Liquid Identity: Navigating A Discursive Passage Through Bulk Water

Melanie Hientz, BPAPM.

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Geography and Environmental Studies

©2009 Melanie Hientz

Library and
Archives Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-51978-3
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-51978-3

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

ABSTRACT

The attempt to define a dominant identity narrative in Canada has led to the appropriation of a number of symbols used to suggest nationhood. Exploring the case of bulk water exports in Canada, suggests that freshwater has become such a symbol. This thesis employs a Foucauldian discourse analysis of ten years of communication on bulk water exports by two agents of public advocacy, The Council of Canadians, and the Canadian Union of Public Employees. This thesis integrates critical geopolitics into the study of social nature of water in Canada to examine how the geopolitical formations of water have served to enact a politics of identity. By suspending water's biophysical features it has been made possible to frame water in national terms. This thesis reveals how water has been an effective conduit for nationalism in Canada and how the defense of freshwater has served to construct a rationale for its securitization.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This has been an exceptional process for me and it is with gratitude that I thank those who have assisted me along the way. The department of Geography and Environmental Studies at Carleton University has been a warm and welcoming community of compassionate and driven individuals whom I have had the honour to interact with during these two years. I would like to thank Graham Smart for input in the preliminary stages of this thesis. Fiona Mackenzie for input in my research proposal; her suggestions and counsel were most helpful. In addition, a kind thank you to Iain Wallace whose reflection and guidance were extremely valuable. A big hug goes out to CVSRD, a collection of some of the most inspiring researchers at Carleton University.

This Masters program has been a remarkable experience and has been shaped most profoundly by the superb supervision of Simon Dalby. He has been a source of inspiration, and he has challenged me to produce work of which I am proud. I cannot be more grateful.

My family deserves many thanks for the support they have given me during this process. My dad, for all of the time he has dedicated over the years to assist me in my pursuits. My mom, who has always been the perfect distraction and whose tender support has encouraged me.

Finally, I would like to thank Isaac Cockburn, who has been a remarkable force in this process and whose passion, support and input in my research has never tired.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Figures.....	vi
List of Appendices.....	vii

1. Introduction.....	1
1.1 Thesis Overview.....	10

PART I – NAVIGATING WATERS

2. Conceptualizing Water.....	14
2.1 A Tsunami or a Wave? Scaling water and Crisis.....	14
2.2 Neoliberal ‘Cure’	17
2.3 Who Put the Bulk in Water Exports?.....	21
2.4 Turning Water into Liquid Gold?.....	25
2.5 The Legal Status of H ₂ O.....	28
3. Chronicling the Passage.....	35
3.1 Steering the Ship: The Council of Canadians and CUPE.....	35
3.2 Charting the Course: Discourse Selection.....	42
3.3 The Annals of Bulk Water: Trends and Content.....	46

PART II – THEORETICAL CURRENTS

4. Theorizing Nature and Space.....	57
4.1 A Critical Geopolitical Nature.....	57
4.2 A Foucauldian Tributary- Discourse Analysis.....	66

PART III – ALTERED REFLECTIONS

5. Spatial Formations and Nationalism.....	71
5.1 Neoliberalism Resurfaces.....	71
5.2 Enframing Nature.....	75
5.3 Territorial Designations.....	80
5.4 Conclusion.....	84
6. Securing National Identity.....	89
6.1 Constructing National Identity.....	89
6.2 On Morality.....	93
6.3 On Sovereignty.....	98
6.4 On Vulnerability.....	104
6.5 Water's Securitization.....	107
7. Conclusion.....	112
8. Appendices.....	121
9. References.....	125

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 - Scaling Water Crisis.....	13
Figure 2 - Tapping Canadian Water.....	34
Figure 3 - Annual Comparisons of Media Quantity on bulk water exports.....	55
Figure 4 - Watering the U.S. Border.....	56
Figure 5 - Altered Reflections.....	88

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A - Water Stress Map.....	121
Appendix B - Major Bulk Water Diversions in Canada.....	122
Appendix C - Major existing large-scale water transfer schemes in Canada...	123
Appendix D - Discourse Analysis Checklist.....	124

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The attempt to define national identity has been a long-standing academic preoccupation in Canada. The canonical studies of Canadian culture and identity have prominently featured the works of Northrop Frye, with particular attention given to his 1967 oeuvre, *The Modern Century*. Frye (1967, 122-123) argues that “[p]erhaps the real Canada is an ideal with nobody in it. The Canada to which we really do owe loyalty is the Canada we have failed to create” This concern is shared in Donald Smiley's (1966, 100) remark that almost "all English Canadians have at some time felt embarrassed by [Canada's] deficiencies in the ritual manifestations of nationhood [and] the absence of the characteristic manifestations of national self-expression so common elsewhere." Concerns over the very existence of Canadian identity have been a central theme amongst those attempting to extrapolate the meaning of Canadian culture.

The absence of a dominant narrative of identity or unified subjectivity has provided an impetus to designate particular symbols to Canadian identity so as to avoid an existential dilemma. Canadian identity has been characterized by several different incantations, from the physical features of the country, to hockey and national beer advertisements. Debates on Canadian identity remain characterized by colloquial descriptions of Canadians as friendly, humanitarian, multicultural, peacekeeping, nature loving, environmentally conscientious and perhaps most importantly, different from Americans.

The construction of Canadian identity in contrast to an aggressive American counterpart has been explored habitually in Canadian discourses (Chaiton & McDonald 1977; Riegel & Wright 2002; Edwardson 2003; Dittmer & Larsen 2007). It is argued

that Canadians feed off a moral superiority of Canadian "niceness" vis-à-vis Americans. Riegel and Wright (2002) explore a paradox in English-Canadian nationalism, whereby the self-image of a reserved and unassuming Canadian remains intact despite a form of 'loud' nationalism that has gained prominence in Canadian culture. Exploring the iconic Molson Canadian beer commercial entitled 'The Rant' and more recent 'I am Canadian' ads, they suggest that English-Canadian nationalism has taken on an increasingly vociferous form.

Despite this paradox, the concern over the lack of Canadian national identity has gained a hegemonic status in discourse on Canadian nationalism. It has been viewed both in terms of a failure of the nation, but also as an indication of diversity embraced. John Ralston Saul (1997, 8) speaks to the lack of "the standard monolithic mythology of the other nation-states":

This is described by most federalists and anti-federalists alike as the failure of Canada. The failure to become like the others. To regularize a monolithic mythology. Some weep before the ever-retreating mirage of the unhyphenated Canadian. Others say its existence proves the country is not real and cannot exist. For me, this failure to conform is in fact our greatest success. A proof of originality which we refuse to grasp as positive.

Canadian nationalism has been expressed in a variety of forms throughout Canada's history. Notable have been number of domestic and international challenges, which served to propel an Anglophone-Canadian identity. Quebec's Quiet Revolution reflected a threat to the idea of national coherence, and pressures of American dominance on the continent served as catalysts for Anglo-Canadian national identity. Meanwhile, First Nations people have interacted with particular territories for decades, and have formed a variety of sovereignty movements. Sovereignist and federalist Quebecois identities have proclaimed differing versions of identity. In addition,

immigrants from around the world have encountered the concern of maintaining distinct ethnic identity or hyphenated alternatives (Dittmer & Larson 2007, 739). While it is clear that there exist a plethora of identities in the Canadian context, the quest to assign a homogenous national identity has been an on-going pursuit.

Nation building in Canada has had a twofold aim, “managing the diverse populations of the country and also doing the symbolic work of imagining and creating national identity” (Mackey 2000, 125). Canada’s cultural and ethnic makeup reflects the diversity of a settler colony with large immigrant populations. Its wide geographical space has led to settlements of diverse communities from the Atlantic to the Pacific and Arctic Oceans. As is suggested by Mackey (2000, para 30), nation building in Canada has been a complex mission, due to the heterogeneity of identities residing in the country.

This propagandistic desire to coin "Canadian identity" once and for all depends on the obfuscation of the history of Canadian nation-building which often continues to be narrated without drawing attention to the extermination and oppression of the native peoples, amongst others. In other words, the current discourse of "Canadian identity" depends on the investment in a historical trajectory that silences the implicit link between colonization and imperialism in Canada.

Assigning the political identity of a ‘multicultural nation’ to Canada provides a way for a former settler colony to be reconstituted. Efforts at establishing a Canadian national identity should not be seen as necessarily innocent or ‘natural’. Crafting symbols that serve to unite this population has been a political task for centuries.

One element that has provided a useful and compelling symbol for national identity in Canada has been nature. The nationalistic enterprise to define Canadian identity vis-à-vis nature can, arguably, be traced back to 18th century romanticism, which sought to position Canada as a nation that possessed an abundance of unsettled

landscape. Literary work portrayed the virgin beauty of an untouched nation, a place waiting to be discovered. Nationalism in the 19th Century presented nature as a challenge to be overcome, and Canadian landscape was treated as something to be conquered. In 1868, W.A. Foster created the Canada First movement, attempting to develop Canadian national sentiment, which was removed from British or American influence (Kaufmann 1998, 680-682).

Foster speaks to the necessity of cultivating national identity,

It is the duty of all Canadians, whether by birth or adoption to recognize the pressing necessity for the cultivation of a national sentiment which will unite the people of the various provinces more closely in the bonds of citizenship.... That an organization which will draw the line between Canadians loyal to their soil and those who place their citizenship in a subordinate or secondary position, affords the surest means of cementing a confederation and securing political action in the interests of the whole Dominion" (Smith 1890, 6 in Kaufman 1998, 682).

Kaufmann (1998, 682) identifies the political nationalism of Canada First and cultural nationalism of artistic enterprises such as The Group of Seven in appropriating Canadian nature and landscape as its subject matter. The Group's imaginative engagement with the Canadian landscape served to provide a vision of Canada not far removed from the romantic literary work in the 18th Century.

While the identities, histories and ethnicities of people in Canada may be diverse, one thing that is shared is the land in which they are residing. Nature has been evoked in identity formation, whether in the form of the romantic landscape images of the 18th Century, or the more urban landscapes presented in the 21st Century. While the search to define Canadian identity is ever changing, the use of nature has acted as an effective symbolic conduit over the centuries.

My personal engagement with national symbols was shaped profoundly in 2007, when my nationalistic chords were struck during a protest in Montebello, Quebec. The leaders of Canada, U.S. and Mexico scheduled a meeting on issues relating to labour mobility, energy, security, border logistics and environment (The Security and Prosperity Partnership). While concerns were voiced over the lack of transparency at the meeting and fears over deeper integration with the U.S., I noticed that water in particular was receiving heightened attention. The message, “Stop bulk water exports” was painted on a number of signs across the protest space. Rhetoric painting thirsty and aggressive Americans coming after “our” water was used to illustrate the gravity of potential political integration with the U.S., and the ever present American threat with or without integration.

Following the protest, I became interested in the appropriation of water as a symbol for Canadian national identity. While the study of national mythologies in Canada has been a diverse enterprise, with investigations ranging from the North (Mackey 2002), to hockey (Robidoux 2002) and canoes (Dean 2006), water has yet to be heavily tapped academically. The emotional response by the public over concerns over exporting bulk water suggested to me that water had seeped into the national imaginary.

The Canadian public sent a loud message to the Prime Minister’s Office in 2005, when 120,000 pieces of correspondence regarding water privatization and bulk water exports were sent, placing the issue second in terms of quantity of correspondence, following same-sex marriage (Reguly 2006a). However, concerns over bulk water exports are by no means new. Discussions of the potential exportation of water have

prompted protest and outcry since the 1960's. All attempts to export water have been opposed by an overwhelming majority of Canadians, and according to Frank Quinn (2007, 10), all plans so far have been obfuscated partially as a result of intense public pressure. The passionate defense of freshwater by the public suggests there is room to explore the intricacies of water in Canada.

Water has been cast as a symbol of Canadian identity, and its importance to national identity has even prompted the Government of Canada to create a section of their Environment Canada department website dedicated to "Water and Canadian Identity". Exploring the link between water and national identity bares the question: What makes water an effective conduit for nationalistic discourse?

This question is particularly salient when considering that water has been positioned outside of the categories of other natural features of the earth. The Canadian Union of Public Employees (Jan 13, 1999) identifies the significance of water to Canada, stating:

In a country blessed with a generous share of the world's fresh water supply, we recognize the central role water has played in shaping our history, our economy, our health and our identity. And we don't see water as a commodity to be sold or traded like barley.

Water is set apart from commodities such as barley or canola, and natural resources such as timber or oil. The percentage of Canadian exports from the resource extraction sector has been increasing since 1999 (Stanford, 2008). In 2007, the value of Canada's timber, energy and mineral resource assets rose 5% to almost \$1.3 trillion (CAD); an amount representing over 18% of Canada's "total wealth including natural resources" (Statistics Canada b). It is evident that resource extraction plays a significant role in the Canadian economy, and its value continues to rise. However, the exportation of these

resources has not been met with the same opposition as has water in Canada. It has been deemed acceptable to trade most of Canada's natural assets, but hands off Canada's water.

Despite the perception, Canada already exports a great deal of its water in semi-processed or processed form. Water is exported in a variety of forms (bottled water, carbonated soft drinks, fruit drinks and beer). Bottled water exports to the U.S. are viewed by some as a Canadian success story, having increased 130% between 1996-2002 (Agriculture Canada). In fact, 385 million litres of beer were exported from Canada in 2000, while water exports (including bottled water [unsweetened], mineral and aerated waters and ice and snow) that year were almost 470 million litres (Statistics Canada, c). Further to that, water is exported virtually in a number of manufacturing processes; an average of three barrels of freshwater are required to make one barrel of oil from the Alberta tar sands (Nikiforuk 2007, 14). In these more abstract forms, Canadians seem less resistant to exporting water.

In a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation radio interview former U.S. ambassador Paul Cellucci notes a slight hypocrisy in the Canadian relationship to natural resources,

Water is going to be, already is, a very valuable commodity, and I've always found it odd where Canada is so willing to sell oil and natural gas and uranium and coal, which are by their very nature finite. But talking about water is off the table, and [yet] water is renewable....? (Clark 2006, 95)

Bulk water exports have been met with fierce resistance over the years. Anne McLellan, former Canadian deputy prime minister, in a 2004 workshop on Canada-US relations stated that any Canadian politician who openly supported the export of water would be out of a job very quickly (Pentland & Hurley 2007, 163). Water seems to be untouchable, at least in its bulk form.

The very labeling of water in terms of “bulk water exports” should not be uncontested, as it has significant implications in terms of how water is to be understood. Conceptualizing water in “bulk” form renders it a quantifiable substance, and subjugates it to instrumental reason. The political relevance of this can be equated to the subsequent ability to determine what is an ‘acceptable’ amount of water to export, and what is not. In doing so, it suggests that while the exportation of *some* water in a very particular form is acceptable, the export of water in bulk is not. The process of categorizing water in terms of bulk water exports has masked the mass diversion within Canada which has and is taking place, instead focusing attention on the perceived threat of “bulk water exports” in the form of tankers. Public advocacy organizations have played a considerable role in employing the term and mobilizing opposition in its name. Maude Barlow, the national chairperson of the Council of Canadians has been a strong advocate regarding water issues both in Canada and internationally. In her recent book *Blue Covenant- The Global Water Crisis and the Coming Battle For the Right to Water*, Barlow (2007a, 1) begins by outlining three scenarios which collude toward disaster. Scenario one: “The world is running out of freshwater...the abuse and displacement of water is the ground-level equivalent of greenhouse gas emissions, and likely as great a cause of climate change.” Scenario two: “As the ecological crisis deepens so does the human crisis...the global water crisis has become a most powerful symbol of the growing inequality in our world.” Scenario three: “A powerful corporate water cartel has emerged to seize control of every aspect of water for its own profit.”

References to an ecological crisis, human crisis and global water crisis provide a cohesive rationale for heightened anxiety and fear over what seems to be a looming crisis. These disaster scenarios thrive on geographical extremes, providing a platform for threat discourse to capture public attention. The use of geographic images of scarcity and disaster are tools in the mobilization of public opinion over policies advocated by Barlow and the Council of Canadians. The perception of Canada's water abundance positioned in a world that is getting thirstier suggests that the securitization of water is required to protect the country's vulnerability.

In labeling water as a security issue, the need for, and right to treat water in extraordinary means, is advanced. Ole Wæver (2009) argues that successful securitization only happens when the relevant audience is sufficiently convinced by the argument about a particular threat, and this is demonstrated when it is deemed acceptable to violate rules, or suspend norms of behaviour. What makes this case particularly interesting, is that traditionally a security narrative is employed by the state, in relation to military issues, however in this case the narrative is being articulated by a public advocacy organization. It has been suggested that new actors (beyond the state) have been participating in the securitization of environmental issues (Wæver 2009). This thesis explores how the case of public advocacy over bulk water in Canada, is one such example.

What becomes clear in discourses referring to anxiety over water in Canada is that anxiety is also being linked to national security. Agents of public advocacy such as the Council of Canadians or the Canadian Union of Public Employees (hereby referred to as CUPE) have been the most vocal on concerns over bulk water exports, and the

communication produced on the topic suggests that threats to Canada's water are also threats to Canadian identity. Concerns over the threat to Canadian sovereignty stemming from potential bulk water exports have been framed as an existential threat to Canadian identity itself.

1.1 Thesis Overview

The primary function of this thesis is to examine the how national identity has been articulated in public advocacy discourses on bulk water exports; secondarily it explores how and why water has been a useful conduit for nationalist discourse in Canada.

Four political cartoons have been positioned throughout this thesis, their purpose is to provide a visual representation of how issues relating to bulk water exports and identity have been interpreted and illustrated in geopolitical discourses. Dodds (1996, 2006); Dittmer & Larsen (2007), have contributed to the field of popular geopolitics, which concerns itself with discerning messages from forms of popular discourses, such as editorial cartoons or television programming. The cartoons used in this thesis, illustrate how issues concerning Canadian politics, identity and water have been articulated in a variety of forms, and perpetuate particular understandings of geography.

This thesis is divided into three parts and seven chapters. The first section, *Navigating Waters*, establishes a context for this thesis first, in Chapter two, by exploring how bulk water has been conceptualized, and then in Chapter three, by providing a methodological overview.

Chapter two is divided into five sections, first outlining how water has been scaled, neoliberal trends related to water and then examining the definitional ambiguity of bulk water exports. The fourth section involves a historical overview of the issue, returning to the 1960's. This section explores a number of export proposals that have emerged across Canada. The final section of this chapter provides a policy review, exploring how some of the debates have evolved around NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), and water's legal position under the agreement.

Chapter three provides the justification for the selection of the Council of Canadians, CUPE and the Globe and Mail for discursive material in this study. It also traces the annual trends in discussions on bulk water exports from the period between January 1998-December 2008. Key issues defined by the Council of Canadians and CUPE over the ten-year period of analysis will be explored and discussions in the Globe and Mail will be studied, providing a comparison to the issues defined by the public advocacy organizations.

The second part of this thesis, *Theoretical Currents* outlines current discussions pertaining to social nature theory and critical geopolitics. Chapter four presents my theoretical framework by working with these bodies of theories and linking them to my analysis of bulk water exports. In addition, I present literature on Foucauldian discourse analysis, to illustrate the methods I employed in analyzing material by the Council of Canadians and CUPE.

The third part of this thesis, *Altered Reflections*, presents the analysis section of this thesis. Chapter five explores how nationalism has been evoked in discussions of nature and territory in discourse on bulk water exports. It will return to discussions of

neoliberalism and analyse how the issue has played out in the discourse on bulk water exports. Links between social nature and critical geopolitics will be made in regards to how nature has been implicated in discussions on bulk water exports, and how territorial imagery has served to provide particular conceptualizations of the issue.

Chapter six examines how national identity has been woven into these discourses on bulk water exports. Beginning with an introduction of theories pertaining to the construction of national identity, the study will explore the evocation of three frames being used to form Canadian national identity. In conducting a Foucauldian discourse analysis on the research selection, it is made clear that the Council of Canadians and CUPE draw on morality, sovereignty and vulnerability in communication on bulk water exports. The chapter will conclude by exploring how these frames have been used to construct a security narrative, which serves to conceptualize water as a national security issue.

Chapter seven will conclude this study, by addressing the implications of this research, and the ways in which it has opened up the theoretical terrain on social nature and critical geopolitics to suggest that the Canadian experience is one that is unique as it pertains to nationalism and water.

Canada has just over 6 percent of global annual renewable water supply. Despite this, rumours persist that it is water-rich.

(Bakker 2007, 22)

Figure 1 – Scaling Water Crisis

This graphic illustrates one of the varieties of ways in which nature is implicated in discussions of development. This graphic provides a sensational glance of the future of Canada. Water abundance and scarcity have been used for decades in the pursuit of particular policy directions. This graphic shows a world of drought and death, pointing to Canada as the last water hole. Discourse on bulk water exports has suggested that future drought and water shortages will lead countries (primarily the U.S.) to take water from Canada. As the passage below states, Canada's supply of renewable freshwater is more modest than often suggested or illustrated.

PART I – NAVIGATING WATERS

2.0 Conceptualizing Water

2.1 A Tsunami or a Wave? Scaling Water and Crisis

The longstanding debate over bulk water exports in Canada is often positioned within a global context of crisis and scarcity. Examining statistics on freshwater suggests that there are growing challenges which will be encountered in many parts of the world. The 21st Century has revealed numerous water related issues, some of which stem from physical scarcity, and others a result of mismanagement and poor governance strategies. Currently, 1.1 billion people lack access to adequate water sources, and 2.6 billion people lack access to adequate sanitation systems (UNESCO 2003, 9). It is estimated that by 2025, 3.5 billion people, or 48 percent of the world's projected population will live in water-stressed river basins (Revenga 2000). Challenges for access to adequate water supplies are being exacerbated due to pressures from demographic growth, urbanization, large-scale agriculture and climate change (de Villiers 2000).

These statistics illustrate the desperate conditions facing many of the world's most vulnerable populations. They are frequently employed to illustrate the global water crisis, and the worsening conditions that lie ahead. However, these impacts on freshwater systems have regional variation, and are not global in nature. To suggest that there is a global water crisis suspends geographical understanding and suggests that this water crisis is being shared by all around the globe. Conceptualizing a global water crisis provides a narrative which heightens the perceived requirement to protect Canadian water from outside threats.

David Harvey critiques the neo-Malthusian prognosis of resource scarcity, stating “[t]o say that scarcity resides in nature and that natural limits exist is to ignore how scarcity is socially produced and how ‘limits’ are a social relation within nature (including human society) rather than some externally imposed necessity” (Harvey 1996, 145). The significance of this can be seen in how scarcity becomes framed as a ‘natural’ phenomenon, ignoring the role people and governments have in interacting with resources. Water scarcity becomes a problem of nature, and the human role in manufacturing scarcity is ignored.

Jamie Linton (2006a) elaborates on this perspective,

Scarcity is an economic concept, *produced* in economic discourse rather than in nature. Postulated as a general condition in classical and neo-classical economics, it provides a rationale for the market as *the* means of allocating (scarce) resources efficiently and productively.

Linton (2004) explores how the concept of the “global water crisis” became popularized in the 1990’s through two prominent texts, Sandra Postel’s 1992 book the *Last Oasis: Facing Water Scarcity* and Peter Gleick’s 1993 book, *Water in Crisis: A Guide to the World’s Freshwater Resources*. He illustrates how the crisis was created in global scale through the production of quantitative data derived mainly from Soviet hydrological studies. In exploring how the “global water crisis” was constructed through these methods it becomes clear that the notion of a water crisis on a global scale is not some uncontested fact in reality, but rather something that has been created through very specific technical discourse.

In June 2008 the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change released their technical paper on Climate Change and Water stating, “(o)bservational records and climate projections provide abundant evidence that freshwater resources are vulnerable

and have the potential to be strongly impacted by climate change, with wide-ranging consequence for human societies and ecosystems” (Bates et al. 2008). The report details observed and projected changes in climate as they relate to water, examining the projected changes and impacts on different sectors such as; ecosystems and biodiversity; agriculture and food security; land use and forestry; human health; water supply and sanitation; settlements and infrastructure; economy: insurance, tourism, industry and transportation. (Refer to Appendix A, for a water stress map). The report predicts that it is with very high confidence that North America will encounter greater constraints as it relates to increasing competition among agriculture, industrial and ecological uses (Bates et al. 2008).

It is estimated that Canada has 6.5% of the world’s renewable water supply. Tied with Indonesia for third, Brazil and the Russian Federation have the first and second largest renewable water supplies. On a per capita basis, based on 2001 measurements, internal renewable water resources in Canada are 91,147 (cubic meters) (World Resources Institute, 2005). Interestingly, about 60% of Canada’s water flows north to Arctic regions, which are largely unavailable to most Canadians. Ninety percent of Canada’s population lives in southern regions, and these regions receive only 2.5% of the world supply of renewable water, much of which is being shared with the U.S. (Sprague 2007, 25-26). Based on these statistics, it is clear that while Canada shares a large quantity of renewable water, its biophysical properties result in the majority of the population living outside of the main source of renewable supply. Thus, it would not be surprising if the increasing competition referred to by the IPCC occurs not only between countries but also within countries.

With these forecasts in mind, it is important to note that while North America will experience the effects of global environmental change, it will be the world's most vulnerable that will be affected most significantly. Canadians are not so far removed from the global community, and the interactions of Canadians environmentally and economically have reverberations felt by those most vulnerable. The ethical dimensions relating to the uneven consequences of global economic action suggest room for environmental responsibility on the part of Canada.

How crisis is scaled and the geographical images used to navigate water have significant implications as it relates to policy formation. With perceived global threats to water, it is suggested that Canada must protect and secure its resources. Suggesting that Canada's water is scarce, and advancing a requirement to defend freshwater focuses attention on water's securitization at the expense of acknowledging Canada's role within the context of global environmental change and the impacts relating to water and the world's most vulnerable populations.

2.2 Neoliberal 'Cure'

Over the last two decades, water has become a central testing ground for the implementation of neoliberal policies, on national and international scales (Swyngedouw 2005, 83). Market mechanisms have been used to address the plethora of water related issues around the world, whether that is in the form of World Bank or International Monetary Fund programs in developing countries or an embrace of privatization in countries like Canada. Advocates of market mechanisms have identified the 'global water crisis' as the problem, and have advanced neoliberalism as a solution

to the world's problems. Exposing state-controlled aspects of the natural environment to market rationality and capital accumulation enacts neoliberal policies towards water (Castree 2008, 147).

Swyngedouw (2005, 84-86) explores how the urban water supply sector developed historically, broadly dividing transitions into four stages. The first stage is characterized by a highly stratified system of water provision, provided by small private companies on the basis of who was able to pay for the service. Up to the second half of the 19th century, water pipes were distributed according to who was paying for the service. The second stage, according to Swyngedouw, involved a period of municipalization, in which within the global North, a citywide water supply system evolved providing standardized coverage subsidized from general tax income. The third stage involved an increasing role of the state in either financing infrastructure projects, or nationalizing water provision. This took place after the First World War, when the state took a larger role in the public service provision of utility sectors. The fourth stage occurred in the 1970's when a global recession led to a major shift in the public/private interplay in the water sector. An expanding globalized economy called for greater competitiveness, and growing environmental problems were used as examples for the required shift to more market-oriented management. The evolution in the role of the market in water supply suggests the private sector has been given an increasing role in the provision of water.

The neoliberal 'cure' to water crisis is conceived through two narratives; the first depicts an apparent failure of public modes of social organization of production. In Canada, this has been used to argue that public ownership of water systems has failed,

and aging infrastructure is used as an example of this. The second entails “the unequivocal celebration of market forces and private ownership” (Swyngedouw 2005, 82-83). These narratives are used to produce ‘logic’ around neoliberal policies to nature, and normalize values associated with water. It is within this context that the privatization of water is made into something not only acceptable, but also desirable and necessary (Ibid).

Within the Canadian example, there have been growing attempts to privatize¹ water supply, but these have largely been met with strong opposition. Hamilton, Ontario, the first municipality in Canada to privatize water services, was not seen as a success story, with the city’s experiences with sewage spills and flooding.

Debates regarding bulk water exports can be conceptualized through two discursive structures.² The first discursive structure draws on neoliberalism as a cure, conceptualizing water’s value in terms of the potential profits delivered to corporations through selling bulk water. Peter Gleick (2002, 6) reflects upon the neoliberal market for water stating that Canadian waters have been proposed as sources for international

¹ In referencing privatization, Karen Bakker (2005, 544) notes, privatization “is often assumed to entail commercialization and commodification, to the extent that the terms are, at times, used interchangeably.” She clarifies processes of what she terms “resource reregulation,” observing three interrelated processes. She states:

[p]rivatization entails a change of ownership, or a handover of management, from the public to the private sector.

Commercialization entails changes in resource management practices that introduce commercial principles...methods...and objectives...

Commodification entails the creation of an economic good through the application of mechanisms intended to appropriate and standardize a class of goods or services, enabling these goods or services to be sold at a price determined through market exchange.

Karen Bakker further elaborates the difference of these three processes by stating that privatization entails organizational change, commercialization entails institutional change, and commodification entails the conversion of a resource into an economic good. (Ibid)

² Gordon Waitt (2005, 168) characterizes discursive structure as “unwritten conventions that operate to produce some kind of authoritative account of the world, be it the physical environment, an economic process or social difference.”

trade in bulk water. He goes on to argue that bulk water exports have been considered an issue in international trade negotiations and perceived to be a potential solution to water supply concerns globally. Former Québec Environment Minister Thomas Mulcair stated in 2004, “we have nothing to lose from an environmental perspective. If I can raise billions of dollars with water, without affecting the aquatic ecosystems, why, because of dogma, would I deprive us of the possibility of having an important economic activity” (Le Devoir 2004). In this debate the value of water is seen insofar that it provides economic growth and capital.

The second discursive structure associated with this debate stems from sources of resistance to neoliberalising nature. Narratives draw on the environmental consequences of bulk water removal. The potential damage to aquatic and terrestrial ecosystems, and furthermore, the human impacts of large-scale diversions are also cited for concern. There are also fears regarding the consequences for social inequality which may result. It has been argued that by allowing water to be traded as an export, access to water would be determined by one’s ability to pay which in turn would create greater disparity within populations (The Council of Canadians 2008d).

A final narrative used in much of the oppositional literature reveals the threat to national sovereignty that would result from water exportation. This reveals how Canadian water will become vulnerable to thirsty foreign investors, and concerns that foreign companies may be given the same national treatment, as defined under NAFTA, as Canadian companies.

Noel Castree (2008, 134) notes that neoliberalism is comprised of “different but often interconnected neoliberalisations in the plural that are organized at a variety of

spatial scales.” Neoliberalism is not a monolithic project, and its manifestation in different contexts, and forms has been effectively argued by Hardt & Negri in the book *Empire*. The opposition launched against the use of market mechanisms in the case of water in Canada has largely manifested as an overall objection to a variety of neoliberalisations. The critiques over privatizing wastewater services have drawn on similar narratives as criticisms regarding the commodification of water. Public advocacy over water in Canada has been largely framed in terms of the opposition to a neoliberal ‘cure.’

However, to clump all water issues under the same umbrella has a homogenizing affect, which can result in misinterpretation. The privatization of water services and the potential for bulk water exports are two related but separate issues, with varying degrees of immediacy. That they are different should not be overlooked, for they warrant very different policy prescriptions. Neoliberal trends in Canada are being experienced in the privatization of municipal water services and bottled water; and they are *not* being manifested in the form of bulk water exports. While framing these issues in the same way may be viewed as a strong communications strategy, it does so at the expense of understanding significant differences between the two. Continued neoliberal processes towards water are being enacted in certain forms, yet the focus of the perceived threat of bulk water exports continues to shape the debate.

2.3 Who Put the Bulk in *Water Exports*?

The terms bulk water exports, water exports, water diversions and large-scale exportation have been used interchangeably throughout history, however while water

exportation has been in the political vocabulary since at least the 1960's, the first mention of "bulk" water exports took place in the late 1980's. One of the first references recorded in the media dates back to August 23, 1988 in the Financial Post.

Western Canada Water has proposed sending the city of Santa Barbara water shipped by tanker from a glacier-fed lake in British Columbia. "I hope there's a contract this fall, with delivery next year," company President Margaret Annett told Reuters, saying that her company should be Canada's first bulk water-exporter. (Reuters, 1988)

This corresponds with the tabling of Bill C-156, known as the *Canada Water Preservation Act*. Had this bill been enacted into law, it would have been binding legislation that prohibited, without exception, the export from Canada of large-scale freshwater exports, including inter basin transfers and would have strictly regulated small-scale exports, through tanker or pipeline. However the bill died on the Order Paper in October 1988, when Parliament was dissolved on the call of an election and no government has picked up this bill subsequently. (Johansen, 2001)

Since then, the term "bulk water exports" has been used loosely by the media, NGO's and government. However, what exactly constitutes 'bulk water exports'? Interestingly, there is no concrete definition of bulk water exports, and there remains no agreed upon definition of what exactly constitutes bulk volume. Its very terminology remains ambiguous.

Environment Canada (2008) does not use the term "bulk water export" but rather defines bulk water *removal* as the large-scale removal and transfer of water out of its basin of origin by man-made (sic) diversions (e.g., canals, tanker ships, trucks, and pipelines). The federal government indicates that small portable containers such as 20 litre bottle exports are a limit for water exportation, thus making it conceivable to export water in bottled form. Further to that, Environment Canada indicates that water export

specifically refers to taking water and shipping it to other countries. They indicate that this could take the form of river diversions, and canals.

The rationale provided by the Government of Canada for using the term “bulk water removal” is that its main concerns are the ecological, social and economic impacts resulting from removing water in bulk from its natural drainage basin, whether that be for destinations within or outside of Canada. They state that their strategy prevents bulk removal of water from major watersheds, for whatever purpose (Environment Canada, 2008). Frédéric Lassere (2007, 158) expands on this stating:

At the federal level, forbidding inter-basin transfers on environmental grounds was tantamount to forbidding water exports to the United States without formulating the policy in terms that could be sued under NAFTA provisions. This seemed like an attractive strategy: laws forbidding interbasin transfers could be passed, with an ostensible justification of environmental protection, rather than being written as trade legislation explicitly banning water exports.

Bulk water exports are often used to refer to water diversion, and large-scale exportation. However, some have argued that water diversion should be viewed in a separate category to water export. Dore and Heinmiller (2008, 84) have argued that distinction has been made between bulk water exports, which involve the transfer of water in large-vessels, such as ocean tankers, and water diversion, which involves diverting large quantities of water through canals or pipelines. They suggest that diversions are more threatening in Canada than bulk water exports because they are capable of transferring larger quantities of water and already a number of diversion structures exist.

That the meaning of bulk water exports lacks definitional clarity provides the term and those employing the term with freedom and power to use it in a variety of ways. It has been argued (Boyd, 2003) that bulk water exports are in fact occurring; by

those who interpret bottled water transport as constituting bulk volume and others that argue it is unlikely that bulk diversions will ever be implemented (Lasserre 2007).

Its very ambiguity enables actors invoking it to do so in a manner that suits their particular interests, providing them with control over the terms meaning. The terms meaning as employed in this thesis is concerned with the evolution of meaning assigned to 'bulk water exports' by public advocacy organizations in Canada. Their significant role in the developing campaigns opposing bulk water exports provides an abundance of material to explore how meaning has been controlled around the term.

The naming of water in terms of bulk water exports can be seen in a broader shift in how elements of nature have been labeled and quantified in the 20th Century. Jamie Linton (2006) explores the history of waters abstraction as a *resource*. He argues that through scientific, economic and political discourses water became labeled a resource for the sake of "conservation" to become something that was *naturally* suited for human use.

The label 'bulk water exports' has been a term drawn on in public discourses in expressing concern over Canadian water sovereignty and less so, ecological integrity. However, the fear over water in Canada has been mobilized in terms of the potential exportation of water from tankers and ships- something not yet happening, rather than the diversion of water for purposes of hydropower, something that is happening, and with far worse ecological consequences. Associating bulk water exports with ocean tankers and vessels has rendered the bulk water diversions occurring in pipeline form invisible.

Canada is one of the largest diverters of water in the world. Volumes of water diverted from one river basin to another exceed 3,500 cubic meters per second. (Refer to Appendix B for maps of the major bulk water diversions in Canada). However, in Canada, water diversions across political boundaries are rare, and most take place within provinces. (Refer to Appendix C for table of major existing large-scale water transfer schemes) Regardless, with the scale of diversions occurring in Canada, it has been argued that Canadian resistance to water exports is made less defensible (Lasserre 2007, 143-151).

2.4 Turning Water into Liquid Gold?

While the term ‘bulk water exports’ may not have a concrete definition, its concept has been in the Canadian political vocabulary since the early 1960’s. It was during that decade that a flurry of schemes from the private sector suggesting that Canada’s water resources were “continental” rather than “Canadian” sparked a number of hearings in the U.S. Congress in 1964 and in Canada’s Parliament in 1960 and 1965 (Quinn 2007, 6).

A wave of political activity was prompted in the U.S. during this period when two books forecasting water scarcity were published. *The Water Crisis* written by U.S. Senator Frank Moss of Utah and *The Coming Water Famine* written by U.S. Congressman Jim Wright captured U.S. fears over an inevitable water shortage. Governor Ronald Reagan of California indicated a desire to talk to anyone who might have a water surplus about possible diversions to the U.S. (Bocking 1972, 1). Many eyes looked North to a country vastly perceived to be water abundant.

The 1960's brought forth two prominent water diversion plans, NAWAPA (North American Water and Power Alliance) and GRAND (Great Recycling and Northern Development). NAWAPA was a plan to flood the Rocky Mountain Trench and divert 310 million dam³/year of water southward to the U.S. (Pearse et al. 1985, 127). GRAND was a proposal to dam James Bay and turn it into a fresh water reservoir with an annual diversion to the Great Lakes Basin of 347 million dam³/year (Ibid). Both projects have been a political nonstarter in Canada although the GRAND Canal was picked up again in 1985 by Prime Minister Mulroney and Quebec premier Bourassa, and also in 2000 by Canadian engineer Tom Kierans. No attempts have been successful, the huge environmental impacts and the projects price tag are partial reasons for the projects political unpopularity (Lasserre 2007, 151).

By the late 1970's and early 1980's the issue of water exportation seemed to have come to an impasse, and concerns over acid rain had trumped in agenda setting within Canadian politics (Foster & Sewell 1981, ix). However, by the 1990's the issue had gained elevated status once again. In 1991 a Canadian company, Snowcap Waters Ltd., and its American partner, Sun Belt Water Inc., developed a proposal to export water from British Columbia to California. The BC government granted the license, but once inundated by public opposition, the provincial government quickly revoked the license in a moratorium. Both Snowcap and Sun Belt sued the provincial government, and while the Canadian company came to an agreement, Sun Belt did not. In 1998 the American company filed a NAFTA claim for \$15.75 billion in damages, and the proceedings of that case are currently unknown (Boyd 2003, 56).

Two more proposals emerged in 1998, one involving the province of Ontario and the other, Newfoundland. The Ontario Ministry of the Environment granted a permit to a local company, Nova Group, to remove 10 million litres of water a day for up to 60 days a year from Lake Superior for shipment to Asia. Neither the Canadian nor the U.S. government had been consulted about the proposal, and due to much opposition Ontario cancelled the permit (Quinn 2007, 10). It was in Newfoundland that the McCurdy group created a proposal to export 50 to 100 billion litres a year from Gisborne Lake to the Middle East. Also due to intense public opposition, the proposal was soon dropped (Boyd 2003, 57).

Legislative attempts by the Government of Canada to address public concerns over bulk water exports have been made, although many argue that these have been piecemeal and rely on voluntary measures by the provinces (Boyd 2003, Shrybman 1999). The 1987 Federal Water Policy states that the federal government will take all possible measures “within the limits of its constitutional authority to prohibit the export of Canadian water by inter-basin diversion” (Environment Canada 1987). Following this the *Canada Water Preservation Act* was developed in 1988, however it died on the order paper, and has not been resurrected by subsequent governments (Boyd 2003, 57). In 1999, the federal government announced a strategy to prohibit bulk water removals from major drainage basins in Canada, which included the introduction of amendments to the International Boundary Waters Treaty Act (IBWTA), which was voted upon in 2002 as Bill C-6. The act emended the IBWTA to ban bulk water removals from the boundary water basins if they are of a volume greater than fifty cubic metres per day (Lasserre 2007, 157-158).

Despite these legislative attempts to address bulk water exports by the government of Canada, the Canadian public is still playing a significant role in opposing proposals to export freshwater. Further, these lengths made by the government have yet to ease concerns relating to Canada's water sovereignty by some public activists.

2.5 The legal status of *H₂O*

Concerns over the status of water in international trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organizations Agreements (WTO) have been the focus of many legal reviews relating to bulk water exports. The three questions most frequently raised are as follows:

Whether these trade agreements apply to water;
Whether allowing the removal and export of *some* water creates a precedent, compelling Canada or a province to allow the removal and export of *all* water and;
the relationship between bulk water removal and chapter 11 (investment) of the NAFTA (Johansen 2001, 4).

Currently, legal perspectives regarding whether NAFTA prevents Canada from banning bulk water exports vary considerably. The government of Canada argues that, "NAFTA does not apply to Canadian water (except bottled water) because water in its natural state is not a good" (Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade 1999). However there are many opinions that argue that a ban on bulk water exports would be too broad to meet the criteria for necessary exemption. So long as water is considered a "good" under GATT, it is a product under which trade laws apply. The GATT tariff item for water is the following:

22.01 waters, including natural or artificial waters and aerated waters, not containing added sugar or other sweetening matter nor flavouring; ice and snow.

The explanatory note provided by GATT states that it covers “ordinary natural water of all kinds (other than sea water). Such water remains in this heading whether or not it is clarified or purified.” Strong legal opinion has forecasted that it is highly likely that water will be treated as a good under NAFTA, even when it is in its natural state. (Appleton 1994, 201; Shrybman 1999a; Boyd 2003, 60).

If water is in fact treated as a good under NAFTA, then GATT Article XI outlines how trade obligations would prevent Canada from prohibiting the exportation of bulk water.

(1) No prohibitions or restrictions other than duties, taxes or other charges, whether made effective through quotas, import or export licences or other measures, shall be instituted or maintained by any contracting party on the importation of any product of the territory of any other contracting party or on the exportation or sale for export of any product destined for the territory of any other contracting party (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1966 in Shrybman 1999).

Unless, bulk water exports fell under the exemption category, its prohibition would act counter to this article and could be challenged as protectionism.

The second question examines whether Canada would be able to “turn off the tap” once it has been turned on- would the floodgates be opened if one bulk water export project were to be allowed? The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade maintains (from their view that water in its natural state is not a good), that the extraction of some water into a good, for export, would *not* mean that the Government would have to allow the extraction of other water into a good for the future (Johansen 2001). Others contend that NAFTA’s proportionality provision; Article 315 would be a potential outcome if a single case of bulk water export were to occur. The provision ensures that once Canada begins exporting water, it would not be possible to reduce exports, unless domestic consumption is also decreased proportionally (Pentland &

Hurley 2007, 173). The legal perspectives vary over the proportionality provision, and the judgments' are dependent upon the position of water under NAFTA.

The third question examines the relationship between bulk water exports and chapter 11 (investment) of the NAFTA. There are two articles most frequently cited; Article 1102, pertaining to national treatment for corporations and Article 1110 referring to the payment of compensation in cases of expropriation. (Johansen 2001)

Article 1102 states,

Each Party shall accord to investors of another Party treatment no less favourable than that it accords, in like circumstances, to its own investors (North American Free Trade Agreement 1992 in Johansen 2001).

There are two ways this article has been interpreted, the first being that if all corporations (Canadian, American and Mexican) were prohibited from exporting water, treatment would be equal and admissible under NAFTA; the second suggests that corporations in need of water could claim the right to Canadian water due to "equal treatment" (Pentland & Hurley 2007, 172). Article 1110, states that:

no Party to the agreement may directly or indirectly nationalize or expropriate an investment of an investor of another Party, or take measures tantamount to expropriation, unless it meets certain criteria, including the payment of compensation (North American Free Trade Agreement, 1992 in Johansen 2001).

This article challenges the role of the Canadian government insofar as it permits foreign investors to bring cases forward for binding international arbitration, usurping the Canadian legal system. The case with Sun Belt is one such instance in which this Chapter was been used in a case of bulk water exports (Pentland & Hurley 2007, 173). The outcome of this case remains to be seen, but the government of Canada has argued that Sun Belt Corporation has not satisfied the prerequisites for triggering the arbitral process (Johansen 2001).

Perhaps most notable in the legal reviews of water in NAFTA, are the diverging interpretations and lack of clarity. Due to ambiguous terminology applied in GATT and NAFTA, there have been many different interpretations. The legal implications of prohibiting bulk water exports cannot be confirmed until such a case arises, upon which time the control will be in the hands of a NAFTA tribunal.

The Government of Canada has attempted to ease concerns about bulk water exports in three particular ways. First they point to a joint statement made between the governments of Canada, Mexico and the United States in 1993 saying that NAFTA creates no rights to the natural water resources of a trading partner. Second, they refer to Bill C-6, which was an amendment to the International Boundary Waters Treaty to prohibit bulk water removal out of boundary waters. Third, they pushed provinces to pass legislation to ban bulk water exports (Nikiforuk 2007, 4).

The strength of these measures has been put to question, and it has been argued that the joint statement lacks legal force; the amendment to the International Boundary Waters Treaty only refers to boundary waters, which has been considered a weakness and further, the provincial legislation is voluntary (PRI 2007).

Harold Foster and Derrick Sewell (1981, 86) point to three obstacles hindering the development of a Canadian federal water policy. First there is uncertainty and conflict stemming from disagreement over jurisdictional confusion between federal and provincial responsibilities for water management. The second issue they argue is the unwillingness of the federal government to take a leadership role in the design of water policy. Finally, they point to reluctance by the government to engage the U.S. in forceful negotiations. Written in 1981, these three obstacles continue to be key

arguments evoked in studies produced on Canadian water issues over twenty-five years later.

The criticism launched at the government regarding U.S. negotiations has also been picked up more recently by Karen Bakker (2007, 8-11) who stresses the requirement for Canada to be prepared to deal with greater pressure as a result of increasing unilateralism on the part of the United States. However, with the emergence of the Obama administration, there are indications that might suggest a shift from the unilateralism associated with the Bush administration.

In examining the events of the last 40 years, Frank Quinn (2007, 1) argues contrary to certain ominous predictions, stating that the U.S. has a number of policy options to address its water issues over the next few decades before turning to Canada. While this is no reason to be passive regarding water governance, it does suggest a number of alternatives available to the U.S., which arguably may reduce the perceived immediacy of the threat. Some argue that legislation by Parliament is required to prohibit large-scale water export in order to shelve the issue which has been distracting Canadians from getting on with the job of effectively managing water resources (Day & Quinn 1992, xix).

A brief examination of the historical and policy context of bulk water exports in Canada illustrates much ambiguity. The term itself has not been defined in any quantifiable manner and the status of water under NAFTA remains uncertain. These debates have continued for decades, and still there remains a lack of clarity over the 'threat' of bulk water exports. While the government of Canada continues to argue that bulk water exportation is exempt from NAFTA, they have not been able to silence the

protest of those arguing otherwise. What can be noted from contextual analysis is that for decades the Canadian public has held the issue in high regard. Looking at the historical attempts to export water from Canada, one variable has remained the same, that being the significant roles Canadians have had in opposing bulk water exports.

Figure 2 – Tapping Canadian Water

This graphic is a well-crafted portrayal of the bulk water export issue as elaborated by public advocacy organizations. Former Minister for International Trade, John Crosbie is present, slumped over, finger pointing and indicating that “our water is not for sale.” The Great Lakes Basin is conceptualized as being Canadian water despite the fact that it is a shared basin. A sneaky, evil looking Uncle Sam takes water from a giant tap attached to Lake Michigan stating “who said anything about buying?” Implied in this graphic is what the U.S. wants the U.S. will get. Canadian sovereignty is being threatened, and the tap is going to run Canada dry to satisfy a perceived U.S. thirst.

3.0 Chronicling the Passage

3.1 Steering the Ship: The Council of Canadians and CUPE

The selection for this research project began with a comprehensive search to identify national public advocacy organizations in Canada that had taken a leading role in communicating on the topic of bulk water exports. By conducting a preliminary search of the topic “bulk water exports” and “water exports” within the online search engines in a number of Canada’s national public advocacy organizations, it became clear that there were two organizations in Canada that had produced the largest quantity of communication on the topic. The Council of Canadians, and CUPE were identified as having taken a leadership role over the issue.

The research was selected from all electronic content on bulk water exports produced by these organizations from January 1998 to December 2008. The motivation for this chronology is that a particular set of oppositional ideas to water export in Canada emerged during this time period. Specifically, discourses linked to a growing critique of globalization and neoliberalism. This thesis can therefore explore how the growing opposition to neoliberalism in Canada played out in the field of bulk water exports. That this thesis explores a ten-year period, it does not seek to suggest historical accuracy, but rather provide a contemporary investigation of the issue.

The history of opposition to bulk water exports reveals a variety of discursive structures used to frame the issue. The late 1960’s reflect a period when burgeoning national pride and growing anti-American sentiment associated with opposition to the Vietnam war emerged in Canada. The early 1970’s reveal how concerns over bulk water exports were framed in terms of discussions relating to Canada’s history of staple

exports. Discussions of Canadian identity were rooted in explorations of resource nationalism (Bocking, 1972). In the 1980's the issue was discussed in the terms of the Canada U.S. Free Trade Agreement. The tabling of the Canada Water Preservation Act, and the development of a Federal Water policy led to increased discussions of bulk water exports in terms of strategizing water governance in Canada. Wendy Holm's book *Water and Free Trade: The Mulroney Government's Agenda for Canada's Most Precious Resource* was published in 1988, followed by another influential book by J.C. Day and Frank Quinn, *Water Diversion and Export: Learning from Canadian Experience*. Both of these texts became prominently featured, contributing much debate over the issue in the late 1980's and early 1990's.

A surge of discussion on bulk water exports during the late 1990's can be seen in terms of its correspondence with the height of the anti-globalization movement. The Council of Canadians and CUPE were both strong opponents of the 1998 Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), and the mobilization against the MAI gained force with the 1999 World Trade Organization Ministerial Conference in Seattle Washington. Both organizations worked on campaigns across Canada opposing the WTO and sent activists to the "battle of Seattle," a highly publicized protest surrounding the WTO Ministerial Conference of 1999, in Seattle, Washington. The Council of Canadians and CUPE gained support from Canadians involved in the anti-globalization movement. With these organizations at the forefront of the increasingly popular anti-globalization movement, it stands to reason that this period would be a suitable time to advocate on behalf of issues pertaining to water sovereignty and the rejection of increasing privatization. With the heightened activity surrounding opposition to neoliberalism and

concerns over water in Canada, this period is viewed as a very interesting and active starting point for the collection of discourse on bulk water exports.

Research material was collected over a ten-year period, to provide an adequate amount of time to explore shifts in frames and narratives by these organizations. How broader political changes echoed into the discourses produced by the Council of Canadian and CUPE, could be interpreted over a ten-year period. This thesis involved a comprehensive analysis of *all* material relating to bulk water exports by these two organizations over this ten-year period. As such, methodological concerns over selectivity have been avoided in this analysis. The emphasis on recent history provides a contemporary analysis to contribute to some of the past studies exploring bulk water exports (Bocking 1972; Foster & Sewell 1981; Pearse et al. 1985). In addition, it provides a recent geopolitical analysis of a topic, not heavily explored in such terms. Having explored the history of bulk water exports, and the recent policy shifts, this thesis will explore how recent politics have fused with the production of discourse on the bulk water exports.

The selection of these two public advocacy organizations was strategic, and motivated by three factors. First, was simply that they have produced the largest quantity of discourse on the issue of bulk water exports from public advocacy organizations. Outside of the news media, these organizations have been the most vocal on the topic, and have produced a plethora of material. The abundance of discourse is viewed favorably as it provides a large display of arguments on bulk water exports and assists in conducting a thorough research design.

Second, these two organizations share a similar scope, in that their intended audiences are national. Therefore the intended reach of their material would be that of a broader public. The selection of the issues by these two organizations would also be national, and so communication cited over bulk water exports would largely concern national rather than local scale issues. These organizations advocate on national issues, which provides a source of consistency in this research selection.

A third factor that influenced the selection of these two organizations was that both organizations work inside a similar discourse coalition.³ They share the common narrative of opposition to neoliberalism and are critical opponents to trends in privatizations and commodification of resources. These organizations enact oppositional discourse towards bulk water exports, conceptualizing the issue primarily in terms of its position within broader neoliberal trends.

That these organizations have taken a leading role in the production of communication on the topic by the public advocacy sector and that they draw on similar frames provides an ideal beginning for the analysis of how national identity is being woven in the discussions of bulk water exports. Sydney Tarrow (1994, 122) defines frames as

cognitive understandings...that relate to how social movements construct meaning...Social movements are deeply involved in “naming” grievances, connecting them to other grievances, and constructing larger frames of meaning that will resonate with a population’s cultural predispositions and communicate a uniform message to powerholders and others.

³ Maarten Hajer (2007) defines a discourse coalition as “a group of actors that, in the context of an identifiable set of practices, shares the usage of a particular set of story-lines over a particular period of time.” A story-line describes the “common adoption of narrative through which elements from different domains are combined to provide actors with symbolic references that suggest a common understanding.” (Ibid) Actors invoking particular story-lines may not have any knowledge of one another, their objectives could be completely different but they are tied together in the production of certain narratives. What should be added to this concept is the notion that at times different discourse coalitions may borrow story-lines from one another, twisting to fit their own narrative in a struggle to gain discursive hegemony.

The Council of Canadians and the CUPE frequently referenced the following frames:

- Neoliberalism
- Water scarcity/abundance
- Sovereignty

These were plugged into the majority of media releases, and thus were used to guide the discourse analysis

Examining how these organizations refer to themselves and their organizational vision brings light to why these frames have been featured so prominently in their discourse. The Council of Canadians was founded in 1985, and they define themselves as Canada's largest citizens' organization. The organization states that it was prompted to form due to concerns over policies enacted by Brian Mulroney, namely, free trade with the U.S. and the potential for erosion of cultural sovereignty (The Council of Canadians 2008a). With members and chapters existing across the country, the organization states one of its visions is "to help Canadians define ourselves and our understanding of sovereignty and democracy in relation to the rest of the world in an era of increased U.S.-Canada tensions and increased pressure for deeper continental integration" (The Council of Canadians 2008b). The maintenance of sovereignty has been listed as a priority to the organization, and clear nationalistic sentiment is voiced. The Council considers itself "a government and corporate watchdog" offering a critical voice on key national issues and seeking to build a stronger civil society.

The organization has identified three distinct phases in its vision statement in which particular objectives were forged. The first occurred between 1985-1993, entitled "national sovereignty" whereby Canada "[l]iving next to the biggest superpower in the world...rejected the American narrative of 'survival of the fittest' and instead built a

nation-state forged on the Canadian narrative of ‘sharing the survival’” (The Council of Canadians 2008c). Their mandate involved supporting universal social programs, ensuring Canada’s independence in foreign policy, and promoting peacekeeping.

The second phase occurred between 1994-2001. The Council of Canadians define this period as ‘popular sovereignty’ which they state is “democracy for all the peoples of the planet.” During this phase, the organization argues that the government of Canada had become part of the problem by supporting the ‘Washington Consensus’ around the world. Their focus then became to support global civil society movements, in a campaign against the WTO, GATS and FTAA (The Council of Canadians 2008c).

The current phase is from the period between 2001-2010, entitled ‘global social justice.’ The Council of Canadians point to the unilateral direction taken by the Bush administration after 9/11. They state that the question of “the border” has arisen once more and “there is some pressure for us to return to our nationalist ‘roots’ and launch a campaign to stop the threat of Americanization of Canada and defend the sovereignty of our country before it is too late” (The Council of Canadians 2008c).

CUPE is Canada’s largest union, with approximately 570,000 members across Canada. Founded in 1963, the Union represents workers in education, healthcare, social services, transportation and public utilities (CUPE 2008a). CUPE indicates that “dynamism, strength and militancy describe their mission, and a key focus of their activities has been the organization of members to protect vulnerable workers through the defense of worker rights, collective agreements and services” (CUPE 2008b). CUPE’s use of militant language can be found in its declaration of “war on privatization.” They indicate that their targets “range from private hospitals in Alberta,

to privatization of social housing in Newfoundland; from public-private partnerships in Nova Scotia schools and in British Columbia, to selling off control of water in Ontario and country-wide; from private toll roads in New Brunswick, to the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), a trade agreement which would have created conditions for the wholesale privatization of all public services” (CUPE 2008b).

The union has been collectively working together to fight against a plethora of private forces. While their focus is on the protection of workers’ rights through union mechanisms, their campaign has been against privatization. The union points to the effects of globalization on wages and job security, and the increasing divide between rich and poor as an indication for the requirement to have collective action. They further state that there is no struggle more important than the fight to save public services and jobs (CUPE 2008b).

It should be noted, that categorizing CUPE as a public advocacy organization is a decision made for the sake of expediency. A more appropriate terminology might be to call it an agent of public advocacy, since its primary objective is that of a union serving the collective rights of workers. However it is clear that CUPE engages broadly as a public advocacy organization. This differentiates CUPE from the Council of Canadians, whose primary objective is that of public advocacy.

These two organizations describe their motivations to be linked to improving the livelihoods of Canadians, whether that is through the protection of sovereignty, or the public ownership of services. An ideal vision of Canada is articulated by both of these organizations, and their mission is to help Canadians demand a better future. Although the focus may be different, the path is similar, insofar as they mobilize people to

advocate on their selected campaigns. These organizations paint a picture of Canadians as having nationalistic roots, concerned with global justice, public healthcare services and the preservation of the environment. Given these articulations of the nature of Canada and its people, the Council of Canadians and CUPE provide relevant discourse for the study of national identity.

These two organizations have been some of the leaders in the production of discourse on water exports in Canada. Both organizations have sought to promote the citizen's social, political and economic rights by calling into question the neoliberal agenda, particularly in regard to the push for privatization. While their methods are different, and their strategies have not been the same, there is a nationalistic element which characterizes parts of this discourse coalition. The rhetoric envisions the issue such that "our" water must be protected from corporate and/or foreign control. The dichotomous understandings are useful in simplifying the issue in terms of a certain nationalistic visions of self-preservation.

3.2 Charting the Course – Discourse Selection

Data was collected from The Council of Canadians and CUPE through a search of their online media archives, and search engine. All media releases and material on the topic of bulk water exports from the period of January 1998-December 2008 were selected for the analysis, providing a collection from the Council of Canadians of (n=62), and CUPE (n=42). The key terms used for selection were "bulk water exports" or "water exports." As noted previously, this thesis is seeking to analyze how these two organizations are producing knowledge on the topic of bulk water exports. The variety

of ways the term has been used, and the ambiguity revolving around it's meaning, makes it an interesting topic to study discursively. Other material posted on the website was studied, such as the background information on the campaign and materials being delivered to the public. This was to provide context on the organization, and the manner by which the issue was being framed to the broader public via their website. The total collection size from these organizations (n=104) provided an acceptable amount of material through which this study could be conducted and strong conclusions could be drawn.

In addition, the archives of the Globe and Mail were studied, using proQuest online database, The Globe and Mail: Canada's Heritage from 1844. The material was selected from the "News" section, and the page content studied included the following:

- Edition Front Page
- Business
- News
- Opinions/Editorials

The phrase "bulk water exports" was used in the search, and the earliest reference to the term within the Globe and Mail dates to 1988. The collection period from 1998-2008 produced (n=36). A graphic analysis (Figure 3) was conducted to compare the frequency of material on bulk water exports between the Globe and Mail, the Council of Canadians and CUPE. These were employed to present a chronological breakdown of reporting on bulk water exports from the period of 1998-2008, which is used to provide context to the discourse analysis. The total research collection was n=140.

While the Globe and Mail is commonly referred to as Canada's national newspaper, it may be argued that the National Post is also Canada's national newspaper, and so it is for the following reasons that Globe and Mail was selected for this research.

First, the Globe and Mail was launched in 1844 and was considered Canada's only "national" newspaper until 1998. Its history, and experience writing on a broad range of topics in Canada is an asset for the debate over bulk water exports. Some of the Globe and Mail journalists have a history writing about the bulk water exports, and this insight proves valuable insofar as the knowledge of the broader historical issues is sometimes incorporated in their accounting. The history of writing on a diversity of issues, and incorporating a number of diverse perspectives is also considered valuable for this research.

The Globe and Mail has attempted to maintain an "intellectual" focus in its coverage, (as opposed to the National Post, which when it emerged in 1998, sought to establish itself as superior in design and presentation, incorporating colour, photos and graphics) (Cobb, 2004). The National Post built itself upon the perceived deficiencies of the Globe and Mail. Conrad Black's team critiqued the Globe stating its "use of news photography was unimaginative, and the lack of sports coverage peculiar, especially for a newspaper designed to appeal to the business community where sports and stocks are common languages" (Cobb 2004, 26).

Michael Cooke, who was a founding editor of the National Post states, "We knew that we were working for Conrad, so we were able to try to see the news as he might see it. He isn't afraid of sex, which Canadian newspapers certainly were, and he isn't afraid of a front-page picture of a nice-looking tennis star bending over" (Cobb 2004, 11). The National Post, sought to establish itself as modern, appealing, and easy to read.

Kenneth Whyte who became editor-of-chief of the National Post in 1998 states, “[t]he Globe, at that time, considered being a national newspaper meant paying strong attention to national institutions- the Supreme Court, House of Commons, the National Ballet, National Film Board and the CBC. We were going to try to escape from that. And we wanted a well-defined small-c conservative point of view” (Cobb 2004, 13-14).

The ways in which the National Post sought to establish itself as different and unique from the Globe and Mail, do not have any significant impacts on the discussion of bulk water exports. The National Post was launched at the same time of the beginning of this discourse analysis-1998. The focus of the newspaper was in fixing the perceived weaknesses of the Globe, providing an increased conservative perspective, and attracting a readership amongst the Canadian public. For the sake of conducting a discourse analysis on bulk water exports, there is no added value in selecting the National Post during this transitory period. Had the purpose of this thesis been to explore the alternative political coverage of bulk water exports during the period, than an incorporation of the National Post would have been insightful. That could be an interesting analysis for a further study.

Broader political debates regarding sovereignty, territory, and trade are examined within the sections defined above. The dialogue between the editor, editorial board or publisher and the opposing views of the Canadian public are studied with a goal to analyze some of views and values being held regarding the changing political climate and its influence on framing of bulk water exports. Furthermore this section links the analysis of neoliberal policies on nature by contextualizing the reactions to broader political movements and their potential influence on perceptions of bulk water

exports. The goal is, therefore, to first identify discursive tropes within the samples by the Council of Canadians and CUPE. This is the primary focus of this analysis; however after analyzing how notions of Canadian identity are being woven within the discourse, the secondary step is to look at its relationship to political discussions being made in the broader national media.

3.3 The Annals of Bulk Water: Trends and Content

What follows is a brief chronological overview of the discourses on bulk water exports by the Council of Canadians and CUPE over the ten-year sample period. The purpose of this section is to provide a context for the analysis and outline the areas of focus by these public advocacy organizations. It seeks to outline patterns in coverage by both organizations on an annual scale. Following this, the *Globe and Mail* is reviewed to provide a comparison in coverage to both public advocacy organizations. The intent is to briefly explore the main similarities and differences in subject matter and quantity over the sample period. Further, how these differences in coverage link to broader political changes will be touched upon.

Over the ten-year sample period, the coverage of bulk water exports by the Council of Canadians and CUPE followed similar patterns with periods of high coverage, and others with very little. The trends of coverage over bulk water exports could be linked to the issue attention cycle model, which suggests that environmental issues become salient through citizen pressure. It is argued that as the public demands action on a particular environmental issue, their dialogue and applied pressure on the government can influence policy prioritization. Thus, public opinion can shape both the

course of government action, and so can the organizations, which advocate on behalf of citizens (McKenzie, 2002). High coverage can suggest saliency of the issue, and further that the communication resonated at some level resulting in its demand.

There exist two periods of high coverage by both the Council of Canadians and CUPE, the first spike occurring between 1999-2001. The year 1999 is tied with highest year of production by both organizations, whereby both produced a total of sixteen pieces of communication. The Council of Canadians focuses primarily on the lack of federal action regarding water legislation, referring mostly to the corporate pressures seeking to commodify water. NAFTA is also targeted during this period, as a threat to Canada's water sovereignty. CUPE also references government inaction, but focuses on fear over European multinationals controlling Canadian water. Both organizations situate their communication within the context of global water scarcity.

The year 2000 continued with much of the same subject matter; primarily the continued threat to Canadian sovereignty, and a demand to renegotiate NAFTA. CUPE's focus remains on the threat of multinational corporations undermining public control of water. In 2001 coverage increased, partially as a result of the Great Lakes states agreeing to an amendment to the Great Lakes Charter, and also as a result of concerns over Newfoundland's proposal to export water from Gisborne Lake. The Council of Canadians focus on pressure by former President Bush to negotiate a continental water agreement, and suggest that Canada's water is positioned as under threat by the U.S. and corporate forces. Meanwhile, CUPE focuses on weaknesses of NAFTA, and suggests that Gisborne Lake will open the floodgates to future exportation of Canada's water.

The period between 2002-2005 marked a drop in coverage by both organizations, most particularly CUPE. The focus in 2002 is concerned with international trends of water privatization and corporatization. In 2003 coverage is directed at the Tay river tribunal, and the one-year moratorium on permits to export water in Ontario. In 2004, the Council of Canadians produces six pieces of communication focusing mainly on the Great Lakes Annex. The organization criticizes the Annex for neglecting to address water diversions between shared waters. The year 2005 was a low period in the production of communication, the focus of the organization was related to threats to Canadian sovereignty, specifically by the Great Lakes Annex and Devils Lake. CUPE focused primarily on the commercialization of water, concerns over public private partnerships (P3's) and the defence for public ownership of water facilities. Amin (2006, 221) observes that during this period:

...Canadian criticism was heavily influenced by the broader geopolitical climate as well. Anti-Americanism was running high throughout the world at the time the Compact hearings were held, and Canada was no exception. The Iraq war was notably unpopular north of the border, but more important, the United States and Canada were engaged in a number of cross-border disputes- from softwood lumber exports to North Dakota's plans to divert tainted, unwanted water from Devil's Lake into Canada's Hudson Bay watershed. And while most Americans were blissfully unaware of these issues, the topics were perennial front-page stories in Canada, which helped to whip up Anti-American fervor.

Interestingly, however, while Canadian newspapers were active in developing stories, this was a low period of production for the public advocacy organizations. These issues were picked up by the organizations, but not in the same capacity of new coverage. While anti-Americanism may have been brewing, it was not being increasingly expressed explicitly in terms of bulk water exports.

The year 2006 was a heightened period of communication by CUPE. The organization investigated cases of privatization of healthcare, and water provision in

Canada. The Council of Canadians examined issues relating to a global water crisis and developing water scarcity in the Prairies. Both organizations reference growing pressures over bulk water exports from the U.S. and demand the federal government to reverse its policy on the human right to water.

In 2007, both public advocacy organizations produced a total of sixteen pieces of communication, the highest amount since 1999. References were made to an ongoing attack on the provision of public services occurring across the world. The Council of Canadians pointed to the high concern of bulk water exports to Canadians by presenting Environment Minister John Baird's office with 45,000 petitions demanding the ban of bulk water exports. However, the main focus of the organization is regarding the Security and Prosperity Partnership, and the threat to Canadian sovereignty made by U.S. thirst and aggression. The year 2008, revisited much of the same subject matter; the need for a national water strategy, the recognition of water as a human right, increased pressure from the U.S., and the demand for a ban of bulk water exports.

Generally over the course of the sampling period, the public advocacy organizations and the Globe and Mail followed similar trends in quantity of production. This can be explained partially because journalists likely obtain some of their coverage from the news releases distributed by the Council of Canadians and CUPE. In addition, these organizations may release more material on an issue that has received recent national media attention. Therefore the timing and focus of issues by the Council of Canadians, CUPE and the Globe and Mail are not independent of each other.

Between 1998-2008, The Globe and Mail produced thirty-six articles on bulk water exports, a production less than CUPE, which produced forty-two and also the

Council of Canadians with sixty-two. The significant difference in the quantity produced is in the year 2001, when the newspaper had thirteen articles, trumping both organizations significantly. The two public advocacy organizations discussed the same issues as did the Globe and Mail, only producing less in quantity. The period between 2002-2005 was a low production period for both organizations and this corresponds with a lack of articles produced by the Globe and Mail, and the years 2006-2008 reveal similar patterns of coverage by the public advocacy organizations and the newspaper.

There are two main similarities between the national coverage by the Globe and Mail and the arguments articulated by the Council of Canadians, first being the use of anti-American rhetoric, second, a lack of articulation on ecological implications of bulk water exports. Examples of the framing of bulk water exports in Canada/U.S. terms are illustrated in the excerpts below:

Canada has been promising water export legislation since the Mulroney era and has done nothing about it. Now that Americans in parched regions (which includes much of California) appear willing to pay any price to keep their pools full and BMW's clean, the government is finally taking notice (Reguly 1999a).

If you listen to federal and provincial governments the Great Canadian Water Debate is pretty much finished. The barbarians at the border have been told to go away...Nothing, though, could be further from the truth (Reguly 1999b).

George W. Bush is at the door, and he wants Canada's water (Globe and Mail 2001).

Under the last Tory government, Canada gave up any notion of energy sovereignty. Why would the latest batch of Tories resist doing the same with water? What the United States wants, the United States usually gets (Reguly 2006b).

Anti-American sentiment is very clearly and aggressively spelled out in these articles. Concerns over bulk water exports are discussed only in Canada/U.S. terms and are linked most often to the potential affects to Canada's sovereignty. The rhetoric used in the Globe and Mail is emotional and less than objective with its offensive language

directed to Americans. The Council of Canadians, muted some of the over-tones yet used similar messaging.

The other similarity between the Globe and Mail and the Council of Canadians in their discourse on bulk water exports is identified by an absence of discussion on a particular issue -the ecological consequences of bulk water exportation. The issue is framed in anthropogenic terms, and the affects to aquatic and terrestrial ecosystems are rarely mentioned. The Globe and Mail and the Council of Canadians frame bulk water exports in terms of broader political consequences to Canadian sovereignty.

CUPE differs in this regard, because most of the focus examines bulk water exports in terms of their socio-economic implications resulting from neoliberalism. In the Globe and Mail there are no discussions of privatization, and concerns of public ownership of water and wastewater facilities are not addressed in any of the newspaper articles. Another difference in subject matter picked up by both public advocacy organizations is the demand to make water a fundamental human right. Journalists of the newspaper do not pick this up during the sample period.

On the other hand, one area of focus in the Globe and Mail that is not picked up by the organizations is the argument that if bulk water exports are allowed, jobs will subsequently be exported to the U.S. It is argued that if bulk water exports are banned, jobs will come to Canada.

In the end, of course, it's all about business. As long as the United States is willing to pay for Canadian water, a way probably will be found to provide it. But until an environmentally sound export structure is found, why open the floodgates and take the risk that they can't be closed? Better yet, why not impose a national bulk water export ban and force industry to come to water instead of the other way around? Think of the jobs it would create as water becomes scarcer and scarcer in the United States and factories move north (Reguly 2000).

A possible explanation for the lack of interest in this argument by the public advocacy organizations is that it does not fit the frame of nationalistic imagery. An ideal case would be to have Canadian industries and jobs strengthen with less reliance on the U.S.

The preponderance of articles in the *Globe and Mail* in year 2001 is an interesting change from the similar patterns shared by the public advocacy organizations and the newspaper. The issue of bulk water exports was presented in a total of thirteen articles. Concerns are cited regarding Newfoundland Premier Roger Grimes intention to allow bulk water exports from Gisborne Lake. Prime Minister Jean Chretien receives opposition for suggesting that bulk water exports might be within the rights of the provinces to decide. Discussions of a national water crisis are launched, pointing to three deaths in North Battleford due to contaminated water, seven people killed the year before in Walkerton and the Sunbelt lawsuit in British Columbia. One journalist, suggests that arguments against bulk water exports "...have so far been based largely on half-truths and emotional flag-waving" (Ingram 2001). Others indicate that former President Bush has intentions of discussing water diversions with the Prime Minister, and that NAFTA is not protecting Canada from water exportation. The articles written in 2001 were between the months of March- July, and then the discussion ended in the *Globe and Mail* until January 2006.

Why the increase of coverage of bulk water exports in early 2001 and the sudden end to coverage later that year by the *Globe and Mail*? Simply put, the increase suggests saliency of the issue with many articles being placed in the front page and national news section. It appears the issue resonated amongst the public during this time, and with a potential proposal emerging from Gisborne Lake, the threat was

perceived to be more urgent. Why was the issue ignored following July 2001? A partial explanation could be made that the wording of news coverage of Canada/U.S. relations shifted in September 2001 as a result of 9/11. It is likely that during that period the political climate would not have been sensitive to cries being made by Canadians over the U.S. threat to Canadian water. That the Council of Canadians and CUPE also had reduced coverage during this period may suggest that nationalist claims over U.S. threats to water would not have gained as much sympathy.

Many Canadian sympathies for the U.S. post 9/11 evaporated quickly as President Bush pursued an aggressive unilateral agenda. The Security and Prosperity Partnership, closed-door meetings between NAFTA countries gained attention in the form of renewed threats to Canada's water fueled by unpopularity of the U.S. administration.

Generally the patterns of communication by the Globe and Mail and the public advocacy organizations share similar characteristics. The Globe and Mail and the Council of Canadians draw on anti-American rhetoric in their formulation of threats over bulk water exports. Also similar are the largely political terms by which the issue is framed. Sovereignty gains significant coverage by both organizations, setting it apart from CUPE. The geopolitical issues pertaining to the post 9/11 period may have placed bulk water exports on the back burner as security began to trump issues of trade.

In concluding this chronicle, the overview of this discourse can be linked to a number of political 'moments' that have arguably influenced the heightened periods of media on bulk water exports. The saliency of bulk water exports corresponds to the broader anti-globalization movement of the late 1990's. Having been prominent

opponents of the MAI and WTO, the Council of Canadians, and to a lesser degree CUPE gained public attention prompting the bulk water exports issue as it related to privatization and sovereignty. The year 2001 marked a surge in discourse by the Globe and Mail, corresponding to the Gisborne Lake episode, in which debates over provincial/federal jurisdiction gained focus. Finally, the period between 2006-2007 also reveals a revival in discourse on bulk water exports, corresponds with the emergence of a minority Conservative government in 2006 with Prime Minister Steven Harper. Anxiety over increased conservatism in Canada, led to criticism being made by both organizations, especially as it related Prime Minister Harper's perceived interest in greater economic integration with the United States. Concerns were also raised over 'deep integration' and the Security and Prosperity Partnership.

**Figure 3 - Annual Comparisons of Media
Quantity on Bulk Water Exports**

The ability of Canada's federal government to respond adequately to water export proposals has been questioned by some Canadian water experts.

(Bakker 2007, 142)

Figure 4 – Watering the U.S. Border

This passage reflects the consistent concern regarding the Canadian federal government's ability to deal with bulk water exports. Water's status under NAFTA remains uncertain and has been subject to a variety of legal interpretations. The geopolitical demarcation of the Canada/U.S. border reveals how bulk water exports have been framed primarily in national terms and as a threat between these two countries. Control over freshwater in Canada is under threat as illustrated by former Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's lack of control over the bulging water hose.

PART II – THEORETICAL CURRENTS

4.0 Theorizing Nature and Space

4.1 A Critical Geopolitical Nature

The theoretical basis of this study has been informed by a number of post-structuralist writers, and critical geographers. The epistemological frame through which this research has been crafted has been in a response to the notion of ‘innocent knowledge.’ Jane Flax (1992, 452-457) uses this term to illustrate how the Enlightenment meta-narrative seeks to uncover some sort of ‘Truth’ that provides a vision of how people should act in the world. The view that there is some sort of transcendental perspective that is removed from its own language and story is something that Flax, among with many critical theorists, challenge.

The disentanglement between nature and society is one example of how the Enlightenment meta-narrative has played out through the development of modern scientific practice in Western Europe (Shapin 1996, 66-67). It was here that methods of falsification and study were used to understand nature, unraveling it to a distinct and separate form. Scientific conclusions could be made about nature, and objective statements of the “nature” of things brought forth new intellectual challenges. “Nature thus became widely conceived, and materialized, as a separate and distinct realm- the ‘other’ to man/society, a thing that could be laid bare by the application of formal and incisive tools” (Linton 2006b, 24). The significance of this lies, perhaps most in the subsequent ability to point to the earth’s problems as being something separate from human interaction.

Escobar (1996, 328) examines the role of social systems established by capital and techno-science in creating discourses that serve to perpetuate the separation between nature and society, and further which advocate solutions through the same market mechanisms that have contributed to the environmental decay they seek to restore.

...environmental sciences today challenge the earth to reveal its secrets to the positive gaze of scientists. This operation only ensures, however, that the degradation of the earth be redistributed, and dispersed, through the professional discourses of environmentalists, economists, geographers and politicians. The globe and its 'problems' have finally entered rational discourse. Disease is housed in nature in a new manner.

The separation of nature and society emerged with the hegemony of scientific discourses, and continues with new discourses, such as those argued by Escobar, on sustainable development and biodiversity conservation.

Shifting from the epistemological frame of this thesis, I will specifically draw on two bodies of theories, critical geopolitics and social nature. These theories have influenced much of my thinking on how water and identity have been woven together in the Canadian context. Through my engagements with the myriad material in both of these theoretical enterprises, I have drawn on three dominant perspectives that have been explored by John Agnew (1994) and Noel Castree (2001). While their subject matter is different, in that Agnew looks at geopolitical assumptions as it relates to territory and state sovereignty, and Castree explores dominant assumptions that have been made as it relates to nature, they both draw on similar critiques that provide useful insight for this thesis. What follows is a brief introduction of critical geopolitics and social nature, with a focus on the dominant narratives identified by Agnew and Castree. I present how literature on national identity connects with these theories, and conclude with how this thesis contributes to these bodies of work.

Critical geopolitics has proliferated over the years, and with it a number of theorists contributing to its development, (Dalby 1988, 2000, 2003, 2008; Dodds & Atkinson 2000; Ó Tuathail & Dalby 1998; Agnew 1998, 2007). Critical geopolitics emerged in the 1980's as a response to American foreign and security policy. Specifically it attempted to examine the invocation of geographical terminology in politics and address some of the taken for granted assumptions in International Relations (IR) theory (Dalby 2003, 3). In arguing that the conceptual vocabularies bound to territorial presuppositions, no longer fit the flows of contemporary politics, it seeks to "negotiate 'geopolitics' with a critical perspective on the fusions of geographical knowledge and systems of power" (Dalby & Ó Tuathail 1996, 452).

Critical geopolitics examines "how the cartographic imagination of here and there, inside and outside, them and us, states, blocs, zones, regions or other geographical specifications, work to both facilitate some political possibilities and actions and exclude and silence others" (Dalby 2000, 2). This is achieved through discursive constructions that serve to categorize and depict 'reality.' How the lines on a map designate nationhood, how ownership over property is appointed, how spaces of conservation are allocated are all processes of geopolitical creation. Who determines how these lines are designated, who owns property and who has access to resources are all consequences of power relations.

John Agnew (2005, 437) refers to 'territoriality' as the use of territory for political, social and economic ends, which can be used as a strategy for establishing the exclusive jurisdiction implied by state sovereignty. This concept brings to light the ways in which territory can be used as a tool, beyond the actions of imperial conquest

but for the support of state sovereignty. Agnew (1994) exposes how much of the conventional thinking in international relations relies on three geographical assumptions; that states are viewed as fixed units of sovereign space; that states are imagined as ‘containers’ of societies; that states are conceived through the use of domestic/foreign polarity.

Critical thinking on the relationship between nature and society has been termed *social nature*. Discussions on social nature have been influenced heavily by the works of a few who have sought to unravel the power dynamics at play in the construction of nature through various discourses (Braun & Castree, 1998; Braun & Castree, 2001; Cronon, 1996; Demeritt, 2002). Nature has been used to represent a multiplicity of concepts with a diversity of meanings. In his examination of the “Nature of Nature,” Noel Castree (2001) derives ideas from Smith (1984) in discussing three dominant perspectives of nature; external nature, intrinsic nature and universal nature. The three dominant narratives used in thinking on territory share a number of similar qualities to show how nature has been conceived. Linking theories of critical geopolitics and social nature provide a complimentary approach to understanding how water has been appropriated in nationalistic discourses in Canada.

Universal Nature - Fixed Units of Sovereign Space

Noel Castree (2001, 7) uses the term universal nature to refer to a generalized subject, whereby the earth can be viewed as having one natural order as demonstrated in the concept of Gaia. What stands out in these differing views of nature is the belief that nature can be known if the right ‘facts’ are applied. Somehow, nature can be studied

and compartmentalized based on ‘expert’ knowledge that has brought forth such ‘interesting’ ideas of Malthusianism and environmental determinism.

Critical geopolitics provides a way to examine the geographical assumptions that are inherent in much of the political discourse surrounding ideas of sovereignty and the nation. In exploring geopolitical discourses it is possible to see how state sovereignty is presumed to be the universal condition of modern space. Within Canada, it is possible to see how the conception of Canada as a fixed unit of sovereign space might be problematic, as it wipes away the spatial history of the First Nations, and ignores the Sovereigntist movements in Quebec. These perspectives are similar in how they criticize the ways in which a singular, monolithic identity has been assigned to concepts of nature and territory. These perspectives bring to light the question of *if* and *how* a universal nature, or fixed sovereign space, has been assigned to water and space in the discourses by public advocacy organizations.

Intrinsic Nature- Containers of Societies

Intrinsic nature refers to an essential quality that all things may possess. This can be exemplified in national or racial stereotypes or in the suggestion that something is of one’s ‘nature’ (Castree 2001, 6). Nature in this conceptualization is “reified into units that tautologically display evidence of the characteristics that are used to define space in the first place: the ‘Orient’ *is* exoticism, the USSR *is* communism, Iran *is* fundamentalism, and so on” (Sharp 2000, 28).

Agnew (1994, 69) explores how states have come to be imagined as ‘containers’ of societies. This categorization envisions society as a single unit. Thus Canada can be

viewed as a “Middle power” and Canadians can be identified as a peace-loving environmentally conscientious people. The assumption being used here is that Canadians can be clumped into one cohesive society, and attributed shared qualities. References to groups at local, regional or global scales have been “largely closed off by the ‘nationalizing’ of social science and its subservience to the territorial state” (Agnew 1994, 69).

These two concepts can be connected to explore how both nature and society are used to discursively constitute identity. This thesis explores how Canadian identity has been invoked in discourses on bulk water exports. Thinking about how Canadian national identity has been constructed suggests an opportunity to engage with intrinsic nature, and concepts of a container society.

Identity has played a large role in much of the thinking about nature, space and territory. The construction of national identity has provided a way for which the nation can be conceptualized, or as Benedict Anderson (1991) describes, a way for the nation and nationalism to be imagined.

A view of a homogenous community that shares common characteristics seems to have been positioned as an ideal state of national identity. The construction of a nation is dependent upon the assumption that there can be a national identity that precedes statehood. Through these people, that presumably share the same values and characteristics, an image of a nation is born. However, much of the literature on nationalism suggests that nationhood follows from the construction of states, and not the reverse (Sharp 2000, 28).

The exercise of discerning a Canadian identity has taken place through art. Erin Manning (who situates Canadian landscapes with the work of the Group of Seven), has discussed the connection between landscape painting and national identity and ideology. In examining the European art of the early sixteenth century, Manning (2000, para 22) reveals how “...nature was conceived as an assemblage of isolated subjects. By renouncing the ephemeral, nature could be considered unified and whole.” This served to provide a view of Canada emptied of its imperialist past, its immigrant populations and its attempt to annihilate native lands and customs (2000, para 37). Her explorations of art and national ideology serve to unravel the instances where identity is presented as a given.

Art’s capacity to identify and propagate something as problematic and elusive as ‘national identity’ also gives it the power to deconstruct codes of territoriality and state sovereignty; therefore, contemporary landscape art is capable of transgressing the policed borders of the nation state (Manning 2003, 29).

To this, Manning speaks of art’s capacity to both perpetuate ideas of nationalism as evident and inherent, and also its ability to infringe these constructions, laying bare the darkness of nationalistic enterprises that have silenced and displaced people of Canada.

External Nature-Domestic/Foreign Polarity

The concept of external nature or the use of domestic/foreign polarity to define sovereignty plays a significant role in understanding concepts related to identity and nationalism. External nature emphasizes the divide between nature and society. Nature is outside of the social, and “has been associated with other dualisms organizing our thought, such as rural-urban, country-city and wilderness-civilization (Castree 2001, 6). The domestic/foreign dichotomy shapes much of the nationalist discourse within

Canada. Some of the ways in which Canadian identity is being shaped are very much through the opposition of what it is perceived to be American. That people associate with multiple identities, not related to the territory, cannot be ignored.

Jody Berland (2001, 153) states:

The apparently fictional quality of the Canadian historical subject is perceived in the common 'absense' of a dominant narrative of identity or unified subjectivity, against whose apparently universal logic Canadians are invariably positioned as marginal, cartographically or otherwise, and against which Canadians intentionally position themselves as different.

A core reflection made within critical geopolitics has been that identity functions through what it excludes as much as what it includes. (Dalby 1988; Sharp 2000). National identity creates an "us" and an "other," separating qualified and unqualified bodies (Manning 2003, xv). In her examination of the social construction of American identity in the *Readers Digest*, Joanne Sharp (2000) notes that through the use of repetition of themes, the construction of identity and rendering of particular understandings is made into something 'common-sense.' She argues that anxieties during the Cold War over the conditions in America were projected into portraying the USSR as an external threat and also positioning it as the "Other."

Traditionally much focus on nationalism in geopolitical discourses has been developed in terms of foreign/domestic themes. The articulations of critical geopolitics have explored how particular territorial designations have functioned to facilitate identity formation. This thesis explores how Canadian national identity has been mobilized in terms of a threat to Canadian *water*. Water's very materiality makes it a difficult subject matter for delineating a boundary between Canada and the U.S. Its fluidity has made it as much a passage for trade and tourism through boats and ferries as

it is a marker of separation. Yet water has been used in Canada to evoke a perceived threat made by the U.S.

The relationship between territory and identity although complicated is also very complementary, being crafted together in a way that has enabled states to claim sovereign control over a land, and also to enter into conflict over presumed sovereignty. In this way, it is possible to see the theoretical overlap between critical geopolitics and social nature. The cartographic designation of spaces of territory, have also served to capture the natural resources that fit within. By claiming control over territory, power over the nature within that space can be asserted, and who is positioned within the space is a question of power.

Social nature provides a framework through which to examine the role of water, the 'nature' of water and the consequences of particular conceptualizations of the resource. How Canada's freshwater is framed can influence who gains access to it, and on what terms. Critical geopolitics provides a way through which to explore how this resource is being conceptualized for "us" and not "them" whereby "us" is Canadians and "them" are Americans. Water has been a useful conduit in forwarding demands for water securitization in the name of protecting Canadian interests.

This thesis contributes to literature on social nature insofar as its engagement with critical geopolitics and nationalism provides a unique perspective to explore how nature has been implicated in public discourses to support identity formation. It has contributed to social nature by illustrating how space has been evoked in constructions of nature. In exploring the role of framing space and territory in particular terms, it becomes possible to reflect upon how nature can be appropriated to fit particular spatial

constructs. By extrapolating dominant narratives critiqued both in the field of critical geopolitics and social nature, this thesis suggests that nationalism studies in Canada can be expanded to include perspectives on how water has been appropriated in constructing Canadian national identity.

4.2 A Foucauldian Tributary-Discourse Analysis

In her article *The End of Innocence*, Flax (1992, 452-457) argues that knowledge is discursively constituted and reinforced through social practice. Discourse is simultaneously enabling and limiting, and the rules of a discourse enable certain truth claims to be made. It is from this basis that I apply my analysis of discourses, and study the truth claims being formed regarding the geopolitical formations of water in Canada. The discourse produced by public advocacy organizations on bulk water exports has served to establish particular knowledge over the issue, framing it in ways that support their organizational mission and communication strategies.

I also draw on Foucauldian ideas of power/knowledge, which engages in political critique seeking to diagnose the effects of power through construction of knowledge (Demeritt 2002, 773-774). A characteristic of this theoretical enterprise is to critically examine the various social practices used to secure particular visions of nature. Analyzing the processes of administering nature, whether it is within government departments, or NGO activities, reveal the woven complexity of attempts to secure dominant discourses.

Michel Foucault (1980, 177) states, “[t]here is an administration of knowledge, a politics of knowledge, relations of power which pass via knowledge and which, if one

tries to transcribe them, lead one to consider forms of domination designated by such notions as field, region and territory.” Knowledge is a loaded concept, a taken-for-granted concept, yet an immensely powerful concept. Foucault has elaborated on knowledge in much of his work, and it is a theory that largely informs this discourse analysis.

Knowledge is not something that is simply “out there,” it is socially and historically produced rather than found (Braun & Wainwright 2001, 46). Examining how knowledge is administered can serve to unleash the assemblages of power relations that support particular modes of administration. Nigel Thrift (1996, 41) contends that knowledge is always contextualized and that context should be understood as “a performative social situation”. It is “a plural event which is more or less spatially extensive and more or less temporally specific.” Knowledge is not something that is evident, or omnipresent, it is created, and recreated through practices of everyday life.

Foucault conceptualizes discourse “within a theoretically informed framework that investigates the rules about the production of knowledge through language (meanings) and its influence over what we do (practice)” (Waitt 2005, 164). Discourse governs how a topic can be meaningfully explained, controlling how ideas are put into practice. It provides a role for language in allocating meaning to phenomena and in creating conceptions of reality. Foucault articulates this in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, referencing the will to knowledge as a system of exclusion that operates to limit what can be said about a subject. He examines “the way Western literature has, for centuries, sought to base itself in nature, in the plausible, upon sincerity and science, in short, upon true discourse” (Foucault (b) 1972, 219). In addition to its power to

temporally 'fix' particular understandings, discourse also refers to the way people respond to that particular way of thinking (Foucault 1972, 170-171). This is significant insofar as it separates discursive analysis from purely a textual formation while at the same time opens the arena to examine how power plays out through performances of rules and procedures.

What is considered acceptable in terms of one's relationship with water, how its very essence is made to be understood and what is framed to be the desirable prescription to bulk water exports are all questions to be addressed through a discourse analysis of this nature. What a Foucauldian discourse analysis enables in this study is a method through which to investigate how particular ways of understanding bulk water exports are being politically mapped out by the Council of Canadians and CUPE.

The selection of Canada's *national* organizations provides a layer for reflection consistent with a Foucauldian discourse analysis. The social construction of nationhood and national identity provides a way in which to administer people through practices of security and discipline. Identity can be constructed through the creation of the Other which serves as a subject in which to compare oneself. In addition, it should be noted that in analyzing Anglophone discourse on bulk water exports, references to Quebec's experience with bulk water are not a focus of inclusion.

There is no one single method for conducting a Foucauldian discourse analysis. It is a method to analyze the role of discourses in producing and influencing systems of meanings and examining their affects on practices. This can be conceived in a variety of ways and influenced by many techniques produced by scholars over the years. For this particular analysis, a number of authors have contributed greatly in developing

guidelines for conducting a discourse analysis (Fairclough 2003; Rose 2001; Waitt 2005; Sharp & Richardson 2001). Gordon Waitt has developed a checklist based on work by (Fairclough 2003,191-4; Rose 2001, 161; Tonkiss 1998, 258-60) for doing discourse analysis, which was a valuable reference tool for this process. (Refer to Appendix D for Waitt's chart used as a reference for this study).

Waitt (2005, 164-165) identifies three objectives that stem from discourse analysis:

- (i) to explore the outcomes of discourse in terms of actions, perceptions, or attitudes rather than simply the analysis of statements/texts;
- (ii) to identify the regulatory frameworks within which groups of statements are produced, circulated, and communicated within which people construct their utterances and thoughts; and
- (iii) to uncover the support or internal mechanisms that maintain certain structures and rules over statements about people, animals, plants, events, and places in existence as unchallengeable, 'normal', or 'common-sense' rather than to discover the 'truth' or the 'origin of a statement.

This synthesis of Foucault's work on discourse provides a useful backdrop to the methodological approach applied to this study. Consistent with a Foucauldian discourse analysis, and the second objective identified by Waitt, the regulatory frameworks in which the Council of Canadians and CUPE operate are to be taken into consideration. The Council of Canadians are solely dependent on public support for funding, so their organizational interests are in a large part informed on decisions that will secure or gain support from their target audiences. An example of this can be identified in 2005 within the Council of Canadians, when a number of news releases on water related issues in Canada began featuring a self-promotion blurb highlighting Maude Barlow's involvement in the campaign. That this organization depends on public support for its survival plays a role in the production of discourse. The use of threat discourse, and the framing of issues in terms of national security, can be observed as an attempt to make

the issue appear more poignant and immediate for public policy, not to mention a way to gain more organizational publicity. While CUPE does need to maintain the support of union membership, they do not operate under the same conditions as the Council of Canadians. CUPE's focus is less on increasing public attention, as it is in supporting issues relating to its membership.

PART III – ALTERED REFLECTIONS

5.0 Spatial Formations and Nationalism

5.1 Neoliberalism Resurfaces

The Council of Canadians and CUPE have framed discourse on bulk water exports consistently in terms of the broader neoliberal trends relating to water in Canada. A variety of neoliberalisms are discussed by the two organizations; privatization, commercialization, commodification, and corporatization. What is less clear in the discourse are the differences between these neoliberal trends or processes of ‘resource reregulation’ and how they specifically affect bulk water exports. Concerns over neoliberalism are discussed primarily in two ways, one in terms of “global” trends, using international examples of water privatization, and the other illustrating privatization occurring in wastewater or water delivery systems in Canada. Neither is directly related to bulk water exports, but bulk water exports are always evoked in the communication.

The Council of Canadians use international cases of water privatization to forecast potential trends for which Canada should be prepared. Their focus is on a larger quest for global justice, and they showcase international trends of private ownership of water delivery systems. The Council of Canadians state that these models target poor populations who cannot afford to pay for increased water rates (The Council of Canadians 2003b). Kenya, Bolivia, South Africa, India, Ghana are all mentioned as gradually becoming victim to transnational corporations seeking to cartelise the world’s water deliver systems (The Council of Canadians 2003a).

The Council of Canadians state that not only are the poor facing up to a 95% increase in water fees, but also that governments are left further strained as a result of increasing public-private partnerships. They criticize public-private partnerships, stating “the private investor is guaranteed huge profits from the public purse for many years, and if the company or investment pool disappears, the local government is left holding the bag” (The Council of Canadians 2003a).

The connection to Canada is not just in terms of the country’s responsibility as a global citizen and supporter of these international trade agreements but also in terms of privatization plans seeking Canadian shores. The stark global images being presented by the Council are only a taste of what might come to Canada. Corporate plans to privatize water delivery systems and waste management systems are not only confined to those in the developing world. The organization indicates that:

[c]orporations are now involved in the construction of massive pipelines to carry freshwater longer distances for commercial sale, while others are constructing supertankers and giant sealed water bags to transport vast amounts of water across the ocean to paying customers (The Council of Canadians 2003a).

This backdrop is painting a picture of Canadian vulnerability in terms of bulk water exports. The Council of Canadians present themselves as working at “stopping the privatization, bulk export and diversion of water throughout the world and establishing an international network to protect water as a basic human right” (The Council of Canadians 2001b). The organization presents issues concerning privatization and commodification, most frequently in terms of global justice.

CUPE is much more explicit in the opposition to the use of market mechanisms in Canada. The Union’s first media release that mentions bulk water exports is entitled “Profiting From Water: Turning a Life Source into a Commodity.” CUPE refers to the

growing pressures within Canada to privatize control of municipal water services and treat water as an export commodity (CUPE 1999a). The backdrop presented by CUPE in 1999 is of increasing privatization in Germany, Czech Republic and France and the effects of privatization of water services in Britain.

“Since the privatization of water services in Britain during the Thatcher government, prices skyrocketed by up to 450 per cent, averaging an increase of 67 per cent. Thousands of people, unable to pay their bill, had their water service cut. As a result, dysentery increased six-fold, leading the British Medical Association to condemn privatization because of the related health risks” (CUPE 1999a).

The neoliberal focus by CUPE is not on global justice for the Global South as is the case with the Council of Canadians, but rather on increasing privatization in Northern countries. This grim picture of the potential consequences of water privatization is segued into discussions of privatization plans occurring in Canada.

Examples used by CUPE include: an agreement made in Moncton to privatize the city’s water filtration plant; a recommendation for a private operation of the Seymour Water Filtration Project in Vancouver, and increasing privatization in Ontario. The Union points to examples of public solidarity in opposing and contributing to the stalling of privatization plans in Montreal, Edmonton and Winnipeg (CUPE 1999a). CUPE frames its campaign in terms of a fight for public control of water, their main opposition being a change in ownership from the public to the private sector.

Opposition to privatization is not just mentioned occasionally, it is directly mentioned in 34 out of the 42 CUPE media releases which relate to bulk water exports over the ten years of analysis and in the cases where privatization is not directly mentioned, the term ‘commodification’ or ‘commercialization’ is often substituted.

CUPE's opposition to neoliberalism is not specifically related to concerns over the privatization of municipal water services, but rather takes on a very general form. The World Bank, trade agreements like NAFTA, corporations and 'big business' are all targeted as being threats to the future of Canada's water.

"Corporations are clamouring to take over not only our municipal water services, but water itself. Showing that corporate greed knows no bounds, big business wants to be allowed to drain Canada's lakes, rivers and streams for export" (CUPE 1999e).

The Union suggests a solution to Canada's threat of bulk water exports would be for a three-pronged approach to be taken by the government. In their prescription, the municipal government is targeted to protect public ownership of municipal water supplies; the provincial government is lobbied to provide adequate funding and strengthen environmental regulation and the federal government should be pressured to provide increased funding in water facilities and create legislation banning bulk water exports.

In these cases, the solution suggested by CUPE involves a greater role by the government over water services in Canada. Since the primary concern over water by CUPE has manifested itself as neoliberalism, it makes sense that the solution offered by the union would involve a greater role of the government over the market.

In exploring the role of the anti-privatization movements related to water, Ken Conca (2005, 247) notes,

[m]uch of the anti-privatization movement has been...a movement to prevent the transfer of power over water to private hands, and thus a defense of the idea of water as a public good to be controlled, decided upon, and provided by public means. Since the state has in most cases been the traditional provider of that public good, the anti-privatization movement can in this sense be seen as a defense of the status quo of monopolized state authority, public sector jobs, and subsidized water prices.

CUPE and also the Council of Canadians have tied their discourse on bulk water exports with neoliberalism in such way that bulk water exports have become a tool to oppose privatization and commodification generally.

Policy analysts, John Shields and Stephen McBride (1997, 8) reflect upon the prominence of economic liberalism in political discourse in Canada. They argue,

Choosing closer economic integration with the United States has always meant choosing the American power and value systems as well... Choosing a more independent economic course for Canada has always meant not only emphasizing trade links outside North American and government strategies to diversify the economy beyond resource exports, but also embracing communitarian values to partially offset those of the predominantly economic liberalism.

Within Canada, neoliberalism has been opposed by some, for its consequences as an economic course of action, but also for its threat to Canadian values. These discourses have fused neoliberalism with morality, so that following the “American” path of the unfettered marketplace, equates to stripping Canadians from their perceived communitarian values.

5.2 Enframing Nature

In conceptualizing how particular discourses on nature can become dominant, Derek Gregory discusses the process of *enframing*. He states that “the modern domination of nature depends upon the successful production of a space of constructed visibility within which three objectives have to be fulfilled: ‘nature’ has to be held at a distance, set up as an object, and structured as a more or less systematic totality” (2001, 92). Gregory continues by exposing its theatricality, in that it involves ‘staging’ a representation that persuades an audience of its ‘truth.’ In *The Intemperate Rainforest*, Bruce Braun reveals how discursive practices have enframed the forest of Clayoquot

Sound on Vancouver Island. Braun (2002, 8) reveals how the forest has been produced discursively and in practice enabling both extractive and recreational activities to occur in the space while excluding the practices of the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations groups. That the First Nations' perspectives are not included in this enframing of nature is not surprising if history is to be taken into account.

How particular notions of nature have been used to provide some people access to its resources, while simultaneously serving to deny others, has also been studied by Andrew Baldwin. In his examination of the politicization and nationalization of the boreal forest in Canada, he illustrates how it was emptied of any historical or political content, erasing both the European settlement and Aboriginal presence from the map (Baldwin, 2004, 190). A view of the Boreal forest as wild, untamed and desolate serves to position it as a space ideal for the purposes of wilderness expeditions seeking to discover "uninhabited" spaces. That Aboriginal communities have inhabited this space for generations, or that it has been largely altered by decades of resource extraction, is simply denied in this staging. Ideas of nature, (be that) the Boreal forest or the Great Lakes, are not ontologically given, they are something socially produced both in the discourses and practices evoking them.

The Council of Canadians and CUPE have a very anthropocentric view of nature; water's value is determined by its importance to humans. Infrequently are references made to the ecological impacts bulk water exports would have on terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems. What is the concern for these organizations are the effects of bulk water exports on people, and their access to water. The motivation to protect water is an intuitive one, it is well understood that water is necessary for human life.

A consistent backdrop in the discourses on bulk water exports by these public advocacy organizations is that of global water scarcity. Water scarcity can be used as a political tool, and presenting nature as abundant or scarce can carry with it the power to support particular policy action. A resurgence of Malthusianism is apparent in discussions of scarcity, increasing population and potential conflict.

CUPE discusses water availability in Canada in terms of both a relative abundance, and also having a more modest share of the world's water. In 1999, CUPE states that Canada has between 20-25% of the world's freshwater (CUPE 1999a; CUPE 1999b). Although they declare that this is clearly an abundance, they do not suggest there is a "surplus" for exportation. By 2006, however, CUPE states that Canada has 7% of the planet's freshwater (CUPE 2005). This dramatic decline is not due to an actual freshwater decline during the seven years, but rather a change in the sources used to measure Canada's freshwater.

By 2005 discussions of the myth of Canada's water abundance emerged, and the frequently referenced claim that Canada has 25% of the world's freshwater became reduced (by some) to 6.5 or 7% when the World Resource Institute conducted new measurements. In addition what became the source of measurement also changed, whereby references to 25% of the world's freshwater were in terms of the total volume of water, the 6.5% statistic of water relates to the total *renewable* supply of freshwater. Differing figures for Canada's share of water can be explained by the different ways of measuring storage whereby one examines the total volume of water in lakes and the other examines the runoff, the amount of water flowing in rivers and streams.

What stays consistent however, are the references made to growing global water scarcity and increasing privatization. CUPE argues that because “the world’s water is precious, and dwindling...It should be safeguarded, not commodified” (CUPE 2006a). Water is conceptualized using images of both abundance and scarcity, and always in terms of being a resource. That is not to state that the union does not recognize water in terms of its importance to terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems, but to imply that water is conceptualized first as a resource for humans, and second as a part of ‘nature.’

Canada’s vulnerability is amplified by the use of crisis and conflict as inevitable outcomes of bulk water exports, juxtaposed to a global water crisis and fresh water scarcity.

While abundant today, fresh water may be scarce tomorrow. To protect our water services and our water resources, it is vital that control remain in public hands (CUPE 1999a).

The Council of Canadians paint a dark picture, informing the public of the dire circumstances related to the planet’s water:

The private sector was the first to notice: the planet is running out of fresh water at such a rate that soon it will be the most valuable commodity on earth. Thirty-one countries are facing severe water stress and over one billion people have no access to clean water. Every eight seconds a child dies of water-borne disease. And the crisis is getting worse, by 2025, with an ever-greater number of people sharing the earth’s finite supplies of water and its per capita use having more than doubled, two-thirds of the world’s people will not have enough water for the basics of life (The Council of Canadians 2003a).

Canada’s place in the world becomes extremely significant when understood in terms of a global water crisis. These terms present Canada as not only being under the threat of the U.S., but now in a global water crisis, Canada must fear the demands of the world. Peter Aldhous (2003, 251) states, “the water crisis is real. If action isn’t taken, millions of people will be condemned to a premature death.” The three scenarios, which collude to disaster, presented by Maude Barlow in the introduction of this thesis and in the

above-articulated passage, illustrate to Canadians reasons to be fearful on a much larger scale - beyond that between Canada and the United States.

Examining the idea of a global water crisis suggests that an universal nature is at work, and that all countries are encountering crisis due to water scarcity. The evocation of crisis elevates the status of this particular issue and temporarily suspends geography insofar as the physical and regional differences and experiences with water are ignored. While water scarcity is certainly being faced in many parts of the world, to suggest that it is a “*global* water crisis” largely ignores the geography. The global water crisis is a construction much like the exaggerated framing of a water abundant Canada, a thirsty aggressive U.S., and a Canadian population of environmental stewards.

CUPE refers to water as Canada’s most valuable resource, continually reinforcing the idea that water should be recognized as a public right. The focus by the Union is to ensure that the maintenance of the resource remains in public hands, which they argue will ensure Canadians are not ‘robbed’ of their water. CUPE views water as “a public resource to be treasured, protected and preserved” (CUPE 1999d).

The protection and preservation of water is assumed to occur through the public ownership of the resource. Similar to the manner by which the Council of Canadians suggest that recognizing the human right to water will ensure that those most water scarce will be helped, CUPE implies the public ownership of water will safeguard the resource. CUPE states that Canadians need to guard the right to clean water “and promote the idea of water as a precious public resource” (CUPE 2006b). The desire for CUPE, is not only to present water as something that needs to be guarded or protected, but also to advance a conceptualization of water as a precious public resource.

5.3 Territorial Designations

The geographical constructions of territory and identity play significant roles in this analysis. Critical thinking about the relationship between geography and politics, illustrate how particular conceptions of geography perpetuate certain practices that position some people on the 'inside' while others are left 'outside.'

R.B.J Walker refers to a Western tradition of characterizing space in binary terms, with the inside as protected and social while the outside in anarchic. He refers to this as the "politics of space" and points out that political spaces have long been divided along territorial boundaries and the political was subsumed under geographical space (Walker 1991, 446). The artificiality of territorial boundaries is seen most clearly in the division of Africa by colonial powers set out during the Berlin conference. The colonial legacy can be observed in the form of the many socio-political issues currently straining the continent. Post colonial studies provided much insight into the roles of power and imperialism in shaping and distributing land. Edward Said has been influential in identifying the relationship between imperialism and land. The politics of space can also be identified in examples within Canada. The use of survey as an instrument to allocate land away from indigenous peoples to the hands of imperialist claims, was critical in the geopolitical molding of Canada.

The Border

Territoriality has been an integral aspect of how bulk water exports have been framed within discourses by both the Council of Canadians and CUPE. This section outlines some of the similar ways in which territory is used by both organizations and

then draws on their differences. Canada is conceptualized as a political territory, and that which lies within the Canadian border is to be secured, and policed. The border carries with it much power and respect in these discourses and it is something which must stay intact for security to be provided. The border is something that separates Canada from the U.S., and this is frequently reinstated in the language used by these organizations. It is as though the reader needs to be reminded of the political geography of the two countries, and the importance of recognizing this separation.

The 1909 International Boundary Water Treaty Act is referred to in these discourses as the only piece of binding water related legislation between Canada and the U.S. The Boundary Waters Treaty Act was established to provide procedures to prevent and resolve disputes concerning boundary water between the two countries (Johansen, 1999).

Canada U.S. boundary water is presented as a target for concern during the Devils Lake episode. Discussed by the Council of Canadians not so much in terms of bulk water exports, but rather in terms of cross border contamination of water from Devils Lake, North Dakota into Lake Winnipeg, Manitoba. The case was used by the Council of Canadians to demonstrate the ineffectiveness of the Boundary Waters Treaty; the lack of respect on the part of the State of North Dakota; and the lack of leadership by the Government of Canada. It further illustrates how the pollution being emitted by Americans is placing the Canadian environment at risk and compromising the health of Canadians. That this treaty can be violated so significantly is demonstrative of the lack of security being granted by what the border stands for.

Discussions on a continental water agreement provide a reason for concern regarding the strength of the Canada U.S. border. A continental water agreement would effectively erase the border between the two countries, and would limit Canada from securing the management of water. Maude Barlow states:

[t]he so-called prohibition on bulk water exports contained in the 1909 Boundary Waters Treat Act (IBWTA) only applies to waters that are shared with the U.S. and does not apply to what the U.S. is really after-water from Canada's North" (The Council of Canadians 2007).

The lack of action to protect the border leads the Council of Canadians to question the role of the government. "Why is our federal government remaining silent while the provinces rubber-stamp what is clearly a unilateral US water grab?" (The Council of Canadians 2004c).

The border was evoked in 2006, when a proposed pipeline between Manitoba and Texas was discussed by a Washington consultancy -the Global Water and Energy Team. The Council of Canadians discussed the new pressure for Canada to export water to the United States, citing the President of the company, Paul Wihbey "It is nearly inevitable that bulk water exports from Canada" will occur within the next "two to five years" (The Council of Canadians 2006c). This is viewed as a new form of continentalism, whereby energy was the first form of integration, water is emerging as the next.

The year 2007 marks the period in which the Council of Canadians produced the highest quantity of media regarding bulk water exports. This corresponds with a document that the Council obtained entitled "North American Future 2025 Project," later to be acknowledged as the Security and Prosperity Partnership. The title of their

media release, “Leaked document reveals bulk water exports to be discussed at continental integration talks” suggests that Canadians should be concerned by the closed-door meetings that are taking place over continental water schemes. The Council responds by holding a series of “open-door” meetings against bulk water exports. Concerns over this are two-fold, one being that bulk water exports are on the table, and the second that the meeting is occurring behind the closed doors. Not only is Canada’s water at risk, but also its future is to be determined in a manner that lacks accountability and transparency.

CUPE similarly draws on concerns of the border. The organization develops a group called the ‘Water Watchers’ which track developments regarding water related issues in their particular region. The union states

[a]s Canada’s largest union, CUPE has been on the front line defending public ownership of our most precious resource-water (CUPE 2003a).

CUPE refers to itself in a few of the media releases, as being on the front line, protecting the border from infiltration of corporations seeking to privatize Canada’s water resources.

Within the discourses produced by CUPE, the border takes on a more abstract form. Rather than direct references being made to the Canada U.S. border, as is often the case with the Council of Canadians, what becomes the object of attention is fear over the malleability of borders within the context of international trade and commerce. The pressure for open borders, and flexible policies to enable the trade of goods between countries is also seen as contributing to the threat of bulk water exports. This of course, is assuming that water could be considered a “good” in the first place. CUPE points to

massive privatization of natural resources occurring around the globe, as an example of a trend of what is to come in Canada.

CUPE opposes international trade agreements such as the World Trade Organization's General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). These agreements, and the forces behind them, seek to turn water and water services into commodities to be bought and sold across borders, with devastating consequences (CUPE 2003a).

It is argued that the increasing frequency of these trade agreements is acting as a destabilizing force within countries around the world. CUPE declares that these agreements take no public opinion into consideration and enable corporations to storm across borders and determine what they desire to commercialize. The borders referred to by CUPE in the majority of cases are ones that have become determined by neoliberal trends.

[Bulk water exports] are the international trade trigger that hand corporations the tools to force their way into communities and countries, robbing them of vital resources (CUPE 2003a).

The porous nature of borders under neoliberalism is considered to be what has threatened nature and made it essential for CUPE to defend the front line.

5.4 Conclusion

There exist both similarities and differences in the ways in which the Council of Canadians and CUPE evoke issues around territory, nature and neoliberalism. Similarities can be identified in the way these public advocacy organizations conceptualize nature and neoliberalism. Water has been cast as a spatially static, vulnerable resource discussed mostly in anthropogenic terms. Water's biophysical characteristics are not discussed, which serves to enable particular articulations of

territory to be enacted. Exploring the different portrayals of the amount of water that Canada has functions to make water a fixed rather than flowing or amorphous entity.

Water is conceptualized as a fundamental human right, and thus the argument follows that the public, not private sector, should govern it. Neoliberal processes are presented as a tool for enabling the commodification of nature, facilitating the shift of power from the public to private sector. Neoliberalism is viewed as the process through which nature can be controlled, and since nature is conceptualized anthropogenically, it subsequently becomes a tool by which people are being controlled through market mechanisms.

The differences in the evocation of these themes by these organizations are primarily found in issues relating to territory. Territory referred to by the Council of Canadians is largely of the Realist brand of International Relations theory, relating to the securitization of national boundaries and the protection of sovereignty. While the organization recognizes forces other than the nation state (such as their own campaign to influence public policy) they maintain a view of the U.S. as pursuing its power through the attempt to amass water resources in Canada. CUPE's focus on territory involves the economic relations that have developed as a result of increased networks of capital relations. Territory is not viewed as a static delineated space, but rather as a porous entity being molded by neoliberal processes.

Territorial imagery is invoked by positioning a relatively water abundant Canada next to a neighbour perceived to be water scarce and antagonistic. The Council of Canadians refers to rapid development in the U.S. Southwest as a source of threat to Canada. As greater demands are being placed on domestic American water supplies and

declining groundwater levels are expanding, it is argued that large-scale projects are underway to move water for the thirsty Americans. The Council of Canadians acknowledges that Canada is not a water abundant country as such; they have employed another story-line, one that focuses not on a water abundant Canada, but rather, a water scarce world. The use of territory as a strategy to achieve political change can be dangerous when used incorrectly. The myth of water abundance can carry with it a number of serious implications, yet at the same time, to tip the scale and alternatively suggest global water scarcity is occurring will serve to promote the use of other policy prescriptions, which may have unwanted implications.

The question evoked at the beginning of this analysis was as follows: how is Canadian national identity being articulated in these discourses on bulk water exports? My attempt thus far, has been to illustrate how forms of territory, nature and neoliberalism are acting as an utterance of nationalism. Features of a universal nature, an intrinsic nature and an external nature serve to provide a frame through which these discourses can be explored for expressions of identity.

The reference to a global water crisis can be linked to the conception of a universal nature, which suggests that the earth can be viewed as having one natural order. The backdrop of a global water crisis is presented as a given in their discourse, and time/space features are neglected in this process. Spatiality is ignored and regional differences are put aside so that discussions of scarcity can be conceptualized as a generalized subject.

Identity is framed through global commonality whereby water is conceptualized in terms of a fundamental human right. It therefore is no longer a resource that

Canadians need to protect for themselves, but rather it becomes a right for all *humankind*. This is significant insofar as it calls on a moral responsibility to ensure adequate access to water indiscriminate of country or region. Canadians are positioned as being a humanitarian, environmentally enlightened people and with these 'intrinsic' characteristics the requirement to protect water from outside threats is made.

Finally, external nature is evoked through discussion of how market mechanisms are threatening to commodify the environment. It is discussed as though this is an *unnatural* process occurring in the way water is being governed. Whereas public ownership of water and wastewater facilities is seen as a harmonious relationship, private ownership is seen as a destructive form of management that is creeping up to gain ultimate power.

There is a taken-for-grantedness regarding these dualistic perceptions of water in that one is positioned as being good and the other evil. What this serves to create is an ignorance of how public ownership has not always taken ecological considerations seriously. This of course is not to argue that privatization does not have negative repercussions in environmental management, but rather to illustrate how doomsday predictions have taken precedence in public discourses. By presenting the 'problem' of nature as external, in the form of global scarcity, or U.S. water shortages, it has fostered a view of the problem being "out there" as opposed to thinking about the types of environmental relations and policies that can be improved upon in Canada.

(Innis 1972, 4)

Figure 5 – Altered Reflections

This graphic evokes an age-old discussion of Canadian identity as seen through negation. The shoeless Canadian man with his mittens and safety-pinned coat stares down at the water, and his reflection reveals an American man, a slightly happier, wrinkle free and blurrier vision of himself. Many of the debates over Canadian identity have been framed in opposition of what it is to be American. That this man is searching for identity through water can be observed as the use of water as a conduit for identity construction.

6.0 SECURING NATIONAL IDENTITY

6.1 Constructing National Identity

The concept of a Canadian nation, and national identity, is one which depends upon the perception of unity and solidarity. Further it requires identity to be evoked as an essential attribute. Judith Butler (1990, 33) argues that essentialist positions mistake cultural processes for natural ones, she refers to 'regulatory fictions' and the processes that support the view that there is an essential character to any concept or identity. Her work in post structural feminism provides a view of the construction of gender categories through repeated acts which have the effect of congealing over time to produce the appearance of something substantial, real, and natural. Erin Manning (2003, xv), reflects upon this process in terms of the construction of national identity in *Ephemeral Identities* stating:

This language of the nation is characterized...by a desire to naturalize a cohesive sense of identity and territory through official cultural and political texts that depict the nation as a harmonious entity, and by the lawful enforcement of the discourse of state sovereignty as the guarantor of liberty, equality and fraternity."

There is nothing natural about the articulation of national identity; it is something that has been crafted in discourses of politics and art for centuries. Although the processes of identity formation have differed significantly around the world and throughout history, they all share one thing in common, that being the requirement to depict the nation as a homogenous and unitary entity. The relationship between the nation and national identity is mutually constitutive in that national identity requires the existence of a nation, and the nation requires the expression of national identity to be considered legitimate.

Another element necessary in the constitution of national identity is related more to the place in which nationalism is practiced. “Places are often thought of as if they are ‘bunkers’ or isolated communities separated from everywhere else. For both nationalism and identity politics, place is seen as the ideal in which the group lives hermetically sealed off from all others” (Agnew, 2007, 141). It has been suggested that identity formation in settler colonies is an especially problematic concept.

Settler colony cultures have never been able to construct simple concepts of the nation, such as those based on linguistic community or racial or religious homogeneity. Faced with their “mosaic” reality, they have, in many ways, been clear examples of the *constructedness* of nations. In settler colony cultures the sense of place and placelessness have been crucial factors in welding together a communal identity from the widely disparate elements brought together by transportation, migration and settlement. At the heart of the settler colony culture is also an ambivalent attitude toward their own identity, poised as they are between the centre from which they seek to differentiate themselves and the indigenous people who serve to remind them of their own problematic occupation of the country (Ashcroft et al. 1995, 151-5).

As is suggested in this passage, place takes on a heightened position in the construction of national identity, as it is one of the few factors that can serve to unify a population of diverse people. Both landscape and water have occupied an important place in the national imaginary of Canadians, because they act as symbols of something shared by the people inhabiting the land.

Another element essential in the construction of national identity is the very category which serves to define one nation from another. The border is a line which serves to extrapolate national identity from the “Inside” and the “Outside.” Through the border, the ability to limit membership into a nation ensures the categorical distinction between Us and Them exists.

What distinguishes containment from expulsion depends on how the line is drawn between the inside and outside of the nation state. On the other hand, both expulsion and containment are mechanisms for the very drawing of that line. The line comes to exist politically at the moment in which someone passes or is refused rights of its passage (Butler & Spivak 2007, 34).

The ability to exclude is a practice through which sovereignty and nationalism can be enacted and it provides a way by which “we” and “us” can be reasserted.

Exploring the construction of Canadian identity in opposition to America, Hugh Innis (1972, 1) muses,

Ever since 1775, when the Americans broke away from Britain and attacked Montreal, we have had a love-hate relationship with the United States. At times we have seemed to envy their kind of open political system; at other times we have called it mob rule. We both fear their emotionalism and are drawn to it. We are both delighted and appalled by the United States, often simultaneously. So conscious are we of the presence and power of our big neighbour that the nationalism of Canadian people often seems anti-American rather than pro-Canadian.

Conceptualizing national identity as illustrated in this passage requires a view of the nation in terms of cohesive and unitary entity. Also clear is the requirement to have a category that serves to provide opposition to the construction of “our” identity. Innis suggests that nationalism in Canada is fueled more by anti-American sentiment than the association of its people to some form of shared identity. This suggests there may be more ease in attributing essentialist categories to others than searching for some form of shared identity in a country with numerous identities, histories and ethnic backgrounds.

The analysis of discourses produced by these public advocacy organizations has depicted Canada as a unitary pre-given, stable and temporally static nation. State sovereignty is drawn upon as a means to ensure the protection of boundaries and the security of the Canadian people. The frequent references to the border between Canada and the United States ensure that the distinction between countries or nations is not forgotten.

The narratives drawn on by public advocacy organizations have evoked binary constructs in a number of ways. Framing Americans as environmentally wasteful and destructive positions Canadians as environmentally conscientious and superior. Space is

invoked in nationalist discourse through conceptualizing water in a static manner, as though it is a fixed space, and not a fluid and moving entity. Water's very materiality is neglected in these discourses. By utilizing the image of water in the container terms of state boundaries, it provides a way in which the American threat can be advanced. It allows the issue to be conceptualized in terms of the Americans coming after "our" water.

The fluidity of water challenges the ability to control space through demarcation, as it does not abide by territorial terms. This study illustrates how nationalist discourses in Canada have conceptualized water in territorial terms, and through this, it has been made possible to target an American threat, subsequently drawing on identities of us and them.

These two public advocacy organizations have used bulk water exports as a prop in their staging of nationalism in Canada. The threats to Canadian sovereignty conceived by these discourses provides a basis in which the nation is required to reassert itself internationally. Territoriality becomes a strategy for these organizations to pursue national claims to protecting water and securing the border. Canadian national security is evoked as Canadians are called to protect and safeguard their natural resources from outside threats. Bulk water exports are being used to support moral superiority of Canadians vis-à-vis the U.S.

National identity is constructed through a process of negation, by constructing the U.S. as a greedy and wasteful consumer of water, Canadians in turn are projected as conservationists and environmentally superior. The "Canadians" referred to by the Council of Canadians and CUPE are constructed through positioning them through three

frames: morality, sovereignty and vulnerability. Morality is used to draw on a notion of Canada's international reputation and to situate citizens as ethically responsible. Sovereignty is enacted by drawing on an exposed border, and questioning the federal government's ability to control freshwater resources. This discourse has framed Canadian identity in vulnerable terms through arguments that Canadian heritage and moral fiber are under attack from corporate or American greed. The positioning of Canadian identity in vulnerable terms serves to heighten sensations of fear, which are inextricably linked to these discourses. Through discourses on bulk water exports, water is not the only thing being exported, but so to is a vision of Canadian identity as purported by the Council of Canadians and CUPE.

6.2 On Morality

Morality plays a significant role in the composition of a Canadian identity by the public advocacy organizations. Both organizations refer to water and the public control of water in largely moral and ethical terms. While the Council of Canadians focus on Canadian identity in terms of sovereignty and CUPE's attention is on the Canadian identity largely in neoliberal terms, both organizations evoke images of the Canadian national identity in terms of morality.

Canadians are positioned as being morally superior to the U.S. and national identity draws on a self-righteousness equated to Canada as a peacekeeping country. A legacy seems to have been established, with Lloyd Axworthy and the jargon used in defining Canadian foreign policy; a human security agenda, a modest middle power and

peacekeeper. The seeds sown during the late 1990's by Axworthy have remained a part of the rhetorical substance of these public advocacy organizations.

The Council of Canadians criticizes the federal government for not recognizing water as a fundamental human right. Acknowledging water as a basic human right is part of a significant campaign by the Council, and is presented as one of the main solutions to concerns over bulk water exports and water issues in Canada generally.

Water as a human right is discussed under very moral terms, and the neglect to recognize water in such a frame is presented as a denial by the federal government to guarantee the rights of Canadians and their families to clean water. The Council indicates that Canadians would be shocked to learn that in 2002 Canada was the only country, of the 53 on the Human Rights Commission that voted 'No' to recognizing water as a human right. They state:

[i]n the face of a global water crisis, it is outrageous that this government, in the name of all Canadians, could stand opposed to the Right to Water (The Council of Canadians 2004a).

Presenting a number of statistics illustrating a global water crisis, the Council argues that the reason why the government refuses to acknowledge the human right to water is so that for-profit corporations can continue to take over public water systems around the world. If water can be recognized as a human right, then there would be ammunition against proposals to provide water on the basis of one's ability to pay.

The Council of Canadians and CUPE joined together in commissioning an Ipsos-Reid poll between March 30th and April 1, 2004 asking Canadians if they agree that Canada should adopt a comprehensive national water policy that recognized clean drinking water as a basic human right. Their results indicated that 84% of Canadians strongly agreed (The Council of Canadians 2004b).

The Council of Canadians state:

[i]t is unconscionable that a country like Canada, with the benefit of an abundance of water, could be speaking out against the rights of others. It has tainted Canada's image as a promoter of human rights (The Council of Canadians 2006a).

The above quote articulately crafts a number of frames used to support a particular understanding of the issue. For one, morality is employed in the normative description of Canada's decision as lacking conscience. Canada is presented as a moral vacuum in its refusal to acknowledge the human Right to Water. Second, the use of a geographic image of water abundance presents Canada as a place rich in water resources. (The problem associated with this description of Canada has already been explored). Third, Canada's national identity and reputation has been tarnished in refusing to acknowledge the human right to water. This assumes that Canada has an essential identity as a promoter of human rights, and debates over this, suggest that such a claim is most certainly notable (not to mention the implication that there is an essentialist identity of Canada).

In exploring immigration, Catherine Dauvergne (2005, 4-5) explores the role of humanitarianism and identity, arguing that humanitarianism serves to define "the nation as compassionate and caring." She goes on to further suggest that "part of our humanitarianism is about...applauding ourselves." Drawing on this argument, it can be suggested that Canada's humanitarianism has been put to question, and the Council of Canadians have worked to evoke a sense of guilt in Canadians with their government. The gesture to not sign onto water as a human right is read in this discourse as straying from the humanitarian and moral course of the country.

Language evoking water, identity and morality is also clearly presented by the Council of Canadians in stating:

Water is a sacred component of the commons; it belongs to our common humanity, the earth and all living species. It is therefore, a fundamental human right and a public good that must be protected by governments and communities, not a human need to be supplied by the market on the basis of wealth (The Council of Canadians 2006b).

Water is framed in terms of being a sacred part of humanity, it is not only something required for survival but something which is worthy of spiritual respect and devotion. It is presented as a unifier, something belonging to a common humanity. This understanding explicitly weaves an image of a group identity, a history shared by the elements of nature. Water becomes part of the spiritual imaginary of Canadians. This quote further presents a threat to common humanity, that being the market. The market is positioned as the Other, to be feared, to be avoided and to “be protected from by governments and communities”.

The concern over international privatization of water systems corresponds with a growing intensity to demand water to be recognized as a human right. The Council of Canadians cites Tony Clarke from the Polaris Institute:

...this commodification of water is legally reinforced by trade regimes like NAFTA, the FTAA, and the General Agreement on Trade in Services. Access to water must not be based on peoples' ability to pay, thereby threatening to condemn millions more to death. Water as a human right must be universally applied! (The Council of Canadians 2004a).

Trade regimes in this case are presented as the threat, and the emotional language employed does not leave the perceived implications of this threat to the imagination but quite exceptionally lays out the consequences by stating that millions more will be condemned to death. The reader is left questioning her or his own moral positioning and insofar as they support the commodification of water, they are left with the weight of

having condemned millions of people to death. Simply put, if one cares about humanity, they will conceptualize water as a human right. The use of global crisis in these discourses serves to heighten the moral responsibility of a water abundant Canada to recognize water as a fundamental human right.

The Council of Canadians and CUPE explicitly relate bulk water exports to morality,

Bulk export of water is not only environmentally unsound but morally bankrupt (The Council of Canadians 1999b).

We don't believe selling off the public's water is ethical or acceptable (CUPE 2006a).

Water is not only something that is victim to corporate greed, but becomes something that is threatened on an ethical level. Associating the export of water to moral bankruptcy positions Canadian values at risk and suggests that support of exportation is morally unacceptable.

The use of morality, while consistent, is ambiguous insofar as the moral justification to a human right to water and references to Canada's 'humanitarian' reputation could be used to suggest a moral obligation to assist a 'thirsty' America. What this suggests is that national sovereignty trumps morality in these discourses. In addition, it reflects the moral superiority inherent in these discourses on nationalism in Canada.

Morality and the Canadian identity are woven together with images of nature. Water is conceptualized as being sacred, universal, precious, abundant and scarce. All of these identities associated with water have given it an elevated status in the national imagery associated with Canadians. These characteristics have served to heighten a security narrative, which suggests that protecting water from markets and trade regimes

is something that needs to occur for the maintenance of a moral Canada, and further a moral population.

6.3 On Sovereignty

The Council of Canadians evoke identity through notions of sovereignty whereby Canadians are encouraged to play an active role in protecting their water from Americans, corporations and businesses. Securing Canadian water and ensuring that access to water remains public is presented as a civic duty. Sovereignty is enacted through participating in the opposition of bulk water exports, thereby acting to secure the border from outside threats.

Comparing the discourse evoked during the Sun Belt Inc. lawsuit and the Gisborne Lake proposal suggests a tendency to focus on the U.S. as a threat to Canada as opposed to other countries having also expressed interest in Canadian water. In the case of Gisborne Lake, the proposed market was a destination in the Middle East. During this period, the Middle East is not referred to as a threatening presence, and instead focus surrounds the Premier of Newfoundland. In contrast, the Council of Canadians discuss the Sun Belt case with great frequency stating that the lawsuit is an example in which a U.S. company “could cost Canadians millions of dollars and lead to our country losing control of its fresh water” (The Council of Canadians 1999a). The American threat is singled out in proposals to export Canadian water and discourse over the ten-year period repeatedly points to the U.S. as a target for concern by Canada.

Threats to Canada are also presented as taking the form of signatories to the FTAA:

Americans, Mexicans and, eventually, all of the other signatories to the FTAA will have the same rights to our waters as Canadians (The Council of Canadians 1998a).

The quote illustrates how concerns are framed in terms of loss of sovereignty, and it is suggested that Canadian rights will be stripped away. This sentiment is also echoed a few years later:

once bulk water exports begin, they cannot be stopped and the U.S. corporations will have the same unrestricted claim to Canadian water that they now have to Canadian oil and gas (The Council of Canadians 2001a).

This quote suggests that water should not be treated like other natural resources in Canada. Although the U.S. has unrestricted claim to oil and gas, water is positioned as being exceptional. This heightened status reinforces the need to protect “Canadian water” from U.S. corporations.

It is suggested former President George W. Bush’s interest in Canadian water heightens the threat to Canada, given the unilateral tendencies of the former administration.

Today’s news that U.S. President George W. Bush wants to negotiate a continental water agreement ends any pretense that Canada’s water is protected from the thirsty American South-west (The Council of Canadians 2001c).

The categorization of the “Thirsty American Southwest” is used to develop the identity of the ‘other.’ It provides a geographical space and links to it a desperate identity threatening Canada’s future. Regional differences in the American Southwest, and the variety of methods being employed to address water shortages are ignored in this discourse for the sake of conceiving a homogenous identity acting as a security risk.

The world is running out of clean water. The U.S. population is exploding, and the American southwest is mining water for industrial and agricultural purposes faster than nature can replenish it. Business leaders see diversions and wholesale bulk water exports as the solution to the global water crisis (The Council of Canadians 2008d).

The case is made more desperate, positioned in a world running out of clean water. Resources are scarce and population is exploding; the picture painted in the above passage reflects a revival of Malthusian discourse but rather than population control being the prescription, it is securitization of water from bulk water exports. Suggesting that business leaders see bulk water exports as a solution to global water crisis is certainly questionable, as the economic costs of exporting water, locally, are quite extensive, not to mention the costs borne by exporting water on a global scale.

Threats to Canadian sovereignty were voiced frequently in 2004 during the Great Lakes Annex, the Council of Canadians refer to the Annex stating:

[t]his agreement undermines Canada's jurisdiction over the Great Lakes and erodes our authority over this shared resource...[t]his is nothing more than a US scheme to drain our Great Lakes dry (The Council of Canadians 2004c).

Canada's sovereign ability to administer and manage resources is presented as being threatened by the U.S. The metaphor of the sink is used to provide vivid imagery of how a tap is sucking water out of Canada and draining it to the United States. Comparing Canadian water basins to sinks of water suggest an ease at which water can be taken from Canada. It is suggested that once the tap is turned on, Canadian sovereignty and water will drain away. This metaphor provides a simplistic frame of bulk water exports, putting aside the extreme complexity, time and cost that would be involved to export bulk water from Canada.

Presenting the U.S. as the enemy to Canadian water, and referencing the "US scheme to drain our Great Lakes dry," denies the U.S. relationship to the Great Lakes Basin. "Our Great Lakes" happen to also be "their" Great Lakes. U.S. communities bordering the Great Lakes have been as much a part of the environmental movements to

protect the basin from pollution and exportation as Canadian communities (Mazmanian & Kraft 1999). The Great Lakes Basin is conceptualized in this discourse as belonging to Canada and the regional relationship of the provinces and states surrounding the basin are not addressed.

The U.S. is positioned as threatening the Great Lakes waters and concerns over the amount withdrawn, diverted or exported were discussed frequently in 2004. The Council of Canadians criticized a report developed by the Parliamentary Committee on the Great Lakes Annex indicating that it did little to provide security to the Great Lakes and suggesting it is:

... watered-down and meaningless...[i]t provides no imperative or course of action for the federal government to protect the Great Lakes from thirsty US interests" (The Council of Canadians 2004e).

They continue:

When he meets with Bush next week, Paul Martin must make it clear that the Great Lakes are not a US watering hole," says Maude Barlow "Canadians want this shared resource protected, not plundered (Ibid).

Rather than the metaphor of a sink, concerns over the Great Lakes are imagined in terms of water being plundered from a watering hole. This quote reflects the acknowledgement of the Great Lakes as being a shared resource, but continues with the anti-American sentiment.

[t]he agreements, released this summer by eight US States, Ontario and Quebec, will see unlimited water diversions from the Great Lakes and pose a threat to Canadian sovereignty over these shared waters (The Council of Canadians 2004d).

The U.S. threat to Canadian sovereignty plays a persistent role in this discourse. The Council of Canadians suggests that alliance with the US could potentially lead to Canada losing its moral grasp.

The Council of Canadians state:

Creating a Fortress North America will not make Canadians safer. It will only more closely align us with a U.S. agenda that ignores basic human rights and civil liberties for the sake of tenuous claims to improving its own security and prosperity (The Council of Canadians 2008e).

Canadians are at risk to becoming integrated with the U.S. and this integration is framed as threatening not only Canada's sovereignty, but so too, the national identity of its people. Canadians are framed as being unlike the Americans in that Canada is concerned about humanistic issues such as improving the security and prosperity of *other* countries (with the exception of the U.S.) and Canadians do now follow the individualistic agenda of the Americans.

The threats that CUPE refers to in the requirement to "defend the front line" are often in the form of European and American companies, which view water as part of a global market. There are similarities in the process of "othering" and determining a threat by Council of Canadians and CUPE. Most often, this threat is beyond Canadian borders, and thus the requirement to protect the border is advanced. The Council of Canadians and CUPE both identify corporations as a source of threat to Canada's water. CUPE indicates that the U.S. is teaming up with the Europeans to "dab their toes" into a Canadian water market (CUPE 2001, 16).

CUPE's more nuanced interpretation of the threat to the border targets multinational corporations and fears over bulk water exports are coupled with increasing water privatization. They use the Nova Group permit to export water from Lake Superior as an example of how corporate control is trumping government authority. The SunBelt case is used to illustrate how provincial and now federal governments may have to pay for compensation to an American corporation pending the IJC ruling. CUPE

states that if any bulk water export proposal should be realized, the floodgates would be opened.

And once the water had begun to flow, trade and investment agreements such as NAFTA or a multilateral agreement to be negotiated at the World Trade Organization would make it impossible for future governments to stem the tide (CUPE 1999a).

CUPE refers to threats to Canadian sovereignty made not by the U.S. but rather:

Huge water multinationals are hovering on our shores, eager to get their hands on Canada's water. These corporate predators, who make no bones about their greed, call water 'liquid gold' (CUPE 1999d).

These water multinationals are positioned as inching their way closer to the total commodification of life. Once they start, they will not stop and public ownership will cease to exist. Implicit in the reference to hovering over our shores is a requirement to protect Canada's shorelines and borders, suggesting that securitization may be necessary to put a stop to these "corporate predators." The dramatic imagery used portrays corporations as monstrous entities waiting for the moment to hold Canadians hostage to steal 'liquid gold.'

Sovereignty is evoked in these discourses mainly by the Council of Canadians, but also by CUPE. The difference in their framing of threats to sovereignty is the entity that is positioned as threatening Canadian identity. In the case of the Council of Canadians, it is made clear that the American Southwest is after Canadian water, and in the case of CUPE, concerns are over multinational corporations. Whereby one is seen as threatening Canadian sovereignty in a more traditional sense, the other is seen as infiltrating Canadian identity through neoliberal trends.

The identity of the 'other,' be that in the form of Americans or multinationals, is used to frame the issue of bulk water exports. The evocation of identity in these discourses frames Canadian identity at risk, through exposing Canadians to the

American 'agenda' and the American thirst, and by threatening to turn Canadian public modes of governance into private enterprises. Canadians become unified in these discourses through the described quest to maintain absolute control of their territory. Responsibility is not only to be that of the governments, but also citizens have a role to play in ensuring the protection of water and the maintenance of control.

6.4 On Vulnerability

Situating Canadians in terms of vulnerability provides further emotional rhetoric from the perceived threats derived from bulk water exports. The source of vulnerability differs between the Council of Canadians and CUPE, however, its use as a category is present in their discourses. The discourse suggests that Canadian autonomy and sovereignty is made vulnerable by the pursuit of neoliberal trends and American interests. CUPE suggests that there is more than that at threat, stating:

The idea of water as part of the global commons and as an essential part of our natural heritage is under threat. Also threatened are the collective means by which generations of Canadians have sought to provide water and sanitation services to people living in towns and cities (CUPE 1999c).

Again water is described as being part of the Canadian identity, it is something uniting Canadian heritage, a symbol of the global commons. A threat to water, as described in this passage, is also a threat to the Canadian lifestyle and means of managing and interacting with the resource. What this passage makes clear is that water is seen as connected to Canadian heritage and identity. It is this very component of identity which is being threatened as a result of bulk water exports and increasing trends towards privatization. Public organization of water is associated with a collective ancestry, and

by pushing towards the privatization of facilities, it is suggested this past is effectively being wiped away.

Much of the discourse advocating against bulk water exports frequently employs notions of identity and nationalism. Water is presented as an essential element of Canadian heritage. Concern about ecological issues is presented as coming to Canadians naturally- as although it is something innate within the Canadian identity. Canadian nationalism is performed through discourses on bulk water exports and the need to protect “our” water. These understandings view water through a container model of space, whereby it is treated as though it is static rather than accepting its fluidity and recognizing the complexity and dynamic processes involved. The discourse paints Canadians as innocent earth-loving bystanders, amidst the chaos on the outside, the U.S. setting out a conquest for Canadian water.

Maude Barlow identifies the threats to Canada’s water when interviewed in the Council of Canadians magazine, *Canadian Perspectives*. When asked how threats to Canada’s water relate to threats to waters internationally she responds,

The threats to Canada’s water are a little different, but in many ways the same. The big private water companies haven’t had success yet in convincing local government to hand over contracts for private water delivery-that’s been the big struggle in the South. Our struggle is more about protecting water from commercial export to the United States (Barlow 2007b).

In this passage, Maude Barlow connects with the reader, discussing “our struggle” as though it is something she is sharing with all Canadians. The Canadian struggle is to protect waters from the U.S. and it is in this form that vulnerability emerges. The discourses present bulk water exports as being a renewed form of manifest destiny, and the language evoked suggest that Canadians are experiencing a unified struggle. Other forms of threats leaving Canadians vulnerable consist of “dwindling fresh water

supplies, increased trade attacks and ongoing attempts to privatize Canadian water” (The Council of Canadians 2000).

The Council of Canadians draws on vulnerability not only in the pressures they reference from the U.S., but also in the lack of government leadership on the bulk water export issue.

...the federal government is totally losing control over its shared waters with the United States. Increasingly, the federal government’s lack of leadership on these issues is allowing the US to make unilateral decisions on international problems and the provinces to enter into piecemeal agreements with US states. This is completely unacceptable (The Council of Canadians 2005a).

The suggestion that the federal government is losing control over its shared waters is certainly questionable given the complex array of treaties on boundary waters that have helped to maintain peaceful relations on both sides of the border.

The Canadian identity is rarely presented as being strong, independent and autonomous, but always in a struggle to protect such characteristics from flowing through the borders. While Canada’s humanitarian and international identity is characterized in morally superior terms, it is always positioned as also being weak and threatened from the growing number of threats identified by these organizations.

Maude Barlow states,

there is no question the United States is eyeing Canada’s water. Its mismanagement of its own water supplies, coupled with rampant development in water-scarce regions of the country and poor water-guzzling agriculture practices, has left thirty-six states with moderate to severe water shortages (Barlow 2007a, 178).

The passage above follows a standard equation of much of the communication by the Council of Canadians. A threat is identified (the U.S., or corporations), Canada’s vulnerability is presented (lack of federal leadership), and a water crisis is discussed (be it global in nature, or in the form of the American Southwest). Canada’s perceived

vulnerability takes shape in this formulaic narrative developed by the Council of Canadians.

6.5 Water's Securitization

The Council of Canadians and CUPE are engaging with the issue of bulk water exports in ways that draw on threats and evoke fear in Canadians. The rhetorical landscape exposes Canadian vulnerability to the impending clutch of Americans or corporate predators intent on conflict if their demands are not met. Canadians are positioned as being hostages, and their very moral fiber threatened by deeper integration or privatization.

The use of morality, sovereignty and vulnerability in isolation as discursive frames has served to provide colourful communication on bulk water exports by these public advocacy organizations. However, in looking back to Hobbes' vision of protecting individuals from vulnerability and Machiavelli's strategies in the maintenance of sovereign authority, it is clear that political philosophers have theorized these concepts for centuries. Examining how these three frames have been woven together in these discourses suggests that what is in fact being presented is a security narrative.

This is made clear in exploring how conflict has been used in these discourses to further the fears over Canadian vulnerability and to also advance the requirement to protect sovereign control of resources. CUPE uses the (in)famous quote by former Vice President of the World Bank, Ismail Serageldin's "The wars of the next century will be about water" to stress the urgency of the global water situation (CUPE 2001, 14). That

there have been no grand wars fought over water is at least noteworthy, and although violence has arisen over water resources, the conflict has not been a result of water, but rather a variety of social and historical factors (Kahl 2006).

CUPE foreshadows potential threats to Canada indicating “water-related conflicts [are] springing up around the globe” (CUPE 2001, 14). In the context of a global water crisis threatening the security of countries around the world, the need for a strong front in Canada becomes even more necessary. In juxtaposing Canada’s bulk water export situation next to an array of conflicts emerging around the world, it sends a message to Canadians, that Canada should be prepared.

The Council of Canadians also refer to conflict,

Less water will mean more conflict in the next century among users and countries. Big business is banking on water becoming the oil of the next century and Canadians need to say no (The Council of Canadians 1998b).

The above quote once again illustrates how water has been set apart from other resources, and its perceived scarcity is used to suggest the outcome will be conflict. ‘Canadians’ are evoked in this quote, and are given a role in the opposition to bulk water exports and future conflict.

When the Devil’s Lake case arose between North Dakota and Manitoba, whereby Manitoba opposed the construction of an outlet that caused pollution and foreign aquatic species to enter into the Red River basin, the Council of Canadians responded:

Devil’s Lake sets a dangerous precedent for future conflicts over our shared water systems, This crisis-like the one in Walkerton in 2000 or the looming crisis today in the Great Lakes-underscores the need for a national water policy (The Council of Canadians 2005b).

The organization refers to the dispute as a conflict, suggesting that future conflicts may arise. It becomes even more sensationalized when contextualized next to “looming

crisis.” The language evoked characterizes the situation in desperate terms, suggesting that a national water policy is required to secure Canada’s water. The organization later presented the issue in more elevated terms, as a “national security issue”:

Like Canada’s oil and gas, the United States has obviously staked its claim over Canada’s water supplies and is ready to make it a national security issue if those supplies are not forthcoming (The Council of Canadians 2008e).

Here, security is referred to in a more traditional sense, whereby Canada’s resources are under threat by an opposing country, which is portrayed, as ready to use national security measures to get what it demands. Canada’s security is positioned under threat, and thus, the requirement to defend its water is advanced.

Positioning the water export issue in terms of a future conflict serves a purpose, for it instills a sense of desperation and immediacy. Sensationalism can be an effective tactic to drive an issue up the popular agenda. These strategies are dependent on the rhetoric of fear and threat.

Fears and threats...are productions in two senses. They are productions in that they are made, literally produced, in the sense of fabrication. And they are productions in the sense of theatrical productions: designed and executed spectacles, meant for public consumption and with intended-as well as unintended-effects (Hartmann et al. 2005, 4).

Employing fear tactics is a communication strategy and is crafted to evoke response, thus, the purpose is not to attempt to be the closest representation of reality, but to meet the criteria of one’s communication objectives. This is not to deny the existence of the threats resulting from water scarcity; however, critical engagement with the geography of these issues suggests a complexity that is being ignored for the sake of simplified and sensational frames.

In exploring how environmental issues have been (re)defined under the umbrella of national security, Daniel Deudney (1999, 195) argues that advocates of environmental security seek not to describe or understand the world more accurately,

but rather to stimulate, motivate and inspire action. It is a rhetorical and psychological strategy to redirect social energies towards environmental amelioration. While the intentions of those wishing to present environmental concerns under a national security nexus may be to heighten the importance of the issues, the results may be less than favourable. Under the current climate of the securitization of issues, placing environmental concerns in this context is arguably a stopgap measure at best.

Richard Matthews' (2005, 238) reflects upon the use of bioterrorism and national security in the book *Making Threats*. He illustrates how the securitization of the environment is not a new phenomenon, but draws on disaster scenarios such as Paul Ehrlich's "Population Bomb" and Garrett Hardin's the "Tragedy of the Commons" as examples of impending doom pioneered by authors in the 1960's and 1970's. Exploring the alarmist discourse on bulk water exports suggests that the Council of Canadians and CUPE are revisiting the rhetoric of disaster and anarchy.

Matthews (2005, 240) notes that some of the disaster scenarios being evoked on environmental issues may in fact be real and significant threats; however what is important, is how the threat is being established. Are concerns over bulk water exports being made on the basis of rigorous analysis? Exploring the "national security" threat being posed by the U.S. in these discourses under a historical and geographical lens suggests that decades of peaceful relations and improvements being made in water management strategies puts to question the weight of this threat. Matthews (2005, 240) explores the relevance of threat discourse:

Unfortunately, when citizens and policymakers have already been assured that the world is full of threat by experts in areas such as conservation biology, epidemiology, and demography, then similar assertions made by other "experts"-and the policies they demand- may be accepted without serious scrutiny.

He concludes:

In short, security-relevant perceptions that build on platforms that are themselves unstable and unproven surely need to be interrogated. We need to adapt the business principle of due diligence to the security realm. After all, due diligence does not put the brakes on business per se but only on bad business (Ibid).

Focusing Canadian policy on the perceived threats of bulk water exports based on notions of a thirsty aggressive Americans, or corporate predators ready to drain Canada dry suggests the issue requires security prescriptions. Painting Canadian water issues in terms of a national security issue alleviates the responsibility of individuals, communities, and companies from interacting with water in more sustainable ways. This narrative forwards the responsibility to the federal government to secure, to monitor and to defend.

That a security narrative is being evoked by public advocacy organizations makes this case especially interesting. The pursuit of security mechanisms; sovereign protection of the border and the defense of resources has most often been made by the State in the rationalization for greater defense budgets. In this case, it has been the voice of the public sector, suggesting that water has become a powerful tool, eliciting emotional response within Canada.

This Canadian case has demonstrated how water has been an effective conduit for nationalistic discourse. In framing water as under threat by the Americans, and in positioning Canada in vulnerable terms, these discourses have evoked public morality in the fervent defense of bulk water.

7.0 CONCLUSION

I am not suggesting here that the U.S. is engaged in an evil plot to snatch away our sovereignty. For decades, American companies have been invited, even begged, to plunder our resources. We sell, and they buy, and if our nationhood goes into their bargain that is our affair, not theirs (Stewart 1972, 41).

Having explored how the Council of Canadians and CUPE have used water as a conduit for nationalistic discourse, it has been made clear that the Canadian case illustrates a peculiarity in how water is both conceptualized and interacted with. Since the 1960's the Canadian public have been vocal opponents of any bulk water export proposal. However in examining the vast quantities of other natural resources exported from Canada, it begs the question then why have they not received the same emotional response? This case suggests that water has been cast as a separate category; it is deemed untouchable in the Canadian imaginary. The hypocrisy in this relationship has been noted insofar as the extraction and exportation of so many of Canada's natural features occur with little outcry. The separate category of "bulk water" has served to draw attention to perceived threats of the mass exportation of water in the form of tankers and ships. All the while, Canada continues to divert some of the largest quantities of water in the world within its own borders.

This thesis has examined how national identity has been articulated in public advocacy discourses on bulk water exports, and has explored why water has been a useful conduit for nationalist discourse in Canada. By unraveling frames used by the Council of Canadians and CUPE, it has been made possible to explore how identity has been evoked in discussions of morality, sovereignty and vulnerability. The use of morality by these organizations is done so in ambiguous terms, in that the moral justification to a human right to water and references to Canada's 'humanitarian'

reputation could be used to suggest a moral obligation to assist a 'thirsty' America. Canadian nationalism is discussed in terms of a moral superiority to the U.S., all the while Canada's perceived altruistic nature is urged to help a global struggle. Sovereignty is also a prominent frame evoked in these discourses mainly by the Council of Canadians, but also by CUPE. The difference in their framing of threats to sovereignty is the entity that is positioned as threatening Canadian identity. Whereby the Council of Canadians focus on the American Southwest, CUPE refers to threats made by multinational corporations. Canadian vulnerability is revealed in a rhetorical landscape exposing the impending clutch of Americans or corporate predators intent on conflict if their demands are not met. Canadians are positioned as being hostages and their very moral fiber threatened by deeper integration or privatization.

This thesis does not claim to be an exhaustive exploration of discourse on bulk water exports. Its selection period is between 1998-2008, so the broader historical trends have not been examined. It has exclusively used the Council of Canadians, CUPE and the Globe and Mail, so the analysis has been guided by them and has not incorporated broader media outlets, governments, or private sector organizations. Therefore, this study does not try to over privilege these agents as the only defining vehicles of discourse on the topic. There exists a broader tapestry of discourse through which water has been woven within the Canadian identity. This suggests that the trends and themes picked up in these discourses are not an isolated instance but have been influenced by broader societal agents. Works of fictional literature, visual arts, music and film have played with water symbolism on a variety of levels. In fact, the fate of

Canada's water sovereignty amidst the water thirsty United States became the focus of a 2004 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation movie, *H₂O*.

Organizations have an active role as agents in the construction of discourses on water. It is made clear that the motivation to gain public support by an organization like the Council of Canadians can influence their production of discourse. The use of sensationalist language, heightened imagery and exaggerated vulnerability are examples of the role of threat discourse being used to capture public attention. CUPE also has a role in the construction of discourse on bulk water exports, in that it has used the issue to advance concerns more related to its membership, that being opposition to privatization in Canada. The privatization of water services and the potential for bulk water exports are two related but separate issues, with varying degrees of immediacy. The difference should not be overlooked, because the privatization of municipal water services and bottled water *is* occurring in Canada however the corporate control of bulk water is not.

Discourse on bulk water exports has been positioned within broader literature on neoliberalism and nature. This thesis has explored how processes of neoliberalism have been mapped out by the Council of Canadians and CUPE in two distinct ways, one in terms of 'global' trends, using international examples of water privatization and the other illustrating privatization occurring in wastewater or water delivery systems in Canada. Having explored these discourses, it has been made clear that bulk water exports have been used as a tool in the broader opposition of neoliberalism by these organizations.

While it is evident that agents work to actively define discourse and appropriate issues to pursue broader agendas, there remains something to be said about the public

response that has been evoked surrounding bulk water in Canada. Exploring the communication on bulk water exports in the *Globe and Mail* suggests the power associated with water is not only something acknowledged by the Council of Canadians or CUPE, but also in editorials, and letters to the editor made by a broader Canadian public.

Concerns over protecting Canada's water have enabled it to become the subject of a security narrative. That security narratives are being aroused by public advocacy organizations regarding freshwater suggests that traditional geopolitical formations remain a significant part of communication around environmentalism in Canada. It has also revealed a peculiarity in terms of support for a security apparatus coming from non-governmental organizations, as opposed to the federal government. Ole Wæver (2009) has argued that new actors have begun participating in the securitization of environmental issues, beyond the State. This thesis suggests that public advocacy organizations in Canada are an example of this. That discussions pertaining to waters securitization have been well received by the Canadian public demonstrates how water has been a successful tool for mobilization on national issues.

In exploring discourses on Canadian nationalism, it has been made evident that there is a preoccupation over the absence of a dominant identity narrative, or the lack of monolithic mythology of a nation. Canada's cultural and ethnic diversity has made it a challenging target for constructing a national narrative. In the attempts to coin a Canadian national identity, symbols have been used to construct an image of a collective past or shared heritage. Studies on Canadian nationalism have revealed many examples of 'Canadianism,' ranging from the Group of Seven to national beer campaigns. This

thesis has contributed to this literature by exploring how water has been used to support the making of Canadian nationalism.

Canadian history has long been shaped by Canadian currents, through the early exploration up the St. Lawrence river, to logging development and to the construction of hydro electricity (of which Canada is the second largest producer) (Environment Canada 2008). Canada has more lake area than anywhere in the world with approximately 8% of the territory covered by lakes (Ibid). This makes access to freshwater very distinctive, in that one does not have to travel far to go fishing, swimming or boating. Water and recreation in Canada has played a significant role in forming memories and shaping identities. Water has also been a source for development in fisheries, energy, trade; shaping Canada's economic history and present. Canadian people interact with water in a variety of ways, in quantities far greater than experienced in most countries around the world. In fact, Canadians consume the second highest quantity of water out of the OECD countries (Boyd 2003, 6). That water is required for human survival seems to have made it an existential symbol in the national imaginary, further fueling the defense of freshwater made in public discourses.

For the Council of Canadians and CUPE to appropriate water in nationalist terms a number of geopolitical assumptions have been made. Water has to fit within the categories of the construct of the nation, and for this to occur territoriality has been evoked. This thesis has illustrated how this has taken place in a number of ways. First, water has been treated as a resource and in framing as such it allows water to be understood in anthropogenic terms, whereby its value only exists to people. This conceptualization also makes it possible to frame a threat to water as a threat to

Canadian people. Second, water's materiality has been suspended in these discourses insofar as its biophysical features are ignored. Water's very weight makes it a very difficult substance to move, not to mention export in vast quantities. However, by ignoring water's properties, the prospect of bulk water exports is made more significant. Third, water has been subject to territorial presuppositions that view it in terms of a fixed unit of sovereign space. Despite the fact that 40 percent of the boundary between Canada and the U.S. is composed of water (Environment Canada 2008), water is not viewed as something shared, but rather something Canadian. Understanding water as 'ours' or 'Canadian' makes it possible to target a threat to water in national terms.

By teasing out the categories used to conceptualize water in these discourses, it has been made possible to see how national identity has been subsequently evoked. The binary formation produced to conceptualize water as Canadian and advance the requirement to protect it from threatening Americans provides a way for a Canadian national identity to be constructed. An oppositional view of water nationalism uses a Canadian identity juxtaposed against the American identity whereby the former is environmental enlightened and the latter is nature dominating.

The attributes of Canadians as a peacekeeping, gentle and socially conscientious people are used to appeal to the campaign to protect Canada's water from bulk water exports. In contrast, the American identity is framed as being water wasteful, greedy and clandestine. Frequently these characteristics are evoked, presenting the U.S. as a threat to Canada's water security. Images of the desert landscape of Nevada filled with swimming pools and water being used to wash BMW's (Reguly, 1999a) are used to present America as a manufactured and artificial landscape being managed in ways

unsustainable to water availability. This study has illustrated how water has become a symbol to designate difference from Americans, in terms of the perceived water wasteful habits 'they' have, versus the perception of Canadian environmental superiority.

Unfortunately this idealized eco-Canadian stereotype does not bear the scrutiny of statistical data (Boyd 2003). Canadians have significantly altered their land and waterscape, and there is no evidence that they value water anymore than other countries. The significance of positioning Canadians as morally superior to that of Americans is that it supplies a way to ignore the role of Canadians in their environment. It provides a convenient way for Canadian people and governments to remove themselves from environmental responsibility.

The inclusions and exclusions of discourse have served to bring power to particular understandings. What is left out, or excluded from these discourses, are the important regional formations that have developed over water management between Canada and the U.S. (especially around the Great Lakes Basin and the Columbia Basin). The NGO communities, provincial and state governments residing on both sides of the border have worked together to ensure peaceful relations and management of water. In fact, there exist many identities, which may not associate as "Canadians" or "Americans" and it is these identities that have not been acknowledged by these discourses. The First Nations of Canada barely enter the discourse on bulk water exports, yet with generations of interaction and various understandings of water it might be encouraged that their roles in this discussion be included in future discourses.

Merje Kuus has argued that in ending the attempt to uncover given subject identities, the implicit homology between the individual and the state can be undermined. This in turn opens up space to consider identity claims, beyond that of the national scale (Kuus 2006, 98). Subject identities have been given not only to “Canadians” but also to “Canada” as a *nation*. Not everyone is convinced that Canada is in fact a ‘nation,’ and that perhaps references of the state are more appropriate. There is much to gain in moving away from the territorial presuppositions that guide much thinking on identity.

This thesis has contributed to thinking on social nature, insofar as water and the Canadian experience has proved to be more complex than highlighted in discussions of nature’s social production. While it is clear that nature’s evocation has been socially produced and discourses are continually being rewritten in its name, the role of nature particularly water in the case of Canada, has been far from a passive element controlled by societal measures. The integration of critical geopolitics into the study of social nature of water in Canada has provided a way in which the reterritorialization of space could be extracted and the politics of identity brought forth. It has contributed to social nature by illustrating how space has been evoked in constructions of nature. By exploring the role of framing space and territory in particular terms, and extrapolating dominant narratives critiqued in the field of critical geopolitics and social nature, this thesis has reflected upon how water can be appropriated to fit particular spatial constructs. This thesis has been a contribution to geography as a discipline by exploring the relationship between waters construction and Canadian national identity, a topic having received little attention academically. There remains an opportunity to expand

on perspectives of the ways in which water has been appropriated in constructing a Canadian national identity, and further why water is such an effective conduit for nationalism.

Water has served a significant role in the national imaginary, shaping Canadian policy and fueling public advocacy. Canadian politics for decades has been working to fit water into policies written in static spatial terms. Water's fluidity has proved to be a challenge and its very properties and weight make its commodification through bulk water exportation a difficult task. Despite this, given water's privileged position in the Canadian imaginary, it is likely that it will continue to be evoked to support issues made in its name.

8. APPENDIX A: WATER STRESS MAP

Text provides forecast for its relation to climate change

Based on Alcamo et al. (2003) in Kundzewicz et al. (2007)

APPENDIX B: Major Bulk Water Diversions in Canada

(Lasserre 2007, 144)

APPENDIX C:

Major existing large-scale water transfer schemes in Canada (2004)

Scheme	From (basin)	Destination	Beginning of operation	Transfer volume (m ³ /second)	Length of diversion (km)	Objective
Kemano	Nechako River (Fraser)	Kemano River, BC	1954	115	18	Hydropower
Coquitlam-Buntzen Hydroproject	Coquitlam (Fraser)	Buntzen Lake and Indian Arm (Burrard Inlet), BC	1912	28	4	Hydropower
Vernon Irrigation District	Duteau Creek (Fraser)	Vernon Creek (Columbia Basin), BC	1907	0.6	≈5	Irrigation
Churchill	Churchill	Nelson, MB	1976	775	≈40	Hydropower
City of Winnipeg Aqueduct	Lake Shoal (Great Lakes)	Winnipeg (Red River), MB	1919	3	137	Urban
Great Lakes Basin	Long Lake	Lake Superior	1939	42	0.4	Hydropower
Great Lakes Basin	R. Okong (Albany River Basin)	Lake Superior	1943	113	8.5	Hydropower
Root River	Lake St. Joseph (Albany River Basin)	Root River (Nelson Basin), ON	1957	86	7	Hydropower
James Bay-La Grande	Canapiscou River	La Grande River, QC	1985	795	250	Hydropower
James Bay-La Grande	Eastmain River	La Grande River, QC	1985	835	150	Hydropower
Bay d'Espoir Hydropower	Bear, Victoria, Salmon Rivers	Bay d'Espoir, NL	1970	185	200	Hydropower
Churchill Falls	Julian	Churchill, NL	1971	196	n/a	Hydropower
Churchill Falls	Naskaupi	Churchill, NL	1971	200	20	Hydropower
Churchill Falls	Kanarktok	Churchill, NL	1971	130	25	Hydropower

source: From several sources compiled by author, including Day Quinn (1992) and Hydro-Québec (2001)

(Lasserre 2007, 146)

APPENDIX D: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS CHECKLIST

Assumptions

What pre-existing categories or value assumptions are made?

Coding

What discourses are drawn upon in the text?

How are discourses textured together?

Is there a mixing of discourses?

Coherence: Are there any incoherencies within the discourse of your texts?

Are there any incoherencies in relationship to previous research?

Are there any incoherencies in the analysis itself?

Persuasion

What types of statements are there (fact, predictions, hypothetical, evaluations)?

How are the statements communicated (orally, encyclopaedia, maps, photo, stats)?

Inclusions/Silences

What elements of represented social events are included or excluded?

Which people are represented and how?

Focus on details

What is/are the genre(s) of the text?

Is the text part of a series of texts?

Which other texts are included/excluded?

Whose voices are included/excluded?

Are voices directly reported (quoted) or indirectly reported?

Focus on social contexts

What social event or chain of events is the text a part of?

Within what social network are the events framed?

Who is the audience of the text?

(Waite 2005, 187)

9. REFERENCES

- Agnew, J. (2007). Know-Where: Geographies of Knowledge of World Politics. *International Political Sociology*, 1, 138-148.
- Agnew, J. (2005). Sovereignty Regimes: Territoriality and State Authority in Contemporary World Politics. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 95(2), 437-461.
- Agnew, J. (1998). *Geopolitics: Revisioning World Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Agnew, J. (1994). The Territorial Trap: The Geographical Assumptions of International Relations Theory. *Review of International Political Economy*, 1(1), 53-80.
- Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada. The Canadian Bottled Water Industry. Retrieved November 20, 2008. <http://www4.agr.gc.ca/AAFC-AAC/display-afficher.do?id=1171644581795&lang=eng#en2>
- Alcamo, J., Döll, P., Henrichs, T., Kaspar, F., Lehner, B., Rösche, T., and Siebert, S. (2003). Development and testing of the WaterGAP 2 global model of water use and availability. *Hydrological Sciences Journal*, 48, 317-338.
- Aldhous, P. (2003). The World's Forgotten Crisis. *Nature*, (422), 251.
- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (2nd ed.). New York: Verso.
- Annin, P. (2006). *The Great Lakes Water Wars*. Washington: Island Press.
- Appleton, B. (1994). *Navigating NAFTA: A Concise User's Guide to the North American Free Trade Agreement*. Toronto: Carswell.
- Ashcroft, B; Griffiths, G; Tiffin, H., ed. (2005). *The Post Colonial Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Bakker, K. (2007). *Eau Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Baldwin, A. (2004). An ethics of connection: social-nature in Canada's boreal forest. *Ethics, Place & Environment*, 7(3), 185-194.
- Barlow, M. (2007a). *Blue Covenant-The Global Water Crisis and the Coming Battle for the Right to Water*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd.
- Barlow, M. (2007b). A Powerful Global Movement. *Canadian Perspectives*. Retrieved August 7, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/publications/CP/2007/index.html>

- Bartelson, J. (1998). Second natures: is the state identical with itself? *European Journal of International Relations*, 4, 295-326.
- Bates, B.C., Kundzewicz, Z.W., Wu, S., Palutikof, J.P., ed. (2008): Climate Change and Water. Technical Paper of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, IPCC Secretariat, Geneva.
- Berland, J. (2001). Writing on the Border, *The New Centennial Review*, 1(2), 136-169.
- Biro, A. (2007). Half Empty or Half Full? Water Politics and the Canadian National Imagery'. In *Eau Canada*, ed. Bakker, K.: 321-333. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Biro, A. (2002). Wet Dreams: Ideology and the Debates Over Canadian Water Exports. *Capitalism Nature and Socialism*, 13(4), 29-50.
- Bocking, R. (1972). *Canada's Water for Sale?* Toronto: James Lewis & Samuel, Publishers.
- Boyd, D. (2003). *Unnatural Law*. British Columbia: UBC Press.
- Brooks, D.B. (2005). Beyond Greater Efficiency: The Concept of Water Soft Paths. *Canadian Water Resources Journal*, 30(1), 1-10.
- Braun, B. (2002). *The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture, and Power on Canada's West Coast*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Braun, B., & Castree, N. ed. (2001). *Social Nature: Theory, Practice, Politics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Braun, B., & Castree, N. ed. (1998). *Remaking Reality: Nature at the Millennium*. London: Routledge.
- Braun, B. & Wainwright, J. (2001). Nature, post-structuralism, and politics. In *Social nature: theory, practice and politics*, ed. Castree, N. & Braun, B.: 41-63. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Brubaker, R. (1996). *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J & Spivak, G.C. (2007). *Who Sings the Nation-State?* Seagull Books: Calcutta.
- Campbell, D. (1992). *Writing Security*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Castree, N. (2008). Liberalising nature: the logics of deregulation and reregulation. *Environment and Planning A*, 40, 131-152.
- Castree, N. (2001). Socializing the Natural. In *Social Nature*, ed. Castree, N. & Braun, B.: 1-21. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Chaiton, A., McDonald, N. (1977). *Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity*. Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing.
- Clark, T. (2006). Turning on the Tap? Water Exports to the United States. In *Living with Uncle: Canada-US relations in an age of empire*, ed. Campbell, B & Finn E.: 94-118. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company.
- Cobb, C. (2004). *Ego and Ink*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd.
- Conca, K. (2005). *Governing Water: Contentious Transnational Politics and Global Institution Building*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Council of Canadians (1998a, May 4). Council of Canadians Calls on Federal Government to Close NAFTA Loophole that Leaves Water Resources Vulnerable. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/1998/04-May-98.html>
- Council of Canadians (1998b, Dec 7). Our Water is Not For Sale. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/1998/07-Dec-98.html>
- Council of Canadians (1999a, Feb 9). National Organization Urge Chrétien to Ban Bulk Water Exports Before it's too Late. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/1999/09-Feb-99.html>
- Council of Canadians (1999b, Oct 1). Newfoundland Says Ottawa Can't Duck The Water Issue – Only the Federal Government Can Ban Water Exports. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/1999/01-Oct-99.html>
- Council of Canadians (2000, June 7). Federal Government Must Adopt a Comprehensive, National Water Policy to Respond to Looming Water Crisis. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2000/07-June-00.html>
- Council of Canadians (2001a, April 5). Parliamentary Committee moves Canada closer to bulk water exports, says Council of Canadians. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2001/05-Apr-01.html>

- Council of Canadians (2001b, July 10). International water conference ends with march in support of abducted water activist and indigenous leader. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2001/10-July-01.html>
- Council of Canadians (2001c, July 18). Bush Announcement Ends Myth That Canada's Water is Safe From Bulk Export. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2001/18-July-01.html>
- Council of Canadians (2003a, Feb 26). The tide is high. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2003/26-Feb-03.html>
- Council of Canadians (2003b, March 12). International Network of Citizens Groups Oppose Global Water Privatization Plans at Upcoming World Water Forum. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2003/12-Mar-03.html>
- Council of Canadians (2004a, March 22). Canada stop denying human right to water – NGOs. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2004/22-Mar-04.html>
- Council of Canadians (2004b, April 29). Canadians want water recognized as human right. Media Release. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2004/29-Apr-04.html>
- Council of Canadians (2004c, Sep 20). Great Lakes Annex condemned by Council of Canadians. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2004/20-Sept-04.html>
- Council of Canadians (2004d, Nov 15). Ontario no-diversions approach a first step, but Great Lakes remain a Federal responsibility. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2004/15-Nov-04.html>
- Council of Canadians (2004e, Nov 26). Committee presents watered-down report on Great Lakes Threat. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2004/26-Nov-04.html>
- Council of Canadians (2005a, June 30). Great Lakes remain unprotected under new agreement. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2005/30-June-05.html>
- Council of Canadians (2005b, Aug 5). Devils Lake diversion demonstrates need for national water policy protecting Canadian water. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008. <http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2005/05-Aug-05.html>

- Council of Canadians (2006a, June 12). Oscar Olivera urges Canada to endorse right to water. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008.
<http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2006/12-June-06.html>
- Council of Canadians (2006b, Sep 11). Full house expected as water activist warns of looming water crisis. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008.
<http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2006/11-Sept-06.html>
- Council of Canadians (2006c, Oct 12). Latest water pipeline proposal underscores need for national water policy. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008.
<http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2006/12-Oct-06.html>
- Council of Canadians (2007, April 16). Council of Canadians challenges Environment Minister on bulk water exports. Media Release. Retrieved May 18, 2008.
<http://www.canadians.org/media/water/2007/16-Apr-07.html>
- Council of Canadians (2008a). History. Retrieved September 12, 2008
<http://www.canadians.org/about/history/index.html>.
- Council of Canadians (2008b). Vision Statement. Retrieved September 12, 2008.
<http://www.canadians.org/about/BOD/vision.html>.
- Council of Canadians (2008c) Vision Statement Backgrounder. Retrieved September 12, 2008 http://www.canadians.org/about/BOD/vision_background.html.
- Council of Canadians (2008d) Fact Sheet. Retrieved October 19, 2008.
http://www.canadians.org/water/issues/policy/exports_factsheet.html.
- Council of Canadians (2008e) Backgrounder: The North American Future 2025 Project. Retrieved Oct 19, 2008.
http://www.canadians.org/water/documents/NA_Future_2025_backgrounder.pdf
- Cronon, W. ed. (1996). *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human place in Nature*. London: W.W. Norton.
- CUPE (1999a, Jan 13). Profiting From Water. Retrieved May 18, 2008.
<http://cupe.ca/ARP1999/4522>.
- CUPE (1999b, Feb 1). CUPE Local 500 Presentation to Winnipeg City Council EPC Public Hearings. Retrieved May 18, 2008.
<http://www.cupe.ca/municipalities/ART3f733df57e765>.
- CUPE (1999c, Sep 20). Water Watch Summit huge success. Retrieved May 18, 2008.
<http://cupe.ca/news/43>

- CUPE (1999d, Oct 16). Not For sale! Retrieved May 18, 2008.
<http://cupe.ca/PolicyWater/4829>
- CUPE (1999e, Oct 28). CUPE Local 500 Presentation to Winnipeg City Council EPC Public Hearings. Retrieved May 18, 2008.
http://cupe.ca/updir/Winnipeg_Water_99.pdf
- CUPE (2001, Nov). A Submission to the Government of British Columbia's Independent Drinking Water Review Panel. Retrieved May 18, 2008.
<http://cupe.ca/environment/drinkwaterprotect>
- CUPE (2003a, March 17). Public Water for all. Retrieved May 18, 2008.
<http://www.cupe.ca/privatization/BE4311>.
- CUPE (2005, Sep 28). Who benefits – corporations or communities? The clear choice about water. Retrieved May 18, 2008.
<http://cupe.ca/privatization/a433ae08057dc9>
- CUPE (2006a, Jan 17). The home stretch: vote positive to protect public health care. Retrieved May 18, 2008. http://cupe.ca/electionupdates/The_home_stretch_vot
- CUPE (2006b, March 23). Developments in Privatization of Public Services. Retrieved May 18, 2008. http://cupe.ca/privatization/Developments_in_priv
- CUPE (2008a). About CUPE. Retrieved September 12, 2008. <http://cupe.ca/about>.
- CUPE (2008b). History. Retrieved September 12, 2008. <http://cupe.ca/history>.
- Dalby, S., & Ó Tuathail, G. (1996). The critical geopolitics constellation: problematizing fusions of geographical knowledge and power. *Political Geography*, 15(6/7), 451-456.
- Dalby, S. (1988). Geopolitical Discourse: The Soviet Union as Other. *Alternatives: Social Transformation and Humane Governance*, 13(4). 415-442.
- Dalby, S. (2000). A Critical Geopolitics of Global Governance. Working Paper presented at the International Studies Association, 41st Annual Convention. Los Angeles, CA.
- Dalby, S. (2003). Codes, Vision, Knowledge: The Reasoning Practices of Critical Geopolitics. Paper presented at Canadian Association of Geographers, Victoria, B.C.
- Dalby, S. (2008). Imperialism, Domination, Culture: The Continued Relevance of Critical Geopolitics. *Geopolitics*, 13(3), 413-436.

- Dauvergne, C. (2005). *Humanitarianism, Identity, and Nation: Migration Laws of Australia and Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Day, J.C., Quinn, F. (1992). Water Diversion and Export: Learning from Canadian Experience. Waterloo: Department of Geography Publications Series No. 36.
- de Villiers, M. (2000). *Water*. Toronto: Stoddart.
- Dean, M. (2006). The Centennial Voyageur Canoe Pageant as Historical Re-enactment, *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 40(3), 43-67.
- Demeritt, D. (2002). What is the 'social construction of nature? A typology and sympathetic critique. *Progress in Human Geography*, 26(6), 767-790.
- Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (1999). Bulk Water Removal and International Trade Considerations. Retrieved September 20, 2008. <http://dfait-maeci.gc.ca>.
- Deudney, D. (1999). Environmental Security: A Critique. In *Contested Grounds: Security and Conflict in the New Environmental Politics*, ed. Deudney, D., Matthew, R.: 187-222. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Dittmer, J., Larsen, S. (2007). *Captain Canuck*, audience response, and the project of Canadian nationalism. In *Social and Cultural Geography*, 8(5), 735-753.
- Dodds, K & Atkinson D. ed. (2000). *Geopolitical Traditions: A Century of Geopolitical Thought*. London: Routledge.
- Dore, M & Heinmiller, T. (2008). Bulk water exports, Diversions, and Conservation. Policy Options. Institute for Research on Public Policy. 83-88.
- Edwardson, R. (2003). Of war machines and ghetto scenes: English-Canadian nationalism and the guess who's 'American woman', *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 33, 339 – 356.
- EnviroNics International. (1999). Public Opinion and the Environment 1999: Biodiversity Issues. Opinion poll conducted for Environment Canada.
- Environment Canada (1987). Federal Water Policy. Ottawa.
- Environment Canada (2008). Quickfacts. Ottawa. Retrieved September 20, 2008. http://www.ec.gc.ca/Water/en/e_quickfacts.htm.
- Escobar, A. (1996). Elements for a post-structuralist political ecology. *Futures*, 8(4), 325-343.

- Fairclough, N. (2005). Peripheral Vision: Discourse Analysis in Organization Studies: The Case for Critical Realism. *Organization Studies*, 26(6), 915-939.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge.
- Flax, J. (1992). The End of Innocence. In *Feminist Theorize the Political*, ed. Butler, J. & Scott, J.: 452-457. New York: Routledge.
- Foster, H., Sewell, D. (1981). *Water, The Emerging Crisis in Canada*. Canadian Institute for Economic Policy, James Lorimer & Company, Publishers.
- Foucault, M. (a) (1972). The Discourse on Language. In *The Continental Philosophy Reader*, (1996) ed. Kearney, R & Rainwater M.: 336-339. London: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (b) (1972). The Discourse on Language. (Rupert, S., Trans.), In Foucault, M. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. (A.M. Sheridan, Smith, Trans.). London: Tavistock.
- Foucault, M. (1980). Questions on Geography. (Gordon, C., Trans.). In *Space, Knowledge and Power*. (2007) ed. Crampton, J. & Elden, S. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Frye, N. (1967). Haunted by Lack of Ghosts: Some Patterns in the Imagery of Canadian Poetry, In *The Canadian Imagination: Dimensions of a Literary Culture*, ed. Stains, D.: 22-45. London and Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gergen, M.M. (2001). *Feminist reconstructions in psychology*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Gleick, Peter H., Wolff, G. Chalecki, E., Reyes, R. (2002). The New Economy of Water. Pacific Institute. Hayward: Alonzo Environmental Printing Co.
- Gregory, D. (2001). (Post)Colonialism and the Production of Nature. In *Social Nature*, ed. Castree, N. & Braun, B.: 84-111. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Gregory, D. (1994). *Geographical Imaginations*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gordon, T., Webber, J. (2008). Imperialism and Resistance: Canadian mining companies in Latin America. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(1), 63-87.
- Hacking, I. (1998). On being more literal about construction. In *The politics of constructionism*. ed. Velody, I. and Williams, R.: 49-68. London: Sage.
- Hacking, I. (1999). *The social construction of what?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Hajer, M.A. (2007). Discourse Coalitions. Retrieved November 8, 2007.
http://www.maartenhajer.nl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=17&Itemid=19#discourse.
- Hajer, M.A. (1995). *The politics of environmental discourse: ecological modernization and the policy process*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575-599.
- Hardt, M., Negri, A. (2001). *Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hartmann, B., Subramaniam, B., Zerner, C. (2005). *Making Threats*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Harvey, D. (1996). *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ingram, M. (2001, June 1). Flag-waving hindering a serious debate on water exports. *Globe and Mail*. p. B12.
- Innis, H. ed. (1972). *Americanization*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.
- Johansen, D. (1999). Bill C-15: An Act to Amend the International Boundary Waters Treaty Act. Government of Canada, Parliamentary Research Branch.
- Johansen, David. (2001). Bulk Water Removals, Water Exports and the NAFTA. Library of Parliament, Law and Government Division.
- Kahl, C. (2006). *States, Scarcity, and Civil Strife in the Developing World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kaufmann, E. (1998). Naturalizing the Nation: The Rise of Naturalistic Nationalism in the United States and Canada. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40(4), 666-695
- Kundzewicz, Z.W., L.J. Mata, N.W. Arnell, P. Döll, P. Kabat, B. Jiménez, K.A. Miller, T. Oki, Z. Sen and I.A. Shiklomanov. (2007). Freshwater resources and their management. Climate Change 2007: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability. Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, ed. M.L. Parry, O.F. Canziani, J.P. Palutikof, P.J. van der Linden and C.E. Hanson.: 173-210. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kuus, M. (2006). Ubiquitous identities and elusive subjects: puzzles from Central Europe. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. 32(1), 90-101.

- Lather, P. (1991). *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern*. New York: Routledge.
- Lasserre, F. (2007). 'Drawers of Water'. In *Eau Canada*, ed. Bakker, K.: 143-162. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Le Devoir. (June 18, 2004). 'Exportation de l'eau potable - Mulclair persiste et signe.' Retrieved November 20, 2007. <http://www.ledevoir.com/2004/06/18/57229.html>.
- Linton, J. (2006a). The Social Nature of Natural Resources –The Case of Water, *Reconstruction*, 6(3).
- Linton, J. (2006b). What is Water? The History and Crisis of a Modern Abstraction. Carleton University, PhD.
- Linton, J. (2004). Global Hydrology and the Construction of a Water Crisis, *The Great Lakes Geographer*, 11(2), 1-13.
- Mackey, E. (2002). *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Mackey, E. (2000). Death by landscape: race, nature, and gender in Canadian nationalist mythology. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 20(2), 125-130.
- Manning, E. (2003). *Ephemeral Territories*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Manning, E. (2000). I Am Canadian: Identity, Territory and the Canadian National Landscape. *Theory & Event*. 4(4).
- Matthews, R. (2005). Bioterrorism and National Security: Peripheral Threats, Core Vulnerabilities. In *Making Threats*, ed. Hartmann, B. et al.: 237-246. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Mazmanian, D., Kraft, M. (eds). (1999). *Toward sustainable communities: transition and transformations in environmental policy*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- McKenzie, J. (2002). *Environmental Politics in Canada: Managing the Commons into the 21st Century*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Merritt, C. (1991) *Crossing the Border: The Canada-United States Boundary*. Maine: Borderlands Monograph Series #5.

- Millard, G., Riegel, S. and Wright, J. (2002). Here's where we get Canadian: English-Canadian nationalism and popular culture, *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 33: 11 – 34.
- Nikiforuk, A. (2007). On the Table: Water, Energy and North American Integration. Program on Water Issues. Toronto: Munk Centre for International Studies.
- Ó Tuathail, G & Dalby, S. eds. (1998). *Rethinking Geopolitics*. London: Routledge.
- Ó Tuathail, G. (1996). *Critical Geopolitics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Pearse P., Bertrand, F., MacLaren, J. W. (1985). Currents of Change: Final Report, Inquiry on Federal Water Policy. Ottawa.
- Pentland, R., Hurley, A. (2007). Thirsty Neighbours: A Century of Canada-US Transboundary Water Governance. In *Eau Canada*, ed. Bakker, K.: 163-182. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- (PRI) Policy Research Initiative. (2007). Sustainable Development Briefing Note: Is Water A Tradable Commodity? Government of Canada, Ottawa.
- Quinn, F. (2007). Water Diversion, Export and Canada-US Relations: A Brief History. Program on Water Issues. Toronto: Munk Centre for International Studies.
- Reguly, E. (1999a, Feb 16). Water tap will be hard to shut off. *Globe and Mail*. p. B2
- Reguly, E. (1999b, Oct 23). Water fight with U.S. has just begun. *Globe and Mail*. p. B2.
- Reguly, E. (2000, Dec 19). Our water sovereignty is at risk. *Globe and Mail*. p. 11.
- Reguly, E. (2006a, Jan 21). Water Exports? Harper Should Keep Taps Closed. *Globe and Mail*. p. B2
- Reguly, E. (2006b, Oct 10). Tories facing rising pressure. *Globe and Mail*. p. B2
- Reuters. (1988, August 23). Water exporters hope for U.S. sales. *Financial Post*. p. 21.
- Revenge, C. (2000). Will There Be Enough Water? World Resources Institute. Retrieved July 7, 2004.
http://earthtrends.wri.org/features/view_feature.php?theme=2&fid=17.
- Robidoux, M.A. (2002). Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport: A Historical Interpretation of Lacrosse and Hockey. *Journal of American Folklore*, 115(456), 209-225.

- Rose, G. (2001). *Visual Methodologies. An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. Sage Publications: London.
- Ross, A. (1994). *The Chicago Gangster Theory of Life: Nature's Debt to Society*. London: Verso.
- Saul, J.R. (1997). *Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the End of the Twentieth Century*. Toronto: Penguin.
- Shapin, S. (1996). *The Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sharp, J. (2000). *Condensing the Cold War*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Sharp, L., Richardson, T. (2001). Reflections on Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, 3(3), 193-209.
- Shields, J., McBride, S. (1997) *Dismantling a Nation*. 2nd ed. Halifax: Fernwood.
- Shrybman, S. (1999). A legal opinion concerning water export controls and Canadian obligations under NAFTA and the WTO. Vancouver: West Coast Environmental Law Research Foundation.
- Smiley, D. (1966). Federalism, Nationalism and the Scope of Political Activity in Canada. In *Nationalism in Canada*, ed. Russell, P. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.
- Smith, G. (1890). Canada First: a memorial of the late William Alexander Foster, Q.C. [Microfilm]. Toronto: Hunter Rose.
- Smith, N. (1984). *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space*. Oxford, Blackwell.
- Spicer, A., Fleming, P. (2001). Making Constructivism Critical: Structure, Text and Contestation, Paper presented to Alternative Modes of Investigation in Organisation Studies: Opportunities for Critical Research Stream, Critical Management Studies conference, UMIST, Manchester, 11 – 13 July.
- Sprague, J. (2007). Great Wet North? Canada's Myth of Water Abundance. In *Eau Canada*, ed. Bakker, K.: 23-35. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Statistics Canada a. Human activity and the environment: Climate change in Canada. Retrieved November 20, 2008. (<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/080422/dq080422a-eng.htm>)

- Statistics Canada b. Value of natural resource assets. Retrieved November 20, 2008. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/080915/dq080915c-eng.htm>
- Stanford, J. (2008). Staples, Deindustrialization and Foreign Investment: Canada's Economic Journey Back to the Future. *Studies in Political Economy*, 82, 7-34.
- Stewart, W. (1972). Water: The Sellout that could Spell the End of Canada. In *Americanization*, ed. Innis, H.: 36-42. Toronto: Mcgraw-Hill.
- Swyngedouw, E. (2005). Dispossessing H2O: The Contested Terrain of Water Privatization. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 16(1), 81-98.
- Tarrow, S. (1994). *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thrift, N. (1996). *Spatial formations*. London: Sage Publications.
- The Globe and Mail (2001, July 19) Why Canada balks at bulk water exports. Editorial. p. A16
- Tonkiss, F. (1998). Analysing discourse. In *Researching Society and Culture*, ed. Seale, C.: 245-260. London: Sage.
- Toronto Sun (1988, July 23). Editorial Cartoon. Pg. 10.
- UNESCO World Water Assessment Programme. (2003). Water for People, Water for Life—The United Nations World Water Development Report. New York: UNESCO & Berghahn Books.
- Wæver, O. (2009). All dressed up and nowhere to go? Securitization of Climate Change. Paper presented at the *International Studies Association*. Annual Conference, Feb. 15-18, 2009, New York.
- Waitt, G. (2005). Chapter 11: Doing discourse analysis. In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, ed. Hay, I.: 133-146. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Walker, R.B.J (1991). State Sovereignty and the Articulation of Political Space/Time. *Millennium Journal of International Studies*, 20(3), 445-461.
- World Resources Institute. (2005). Earthtrends Country Profiles: Water Resources and Freshwater Ecosystems. Washington, DC.