments in Labrador as a result of that in the interior of Labrador, particularly Labrador south where there's vast forest stands. There's going to be continued development offshore for anyone who's interested in that. Watch for at least one more development beyond White Rose in the oil sector. There might be some surprising developments that are in that Laurentian sub-basin, in the area that we were given jurisdiction of as a result of the boundary dispute. That's going to be very highly prospective area in the next few years. And inside a decade, in less than ten years, we'll move from being just an oil producer off shore to natural gas. So there's going to be a huge petroleum based sector in the offshore for fifty to one hundred years into the future. Hibernia still has fifteen, twenty years to go, White Rose will be around that. Terra Nova will be around that. The gas will go longer than that... start later and go longer. There's fifty, sixty, seventy probably one hundred years of continuing development in the offshore, but it'll be more gas driven in the latter parts that I'm talking about than it will be oil. Natural gas. I think there'll be a pipeline onshore and then out to markets in the states as well.

As for the fishery, for Grimes,

The fishery is always going to be the staple. It will be cyclic. It might be the fishery of the day which is shellfish, crab and shrimp-dominated and less groundfish. There's going to be other groundfish components as people learn to not depend on the cod but take the other kinds of groundfish that are there, the flounder and the flatfish and all that kind of stuff and everything else and use what were before under-utilized species. There's always going to be a big fishery because, again, I think they finally learned the lessons of conservation which is why they've got the allowable catches reduced and so on. There's still hope that the northern cod might actually recover, it might

take another several years, it's been ten years that there's no sign of it, but they'll have to do some more conservation things on the fisheries side but there'll be a big fishery present. They'll always fish whichever species is doing well in the cycle. There'll always be some species that is a bit more plentiful while others are diminishing and then they'll target the fishery to that species and they'll adapt and adjust and there'll always be a fishery.

(What Grimes is proposing here is "fishing down the food chain." When a primary fish "product" is depleted by over-exploitation, attention is turned to another species. In this way, layers of species are decimated, leaving us with one last product, plankton soup.)

However, using Grimes' logic, therefore, all development projects must and will face environmental assessment first, which will address environment concerns and through which projects may be slightly altered, then after this step these developments will occur. Environmental assessment for Grimes, viewed in light of his development plans, appears to be a public-pleasing front that, in the end, does not slow the pace and breadth of developments with severe environmental impacts in tow. When Grimes is led a short distance from his environmentally cautious words, it is apparent that the environmentalism of the government and its bureaucracy is perhaps more rhetoric than it is policy and, as Lucas and Harris insinuate, he may be hiding behind the environmental assessment policies and processes to get development done without public outcry.

Overall, the environmental assessment process repeatedly, and often implicitly, demonstrates one dominant type of environmental ethic: instrumentalism and anthropocentrism. There is too much room for people with obvious anthropocentric, instrumental environmental ethic leanings to make judgements determining if a project requires environmental assessment or if a project is environmentally sound. The public is too narrowly construed and too uninvolved to check this subjectivity. Therefore the

predictable result of a project going through the environmental assessment process is that it is approved, perhaps with some modifications (although compliance to these modifications appears to be more optional than enforced). When environmentally protective speech does show itself, it turns out to be more public-soothing rhetoric than a real commitment. The institutional effect of all of this, then, comes down to development being *ensured*.

3. ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENT

As for the creation of the EIS document,³¹⁶ often an important step in the environmental assessment process, the prevailing environmental ethic approach of the Department of Environment and the environmental assessment process permeate this document as well. In the end, these documents could be described as misleading texts that skew the results to calm any environmental worries and to ensure the continuation of development projects. As with the last section, here I again relate the EIS process as seen from the

³¹⁶ For clarity during this section, here is an outline of what I refer to as the EIS documents, in sequence: 1) **Terms of Reference** ("Terms of Reference for the Preparation of an Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report" by the Department of Environment, January 21, 1998); 2) **Original EIS** ("Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report: Gisborne Lake Water Bottling and Export Project," by LGL, November 1998) which included five component studies: "Water Resource Component," "Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study," "Avifauna Component Study," "Caribou Component Study" and "A Stage 1 Historic Resources Assessment of Gisborne Lake"; 3) **Amended EIS** ("Addendum: Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report: Gisborne Lake Water Bottling and Export Project," by LGL, July 1999) which included two revised component studies, "Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study Addendum" and "Water Resources Component Study: Final Report (Revised)."

Department of Environment perspective and then show its purposeful misinformation by a deeper analysis of the texts relating to Gisborne Lake.

The EIS process is as follows: once an EIS and the accompanying component studies have been ordered, the terms of reference for the EIS are drawn up by the Department of Environment and the development of the EIS is then the responsibility of the project's proponent. Often the proponent issues a call for bids on the EIS and then selects an environmental consulting firm based on these bids. From here, the environmental consulting firm (LGL in Gisborne Lake's case), is required to do the research and write the report based on the terms of reference, and independently from the proponent. This EIS will require:

a comprehensive environmental review of a complete project description including alternatives, original research on the existing environment, identification and evaluation of potentially significant environmental effects, an evaluation of proposed mitigation measures to minimize harmful effects and monitoring programs.³¹⁷

The EIS is returned to the Department of Environment and reviewed by bureaucrats there. Editing and more research are often called for by the Department and fulfilled by the consultant. This sounds like another very neat process, however the Gisborne Lake study raised some crucial questions with regards to the EIS, importantly, regarding the leanings of the environmental consulting firm and the validity of the EIS it produced.

The first major concern is related to LGL. Buchanan begins our interview by stating how neutral and objective LGL is, and how this neutrality and objectivity must be upheld or else the company would lose credibility. Research is done by their company,

³¹⁷ Department of Environment, *Environmental Assessment: A Guide to the Process* (cited).

he tells me, for a variety of parties, including even environmentalists and government. Yet LGL was selected and paid by Jerry White at the McCurdy Group of Companies. LGL is in the business of getting proponents' projects through the environmental assessment process. How can the process of writing an EIS be objective and neutral if a company is being paid by a proponent to get the project through the environmental assessment process? Would or could LGL stay in business by being environmentally tough on companies? Common sense indicates otherwise. Within the financial limits of the proponent, LGL followed the requirements of the Department of Environment to get the project approved bureaucratically, and when this contentious issue managed to clear all the red tape, Buchanan described the project as a success. Success in this matter had little to do with ensuring development occurred within environmental limits and with care for the environment, rather the focus seems to have been on pushing the project through the rules of a bureaucracy. (Perhaps this is to be expected as proponents often undertake the environmental assessment process only because they are forced to by governmental rules or because they aim to avoid the negative publicity associated with appearing to act "unenvironmentally.")

The second concern, one I discuss extensively below, is the validity of the EIS' conclusions. Of course, the connection with the last point is that the EIS was researched and written by the environmental consulting firm. As noted throughout the analysis of the various groupings of actors involved with Gisborne Lake, many actors who agreed with the development of Gisborne Lake based their opinions on the EIS which, they believed, noted there would be *absolutely no negative environmental impacts* on

Gisborne Lake.³¹⁸ These actors were confident in making a decision on Gisborne Lake based on this document and these conclusions. Yet ironically, the manager, co-research and co-writer of the EIS at LGL, Buchanan, tells me that there were negative environmental effects noted within the EIS, but which were glossed over in the EIS's executive summary. Buchanan, one of the co-authors of the document into which so many have put faith as indicating zero environment effects, warns that there are indeed potential negative effects not apparent in the first pages of the EIS.

3.1. View from the Executive Summary

The quick scan of the EIS tells us this: Gisborne Lake, developed in response to expanding markets for bulk and bottled water, is “a good prospect for economic development,” for from the exportation of 300,000 to 500,000 cubic metres per week for at least thirty years, the benefits of “good full time, long term employment opportunities” will finally come to “an area of Newfoundland that has been hard hit by the collapse of

³¹⁸ There are numerous examples of Gisborne Lake project supporters citing the EIS as stating there would be no negative environmental impacts, and feeling comfortable basis their support of the project on this document. Dominie, ADM of the department explains how “if you read the EIS, my interpretation of it is that this particular project could be sustained by the amount of water in GL. [...] It was felt to be environmental acceptable.” There were “no particular impacts” noted in the EIS. The former mayor Fizzard says the community “was assured that there wasn’t no negative.” The community had environmental concerns, “but when the environmental study impact came back and everything was in order, we never had to worry because we knew it was taken care of.” Langdon, the minister responsible for the environmental assessment process notes how “everything was covered off in that full environmental review process.” He directed his department’s review of the proposal to ensure environmental standards were met, and if not, that more research was done and the proposal was edited. “The department of environment people are very diligent in that and they are obviously environmentally friendly, and that’s the way that it should be, and they play their role very, very well.”

fisheries.” As well, “fees, royalties, and tax revenues [...] will accrue to the provincial treasury.” “Understandably,” the executive summary explains, there is “strong support” for the project in the area. Are there environmental concerns to be had? No, Gisborne Lake is clear and huge and “will have sufficient capacity to support the withdrawals and the fish, birds and wildlife that depend on the lake and its outlet stream (Southwest Brook).” All the species in and around the lake (ouananiche, brook trout, Canada geese, “other waterfowl,” such as mergansers, black ducks and loons, bald eagles, caribou, moose, fox, mink, otter, rabbit, willow ptarmigan “and others”) were measured, addressed and deemed not to be negatively impacted in the EIS and its component studies. The overall conclusion, therefore (with my emphasis) is as follows:

Most potential impacts from construction, operation and decommissioning of the water operation were predicted to be *negligible* and thus deemed *not significant*. Aside from the obvious impact on water quantity in Gisborne Lake, all impacts were considered *not significant*. However, there is some uncertainty on the degree of impact on commercial fisheries in the immediate vicinity of Grand Le Pierre due to the loading facility and tanker operations over the long term. However, any potential impact can be mitigated by mutual agreement between all concerned parties. All impacts identified in this EIS are *reversible*.³¹⁹

³¹⁹ This conclusion will change: in the EIS Addendum, we read that “The lifespan of the project is now considered indefinite and thus any potential long term impacts are therefore not considered to be reversible.” LGL, “Addendum,” 21.

According to the EIS, “negligible” means “Impacts with essentially no effects.” LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 44. A “Not significant impact” is defined as “an impact that is negligible or is minor, short term, and local or sublocal in nature.” A “minor” impact refers to “An impact resulting in a less than 1 percent change in the carrying capacity of the environment, animal population size, resource harvest or commercial fishery...” “Short term” means an “impact that lasts for less than one year.” “Local” refers to Gisborne Lake itself, Southwest Brook, any streams that are crossed and Grand Le Pierre Harbour. “Sublocal” is “within 1 km (for aquatic ecosystems) of development activities and 5 km (for terrestrial systems).” LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 44. Therefore, an impact that is “not significant” could mean that effects last nearly a year,

In summary, the proposed Gisborne Lake Water Bottling and Export Project will result in significant economic benefit to local communities (Grand Le Pierre, Terrenceville, and English Harbour East) and the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The project has strong local support and with the utilization of modern environmental protection measures can be constructed, operated and decommissioned with *little environmental disturbance*.³²⁰

In the introduction of the EIS Addendum, the amended EIS submitted eight months after the original, these conclusions remain: "It should be noted by the reader that the additions and revisions contained herein have in no way changed the basic conclusions of the original submission that the Gisborne Lake project can be conducted without significant environmental impacts."³²¹

There is, unfortunately, so much more to the EIS and amended EIS than the executive summary and introduction admit. By reading beyond these opening pages we find extensive risks posed by this project which were understated in the summary comments. Unfortunately, although this may be the very point of the texts, the environmental impact documents are organized in such a way that all the potential risks are not noted in an obvious, comprehensive way. Readers interested in this aspect have to search through the whole document picking out potential risks along the way. After doing so we find there are a slew of "potential interactions" expected for the Gisborne Lake Project through the construction and operation phases for all identified issues,

affect Gisborne Lake and the surrounding area up to five kilometres and affect the environment, animals and industries related to these less than 1% (although what this 1% change means exactly is unclear).

³²⁰ LGL, "Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report," x-xi.

³²¹ LGL, "Addendum," 1.

including water quality, freshwater fish, saltwater fish, commercial fisheries, recreational fisheries, waterfowl, raptors, and caribou.³²² Below, by giving an all-inclusive explanation of the risks of the Gisborne Lake project, I do the work left undone by the EIS documents.³²³

3.2. The Environmental Impact Statement in its Totality

3.2.i. Saltwater

There was great uncertainty as to the effect the Gisborne Lake project would have on saltwater environments from two perspectives, the construction and operation of the tanker mooring facility and the reduction of water flowing out of Southwest Brook into Long Harbour.

As for the first point, Buchanan recognizes these lacunae in marine studies and blames insufficient and ambiguous engineering information. Nonetheless, LGL could still determine that this structure would have no significant effect based on the company's seven-year research experience with the Hibernia offshore oil platform structures. Based

³²² LGL, "Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report," 52-3. Although it is not the subject of this discussion there are also negative effects for cabin and ATV users around Gisborne Lake. (Laughably, the noise of construction is said to be a factor that will negatively affect ATVers' use of the area.)

³²³ An important point to keep in mind through the following outline is that an exhaustive study of all aspects of environmental risk has not been done. Instead, in writing the Terms of Reference for the EIS documents the Department of Environment selected some areas of interest and, I suspect, neglected others. For example, the research emphasis was often on "game" species (like caribou, moose and specific fresh and saltwater fish that are used commercially or recreationally) or avifauna species that have become prevalent public issues (such as bald eagles and Canada geese). Other aspects of the environment have been downplayed or completely ignored, for instance vegetation or other species and organisms. The point, then, is that the list of impacts I cite could be much longer if it was based on more thorough research.

on this work it was known, according to Buchanan, that a huge marine structure could be put in place in an environmentally safe way.

Still, potential negative effects to the marine environment are noted in the EIS. First, the risk of water tanker movement in the area is highlighted, specifically the risk of fuel spills: “The unlikely but catastrophic grounding of the water tanker resulting in a major loss of the ship’s fuel could result in a [sic] impacts to waterfowl, marine birds, and raptors.” Little further discussion of this occurs, however, because “Tanker operations are beyond the scope of this EIS.” In any case, the worried reader is consoled, for if a spill happens it will be “very limited in size and scope because large amounts of fuels and lubricants will not be stored on-site and because activities will be timed to avoid any concentrations of waterfowl or spawning fish.”³²⁴ (As I will note below, however, there is no time that will avoid all potential risks for all species.) Second, marine life will be affected by the noise and shock waves of construction (which would kill or wound sea life or at least encourage it to leave), the releasing of “sediment and other deleterious substances” would interrupt feeding and spawning and there would be a “physical alteration of a small amount of habitat.”³²⁵ This effect on the marine life would create a negative effect on the local inshore commercial fishery. Notes the amended EIS, “The

³²⁴ LGL, “Addendum,” 14-15.

³²⁵ Again we are soothed by the suggestion that “The physical presence or ‘footprint’ of the loading facilities will also displace some marine habitat [...] on the sea bed while creating new habitat [...] on the sides of the wharf and pilings.” How will the mooring structures become new, suitable habitat? Although there will be a major disruption during construction, after the “initial disturbance,” organisms and species inhabiting the area will “recolonize some of the old and new habitat and fish will become acclimated to the structures and activity.” Impacts are therefore deemed negligible. LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 65-66.

area of the proposed loading facility encompasses a portion of the local fishing grounds where lobster, cod, and herring fisheries have traditionally occurred.”³²⁶ There will be negative effects to the saltwater environment, and the EIS tells us these will be “sublocal, local and long term,” although there is uncertainty as to the specificity and extent of the effects.³²⁷ Yet the conclusion of the EIS documents remains that there will be no significant effects. (There is a irony here not to be missed in one of the reasons for the impact on marine fish being deemed “negligible”: “The commercial fishery in the immediate vicinity of Grand Le Pierre is being reduced through attrition and buyouts so that activity will probably be less in the future.” The fishery is going anyway, so there is less to impact, the reasoning goes.³²⁸)

There is another side to the effect on saltwater, beyond the lacunae noted by Buchanan. Buchanan does not discuss the lack of marine studies with regards to the marine effect caused by a diversion of water normally flowing out of Southwest Brook. Unlike for other concerns, there would have been no similar cases to compare to the Gisborne Lake project, but still “no significant effects” was LGL’s conclusion.³²⁹ Pursuing this point, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans makes the following criticism in the amended EIS: “it appears to be indicated that all impacts were not considered significant yet there is an [quoting the original EIS] ‘obvious impact on water quantity in Gisborne Lake’ and ‘some uncertainty on the degree of impact on commercial fisheries’. Clarification should be provided.” A response to this criticism is feigned in

³²⁶ Lee, Grant, and Buchanan, “Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study,” 36.

³²⁷ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 68.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 66.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

the amended EIS (referral is made to previous answers that do not directly address the question), but it is unsatisfactory.³³⁰ Still, no further information was requested of LGL or the proponent. Similar to the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, the Water Resources Management Division at the Department of Environment is also still concerned about the impact of “continuous water withdrawal and less freshwater amounts available for mixing in the marine area.” The response to this concern is that this question cannot be answered “precisely” by the proponent.³³¹ Again, the “no significant effects” conclusions stay on although clearly there are concerns about the effect of cutting Gisborne Lake’s flow into the ocean.

Contrary to the summary of the EIS and amended EIS, there would be negative effects to the saltwater environment due to the Gisborne Lake project. This is clearly admitted in the body of the EIS and amended EIS, but omitted in the summaries of these documents. This story is the same with all other aspects of the impact statements, as will be seen as I continue through the elements of concern noted in the body of these documents.

3.2.ii. Freshwater

In the original EIS executive summary, water in Newfoundland and Labrador is described as having “an abundant quantity of generally good quality water.” Water here is a “renewable natural resource” that will benefit the local and provincial economy

³³⁰ LGL, “Addendum,” 42.

³³¹ However it is suggested that Gisborne Lake contributes only a miniscule amount of water to Long Harbour and its salinity. *Ibid.*, 41.

through jobs, taxes, royalties and spin-offs.³³² However, unmentioned in the conclusions, but present in the body of the texts, are the negative impacts on this Gisborne Lake freshwater system that would arise from the project.

First, an obvious point, the EIS explains that water quantities in Gisborne Lake and Southwest Brook will be affected.³³³ During operation, impacts on water quantity will be local, major and long term, therefore “significant.”³³⁴ Most importantly, water levels will be different than those naturally occurring. The flow control constructed at Southwest Brook’s meeting of Gisborne Lake will “increase the storage of the lake by 7.6 million m³. In so doing, it will also change the water elevations in the lake slightly.” New water elevations will be comparable to “natural high water marks”³³⁵ and new low water levels will be “0.1m below the natural Lake.”³³⁶ This may seem insignificant, but for the water flows in Southwest Brook at the entrance to Gisborne Lake,

[a]lthough the minimum flows, with and without the project, are not much different, the period of low flow is much longer with the project. Therefore conditions with the project are inferior to the natural condition of flow. A reduction in the export withdrawal rate of 20%, for example, would greatly improve the river flow situation.

³³² LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 7.

³³³ Ibid., 52.

³³⁴ However, “It should be noted that while impacts on water quantity are significant, impacts on other resources and resource users are not necessarily significant [...]” And, as a benefit: “Impacts will be positive during decommissioning because withdrawals will cease.” Ibid., 55. How can water quantity be affected significantly and its “users” not be affected? Is there somehow a surplus of water? Was there more in the water system than was necessary to that system? How could we tell? As this type of project has never occurred in this area we are left with great uncertainty.

³³⁵ Karasek, “Water Resources Component Study: Final Report (Revised),” 64 and LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 55.

³³⁶ Karasek, “Water Resources Component Study: Final Report (Revised),” 85.

Some dry years will require a greater reduction of extraction, or even “a complete cessation of withdrawal” if fish habitat is to be supported. The withdrawal of 500,000 cubic metres per week “appears to generally define a limit for environmentally sound water withdrawal for this system, as far as conditions below the Falls are concerned.”³³⁷

There are also the “extreme” worries of flooding and bursting. With the project in place, “in the case of the very exceptional very exceptional [sic] 1:100 year flood run-off event, the water level would rise above the highest recorded figures, but for not more than a few days at the most.”³³⁸ As well, there is the fear of “uncontrolled release of water” from Gisborne Lake or a pipe rupture due to the pressure of the water as well as “extremely heavy” precipitation or ice that could cause “washouts,” sediment release and erosion.³³⁹ Yet if this project runs in perpetuity, the exceptional indeed may happen over time, and readers are warned that every attempt should be made to ensure natural high water levels are not exceeded, for flooding would result in negatively affected water quality due to “materials leached from newly flooded terrain.”³⁴⁰

Further, there is the risk, ironically, to water quality due to construction. The common-sense piece of information given here is that “Water quality in Gisborne Lake will have to be protected if the Project is to succeed.”³⁴¹ Finally, there is the risk noted in the EIS Addendum by Environment Canada which points out the environmentally

³³⁷ Ibid., 70-1.

³³⁸ Ibid., 63.

³³⁹ LGL, “Addendum,” 14-15 and LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 23, 35.

³⁴⁰ Karasek, “Water Resources Component Study: Final Report (Revised),” 85.

³⁴¹ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 52, 55.

destructive potential of disturbing rock formations (for instance through blasting) that “generate acid” that can harm freshwater life.³⁴²

Freshwater Fish

Beyond the water itself, the brook trout and ouananiche living within the Gisborne Lake watershed as well as the sea run salmon in Southwest Brook entering from the ocean are of concern with regards to the lake’s development.³⁴³ These species (whose most sensitive habitat is the spawning grounds along Gisborne Lake’s shores, in tributaries and Southwest Brook), are said to be most affected by disturbances from the time of spawning in the fall until the spring.³⁴⁴ However, almost all areas of the lake are important for these species at some point: “All areas of standing water (ponds and deep pools) were considered [...] summer and winter refuge [...]”; running waters are for “feeding and rearing”; the entrance to Southwest Brook from Gisborne Lake is described as “rearing habitat”; and Southwest Brook at entrance to Long Harbour is a “migratory” pathway.³⁴⁵ Construction and operation of the intake pipe, flow control, pipeline and road to the bottling plant will potentially affect these species. Fears include, for example, the potential destruction of their habitat, the restriction of their movement between

³⁴² LGL, “Addendum,” 9-10.

³⁴³ Why the focus on these species, of all the species in Gisborne Lake? Their worth for recreational fishing may be an answer and again indicates a subjective, instrumental valuing of nature for what it has to offer humans.

³⁴⁴ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 63.

³⁴⁵ Lee, Grant, and Buchanan, “Fish and Fish Habitat Component Study,” 12-13 and LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 61.

Gisborne Lake and Southwest Brook, the release of fuels or other toxins into the area as well as the “potential entrainment of fish into the pipeline intake.”³⁴⁶

Still, with all these important impacts to the area and fish in mind, the EIS concludes that “there is expected to be a [sic] at least a 75% probability, in any forthcoming year, of being able to export water for the full year at 500,000 m³/week, without causing deterioration of the natural environment. Annual run-off is a variable of nature and there is no consistency from year to year.”³⁴⁷ As there appears to be uncertainty in nature, the Gisborne Lake project is speculated to not cause any noticeable damage. Perhaps an underlying problem here is that we have not yet identified the patterns and consistency that the Gisborne Lake project would be obstructing. Perhaps currently unforeseeable damage would be done by the development.

3.2.iii. Avifauna and Mammals

With regards to birds and mammals inhabiting the Gisborne Lake area the list of potential negative environmental effects is also long. For the EIS research, focus has been predominantly on moose, caribou, Canada geese and raptors.

³⁴⁶ LGL, “Addendum,” 43 and LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 62-63. Here readers are solaced once again: there is no need to worry about the affect on Gisborne Lake’s recreational fishery because “there are numerous locations adjacent to Gisborne Lake and Southwest Brook to pursue better recreational salmonid fisheries.” LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 68.

³⁴⁷ Karasek, “Water Resources Component Study: Final Report (Revised),” n.p.

The Gisborne Lake area “likely provides adequate forage” for moose in the spring and fall who “overwinter” at the southern tip of the lake.³⁴⁸ Moose may learn to tolerate areas of human activity, such as construction, or they may avoid it and move from their habitat in this area. Likewise, the Gisborne Lake area is “at the southern periphery” of the habitat range of some twenty-two thousand caribou and contains suitable food for caribou in all seasons. Predominantly they arrive in December or January and go back north in early spring. Although it is said that throughout the year the number of caribou in the area is “relatively small” and that the project area may not be the “preferred” or most “crucial” habitat and migration areas, there are concentrations of caribou spending the winter in the area and some may be present all year. Unfortunately, “little is known about their distribution or abundance at these times.” Their habits and movement are rapid and “unpredictable.” EIS maps and research do indicate, however, that there are caribou throughout the project area³⁴⁹ and the construction of the flow control and pipeline has the potential to affect these caribou: “Primary issues and concerns are potential disturbances to caribou during their sensitive periods or overwintering and calving,” the original EIS tells us.³⁵⁰ There are also fears of changes in ice coverage at Gisborne Lake which could endanger caribou crossing the lake.³⁵¹ Next, the effect of the

³⁴⁸ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 32-34.

³⁴⁹ Broders and Northcott, “Caribou Component Study,” 1, 21-2, 27-33. See also LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 72, 74.

³⁵⁰ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 73.

³⁵¹ LGL, “Addendum,” 41.

project on smaller mammals³⁵² is less frequently noted. The reader is told, however, that snowshoe hare and the rare arctic hare have been observed in the area and that they would find the area to be a suitable habitat. Lynx, another growing rarity in the province, often follows snowshoe hare, its “primary prey.” As well, the Gisborne Lake area is suitable habitat for fox, otter and mink.³⁵³ These small mammals, with the exception of the coloured fox, will avoid human development areas.³⁵⁴ Overall, although it is not explicitly stated in the EIS and component studies, we can deduce from these descriptions that the Gisborne Lake project would drive many species out of their habitat in that area.

The potential negative effect of the project on avifauna is more strongly emphasized in the EIS. In general, the construction will cause problems for avifauna “due to noise, dust, sediment and other habitat disturbances.” Then operating the project will continue these problems due to the “physical presence” of project structures. Throughout there are risks of collisions with construction structures and varied forms of environmental contaminations. There are worries of disturbances to raptors and nesting waterfowl due to construction (particularly blasting) and along the shipping path of the tankers, for example from boat signalling.³⁵⁵ Worse, an extreme rising of water level would affect nests and habitat availability in the area. If the damming increases water levels during Late April and early June, nests could be destroyed. If high waters come in

³⁵² These animals are unfortunately referred to as “small game” or “furbearers” in the EIS, another telling statement on these animals’ anthropocentric worth in the document. See, for instance, LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 32.

³⁵³ Ibid., 33.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 34.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 70-71 and LGL, “Addendum,” 20, 51.

late March or April, old nests could be flooded and have the effect of deterring new nesting.³⁵⁶ Further, changes in water could affect available “foraging material.” On the other hand, “extreme” low water levels would reveal nests to predators and therefore increased disturbances (Human activity might also bring increased predators, such as the fox.³⁵⁷) There was also a mention of the possibility of more human “vandalism” of nests if low waters allow more access to nest areas.³⁵⁸ More specific details on some noted species are given below:

- *Canada Geese*, which are practically all around and on (in the peninsula) Gisborne Lake for nesting and feeding from March or April until early August, return to the same nesting area with the same mate for as long as forty years. They need a “stable environment” and “tend to be more impacted by habitat deterioration.”³⁵⁹
- *Bald Eagles*, seen throughout the Gisborne Lake area, also return to the same nests with the same mates year after year, but some may stay in the Gisborne Lake area all year as long if there are ice-free areas to hunt. Although their territories are stated as being two square kilometres around their nests, activity is recommended to be restricted only within half a kilometre of their presence. This precaution should be taken, we read, because these eagles are “easily disturbed at the nest site and may be prone to desert under particular conditions.” Some eagles can adapt to disturbances, while others that “nest in low densities and have not as much interaction with humans” are “more wary.”³⁶⁰
- *Loons*, seen in the Gisborne Lake project area, arrive after ice thaws and nest close to bodies of freshwater that contain deep waters (to allow for “escape cover”). They leave the area by mid-August. The Avifauna Component Study warns “Loons may be more sensitive to disturbance than some other species of waterfowl.”³⁶¹
- *Common Mergansers*, also seen in the Gisborne Lake area, arrive along with the loons and leave late in the fall (October, November, or until the formation

³⁵⁶ LGL, “Addendum,” 20 and LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 71.

³⁵⁷ LGL, “Addendum,” 20.

³⁵⁸ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 71.

³⁵⁹ Selno and Christian, “Avifauna Component Study,” 3-4, 14, 17-18.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 5-6, 22-5.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 4, 21.

of ice). They need clear water in which to catch food while diving and would be adversely affected by any change in water clarity.³⁶²

For the remaining avifauna, either few effects are known or it is assumed they will be affected like the species noted above. Black ducks, osprey, willow ptarmigan, common ravens, herring gulls, black-back gulls, spotted sandpipers and common terns are in the Gisborne Lake area, some nesting along the shores of Gisborne Lake, some returning yearly to the same nests, and some remaining year round in the area, but the effects on them is either unknown or omitted.³⁶³ Although all these points would appear to give us cause for concern regarding the fate of avifauna in the case of Gisborne Lake's development, the amended EIS tells a different story: rest assured, for "Despite the aforementioned sources of potential impact, little evidence exists to support any substantial negative impact by development activities"³⁶⁴

3.2.iv. Minimization, Restoration

Generally, all of the above-mentioned risks for freshwater, saltwater and the species living off these waters are finally declared to be "not significant" because they can be minimized and because environments that are destroyed can be restored.

Again and again, the impact statement documents list risks and then conclude with the general statement that each one will be minimized through the use of "modern" technological devices. Readers are assured that the company will "incorporate all

³⁶² Ibid., 5, 21.

³⁶³ Ibid., 5-6, 21, 26.

³⁶⁴ LGL, "Addendum," 20.

practical and cost-effective mitigation procedures within the Project...”³⁶⁵ (Of course this leaves us to question what exactly “practical” and “cost-effective” means and what would happen if the mitigation of an effect is neither of these: is the impact then permitted to occur?)

Another mitigation is the oft-repeated promise to avoid construction and alter operations during sensitive times for wildlife and fish.³⁶⁶ A scan of the needs of species in the area tells us this would be a very complicated affair. Each season of the year presents a sensitive time for a different species. The fall to the spring is noted as a sensitive time for fish spawning, winter is the time of the caribou presence in the area, in the spring comes the nesting and hatching of avifauna, and then summer would be the time *not* to take advantage of care-free extraction, but to *slow it* due to the risk of naturally lower water levels. There appears to be no perfect time for this project to occur without environmental effects.

Where effects will happen, restoration is promised: “Re-instatement of disturbed areas will restore habitat to acceptable conditions”; “Excess material” from tunnelling will be “be disposed where possible along the access corridor by blending to the surrounding topography”; “Disturbed areas will be reinstated to blend into the natural topography and terrain”;³⁶⁷ “all impacted areas will be returned to as natural a state as possible by removal of equipment and surplus material, grading to natural contours, and

³⁶⁵ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 35.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 22-23.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

encouraging re-vegetation by native species.”³⁶⁸ Even the marine structures that reduce habitat with the project’s “footprint” will prove, in the end, beneficial, as organisms will find new habitats on those very structures. Strangely enough, we learn that changes in water flows might actually improve on nature’s work: the flow control structure, the EIS tells us, might have a positive impact in that water storage and the extraction “schedule” would permit “adequate, and in some cases better flows than natural, in the brook.”³⁶⁹ The questions here, of course, are if damaged environments *can* be re-instated exactly as they were with absolutely no negative effects on those environments and if what a “better” natural environment would be could be known.

3.3. Conclusion of the Environmental Impact Statement

After all these discussions, after all the outlining of probable effects in the Gisborne Lake environment, in the closing conclusions of the original EIS we find the following brief summary of effects (note that in this document there is no differentiation made between the many different facilities and construction or project activities proposed):

Water resources: “negligible.”

Freshwater fish and habitat: “not significant.”

Marine fish and fish habitat: “not significant.”

Recreational and commercial fisheries: “from negligible to minor.”

Waterfowl and raptors: “not significant.”

Caribou: “negligible.”³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 38.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 64. See also Karasek, “Water Resources Component Study: Final Report (Revised),” 85.

³⁷⁰ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 80.

Yet there is enough of a contradiction within these documents to raise deep suspicions. I confronted Buchanan on this point and asked him why both the EIS documents concluded that the impacts of developing Gisborne Lake would be “not significant,” “negligible,” of “minimal impact,” or would have “essentially no effects” when the reports also make it clear that there would be negative effects in countless ways. Buchanan responded by stating that “no significant effects” is perhaps an “over-boiling down” of the actual reality. “No significant effects” is the main message, but one has to read the document thoroughly to understand the details of the environmental damage that may be done. (He also notes that few people actually read it thoroughly.) Directly from the environmental consultant who managed the Gisborne Lake EIS research comes confirmation that the executive summary misrepresents the rest of the research. Even Strong, who will state repeatedly that Gisborne Lake was an environmentally sound project, will admit that on the environmental assessment committee for Gisborne Lake, “[a]ll the environmental issues were not put to bed in their entirety, no.” Nevertheless, for those giving a cursory look at the environmental assessment documents, this is not overtly evident.

If the Gisborne Lake project can be considered fully environmentally sound relative other projects,³⁷¹ then there is cause for concern in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, for this indicates that projects of much greater environmental risk are approved and are in process even as I write. Then there are the projects that have been exempted

³⁷¹ Buchanan, for instance, states that “At the end of the day, there’s very little effect [of Gisborne Lake’s development] relative to other projects. [...] Once the infrastructure is taken out, the environment would revert to what it was.” The project failed for political reasons, not environmental ones.

entirely from the assessment process of which some may never be aware. This situation could give the impression that piece by piece, with each of these supposedly benign projects, the environment is being slowly gnawed away in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Although the original and amended EIS documents take on the appearance of environmental documents, they have been developed by a company motivated by business interests, a company that profits directly from the developments it reviews. We find that the EIS is greatly misleading: it seems *strategically* to convince readers that the project will have no environmental effects when it is filled with examples of possible negative effects. The Gisborne Lake project is condoned by the EIS documents even when it would have harmed the water, the ecosystem (fresh and saltwater), and the life dependent on it. Where there could be damage or negative environmental change, a technical fix is proposed to remedy it, or the environment might even be improved by the intervention. (After all that is known about environmental disasters caused by human actions, these assertions show a great lack of hubris.)

Why is this institutional approach so unquestionably taken? If we return to the opening lines of the original EIS we read that the Gisborne Lake project is a political, economical good. Gisborne Lake is used for profits and the social and political benefits extending from them.

Above I have noted the contradictions of information in the EIS documents, but there are also issues that were missing altogether from the EIS documents, issues that were ignored

both in the executive summary and the body of the texts. At the same time, there were questions raised by the EIS but which went unanswered in these documents.

To begin, according to the provincial Environmental Protection Act the “environment” and assessment of the environment encompasses “air, land and water,” “plant and animal life, including human life,” as well as “the social, economic, recreational, cultural and aesthetic conditions and factors that influence the life of humans or a community.”³⁷² The EIS emphasized (albeit in a selective manner) certain air, land, water, animal, plant, human, social, economic, recreational and cultural environmental factors, but the question of the aesthetic and community quality of life were bypassed. Such a consideration would have included, for instance, a consideration of how the community would be altered forever when just outside their doors the hillside would be blasted for a road and bottling factory and when their now serene bay would become a high-traffic area for tankers of the largest size that would often be moored to massive marine structures nearby. Perhaps this would have been a desirable change for the community or perhaps it would have been a regrettable eyesore, but in any case this point was never discussed.

Tied to this problem is the documents’ error in tanker traffic speculations. The extraction of 300,000 to 500,000 cubic metres per week is said to be taken in “one trip per week.” This is not much of an increase in marine traffic, readers of the EIS are told, as it is simply “cumulative to existing fishing boat traffic.”³⁷³ Dominie, however, being

³⁷² Department of Environment, *Environmental Protection Act (Amended Chapter E-14.2)* (cited).

³⁷³ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 69.

curious about these numbers and wanting to put the project in terms understandable to the public,³⁷⁴ asked his experts what type of boat would be needed to take out 500,000 cubic metres of water a week. He found that to take this quantity, water tankers the size of tankers now transporting oil from the Hibernia and Terra Nova projects off Newfoundland, like the Penney Uglund or the Mattea tankers, would have to come to Grand Le Pierre three and a half times per week. Based on this information there is either a significant mistake or an evasion in the EIS as far as tanker traffic is concerned.

Another gap in the EIS documents was the idea of time-limited bulk operation to support the bottling function. Although this is often stressed by project supporters as the actual plan of the developer, the topic is only *approached* in writing in the EIS Addendum. Here we find the following: "It is anticipated that over time the ratio of bottled product to bulk product will increase substantially. However, bulk shipments will be required in order to finance the considerable infrastructure needed to support the project and to provide cash flow."³⁷⁵ The idea of eventually cutting off bulk operations does not appear in the EIS plan. Related to this is the question of the bulk to bottles ratio. In the first EIS, the original plans for bottling were stated to be "50 million bottles/year."³⁷⁶ (This appears to be the peak bottling operation.) Yet the *size* of the bottles is not mentioned, and therefore "50 million bottles" is a meaningless statement that does not allow for a bulk versus bottle quantity comparison, for are the bottles three

³⁷⁴ For according to Dominie, "The public can't perceive what small numbers are about and what big numbers are about, I learned that. You don't know what parts of a billion are, you don't know what ten billion dollars is."

³⁷⁵ LGL, "Addendum," 35.

³⁷⁶ LGL, "Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report," 7.

hundred and fifty millilitres in size, or thirty litres? In the amended version, we learn that the proponent aims for fifty million bottles during year one, and then plans to bottle that amount per month after five years of operation.³⁷⁷ Still, no sizes are noted and therefore a ratio of bottled to bulk quantities cannot be ascertained.

The question of markets is also side-stepped throughout the EIS documents. In the first submission, readers find that “The water will be exported to world markets” and that “Worldwide markets have been established for the supply of high quality fresh water.”³⁷⁸ Yet if the EIS is supposed to be concerned with biophysical and socio-economic environments, surely an important factor is where the water will end up and what effect it will have at the other end. If not, the assessment is a narrowly localized and only an export focussed process. The EIS Addendum includes more specific, but still overly general information regarding markets: it is said that McCurdy intends to “export water from Canada to other North American points as well as the Middle and Far East. There are no plans to bulk ship water to other Canadian destinations for reprocessing or bottling.” More specific information has been allowed to “remain confidential due to the highly competitive nature of the project.”³⁷⁹

Finally, as the last omission or question-raising point with respect to the EIS documents, there is confusion on the point of decommissioning the project. The first EIS soothes readers with the suggestion that any environmental disruption will be reversed when the project is decommissioned and the structures are removed. Still, in this first

³⁷⁷ LGL, “Addendum,” 35.

³⁷⁸ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 5, 7.

³⁷⁹ LGL, “Addendum,” 2.

document, there is uncertainty as to when, or if, this will actually happen. The executive summary mentions a duration of at least thirty years, (facilities are expected to have a “design life” of thirty years³⁸⁰), “but the Project could run many more years than that.”³⁸¹ Then in the EIS Addendum this thought of decommissioning is fully revoked: “A full decommissioning plan is not required because present plans call for operation of the facilities in perpetuity.”³⁸²

Still, with all of these obvious misrepresentations and holes in the EIS, it did obtain bureaucratic approval. Something to keep in mind here is that the failings of the EIS and environmental assessment process are not the responsibility of proponents’ alone, or those of the environmental consultant. The Department of Environment drew up the terms for this process and these documents, aided the proponent through these steps, had the power to request more information from the developer, eventually approved the EIS and released the project from environmental assessment. It appears as though the bureaucrats at the Department of Environment did not use their ability to improve on the failings of the EIS. At the end of the day, if there was a failure in the environmental assessment or EIS process, whether the error was intended or from ignorance, the Department of Environment is ultimately responsible. These problems and omissions alert us to a less-than-vigilant environmental assessment process that is accommodating to businesses’ development aims. (Again, these issues also alert us to an inherent commitment to one specific form of environmental ethics.)

³⁸⁰ LGL, “Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Study Report,” 8.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, x.

³⁸² LGL, “Addendum,” 13.

A further important point to draw out is the irony that several of the actors who saw zero effects in the EIS would not have wanted Gisborne Lake to proceed if there had been negative effects, even minor ones.³⁸³ If the negative effects outlined in the EIS could be brought to light, perhaps many actors now supporting the development of Gisborne Lake would question the project. So we see how critical this document becomes. If the questionable nature and full contents of the EIS were publicized, the many supporters of the project who place great store in the EIS would be confronted with the reality that the Gisborne Lake project would harm the environment. Those who agreed with the project only if there were *zero* environmental effects would have to rethink their position and perhaps a few would find themselves opposing Gisborne Lake's development.

What do these comments mean in their entirety? The executive summary and conclusion of the EIS and the introduction to the amended EIS are greatly misleading. There will be significant negative environmental effects if the Gisborne Lake project proceeds although we are misled to think otherwise. In more general terms, the EIS documents leave many crucial questions unanswered relating to community aesthetics and quality of life, the aim of the development (bulk or bottled and to which destination),

³⁸³ Grimes states that if there had been environmental concerns, the Gisborne Lake project "it wouldn't happen, it can't happen..." Likewise, An.L insists that if there had been negative environmental impacts, he "wouldn't have supported it," not even if it were a minimal effect. He continues: "But I mean it wouldn't have gotten approval by government anyway. Our environmental acts would have prohibited it from happening anyway. It passed all the tests of time in terms of all of our laws." (The interesting logic here is that if something gets approval under government policy then that means there are no negative environmental effects. There is no questioning of whether government policy is a sufficient measure of environmental effects.) Finally, when Fizzard says he would want to be sure that that "the environmental part of the lake was looked after" and I ask if he would support any negative effects on Gisborne Lake's environmental he responds: "No, no, no, no. And we was assured that there wasn't no negative."

and the project's life span. Again, a questionable institutional process is demonstrated, one which provides perhaps for a better business environment than environment.

4. *SILENCING THE "ANTI-S"*

Another major pattern coming out of the analysis is the prevalence of Gisborne Lake's supporters expressing extremely negative visions of the "anti-s," those people who are opposed to the Gisborne Lake project. (Opponents to Gisborne Lake are often accused of being "anti-" any project related to "improving" the province and some pro-development actors simply refer to them as the "anti-s."). There was an inability or unwillingness on the part of some actors to consider the project's risks or to consider an alternative environmental ethic. Instead, such thoughts were ridiculed.

The depiction of the opposition has several key features. They are typically discredited as being the same old group of negative complainers who developers have now come to expect to stand in the way of the improvement of Newfoundland and Labrador.³⁸⁴ They are also overly emotional people who do not deal professionally in facts. Dominic, for instance, when asked to comment on the clear difference in position of environmentalists and those at the Department of Environment states "Well, we deal in

³⁸⁴ An.L comes out most strongly on this point: "there's people against Voisey's Bay, the Lower Churchill... I mean, if you were to go back and look at it over the years, the same people that are against Gisborne Lake, or Voisey's Bay, they were against Hibernia going ahead, Terra Nova going ahead, they're against White Rose going ahead, sure they're against everything in Newfoundland. [...] I think they're just completely negative." For An.L, people got "brainwashed by the negative" on the Gisborne Lake issue and it became impossible to change their opinions. "They're negative and that's it. You try not to concentrate on those people, because, you know something? They would depress you."

facts. You know we don't try to deal with it as much in emotion." Unlike the project's opponents, the people at the Department made decisions based on "professional knowledge." Stronger still, for Grimes, for example, many of those opposed to the project are "fear-mongers" who were "deliberately" "misrepresenting" and "misquoting," trying to "create concern or confusion" in the public particularly on the NAFTA. For Langdon, on the Open Line radio program, which were said to fuel the stalling of the Gisborne Lake project, the opposition was "orchestrated" and the show was "bombarded" with opponents in an unrepresentative way. This strategy of the opposition, according to An.L, worked well because "If you continuously harass with misinformation on the public airways, then the public opinion is set on it, and they're against it and you can't change their mind."

For many of the actors supporting the project as it stood, opposition to the project was simply unfounded and ridiculous. Says An.L on An.PC's strong opposition to Gisborne Lake based on concerns regarding the NAFTA: "By,' it's some hard in the House of Assembly to sit an listen to that bullshit, you know? I'm some glad I'm very patient, that I don't get upset [...]. People like that, they can really get under your skin."

Overall, the analysis often revealed a refusal on the part of the proponents of the Gisborne Lake project to consider fairly the position of the opposition. Instead, great emphasis was placed on discrediting the actors who held these positions. The ethic of the environment taken by opponents to the Gisborne Lake project was, on occasion, ridiculed and deemed an unauthentic public sentiment, so "common sense" and "obvious" is the ethic of instrumentalism and anthropocentrism. A similar discrediting of the project's

proponents by those resisting Gisborne Lake's development was not witnessed to any comparable degree.

5. GISBORNE LAKE IN TEN YEARS: HYPOTHETICAL FUTURES

The analysis of the environmental ethic approaches prevailing in the debate on Gisborne Lake at both an individual actor and institutional level is not an activity "in retrospective." The underlying vision of the environment is still important within the Gisborne Lake debate for the simple reason that this issue is not dead and we are almost certain to see its revival, along with the resurgence of these ethical justifications and the effects they bring. The majority of actors expressing many different environmental ethic approaches suspect that attempts to develop Gisborne Lake will continue and some actors are convinced the project will come into being over the next decade. Some potential futures of Gisborne Lake are described below.

First, An.PC and Strong generally foresee an increase in water scarcity and therefore demand for water which will augment opportunities for selling water to the eastern seaboard of the U.S., U.S. southern states or the Middle East. Lucas, to extend this thought further, warns of future attacks on water systems in general by multinationals which will be matched by resistance efforts of the Water Watch members such as CUPE, the NDP and environmentalists. The issue of Gisborne Lake and bulk water will resurface, agrees Doyle. White himself guarantees he will pursue Gisborne Lake (and Fizzard promises to help him), even if it means waiting out this group of politicians and An.L rests assured that "Gisborne Lake will go and I think Gisborne Lake will be bottled

and I think Gisborne Lake at some time will be marketed and will be just as popular as the water from the French Alps.” Langdon, however, is more specific than the above actors. For him, Gisborne Lake will be developed only when two “forces” occur together: first, when the province can get “full value for it” and second, when the developer can “get a return that he’s comfortable with to make some dollars on it.” Then watching out for these business opportunities is Grimes who would encourage a bottled-centred operation with a bulk component if a proponent would come forward to develop the project. “I’ve said publicly that if a proponent came along I would develop [Gisborne Lake]” or any of the “hundreds” of similar water opportunities he envisions across the province. (However, he expects no royalties for the province from these comparatively low-profit endeavours as they would “kill the business case.”)

Contrary to all these actors, Bolt remains undecided as to the future of Gisborne Lake, but his pessimism about the future of his community is strong. He questions whether there will even be a town council in the next election (citizens’ apathy is so great that there are not enough members for council right now.) Grand Le Pierre is becoming a “senior citizen’s town” as young people move out, he explains.

In the group there are only two firm doubters of a continued pursuit of the Gisborne Lake project or its eventual development. First there is Harris who states,

I can’t see it being raised again. Who’s going to raise it? The Liberals aren’t going to revive it, they may not even be around to revive it. The Tories, at least by now, are on record as opposing it. The Canadian government seems to have reached a consensus among the provinces on bulk water exports and sales. And barring any serious change [like the Canadian Alliance gaining the power to open all resources up for export] I think it’s a dead duck.

Dominie seems to agree: Grimes has “left the door open” if proponents want to pursue this in the future, but he says “You might ask: ‘who would want to do it?’ in knowing that there would be a significant amount of opposition and where the government is at this point in time [such as believing that the bulk export is not viable]. But that’s for an entrepreneur to decide”

Regardless of the different futures envisioned by these actors, commonality is often found in the fears for future generations of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians that hang over most of these actors, but these fears are for diverse reasons. Opponents to Gisborne Lake’s development such as Lucas and Harris look to the effect this project could have on the environment and their grandchildren’s access to a water supply. Conversely, actors like Bolt and Fizzard have fears from a different perspective. For Bolt, for instance, older people in Grand Le Pierre who did not avidly support the Gisborne Lake project

weren’t looking out for the concerns of their grandchildren who could have benefited. We’ve got a school over their now with twenty-three children in it. If Gisborne Lake would have went ahead we wouldn’t have to worry about in the next few years whether our school was going to close or not, you know? So now it’s unpredictable. We don’t know what’s going to happen.

For most actors, the effects of Gisborne Lake’s development or non-development would reverberate, for good or evil, through generations, and this decision to develop or not to develop is firmly rooted in beliefs of the value of the environment and the legitimate powers of humans within that environment.

CONCLUSION

Through a consideration of key institutional documents and processes and along with an analysis at the micro level of individual actors, it has become obvious that one type of environmental ethic is echoing through the institutional structures, environmental assessment processes and environmental assessment documents relevant to Gisborne Lake. Many of the points above reconfirm the Chapter V's conclusion that the Gisborne Lake debate has predominantly remained with the anthropocentric, instrumental ethic within the possibilities available from the chosen environmental ethic concepts. Through the gaps, failings and misleading aspects of the environmental assessment process, the Department of Environment and the EIS documents ultimately serve the aims of developers or financially-stressed governments rather than the environment itself and turn the environment into a mere thing to be efficiently or "maximized" used for human ends. At the same time, those opposing this specific environmental ethic and presenting an alternative have been ridiculed as nonsense by the project's proponents who adopt what appears to be a "common sense" development approach. (This development discourse idea is tentatively approached in the next chapter as a possible complement to understanding the Gisborne Lake debate.) Finally, we are also struck by the realization that the Gisborne Lake debate will return, the issue is not forgotten, and that an awareness of the one form of environmental ethics now leading the debate from individual and institutional perspectives will be required again when the debate resurfaces.

CHAPTER VII: A TENTATIVE APPROACH: DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

As the previous chapter showed, a key idea transmitted through the dominant institutional discussions in this debate is the idea of “development,” therefore by using concepts from development debates perhaps some light may be shed on this Gisborne Lake case. Note, however, that this is a very tentative move into another field of debate that was felt in need of comment only upon retrospect after a discussion of the main concerns of this research.

In this chapter, which serves more as an opening than an analysis, I begin with a description of the idea of development (and its prevalence) based on a brief reading of some comments from Escobar, Scott, Ferguson, Crush, Peet and Watts. Along with this is a consideration of development’s less-acknowledged impact on local communities and environments. These points are primarily useful in this case to explain nagging economic conundrums in the Gisborne Lake case: the project proposal gives the impression of weak economic justifications for the project, yet this problem was ignored and the project still found strong proponents. The development discussion which outlines the force of this discourse may give insight into this contradiction. Furthermore, while the idea of development does appear to have been powerful in this case, on closer analysis of the Gisborne Lake debate I find that this great influence is quite diffuse and complex. This chapter then closes with a consideration of why and how the negative effects of development are being resisted and obvious connections are made with the Gisborne Lake case. However, similar to development’s ambiguous influence, resistance efforts to development is present in this case, but are so diffuse as to be almost indistinct.

1. DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

Before coming to development discourse, I first consider discourse alone, which is referred to as “an area of language use expressing a particular standpoint and related to a certain set of institutions.” Within a given discourse, there are always emphasis (it can include repeated metaphors, themes and styles), and omissions according to the interests of those using it. Discourses can also be hegemonic; some may reign over others to privilege and institutionalize some knowledge and some ways of doing over others. It can have the effect of limiting how some people think of a thing or people, hiding alternatives.³⁸⁵ Therefore beyond simply reflecting reality, it is often suggested that discourse *shapes* reality, acting on its subject and altering it.³⁸⁶ Dominant discourses,

³⁸⁵ Richard Peet and Michael Watts, “Liberation Ecology: Development, sustainability, and environment in an age of market triumphalism,” in *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, development, social movements*, ed. Richard Peet and Michael Watts (London: Routledge, 1996), 11-16. See also Jonathon Crush, “Introduction: Imagining development,” in *Power of Development*, ed. Jonathon Crush (London: Routledge, 1995), 5. This power of a given discourse could originate from, for example, financial resources (which can bring a better ability to spread one’s message), credibility gained from the use of “experts,” portraying the discourse as “common sense,” stifling the opposition, co-opting alternatives or through institutional advantages (the ability to create bureaucracies and legislation to support a given discourse).

³⁸⁶ Arturo Escobar, “Constructing Nature: Elements for a poststructural political ecology,” in *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, development, social movements*, ed. Richard Peet and Michael Watts (London: Routledge, 1996), 46 and James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1998), 47. Connections can be drawn here with Jane Jenson’s concept of the universe of political discourse, which permits us to discern how the debate’s discourse is framed or how meaning is socially built around a political tension. Some ways of considering water exportation will be preferred, while others will be deemed radical, for instance. (Actors may concede to this discourse to have their voice heard, or they may challenge it to open space in the discussion.) Only some actors and a limited range of policy possibilities will be considered legitimate in the debate based on

therefore, have physical, tangible effects and environmentally the implications of this are broad. "Systems of meaning" (discourse) and "systems of resource use" are bound together because changes in definitions or meanings of the environment will be reflected in its treatment.³⁸⁷ What is thought about the environment is reflected in what is said, and will be reflected through action.

Obviously, then, discourse analysis is an important endeavour. However, a mere description of discourse alone does not work for change: analysis must be done with the aim to critique, to give political commentary³⁸⁸ and to suggest alternatives.³⁸⁹ Discourse analysis allows us to get a clear picture of which path we are on (if there are environmental problems caused by discourses on the environment, then "commonsense assumptions" directing environmental thought and action must be deconstructed³⁹⁰), but we must also go farther to offer corrections where needed.

More related to this case, the discourse of *development* is often key in resource projects. A pervasive and often over-bearing concept in our time, development discourse has the effect of narrowly (and dangerously) construing the environment while appearing neutral and inevitable, which silences resistance to it. However, development discourse's

the "material, political and ideological parameters of discourse." The universe of political discourse notably permits the potential of agency, resistance, unpredictability and change within the policy community, while also highlighting the grander structures or constraints surrounding it. These points are summarized in, for example, Jane Jenson, "Gender and Reproduction: Or, Babies and the State," *Studies in Political Economy* 20, Summer (1986): 25-27.

³⁸⁷ Escobar, "Constructing Nature," 47-48.

³⁸⁸ Crush, "Introduction: Imagining development," 6.

³⁸⁹ Escobar, "Constructing Nature," 64.

³⁹⁰ Simon Dalby, *Environmental Security* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), xxvii.

negative effects on local communities and environments have become increasingly evident and resistance to it is taking shape in creative ways.

1.1. Re-creating the Environment

In more specific terms, development discourse frames the environment's worth so narrowly that interest in it is simply based on the monetary profit it could supply. Nature is redefined as the environment in such a way that "capital, not nature and culture, may be sustained." The environment becomes a subject for science, for expert comment and control.³⁹¹ No longer "an entity with its own agency, a source of life and discourse," the environment it is made passive by a sole actor, humans. Away from "respect and the common good," the environment becomes about "production and efficiency," a "disenchanted," unimaginative, "impoverished" vision void of appreciation and awe.³⁹² (Thus the environment can be judged as possessing "doubtful environmental value," as seen in comments on the Isle of Harris.³⁹³) The environment is re-created as a passive thing, a resource for the good of humans. For instance, a forest's value is reduced to timber revenue. What is missing in this conception are the great complexities of a forest, the other uses of trees, their spiritual and aesthetic importance³⁹⁴ and, as the theory of non-anthropocentrism and non-instrumentalism would add, the life of the trees themselves along with the ecosystem they sustain. Seeing a forest as only timber profits greatly affects that forest, defining what is important and what is not ("trash" trees or

³⁹¹ Escobar, "Constructing Nature," 49.

³⁹² Ibid., 53-56.

³⁹³ Mackenzie, "'The Cheviot, The Stag... and The White, White Rock?': 512.

³⁹⁴ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 12-13.

“underbrush”), just as using animals in certain ways redefine and categorize them as game or predators, livestock or varmints.³⁹⁵ As some development commentators note, through the discourse of development all of nature is now managed for future profits, for all is now seen as future profit potential, right down to genetic structures. Through this way of talking about nature, a deeper “encroachment” of capital into the environment and people has been encouraged.³⁹⁶ Throughout the Gisborne Lake debate this narrow reformulation of the environment and its worth were central.

2. INFLUENCE AND PERVASIVENESS

Although this development discourse is obviously worthy of criticism, it remains pervasive for several key reasons. Primarily, its strength comes from an aura of neutrality and inevitability. Development is presented as a self-evident, inescapable, rational, objective and neutral process that happens to all societies as they “progress.” Uniformly, using the same processes, projects, experts and discourses, societies are headed for the same ends, development discourse tells us. And if this train of events is resisted, the resisters are deemed “backward.”³⁹⁷ Thus certain development ideas have the effect of forcing other regions along a planned route of “progress,” while normalizing and controlling societies.³⁹⁸ The developers, in turn (often part of a powerful

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 13.

³⁹⁶ Escobar, “Constructing Nature,” 47-48.

³⁹⁷ James Ferguson, *The anti-politics machine: ‘Development,’ depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), 256, 58-59, 65.

³⁹⁸ Escobar, “Constructing Nature,” 50.

“development industry”³⁹⁹), are shown as scientifically informed experts with the technological ability to fix any problems they create. By contrast, local opponents are portrayed as emotional, biased and as having less weight in the debate than the experts.⁴⁰⁰ Overall, this development discourse has the effect of appearing apolitical and depoliticizing: opposition is silenced by rational experts and development’s seemingly inevitable nature, thus development becomes a “colonising discourse.”⁴⁰¹ Assured by development discourse that everything is getting better with time, resistance and opposition are stifled and conformity to one model is encouraged.⁴⁰² Indeed, development discourse has become so central to our society that it is difficult to see beyond it. It frames our way of relating to other people and places.⁴⁰³ As well, the discourse’s strength can also be traced to its ambiguity. Two connotations of development are used almost interchangeably: improving the quality of life of a people or expanding capitalism and “modernization.”⁴⁰⁴ Of course, one does not necessarily equal the other and thus it is difficult to ascertain exactly what “gift” developers are bringing. Again, these points were raised throughout the Gisborne Lake study. Rather than appearing like the plan of a proponent and government with something to gain, developing Gisborne Lake was made to seem obvious, unavoidable and all part of the path Grand Le Pierre must take to progress as a community.

³⁹⁹ Crush, “Introduction: Imagining development,” 5.

⁴⁰⁰ Mackenzie, ““The Cheviot, The Stag... and The White, White Rock?””: 512, 15.

⁴⁰¹ Quoted in *Ibid.*: 513.

⁴⁰² Peet and Watts, “Liberation Ecology,” 16-17.

⁴⁰³ Ferguson, *The anti-politics machine*, xiii-xiv.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

Another strength of this discourse is its ability to frame even the *oppositional* perspectives. For instance in the Gisborne Lake case often the opposition to the project occurred within the influential dominant discourse. To participate in the discussion on Gisborne Lake, some actors felt compelled to adopt the language and perspective of the overriding discourse. For instance, Harris admits that the NDP, which had environmental concerns related to the Gisborne Lake project, was reluctant to describe Gisborne Lake as an environmental issue. The Gisborne Lake issue was sometimes “sold” to the public as “a resource-extraction issue as opposed to a straight environmental issue” because this route would be “more acceptable to people.” As it was thought the public was unprepared to hear environmental reasoning, the issue was framed within the dominant environmental ethics approach and discourse as an issue of “resource maximization.” The strength of the dominant development discourse and the particular environmental ethics on which it is founded frames the debate, thereby reinforcing itself and validating its own claims.

3. *LOCAL ENVIRONMENTS AND COMMUNITIES*

This development discourse and the development it brings have specific impacts on environments and local areas. Although development is often introduced in rural areas for the noble aims of saving a community from extinction, boosting social and economic resources or alleviating poverty, the real effect of development is not necessarily related to these aims. Development often does not “work” how it was intended, but it continues to be pervasive - many people believe in it or believe they need it - so it must be

accomplishing something for someone.⁴⁰⁵ Some commentators of development assert that the original aims of development serve as only a “point of entry” toward outcomes which include: bureaucratic control over more people and territory, centralization and disempowerment.⁴⁰⁶ Frequently these unexpected outcomes are quite pleasing to developers and governments.⁴⁰⁷

A certain control is exerted over environments and people through development discourse. For example, the discourse creates the notion of the undeveloped or of underdevelopment.⁴⁰⁸ Like colonizing discourses, development discourse permits authority, managing and “helping.” It encourages people to think of themselves as being behind the times, or needing assistance, or needing to “catch up.”⁴⁰⁹ This was seen when the Isle of Harris was construed as remote, poor and underdeveloped and “in need of precisely the kind of ‘development’ the corporation could bring.”⁴¹⁰ All that was underdeveloped could be reversed by the development.⁴¹¹ This was also seen in Dalby’s example, where development discourses turned aboriginal people into a primitive, unscientific population in need of modernization.⁴¹² Of course, Grand Le Pierre is a similar situation: development discourses redefined it as poor and with little future hope, thus desperate for the Gisborne Lake project.

⁴⁰⁵ Crush, “Introduction: Imagining development,” 4.

⁴⁰⁶ Ferguson, *The anti-politics machine*, 255.

⁴⁰⁷ This point is emphasized throughout Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Peet and Watts, “Liberation Ecology,” 16-17.

⁴⁰⁹ Arturo Escobar, “Imagining a Post-Development Era,” in *Power of Development*, ed. Jonathon Crush (London: Routledge, 1995), 213-14.

⁴¹⁰ Mackenzie, ““The Cheviot, The Stag... and The White, White Rock?””: 512.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.: 515-16.

⁴¹² Dalby, *Environmental Security*, 94-95.

As well, through mappings, bureaucracies, management and so forth, nature becomes “an environment containing various resources.”⁴¹³ Science is used to understand these resources with the aim to control them (in the process, negative effects are deemed insignificant or can even be seen as an improvement⁴¹⁴), as we saw in the Gisborne Lake environmental studies which aimed to understand the body of water so it could be optimally controlled for continuous water generation. However a “dismembering” interest in the environment founded on how it can be of profit commercially misses its complexity and often ends in disastrous effects. All the rest of the environment cannot be ignored to focus on “a single element of instrumental value.”⁴¹⁵

In the end, through development discourse the rural environment and community can become viewed and used as resource deposits and resource workers for the city. With rural areas’ distance from urban centres and frequent lack of strong governments, they are appealing sites for corporations and state developers⁴¹⁶ (as well, there is often the desperation caused by lower employment and out-migration). All this we see in the Gisborne Lake case. Rural areas come to support urban life as urban life demands it.⁴¹⁷ Cities consume and are maintained by these rural areas, where the people and ecosystems are disrupted. As Dalby notes, this “extraction at a distance” is key in continuing

⁴¹³ Ibid., xxvi.

⁴¹⁴ Mackenzie, ““The Cheviot, The Stag... and The White, White Rock?””: 517.

⁴¹⁵ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 15-24.

⁴¹⁶ Dalby, *Environmental Security*, 96.

⁴¹⁷ This was seen in the case of rural areas in Scotland serving as resource-suppliers for roads in England, Mackenzie, ““The Cheviot, The Stag... and The White, White Rock?””.

dominant economics, in fact, “Economic growth is premised on the colonization of distant environments.”⁴¹⁸ (The water debate commentators, who often criticize increasing water extractions that feed industries and cities living beyond their means also keep us attuned to this aspect of the Gisborne Lake project.)

4. *ECONOMIC CONUNDRUMS EXPLAINED?*

These comments on development may help to explain the economic conundrums evident in the Gisborne Lake case. Three important economic questions remained unresolved and practically ignored throughout the Gisborne Lake debate and the reasons for this may be due to the prevalent development discourse. These questions include: Who was taking the financial risk? Was time-limited bulk export feasible? Where were the markets?

For the first question, although An.L is forceful in expressing White’s “get out of me way, by” approach to government with regards to business ventures, White may not have been quite so independent from government assistance. Says An.L:

Jerry is, and I admire the man, Jerry White is an entrepreneur. He probably never, ever got one cent ever from government to assist him in his business. And he’s an entrepreneur whose attitude is “Look, I’m using my God damn money,” (and I’m sure that’s what he would say to you), “I’m using my God damn money, I’m prepared to upfront invest a million, or a million and a half dollars and then I’m prepared to put millions in it. I’m not looking for any government money, as a matter of fact, for Jesus’ sake, tell the government get out of my god damn way so I can do my job.” So he wasn’t looking for any government money whatsoever.

The issue was not this simple, however, for some politicians feared that even though the proponent was using his own money and taking his own risk, in the future

⁴¹⁸ Dalby, *Environmental Security*, 98.

there may come a request for a “bail out” if the project became unmanageable. In this case, the government may then be forced by the community reaping the project’s benefits to help the project continue. Knowing the project’s future up front was therefore essential to government. Furthermore, the former mayor Fizzard explains that White did ask the provincial government for money to build a road for the project and asked the federal government to help with the wharf construction. Meanwhile, the current mayor Bolt is demanding government financial intervention in the project and states that no financial contribution on the part of the government demonstrates governments’ lack of interest in the fate of Grand Le Pierre. Even An.L, who so strongly paraphrased White’s feelings on government involvement in the project, advocates a “kick start” from the federal government. Just as Hibernia required a “major influx of federal dollars, guaranteed loans, and what have you” to begin a new industry, so does the Gisborne Lake project need government support. So what initially appeared and was publicized as a private project actually may have actually been a private project (for predominantly private profits) with large amounts of government funding.

Secondly, although Gisborne Lake was often described as being a bottling project foremost that would use profits from bulk exportation for a short time to fund the bottling operation, rarely was the logic of this questioned although it seems quite unrealistic on second thought. Consider the following points. Gisborne Lake was chosen as a water extraction location primarily because of its utility as a bulk exportation operation. (As even An.L points out, Browning Harvey, a local soft drink bottler can make bottled water from tap water. So he asks, what would be the motivation to go to Gisborne Lake to do

it?) This bulk exportation operation would require a massive infrastructure commitment on top of the requirements for a bottling plant, notably the establishment of a wharf structure to welcome enormous oil carrier-sized tankers nearly three times a week. Is it reasonable to assume that this bulk operation was only a side line to a bottling operation, the real aim of the McCurdy Group? Is it reasonable to believe that these bulk shipment structures and operations would be established and then, once the infrastructure had been paid by the bulk operations and the bottling operation was on its way, that the bulk operations would cease? It seems unrealistic that a private developer would build the bulk infrastructure, establish the bulk markets, begin profitable exportation and then give it all up because there were more jobs in bottling and more benefits to the local community. I am of the same mind as Harris who notes how

it was a disguised project and the government was really trying to downplay the bulk water aspects of it. But I think it was clearly a bulk water project trying to disguise itself as something else. [...] That location was attractive to Mr. White because they could get tankers in. You don't need tankers for bottled water.

Finally there was the important question of markets. We are given the impression that the "product" and infrastructure were to be developed and that thought would be only given to what to do with the water and where to sell it *after* the fact. It is thoroughly unclear as to where McCurdy Group planned to export the time-limited bulk water. Strong, chair of the environmental assessment committee who was in frequent contact with White, states that White had Middle Eastern corner stores, gas stations, apartment buildings, condominiums and hotels in mind that require water not in bottled form, but in large bulk stocks. Strong also mentions Central and South America. Then during my

interview with White, he informs me of a previously unmentioned market, the eastern seaboard of the United States, from New York to Florida. My overall sense from the research is that the issue of markets was under-researched and highly speculative. The emphasis was on developing the project and having the product ready to be marketed, rather than on where the product was going.

Together these uncertainties show a lack of foresight in the project's planning and many elements of confusion from a business plan perspective. However, the project was still discussed in all seriousness and found prominent supporters. How can this be explained? How could such a questionable plan be contemplated? Based on the previous comments regarding development discourse, we see that development carries with it the powerful idea that all development is good. Development comes to symbolize "progress," "modernization," and "backward" societies "catching up" to the rich West. In this way, development becomes a good in itself even if its results are actually negative or non-existent for the local community most affected. Development projects do not always fulfill their aims and are not necessarily well-reasoned from an economic perspective, yet they are undertaken for their characteristic of being markers of progress in themselves. In addition, the projects may be undertaken, as some of the development commentators noted above would speculate, for their convenient effects of increased bureaucratic or territorial control, centralization, disempowerment and the opening up of rural areas and workers for urban expansion.

5. *DIFFUSE INFLUENCE*

From where exactly this powerful development discourse and environmental perspective emanate in this case, however, is unclear. One of the most obvious puzzles seen in the research surrounded the question of who is ultimately responsible for the final decision on Gisborne Lake, or whose environmental ethic approach would decide Gisborne Lake's future.

For Strong, the committee chair of the Gisborne Lake assessment process at the Department of Environment, the *Minister* of the Department is ultimately responsible and that minister can easily go against the advice given by the environmental assessment committee. Regardless of what the environmental assessment committee submits to the minister, the minister is free to make the decision she or he chooses. Conversely Langdon, the former Minister of the Department of Environment, explains that a minister does, and must, follow the advice of the *committee*. "Well, I guess you could use your own discretion," he states, "but the way that I look at it is the fact that if you have your expertise within the department who's making a recommendation to the minister, then you are going to have to have very solid evidence to [...] refute that." For Langdon, a minister relies on the experts in the department to give a recommendation which then allows the minister to make the formal decision. Yet at the same time, however, Langdon also explains how the *Premier* had the final say on the Gisborne Lake issue. Speaking about Tobin's banning of bulk export, for instance, he says: "you know, he's the leader of the government, and his decision is the end. You can't question that." Likewise, Grimes bestows the responsibility of a decision on Gisborne Lake only to the leader of the

government. He notes, for instance, that he went along with Tobin's original ban on bulk water exports even though Grimes was clearly interested in Gisborne Lake (as he later showed in his reopening of the issue) because Grimes felt he was compelled to follow the leader who has the final say on these matters. Coming from another direction, Lucas and Harris agree with this deferral of responsibility from bureaucrats to elected politicians and the premier. According to Lucas and Harris, bureaucrats are told what the environmental assessment executive summary must look like by (ultimately) the leader of the government. The bureaucrats at the Department of Environment are not free to submit their unadulterated position on Gisborne Lake. Dominic, the current ADM of the Department of Environment, is also in agreement here. He tells me that the minister will "obey government policy, whatever our government directs us to do." If there had been "a will in government for it to go ahead at the time," the Gisborne Lake project could have easily been "grandfathered in," even after a ban on bulk water exports was in place. As a special favour, elected politicians could have decided not to apply the ban retroactively to projects that had already begun. Yet when I ask the current premier, Grimes, about where the final decisions are coming from on such issues as Gisborne Lake, he refers back to the EIS, the environmental assessment process and his bureaucrats at the Department of Environment. According to Grimes, his position on Gisborne Lake is not a matter of his own opinion or of his own decision, for he has been informed by his bureaucrats. And yet, some of these very bureaucrats admit that their recommendations mean very little in the actual workings of government and their counsel is often ignored for the whims of government leaders.

So what we have here is a circle of actors passing on the ultimate responsibility for (or power to influence) the decision on Gisborne Lake. Within this opaque circle it is difficult to point to the individual or group that had or has the real power to make a decision on Gisborne Lake. It would be difficult to lobby for changes to the decision-making process, for where would we start? With the environmental consultants who researched and wrote the EIS, with the bureaucrats who reviewed it, with the minister who passed advice on to the premier or with the premier's office? Blame or praise is hard to lay on any one group. The decision making process is unclear. This narrow way of conceptualizing the environment and encouraging "development" appears to have permeated political and bureaucratic levels to such a degree that it is difficult to point out where it is coming from. Decisions simply appear to "turn out" that way. Still, for all of development discourse's ambiguous force, Crush tells us, it "has never been impervious to challenge and resistance, not, in response, to reformation and change."⁴¹⁹

6. RESISTANCE TO DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

Development discourse is entering a period of crisis, commentators indicate. It is being questioned *in itself*, which goes far beyond previous questions as to how it can be improved.⁴²⁰ Societies targeted for development question if they ought to end up like the rich West and seek new ways to live beyond the modern capitalist way.⁴²¹ Anti-

⁴¹⁹ Crush, "Introduction: Imagining development," 8.

⁴²⁰ Escobar, "Imagining a Post-Development Era," 211.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 215-26.

development discourse rejects development and the modernism and rationality it brings.⁴²²

Sources of resistance are found in local identities, histories, traditional culture, art, autonomy and self-sufficiency (as seen in the opposition to the Harris superquarry⁴²³). New discourses, like those found in art, provide a way to remember, perhaps selectively, other ways of doing.⁴²⁴ In the new narratives, place is envisioned not just as a thing to exploit, but as grounding a society, as forming the community's image of itself. Land and people are described as indivisible and development becomes understood as a threat to local environment, culture and the respect owed to the environment. Local people come to represent themselves as experts on local life based on generations of experience.⁴²⁵ In the new discourses, the environment is envisioned as a part of a way of life, of a quality of life, a people's culture.⁴²⁶ Similarly, aboriginal people continuously articulate (as in the non-anthropocentric, non-instrumental environmental ethic approach), who protects what and how. In this approach, people live on or with the land, not above it. The environment is not a resource, but a home and it is not looked upon with the colonial assumptions of being its steward.⁴²⁷ (As seen in Chapter III, the possibility of rebuilding visions of the environment through traditional themes in the art of Newfoundland and Labrador coincide with these possible sources of resistance.)

⁴²² Peet and Watts, "Liberation Ecology," 26-27.

⁴²³ Mackenzie, "'The Cheviot, The Stag... and The White, White Rock?':": 512.
See also p. 28.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.: 518-20.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.: 512, 21-23.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.: 518-20.

⁴²⁷ Dalby, *Environmental Security*, 99.

There are patterns in the speculations of what the resistance stemming from these new discourses will look like. Primarily, it is thought the resistance will be locally generated. If, as Ferguson suggests, poverty comes from powerlessness and the solution is empowerment, this empowerment will not be given to people, nor will it come down to people from central governments or external agencies and reformers.⁴²⁸ Instead, the turn away from development discourse and its effects will come from below, from decentralized, pluralistic, participatory governance and from ordinary people, rather than “experts.”⁴²⁹ New discourses on life and culture will be collectively generated.⁴³⁰ Further, new ideas for community survival will come from traditional knowledge, such as small scale agriculture and fishing,⁴³¹ which will defend nature against purely invasive economics, price systems and privatizations.⁴³² A new “rationality” is called for, a move away from pure market mechanisms, reductionism, utilitarianism and bureaucracy⁴³³ and this will emphasize local autonomy, culture, traditional knowledge and local movements.

Against the dominant (yet very obscurely encouraged) environmental ethics approach is a certain resistance seen in other ways of envisioning, discussing and acting which are challenging this dominating way. In this case, some political leaders and activists, for instance, questioned the environmental assessment process and documents, reminded the public of the province’s unfruitful history of resource projects and began to

⁴²⁸ Ferguson, *The anti-politics machine*, 279-82.

⁴²⁹ Escobar, “Constructing Nature,” 62-63 and Peet and Watts, “Liberation Ecology,” 17-18. See also Peet and Watts, “Liberation Ecology,” 26-27.

⁴³⁰ Escobar, “Constructing Nature,” 65.

⁴³¹ Mackenzie, “‘The Cheviot, The Stag... and The White, White Rock?’”: 522.

⁴³² Escobar, “Constructing Nature,” 55.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 62-63.

raise the question of the value of the Gisborne Lake ecosystem beyond the monetary gain it could provide. However this opposition was smaller in number than those forwarding the dominant discourse, they had access to less financial resources and help from other people (for example, the NDP budget and staff is significantly smaller than that of the Liberals), and they faced ridicule by the more dominant actors who dubbed them as “anti-s” or over-emotional “fear-mongers” who were simply against progress in Newfoundland and Labrador.

7. *DIFFUSE RESISTANCE*

Similar to the discourse of development, the precise influence of its *opposition* is also difficult to determine. This was seen in one particular moment during the debate, during the fall of 1999 when the opponents to Gisborne Lake’s development were pleasantly surprised by Premier Tobin’s decision to end discussion on bulk water exportation by banning this action in the House of Assembly. Who or what made Tobin stop (at least tentatively) the Gisborne Lake project and what role was played by the Gisborne Lake project opponents?

Lucas and An.E/A attribute Tobin’s change in position to the most concerted resistance to the Gisborne Lake project, a Water Watch conference that included MUN student representatives, unions, the Council of Canadians, various environmentalists from across the province, public opposition to the project and substantial media coverage. Tobin’s announcement to ban bulk water shipments came shortly after this conference. An.E/A also cites some of his private conversations with one of Tobin’s close ministers

as being a cause for Tobin's rethinking of the project. From another perspective, An.PC credits Tobin's change of mind to his own work in organizing municipalities across the province to oppose bulk water exports at a provincial Federation of Municipalities annual convention where Tobin was present.

Other factors were at work, however, besides these opponents' actions. Grimes described Tobin's reversal as coming from a desire to conserve "political capital": "he wanted to conserve the political strength and energy of the government to fight other issues, not the export of water." Then there was also the issue of Tobin's personal ambitions. As Grimes explains, at the time of the Tobin's ban on bulk water exports, the premier was aspiring to make the transition into federal politics, and if the opinion was against bulk water exports federally, Tobin would have been inclined to agree.

Who or what *exactly* made Tobin reconsider his position on Gisborne Lake remains unclear, however what is evident is that there were many factors resisting the development of Gisborne Lake. Some of these were coordinated (the Water Watch conference, municipalities' petitions), and others were entirely separate actions that resulted in resisting Gisborne Lake's development for different reasons (talks with Tobin's advisors, Tobin's personal aspirations). These all seem to have *accumulated* to create Tobin's reconsideration perhaps without there being one outstanding force of resistance. Perhaps the lesson here, then, is that all resistances to such an issue may count, coordinated or uncoordinated. The build up of different groups opposing the

project for diverse reasons (the NAFTA, environment, low employment from bulk shipments and so forth) built a case for stalling Gisborne Lake overall.⁴³⁴

CONCLUSION

Although development discourse theories were not originally a focus for this work, upon reviewing the Gisborne Lake case, there are revealing connections to be made, even if I can only do this tentatively at this point in time.

In this provisional way, what I have seen in the development discourse discussion is the idea that the environment must be worked on to be of value, that it is of no worth without intervention and that it gains value only in the monetary worth it captures. It is for humans to create and capture this worth, not for other entities in the world. Again, the very idea of development is firmly rooted in an anthropocentric and very instrumental environmental ethic which was seen throughout many Gisborne Lake actors and the environmental bureaucratic structure.

Evident as well, in a description of development and its power, are some explanations to the interesting economic puzzles in this case. Perhaps the project is, in large terms, about more than community development and provincial economic growth, but is instead in reference to extending a span of territorial control and centralization as

⁴³⁴ Note that the current stalling of the Gisborne Lake project by Premier Grimes is also difficult to attribute to those who challenged the dominant environmental ethic perspective in this case. The project has been halted temporarily because it is not economically beneficial *enough* at this point in time, as demonstrated in a report by economist James Feehan at Memorial University of Newfoundland. It is delayed until water scarcity increases (and the water debate warns us this is a very possible future), thus demand increases, and thus more profit can be made on all sides, not because of a changed vision of the environment's value.

well as feeding urban demands. Or perhaps the project is about individuals and institutions having adopted (or absorbed) a narrow definition of “underdevelopment” and “progress,” or perhaps it is about a re-colonisation of people and rural environments. Economic gains may be unviable excuses to get at these other goals that are of worth to some actors. At the same time, this development discussion has shown that the lessons learned from development activities and from the negative effects on communities and environments have resulted in forms of resistance that re-conceptualize the individual, the community and the environment in creative, empowering ways with clear links to non-anthropocentric, non-instrumental environmental ethic ideologies. Still, this case study has shown that both the sources of influence and resistance are ambiguous, perhaps indicating that power or resistance comes not from individuals or organizations, but the ideologies in which they are embedded. Clearly, more study is required in this direction.

CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSIONS

I. A RETURN TO THE RESEARCH AIMS AND FOUNDATIONS

In this thesis I examined the way in which the Gisborne Lake project was legitimated and resisted with the aim to seek out the different environmental ethic approaches struggling in this case, to interrogate their consequences and to suggest possible alternatives to them. From this, I attempted to comment on the dominant trends in economics and politics in the Gisborne Lake debate.

The departure points for the research were an understanding of political economy methodology and environmental ethics theory. First, I have used a political economy methodology that is concerned with the relationships developed in response to the activities relating to meeting humans' material needs as well as with the way in which the resulting relationships become understood. While there are many doors into a political economy study, the entry for this research was primarily ideological, although other political economy "linkages" are present at the periphery of the research. Considering the ideologies (the ideas or the ways of envisioning and conceptualizing the environment) in this case was a way to understand the Gisborne Lake debate at a profound level. Attempting to clarify the very foundation of interests and positions is perhaps a small but important step to understanding the politics stemming from these ideologies, interests and positions.

Second, environmental ethic theory was an appropriate way to reach the ideologies so important to this political economy methodology because the field of environmental ethics is concerned with understanding and evaluating the value or worth attributed to the

environment in political debates. These broad concerns of environmental ethics have influenced greatly or perhaps even founded many other sub-fields such as political ecology. As Chapter II made clear, writers across many fields continue to encourage a study of environmental ethics which would help to explain the values underlying and driving politics and political positions. Indeed, the current research has tried to respond to these calls for more environmental ethic study.

Entering with these methodological and theoretical perspectives and based on a brief outline of the historical context provincially and nationally leading up to the Gisborne Lake debate as well as a description of Gisborne Lake and the project proposed for it, this thesis then began by placing the Gisborne Lake debate in the context of Newfoundland and Labrador's history of resource development as well as of current generalized water debates and discussions on the NAFTA. These larger issues served as an entrance into the very specific analysis of Gisborne Lake actors, their positions, arguments and finally, environmental ethic approaches. The perspectives that were left unexplored (non-anthropocentric and non-instrumental environmental ethics approaches) were tentatively proposed and then links were made between these perspectives and cultural themes found in Newfoundland and Labrador art. After this consideration of individual environmental ethic approaches, attention was turned to more institutional approaches to the environment, specifically the environmental assessment process of the provincial Department of Environment. Finally, these institutional leanings were tentatively linked to the concept of pervasive development discourse. Overall, this research has produced some key lessons worth at least a brief reflection.

2. LESSONS LEARNED

The “lessons learned” from this research can be divided in two ways. First, I note the research “findings” as they relate to the specific case of Gisborne Lake. Second, this research has helped to contribute to my understanding of the uses and limits of political economy methodology, environmental ethics theory and the methods I have used to collect and analyze the data.

2.1 The Case at Hand

The most obvious result of this research was the clarification of who the major actors were in the debate, both advocates for the project and those resisting it. The document analysis and interviewees themselves both confirmed a small circle of provincial actors, many of whom I had the opportunity to interview. Of course, the more difficult research questions focused on the actors’ varying environmental ethic perspectives on Gisborne Lake or the environment in general, the consequences of these perspectives and possible alternatives to them. At the outset, I speculated that my research would eventually indicate that profit motives were dominating the Gisborne Lake case from an anthropocentric, instrumentalist environmental ethic approach with rare environmental concern exhibited. However, as noted in Chapter II, this hypothesis needed to be clarified, as explained below.

Through this exploration, I did see one specific type of environmental ethics prevail in the debate on an individual and institutional level: an anthropocentric, instrumental

approach. Again this means, first of all, that humans are envisioned as having a central or sole worth in the environment and that all else in that environment is imagined as serving the ends of these humans. Second, the environment is conceived of as having value only in so far as it is used as a tool to get at something else of value to humans. It holds no worth of its own that allows it to be exempt from uses. However, slightly different than my initial speculations, although one type of environmental ethic approach does seem pervasive in the Gisborne Lake case, that of anthropocentrism and instrumentalism, the profit motive is not completely correct. While there was an emphasis on the gains for the proponent himself as well as the increased revenue for the community and therefore for the province as a whole, the economic justification turned out to be quite weak upon analysis. Here the discussion of development helped to explain why the unsteady economic groundings of the project (for instance, the lack of markets) went unquestioned: perhaps the idea of the project, the idea of "developing," was encouraged as something worth achieving in itself.

Furthermore, contrary to my hypothesis of no environmental concern being present in the debate, some concern for the environment was displayed by many of the actors. As we have seen, even some of the strongest advocates for the project asserted they would not want development to occur if negative impacts were to come to the lake and surrounding area. What I have seen here then, instead of a lack of environmental consideration, was an almost blind faith in environmental assessment workers, processes and documents. All those actors who did support the project, but who would have refused such development if the environment was to be harmed, had been soothed by

these environmental assessment processes. However, as I have shown in detail in Chapter VI, these processes display sharp development leanings and seem to be more concerned with the business environment than the larger environment that embeds this business world.

2.1.i. Gisborne Lake: A Continued Pattern

At a higher level, what did the research reveal regarding the texture of economics and politics displayed in the Gisborne Lake case (the final aspect of the original research questions)? The Gisborne Lake project has been shown as an extension of Newfoundland and Labrador's historical natural resource development trends and as a continuation of a particular economic and political perspective. Many of the key trends presented by commentators on Newfoundland and Labrador economic history, Innis, Summers and Neary, have been re-confirmed in the Gisborne Lake case.

Looking back on "resource development" in the past, for instance through the lenses of Innis, Neary and Summers, we perceive similar approaches to the environment that closely resemble those defended by the actors and institutions in the Gisborne Lake debate: it is imagined as a lifeless entity outside of us with no worth until it is developed and profit is gained from it. What has been observed then in the Newfoundland and Labrador case is a history of invasive, massive projects (predominantly fish, timber, oil, mineral and hydro-electrical energy extraction), with enormous effects on the environment. Indeed, the decimation of cod off the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, for instance, is no small environmental matter. The politics and economics of

development, justified in a narrow conception of the environment and rooted in a narrow environment ethics, have had severe, tangible effects that humans are only beginning to grasp. This politics and economics, this way of imagining the environment and this environmental ethic approach have failed, the history of Newfoundland and Labrador shows us. Not only have they brought enormous risks, but they have failed in great part to bring employment, community survival or other promised benefits. As Summers and Neary show, the current struggles of the province are similar to the former struggles of the colony. The people of Newfoundland and Labrador are still seeking to improve their lot, but in the same old ways. Have lessons of environmental finitude been learned from the fisheries example? Through the Gisborne Lake case study we see that the answer to this question is no, for the same approach to the environment remains.

Relating back more specifically to the Newfoundland and Labrador commentators, first, Innis' comments on the vulnerability of Newfoundland's overly static staples economy remain valid in this case as well to a degree. While Newfoundland and Labrador has moved beyond a cod staples fishery – in many cases not by its own decree – the province has remained stalled in a pattern of staples extraction, of exporting raw resources out often with such desperation to sell or against the continued problem of being distanced from markets that a fair price is not received and expected benefits are not felt. (Here fit my previous descriptions of environmental exploitation schemes where get-rich-quick efforts often result in costly and yet unviable projects. The Gisborne Lake project appears to fit within this pattern of large-scale, but economically unfounded, development.) Contrary to Innis' time, however, the point of contention here is not

colonialism, but corporate (local to international, in the form of trade deals) or federal government influence. Further, the focus of the resource extraction is no longer on “empire” building, but appears now to be on the goal of “developing.” Likewise, Summers’ and Neary’s statements relating to the province’s desperation to develop which often end in heavily publicly subsidized opportunities for private profit ring true in the Gisborne Lake case. Here again we see the generous giving of a public environment (indeed, some politicians such as Grimes speculated that no royalties at all would be gained from the project for the province), which will serve business interests primarily. The best the local area can hope for, it seems, are a few construction and maintenance jobs while the greater benefits are exported with the raw product. (Bocking would agree here: the real winners in large scale water development are often the corporations, whereas the cumulative losers are the communities from where this water is extracted.) As well, Summers’ concerns with external dependencies and distortions (such as overly invasive external interests) shows itself in this case, however here the issue is the NAFTA influence (which pushes to loosen corporate restrictions while placing restrictions on local governance, particularly with regards to local environmental measures), and federal equalization terms, rather than the foreign capital or colonial concerns of the past. In this way, the Gisborne Lake project could have become (or may become in the future) another example of “underdeveloped” Newfoundland and Labrador’s increasing exploitation of “natural resources” which does not result in the expected benefits.

Overall, it seems that, paradoxically, in seeking several noble goals (employment, community survival, stopping out-migration), through destructive natural resource extraction plans Newfoundland and Labrador damages the very basis of its society. The environment is the very base of employment in the province, people's physical sustenance as well as their culture and heritage. As Bocking has shown, the link between water systems and human identities is a close one, and damage to the former eventually may bring a weakening of the latter. Yet to ensure employment, the satisfaction of basic needs and a continuation of culture and communities, the environment is threatened by resource development. In the end, this pattern of economic development has been or will prove to be counterproductive to its original aims. First, when resources are depleted there is a loss of jobs, traditional knowledge as well as basic life components like clean air, food and water. Second, when the environment is irreparably damaged a culture marked by its close ties to a free and thriving environment is called into question. Yet to support some forms of life and livelihood in the province, ironically its basis is slowly chewed away. This was witnessed in the case of the fishery: stepping up "fishery production" measures to improve the economical situation of the province for the good of citizens and the economy did not solve the problem, in fact in the long run this action eliminated the fishery altogether and worsened the economy.⁴³⁵ With even greater irony, and onlooker could also note that when cod depletion resulted in intense unemployment across the province, especially in communities like Grand Le Pierre, this resulted in calls

⁴³⁵ Escobar's comments coincide with these thoughts: he notes certain forms of economic structures happen at the expense of their production conditions, nature. Escobar, "Constructing Nature," 55.

for job creation projects (like Gisborne Lake water extraction), which mean even more significant environmental intrusions and environmental consequences. Faced with the problem of unemployment caused by natural resource depletion, the typical solution of *increased* natural resource development is in fact a continuation and aggravation of the original problem. A cycle of dependence on massive resource development projects is thus perpetuated and environmental degradation spreads.

2.1.ii. Another Path

Perhaps the politics, economics and their environmental ethic underpinnings of the past have proven themselves to be inadequate. While these patterns appear binding, what would be needed in this case are alternative environmental ethic perspectives on which to build new environmental visions and new politics and economics. The non-anthropocentric, non-instrumental environmental ethics approach provides this, and as I explained in Chapter III, assuming this perspective is far from implausible. In fact (in direct contradiction with a history of environmental exploitation), that very non-anthropocentric, non-instrumental environmental ethics perspective is found throughout the culture of Newfoundland and Labrador. From this base, the energy and ingenuity that have been put into industrial, natural resource development must be turned toward new ways of doing that can still achieve the desirable societal ends of ensuring meaningful employment, assuring community survival and thus easing out-migration.

This new approach to the environment would come from decentralized communities that have empowered themselves through traditional knowledge and skills,

as opposed to the large scale, centrally controlled development projects. Interactions with the environment would be done with respect and with the goal to do less or no harm unless human survival depends on it. Community-sufficiency, environmental coexistence and cooperation would replace former exploitative approaches. Different choices would reflect a recognition of human dependence on the environment and the value of things in the environment on their own terms. Many of these themes are reflected throughout Newfoundland and Labrador culture, as seen in the art of this province. The traditionally close ties between people and the environment that is often the root of culture light a way to alternative imaginings of the environment and relationships with it.

2.1.iii. The Gisborne Lake Case as Entry Point

Beyond these more specific research findings, the Gisborne Lake case has shown itself as a useful entry point into more general discussions at local and global levels, both historically and contemporarily in some cases. Most evidently, the Gisborne Lake case is instructive from the perspective of post-cod rural Newfoundland and Labrador economies. It crystallizes the problems (unemployment, out-migration, weak community infrastructure), as well as the common solutions (another sort of “natural resource development,” another type of large scale raw product exporting), introduced by business people or centralized governments. At the same time, the case allows us to imagine other possibilities, such as economies based on local knowledges and skills (small scale fisheries and agriculture, artisan crafts, hospitality, personal care), organized in more

manageable, community-based ways. Of course, the lessons here are not restricted to Grand Le Pierre and its neighbouring communities. They may be applicable widely to many Atlantic Canadian communities facing similar obstacles, or beyond. Along with this, the Gisborne Lake case speaks to the province's economic history and alerts onlookers that this project is not so very "innovative" after all, in fact, it continues along in the pattern of potentially unviable, environmentally questionable schemes, raw resource exporting, major benefit exporting and so forth.

More globally, the Gisborne Lake case serves as a local example of the debate on international trade or trade liberation, in particular that of the NAFTA. The fears expressed in response to potential NAFTA implications indicate a hesitation to increase commodification and global corporate control, while at the same time they indicate a desire to have local control and local environmental measures. In the majority of cases, the NAFTA debate among politicians, trade lawyers and the general public has shown the importance (and yet fragility) of solid and tough environmental assessment processes or environmental protection measures. Overall there is great uncertainty as to what the NAFTA and other agreements like it will bring.

Furthermore, at a similar global level, some of the international concerns on water have been obvious in the Gisborne Lake case. This project is one of many instances of increased water commodification by corporations seeking to gain from the "opportunities" posed by increased water scarcity or decreasing water quality: the "water poor" are targeted as markets for a "pristine" product. Often at the base of debates on water privatization, as Shiva and this research has shown, are differences as to the

meaning of this water: while it is only a resource or potential product for the proponents, for opponents to such projects water is nothing short of a common heritage, the requirements of all life or a sacred gift. This collision of meanings has been played out in our relatively small Gisborne Lake case.

Clearly, the lessons of the Gisborne Lake case span farther than an understanding of this one case. At the same time, this research also gave access to a general consideration of some of the research elements, in particular political economy methodology, environmental ethics theory and the methods of textual analysis and interviewing.

2.2. Limits and Uses of the Research Elements

2.2.i. Political Economy Methodology

In this case, the guidance of an overarching political economy methodology has shown itself to be advantageous as a flexible and complex way of approaching questions related to sites of struggle that arise in the acts of obtaining the things necessary for life. In its emphasis of *contexts* (historical, cultural, geographical, political, economic and ideological), political economy encourages a full understanding of issues related to social relationships, to the creation of what we require to live and to the meanings implicit in these last two points. Political economy can stress the importance of surveying situations through their history, ideas, political and economical basis and so forth. This approach appears generally applicable for research dealing with social, political, ideological and economical questions (and particularly suited for the study of environmental issues which

often engage with questions on all these fronts simultaneously). Better still, political economy encourages a consideration of these issues over time, space and cultures which permits a look at other ways of doing, an imagining of other possibilities as well as a questioning of dominating “common sense” ideas. These are all benefits that allow for an extensive application of the political economy methodology.

A limit I noticed particularly at the outset of the research, however, was that this broad methodology, in being encompassing, flexible and adaptable, can also be difficult for a new researcher to *use* practically. It serves as an excellent guidepost as to where to look and generally what to look for, but how to apply it precisely is less clear. How do we get at these imposing issues? The multitude of political economy “linkages” can be difficult to manage. Thus this abstract methodology must be complemented by a more tangible theoretical standpoint.

2.2.ii. Environmental Ethics Theory

For this research, I complemented the political economy methodology with environmental ethics theory. The important benefit of this theoretical framework is primarily that it is a widely applicable throughout most, if not all, environmental issues. Research on environmental issues that is concerned with the human-environment relationship or with human decision making processes which impact on the environment will benefit from an environmental ethics theoretical base, for in this theory it is these very decisions and the foundation of these very relationships that is the focus of the concepts. The imagined *value* of the environment is a forefront consideration. In this

way, environmental ethics attempts to arrive at the base of differences in positions on the environment, which allows for insightful comparisons and contrasts of foundational ideas. Rather than assuming some sort of objective or neutral position, environmental ethics theory is all about studying the valuing process and its implications.

While environmental ethics theory has its advantages, particularly its wide applicability, there is a downside to this theoretical perspective. First, environmental ethics theory is very complex and is at times highly abstract. As exemplified in the journal *Environmental Ethics*, the theories are quite technical, sometimes to the point of appearing impractical and inapplicable. (It is for this reason that after introducing some of the debate on the concepts used in this research in Chapter II I then chose a precise and useful definition of the concepts.) As well, environmental ethic theories would be frustrating to someone seeking clean answers to difficult situations, as the theories are excellent for analysing and critiquing issues but have difficulty in offering concrete solutions to problems. Instead, in this theory we find that less tangible ways of thinking or attitudes are proposed to guide actions, not to prescribe them. Finally, as noted in the political economy methodology comments above, another concern with this theory is that it does not tell exactly how to see the concepts it proposes. For this reason, with my environmental ethics theory in hand, I had to propose a way to “operationalize” theory which I did through textual analysis, the next section of discussion. Prior to these comments, however, the connection between environmental ethics and political is made explicit.

Connection to Political Economy

Beyond these more specific limits and uses, this research has shown interesting implications of environmental ethics theory for the field of political economy. Most important, this theory is one more tangible way to “cut into” the often overwhelming concerns of political economy through a concerted focus. Environmental ethics theory tries to give a face to political economy’s sometimes abstract notion of ideology, letting us have at least a glimpse of what the ideas relating to an issue are, how they are founded and how they compare to others. Through this we can have an understanding of, in this case, what the environment might mean, how relationships between humans and the environment are imagined and what “common sense” on the issue appears to be. With this type of understanding of the issue, we are in a better position to evaluate the debate and explore alternatives to its current framing.

Political economy is concerned with the ideas created by, and creating, the tensions of social, economic and political relationships. It seeks to explain trends in ideas and their connection to humans’ material existences. Environmental ethics theory is one way to approach and sort out these ideas. The findings we come to using environmental ethics are then important building blocks to a coherent understanding of an issue and its often opaque “linkages” of history, politics, economics and so on. Further, like political economy, environmental ethics theory has a critical bent: more than observing and analyzing an issue, it also works toward criticism and rebuilding. With a central focus on value and meaning, environmental ethics theory challenges the seemingly neutral,

objective and inevitable nature of issues and politics we face in a way comparable to political economy.

As for questions of power, we are not far from such a discussion in using environmental ethics. In fact through this study of the environmental ethic approaches clashing in the Gisborne Lake debate I have made a first step toward a more informed conceptualization of power in this case: before discussing power structures or actors' resources, or before attempting to analyze the functioning of power and resistance systems, it is first necessary to ascertain precisely what environmental ideologies were conflicting behind or at the root of the dominant and resisting political positions. Environmental ethics theory, which permits a more informed consideration of the ideas transmitted in debate, may be useful in substantiating, or acting as a starting place for, a discussion of power.

Often in political economy there is discussion of political interests and the ways in which actors utilize resources to ensure the forwarding of their interests. Environmental ethics attempts to shed light on what these interests are, or more specifically, what is being valued through these interests. Often in political economy there is also discussion of certain knowledges becoming privileged through the resources of power. Again, environmental ethics tries to study these knowledges or ways of conceiving of the environment to first understand what is "known" in the political realm and to imagine other possible ways of knowing. Where we notice that struggles for resources are acknowledged as being more than a struggle over physical things and that they are

instead acknowledge as contests over *meaning*, environmental ethic studies can pick apart the struggling meanings and may even provide ways to imagine alternative meanings.

In this way, using environmental ethics this study has revealed similarities among central resource developers and resisters in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador at a profound level of ideology through an analysis of what is of value and how, what is the imagined place of humans in the environment and how other concerns (community, employment, “development” and so forth) are envisioned compared to environmental concerns. Through this text I have made obvious the basic tensions between the different ways of conceiving and valuing the environment and have shown a struggle over meaning which is often behind the perhaps more obvious play of power. Then, in a more tentative step forward, I have shown the environmental ethic approaches that have not been engaged in this debate, a more fully non-anthropocentric, non-instrumental approach. By thinking of environmental ethics theory as a way to give a face to political economy’s ideological concerns and as a way to substantiate or act as a starting point for comments on power, I have found environmental ethics theory and political economy methodology to be well matched.

Of course, I am certainly not the first to make the general connection between the environmental and political economy. Political economy methodology has been turned toward environmental studies in a noteworthy way and some of these efforts can serve as points of reflection on this case.

To begin, Wallace and Shields' chapter in Clement's second survey of Canadian political economy⁴³⁶ points to the natural resource depletion in Canadian caused by the historical overexploitation of these resources to feed the demands of external markets. The case of cod in Newfoundland and Labrador is one of the most obvious and extreme examples of this statement, and this pattern of continued resource exploitation with the aim to profit from external demand is also witnessed in the Gisborne Lake case. Indeed, if there comes a time when external markets express greater demand for freshwater imports, Gisborne Lake may be easily pushed into production. It appears in this case as if we are only waiting for market demand to improve. Along with this, we also see the continued relevance of Wallace and Shield's remarks related to an (out-dated) envisioning of the environment as an endless stock of resources that must be made productive to come to any value. As the environmental ethic approach findings have shown, this way of conceiving the environment is still very relevant in at least one area of rural Newfoundland. At the same time, this case has also concurred with these researchers' indication of an adjustment in environmental perspectives in Canada. Rather than considering the environment so narrowly as resources with only economic value, evidence is noted of a change to regarding the environment as "Nature" with a larger understanding of value (one close to non-anthropocentrism and non-instrumentalism), in line with the way in which some aboriginal people think of nature. This change is also on the rise in Newfoundland and Labrador, as we have seen in some actors' comments, but this way of thinking of the environment remains on the fringes of the debate and it does

⁴³⁶ Wallace and Shields, "Contested Terrains."

not yet seem to have a great deal of legitimacy. Still, it is growing. Finally, Wallace and Shields' comments on the connection between Canadian identity and the environment is felt (perhaps even more so) in Newfoundland and Labrador, as some cultural aspects of this province have shown. Hence contradictions between resource overexploitation and culturally close human-environment ties become obvious in Wallace and Shields' work just as they do in this case study.

Williams' work is similarly relevant to this study.⁴³⁷ In particular, Williams explicitly notes the trend of environmental overexploitation and exhaustion which then leads to the search for another "replacement resource," which in its turn will be overexploited and replaced by yet another area or resource. This was a distressing pattern in Newfoundland and Labrador noted above. Williams also encourages an analysis of the relationship between production and the environment, something that I have approached in studying the ideas on the environment influencing one production project.

Adkin, pushing Williams farther, suggests that environmental concerns cannot be simply incorporated into a political economy study, instead a turn to such a concern would mean a re-conceptualization of the field. Rather than an "expert," corporate, bureaucratic or nationalist focus, a new starting point is required, Adkin asserts, based on democratization, ecology, a consideration of values (both to expose dominating ones and to challenge them with new ones), and real human needs. More work is needed on the relationships between life quality, autonomy, community and nature outside a capitalist

⁴³⁷ Williams, "Greening the New Canadian Political Economy."

realm. An important element in all this is the recognition of humans and communities as being in and inseparable from the environment. While in some ways I have fallen into the trap forewarned by Adkin in focussing on the status quo actors by centring my study primary on bureaucratic, official political actors (this is another important issue to consider in future studies), at the same time, this case study has moved in a direction similar to one advocated for by Adkin. Environmental ethic theory has provided a way to consider value, the human-environment relationship and alternative conceptions of the environment which are important to this author's formulation of where political economy can go in the environmental realm.

To summarize, environmental ethics is a useful complement to political economy, particularly in so far as it can permit a clearer view of struggling meanings and relationships. With this clarification, we are in a better position to evaluate, criticize and renew these meanings and relationships as well as to approach questions relating to power with more precision. Political economist writers concerned with the environment, for example Williams, Adkin and Wallace and Shields, although they do not refer to environment ethics specifically, would appear to agree with the relevance of this connection.

2.2.iii. Textual Analysis

Of course, to be able to make comments on environmental ethic approaches, information was first required, and it was found in this case through textual analysis. As noted in Chapter V, textual analysis for this work has simply meant the study of "texts"

(predominantly speech, in this case) produced by the major actors in the Gisborne Lake case. The aim of the study was to ascertain positions and the arguments for these positions as well as to attempt to get at the values underlying these arguments. My way of proceeding was to try to sort out logically what was said and why as well as to rank each individual's competing interests in the case. While I have found this to be a useful way to structure an analysis (indeed I believe this method could be applicable in any research trying to come to grips with the nuances of positions on an issue), it is not a flawless way to proceed.

Most important, "reading" interviewees' texts is a very subjective act that can easily implicate the researcher's personal background. Misinterpretation is a real possibility. Clearly, as I was discussing Gisborne Lake with the fourteen interviewees, I was developing a specific opinion on Gisborne Lake as well, and this opinion has surely influenced how I have analyzed the interviews to some degree. This became of particular concern in the analysis of values derived from the positions and arguments. In many cases, it was impossible to ask interviewees to comment on their own way of "valuing" Gisborne Lake or the environment in general. (This type of questioning, which I did attempt at the beginning, was often met with great confusion.) Therefore instead, sometimes I found myself extrapolating from the interview data to take my best estimation of the ways in which the environment was being envisioned by the interviewees.

While I have purposefully attempted to analyze the interview data as objectively as possible with the aim to understand the case from interviewees' point of view, I could not

assert that I have done this perfectly in every case for some of my own biases and misinterpretations may have seeped into this process.⁴³⁸ What I have been able to do, however, is to ensure my summaries of the actors' comments were truly substantiated by their comments by looking back through the data repeatedly. As well, during the interview process I tried not to expect any particular perspective from the interviewees and to let patterns surface on their own. (In the end, some of these patterns were quite unexpected.) By creating abstract summary sheets on each actor based not on titles or roles in the debate but on ethical approaches, I have been able to make more objective comparisons.

2.2.iv. Interviewing Method

The interview method has proven ideal for the type of focus I took in this research, in fact, I saw interviews as the only way to get the information needed for the above textual analysis because the documents I consulted prior to the interview process simply did not speak to my environmental ethics approach. Policy and media documents, for example, often clouded the issues, did not reach nuances in the positions and arguments and rarely reached into the values underlying the debate. However, in an interview setting I could ask for clarification. Interviewees made their position and arguments clear in opposition to the other major actors. They had an opportunity to explain their positions and

⁴³⁸ Of course, this influence was also felt in an opposite direction. Some interviewees I found so convincing that I had trouble stepping outside their way of framing the issue in order to question it and compare it with other thoughts I was developing. On some occasions, it took several days for me to gain some distance from an interviewee's way of thinking to be able to approach it from the perspective of this research.

arguments in full and to speculate on how they would like to see the issue addressed in the future. After this I was in a position to question why the actors held these positions and took on these arguments and why they envisioned their particular ideal futures. The interview method gave unique, specific and detailed information no other sources or methods could offer.

Of course, a problem throughout the interview process (which also reflects on the textual analysis) is the limit of information. Interviews hovered around an average time of one and a half hours, but often even this amount of time did not allow me to ask all the questions and to receive all the clarifications I had in mind. There is also the issue of political rhetoric. In interviewing some of the politicians in particular I was aware of the interviewee trying to ascertain what I wanted to hear or of the person repeating a “party line.” There is no sure way for me to judge if the interviewees were responding honestly to my questions.

Still, after reflecting on this information, however imperfect it may be, I feel contradictions can be seen and I can draw some conclusions of interest. Although perhaps imperfect, the data from the interviews has proven to be very rich.

2.2.v. General Implications and Consequences of this Work

What may be original to some degree in this work is the approach I have taken with regards to environmental ethics perspectives and their relationship to, or consequences for, politics and economics with environmental connections. I started from the realization that all politics and economics implicating the environment indicate or are

permeated by an environmental ethic approach – they cannot *not* have an environmental ethics founding. This environmental ethic approach, as exhibited by the involved actors, may be poorly formulated, unformulated or contradictory but it is never absent. Politics and economics centred on or impacting the environment are seen as being founded on some type of environmentalism, or some vision of the environment. This vision directs and is then re-created in political and economic debates and actions.

What has been seen through the majority of the actors in this case, one example of “resource development” in Newfoundland and Labrador, is one specific, prevailing anthropocentric, instrumental approach to Gisborne Lake and to the environment in general. The implication of this prevailing environmental ethic in resource development politics and economics, this “humans first” focus which views the environment as a tool to be used, could very well be environmental exploitation (of which the past shows many examples), that ends in harm to the environment and, as humans are fully dependent on and in this environment, to humans as well. This narrow conception of the environment is not, however, an inevitable, inescapable approach, although its “common sense” presentation would have us believe otherwise. Instead, it is one of many options, as Newfoundland and Labrador culture makes clear. An exploration of these other visions of nature may be of benefit to the environment and therefore humans as well as far as these other visions may diverge from a path of environmental degradation.

Viewing economic and political debates through the lenses of environmental ethics theories has permitted a view of the economics and politics in the Gisborne Lake as being deeply influenced (or even led) by a specific environmental ethic approach. Therefore, if

we take issue with the politics and economics of a resource development attempt and its consequences, then we may find the root of our concerns (and the potential for improvement) in visions of nature. Environmental ethic approaches are seen as a common source of problems in, and a common place to correct or rebuild, the effects of certain politics and economics on the environment.

Of course the relevance here is not necessarily for Gisborne Lake alone, in fact based on my understanding of other cases it is a real possibility that the findings of this work on Gisborne Lake may be applied generally to “resource development” in Newfoundland and Labrador and beyond. Seeking environmental ethic approaches may provide a way to make sense of the seemingly chaotic manifestations of “resource development” in general. By looking at the profound ways of attributing worth to the environment we might be able to explain, evaluate and rethink issues as diverse as water exportation, boreal forest clear-cutting, off shore oil extraction, over-fishing and hydroelectricity projects. This way may provide a coherent way of speaking about these apparently dissimilar issues.

3. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As I have stated throughout, environmental ethics is but a first step to addressing fully the complex issues presented by this study. There are many avenues to explore in future research. Most importantly, future studies of such projects will require a more specific and concentrated use of political ecology or social ecology and their concepts of power and resistance. This research has hinted at diffuse powers and resistances and in coming

research more precise treatment of these findings will be needed. Many questions are left unanswered. Precisely *why* does this dominant environmental ethic approach dominate? How does it do so exactly? From where is this influence generating? What resources are drawn on to give this approach strength? How can we obtain a profound understanding of the possibilities of resistance to these perspectives? How can we explain the functioning of resistance seen in this case? If power and the resistances to it appear to be diffuse in this case, how so? What is their functioning? Can this be known? Forthcoming research will reach beyond this thesis' foundation in texts and ideology to reach into discussions of entire *systems* of discourse and the power structures they implicate. Of course, along with these discussions more detailed and refined comments on development, its discourse, its pervasiveness and the resistance to it will be required. The Gisborne Lake case has exhibited interesting connections with this literature, but far more study is needed in this direction.

4. ONLY WATER?

I began this text with a Newfoundland and Labrador folksong entitled "Thank God We're Surrounded by Water," based on an Irish song, "The Sea Around Us." Both share a similar chorus and the version sung in this province is as follows:

The sea, oh the sea, the wonderful sea,
long may she roam between people⁴³⁹ and me,
Everyone here should get down on one knee,
and thank God we're surrounded by water.

⁴³⁹ "People" is sometimes substituted for politicians' names, like "Joey" (Smallwood) or "Brian" (Tobin). In the original Irish version, it was sung "England."

The ironies brought to mind by this song are worth comment. “Surrounded by Water” directly speaks of the freedom granted by being separated by the North Atlantic Ocean from colonial governments, more contemporary politicians or other irritations. The province and its more secluded regions are protected in their isolation. Of course, with this expanse of saltwater also came a bountiful fishery prided through the centuries that, in the end, was massively exploited. Then ironically, with the demise of the fishery, the province turned to manufacturing industries but the very distance and seclusion that is described as protecting people turned out to hinder their access to markets. What Newfoundland and Labrador could offer, however, beyond light manufacturing, were other more unique natural resources such as timber, minerals, oil (over those old fishing grounds) and now *freshwater*. “We haven’t got money or riches to spare,” the song goes, “But we can be thankful of one small affair, / Thank God we’re surrounded by water.”

Thus throughout history, the meaning of water in Newfoundland and Labrador has been complex and contradictory. It simultaneously represents mobility and seclusion as well as isolation and independence. Water (or what is found in it) is a market opportunity just as separation due to that water is a market barrier. It is a spiritual and cultural fulcrum (it is respected and loved for its beauty and peace while it is feared for its rugged, harsh temperament; it is a metaphor for a human life), just as it is the basis of economics and employment to be relentlessly exploited. So how strange it was, then, to hear a Gisborne Lake actor shrug off worries about Gisborne Lake with the observation that “sure there’s nothing in there only water.”

Rather than envisioning this water or the environment in general so narrowly as a mere lifeless, useless mass “out there” with no value unless it is sold, as present dominant economics and politics would instruct us in the Gisborne Lake case, the environment could be conceived of as so much more, as a birthplace and as a home, as a being of worth that is deserving of respect, or as our very source of life. This re-envisioning or remembering of nature could be a profoundly valuable path to reparation.

ANNEX I: ACTOR KEY

- **Anonymous Environmentalist/Activist (An.E/A):** involved in organizing opposition to Gisborne Lake
- **Anonymous Liberal Member of the House of Assembly (MHA) (An.L):** an advocate for the project
- **Anonymous Progressive Conservative (PC) MHA (An.PC):** an opponent of the project
- **Bolt, Paul:** current mayor of Grand Le Pierre, an advocate for the project
- **Buchanan, Robert:** Project Manager for the environmental assessment of the Gisborne Lake Project at LGL Limited Environmental Research Associates (LGL), the environmental consulting firm
- **Dominie, Ken:** Assistant Deputy Minister (ADM) of the Department of Environment who worked on higher level bulk water policy in general and acted as a federal liaison with other provincial environmental offices
- **Doyle, Norman:** Member of Parliament (MP) for St. John's East, active in organizing public forums on Gisborne Lake in St. John's
- **Fizzard, George:** former mayor of Grand Le Pierre, an advocate for the project
- **Grimes, Roger:** Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador, interested in re-opening the debate on Gisborne Lake in order to have a fair and comprehensive analysis of the issue after a ban on bulk water put in place by former Premier Brian Tobin
- **Harris, Jack:** Provincial New Democratic Party (NDP) leader, an opponent of the project
- **Langdon, Oliver:** former Minister of the Department of Environment who was ultimately responsible for the environmental assessment process
- **Lucas, Wayne:** President of the Newfoundland and Labrador Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), active in organizing opposition to the project
- **Strong, Carl:** Chair of the Gisborne Lake Assessment Committee at the Department of Environment
- **White, Jerry:** the proponent of the Gisborne Lake project and owner of McCurdy Group of Companies (a company focussed on construction, land and building development and ready mix until this project)

ANNEX II: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION AND INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Letter of Introduction

Date

Dear _____,

The purpose of this letter is to introduce myself to you as a researcher, to let you know about the research I am engaged in, and to ask whether you would agree to participate in the research.

My name is Angela V. Carter. I am currently a Master of Arts candidate at the Institute of Political Economy at Carleton University in Ottawa. Should you have questions regarding this research, you may contact me (709-781-1708; angelavcarter@hotmail.com) or my two faculty supervisors, Dr. Fiona Mackenzie (613-520-2600, extension 2576; fiona_mackenzie@carleton.ca) or Dr. Simon Dalby (613-520-2600, ext. 8741; simon_dalby@carleton.ca). Should you have any concerns or complaints about this research, please contact the chair of the Ethics Committee, Klaus Pohle (613-520-7434; klaus_pohle@carleton.ca).

I am involved in a research project to fulfill the Master of Arts thesis requirement. The objective of the research is to explore the politics and economics that emerge in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador around the issue of the development of Gisborne Lake for freshwater exportation. More specifically, I investigate the justification of actors influencing the exportation decision (those major actors both for and against the decision), to ascertain the values surrounding the Gisborne Lake debate. I am interested in the struggle among actors who compete to have their interests represented as well as the potential implications of the future final decision on Gisborne Lake.

I am particularly interested in exploring with you the issues noted in point form below.

- your role in the debate (what organization you represent, your involvement)
- your position on the debate (what would be the best decision on this matter)
- the advantages and disadvantages of exporting water from Gisborne Lake
- who or what stands to gain or lose from the exportation
- the implications of Gisborne Lake with regards to community development, economic development, the environment and other important areas
- the resources you (or your organization) possess to influence this issue or be heard in the debate
- your speculation on what will be the future of Gisborne Lake and the potential implications of this future
- your suggestions for further documents or individuals I should consult

Please note that as this issue could be politically or economically sensitive, there could be risks in participating in this research. I will lessen these risks by offering you confidentiality and anonymity, storing the data in a secure manner, ensuring the separate storage of the data and Informed Consent Forms, using a coding system for actors' names throughout the research, limiting access to this data to me and my two faculty supervisors as well as shredding the data ten years after completion of the research.

If you agree to participate in the research, I would like to take notes during our discussion and possibly record the conversation, depending on your preference. I would expect an initial discussion to last approximately one to two hours. I undertake to provide you with a written record of the discussion within two weeks of the discussion and would ask you to make any needed corrections. All information given to me will be treated confidentially and your anonymity as a participant will be ensured if this is your preference.

Thank you.

Signed.

Informed Consent Form

I, _____, understand that, in agreeing to participate in this research:

- my participation is voluntary;
- the interview will take approximately 1 to 2 hours of my time;
- I will be offered an opportunity to review the data I provide within 2 weeks after the interview;
- should I wish to have access to the final document, I may do so by advising the researcher;
- I have the right to refuse to answer particular questions without penalty;
- I have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time, without penalty;
- should I exercise my right to withdraw from the interview I may either give or not give the researcher permission to use the data I have provided to that point;
- I understand this issue could be politically or economically sensitive, and therefore that there could be risks in participating in this research. The researcher will lessen these risks by offering me confidentiality of information and anonymity by means of:
 - storing the data in a secure filing cabinet in the researcher's residence;
 - ensuring the separate storage of the data and Informed Consent Forms;
 - using a coding system for actors' names throughout the research;
 - limiting access to the data to the researcher and the two faculty supervisors;
 - destroying the data by a shredder 10 years after completion of the research.

Should I choose to remain anonymous, I will not be identified in any way. If I do not wish to remain anonymous my name may be used in the research. Please select your preference regarding anonymity by checking the appropriate box below:

☐ I wish to remain anonymous. ☐ I do not wish to remain anonymous.

Contact Information

**To ask any questions regarding the research please contact:*

Researcher: Angela Carter (709-781-1708; angelavcarter@hotmail.com)

Faculty supervisors: Dr. Fiona Mackenzie (613-520-2600, extension 2576; fiona_mackenzie@carleton.ca), or Dr. Simon Dalby (613-520-2600, ext. 8741; simon_dalby@carleton.ca)

**To express any concerns or complaints regarding the research please contact:*

The Chair of the Ethics Committee, Dr. Klaus Pohle (613-520-7434;
klaus_pohle@carleton.ca)

Name of Participant (please print): _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature of Researcher: _____

ANNEX III: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (A SAMPLE)

Interviewee: _____

Date: _____

1. Placing the Interviewee

Role in the debate?

How the debate evolved

Position on Gisborne Lake

Primary concern regarding Gisborne Lake? Secondary?

2. Background on the Debate and Actors

Why Gisborne Lake? Why now?

Public opinion? How was this seen?

What values were at odds among the actors? (Main lines of debate.)

What resources did they (and you) have to get their positions heard?

Where is the debate now?

3. Benefits and Losses

Who/what would have benefited if Gisborne Lake had been developed? How? Losses?

Why did some think these gains outweighed the losses?

How much of Gisborne Lake should be sacrificed for the potential gains? (All?)

Environmental concerns?

4. Value of Gisborne Lake

Impressions upon visiting Gisborne Lake

Your relationship to nature in general / Newfoundland and Labrador's relationship to nature?

How should humans relate to their environment? (Superior? A part from? A part of?)

How is Gisborne Lake of value if it is not developed (in itself)?

What is its worth? (aesthetic, monetary, investment, future generations, sacred gift...)

5. Speculation on Future

What would have been the ideal outcome?

What will happen to Gisborne Lake in the future?

6. Further Research

Other documents or people to consult

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