Taking on Water: A Discourse Analysis of Drinking Water Policy and Practices at the University of Victoria

By

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BA, University of Alberta, 2007

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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In recent years, universities, municipalities, and other public and private organizations throughout Canada have banned the sale of bottled water from their facilities. To explore how such bans are linguistically and textually framed, proposed, and debated, this thesis analyzes drinking water policy and practice at the University of Victoria. Using Maarten Hajer's approach to discourse analysis, discourses, story-lines, and discourse coalitions are identified. Through interviews with key players as well as textual analysis, I identify several discourses being mobilized to discuss drinking water at the University of Victoria, including that drinking water is an environmental issue, a public resource, a human right, a commodity, a health issue, and a revenue issue. The key discourse coalition working to define the issue of drinking water is a student coalition comprising the University of Victoria Sustainability Project and the University of Victoria Students' Society. This coalition is promoting the argument that the sale of bottled water should be banned on campus.

Keywords: bottled water, discourse analysis, Hajer, human rights, universities

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Acknowledgments

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Dedication

To water warriors everywhere. You are making a difference. Keep fighting the good fight.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In elementary school, I learned about the hydrologic cycle. Through the processes of evaporation, condensation, and precipitation, water cycles between earth and air. I learned that fresh water is a renewable resource and, thus, that it would never run out (Kidzone, 2011; University of Alberta Libraries, 2011). However, as Barlow and Clarke (2002) describe, "humanity is depleting, diverting, and polluting the planet's fresh water resources so quickly and relentlessly that every species on earth – including our own – is in mortal danger" (p. 5). We are facing a fresh water crisis: the world is running out of fresh water (Barlow, 2008; Barlow & Clarke, 2002, p. xi).

Water is one of the most precious resources on Earth. It is essential to life of humans and all other living things. As we entered the 21st century, over one billion people lacked access to even a basic supply of fresh water (World Health Organization, 2000). The vast majority of these people are located in the Global South as well as in areas called "hot stains", which is a term coined to describe areas running out of potable water (Barlow, 2008). These hot stain areas are located in all corners of the globe; in Northern China, Africa, the Middle East, Australia, the United States, and South and Central America (Barlow, 2008).

In 2002, Barlow and Clarke warned of the impending contest over access to the world's dwindling freshwater supply. Six years later, Barlow (2008) declared that the contest had "blown wide open" (p. xi). On one side of the water debate are those who conceptualize water as a commodity, and who are involved in the sale of water, either through privatization of water sources, or through the sale of bottled water. On the other side are those who argue that water is a public good and human right, and that, consequently, control of water resources should rest in

public hands. These discourses – water as a commodity and as a human right – are but two that are mobilized in the water debate. Others include water as an environmental issue (Barlow & Clarke, 2002; Clarke, 2007; Ferrier, 2001; Griffin, 2009) and as a health issue (Hawkins, 2001; Race, 2012).

According to the Canadian Federation of Students (CFS), nearly 100 Canadian municipalities, four municipal associations, seven school boards, and 15 universities have committed to phasing out the provision of bottled water in their buildings or on their campuses (CFS, 2010; Council of Canadians, n.d.). One such municipality is the City of Victoria, which announced in June of 2011 that it would ban the sale of bottled water from its facilities. This announcement was made in conjunction with another: that Victoria was to become the second municipality in Canada to receive the Council of Canadians' Blue Community certification (Victoria Council of Canadians, 2011). The Blue Communities Project calls on communities to "adopt a water commons framework by: 1) recognizing water as a human right; 2) promoting publicly financed, owned and operated water and wastewater services; and 3) banning the sale of bottled water in public facilities and at municipal events" (Council of Canadians, 2006, para. 4). As the City of Victoria has received the Blue Community certification, it has committed to adopting the above principles.

The University of Winnipeg was the first Canadian university to ban the sale of bottled water on its campuses. University President and Vice-Chancellor Lloyd Axworthy announced the ban on March 23, 2009. A student-led initiative, the ban was supported and facilitated by the University of Winnipeg Students' Association (UWSA), which organized an anti-bottled water campaign, and another student group, the Ecological People in Action, which collected the 500 signatures required to make the issue go to referendum (University of Winnipeg, 2009). The

referendum showed that 74.8% of voting students supported the ban. Water as a basic human right was the primary value underlying the UWSA's campaign to prevent the sale of bottled water on campus (University of Winnipeg, 2009).

Memorial University was the second Canadian University to pledge to eliminate the sale of bottled water on its campus. On September 4, 2009, Memorial University President Dr. Christopher Loomis signed the Bottled Water Free pledge. The pledge reads:

> The Memorial University of Newfoundland community pledges to: 1) Progressively and systematically eliminate the distribution of plastic bottled water at all University events and, through environmental and health education programming, achieve the ultimate goal of a university community this [*sic*] is bottled water free; 2) Conduct a University-wide Public Water Access Audit — a comprehensive analysis of the current state of public water access on campus. The final report of this audit will be made public in fall 2009; 3) Based on the results of the Audit and Employee Water Survey, develop a priority-based Water Access Plan to upgrade current infrastructure so as to increase access to public drinking water. This plan shall be made in consultation and conjunction with students, faculty and staff of the University community; and 4) Ensure that all new campus buildings include adequate access to public drinking fountains and/or water fill stations. (Loomis, as cited in Cook, 2009, para. 5)

In contrast with the University of Winnipeg, which banned the sale of bottled water primarily for human rights concerns, Memorial University's focus was the environmental aspect of bottled water. Dr. Loomis declared that "signing the declaration . . . reinforces Memorial's commitment to building a greener, more sustainable campus" (Cook, 2009, para. 3). The pledge was framed as just one initiative that the University is taking to make its campuses greener: others include an

idle-free campaign, recycling, a car pooling program, and upgraded heating and lighting systems (Cook, 2009).

In March 2011, students at the University of Victoria were asked, via referendum, whether they would support the gradual removal of bottled water from the University of Victoria campus. The referendum question passed with 2469 "yes" votes and 421 "no" votes, showing that 85% of voting students supported a ban of bottled water from vending machines and vendors at the University of Victoria (Dylan S., personal communication, January 30, 2012). As of December 2012, the sale of bottled water has been banned from the University of Victoria Student Union Building (SUB) but the product is available elsewhere on campus.

The referendum and bottled water ban in SUB were student-led initiatives designed to support a bottled water ban on campus. Questions arise as to what other campus-based initiatives have occurred to affect the provision of drinking water on campus. Is the University administration undertaking such initiatives? Which student groups are involved? Further, what messages are being put forth by student groups and the University administration to support or oppose these initiatives? What discourses are being mobilized and by whom?

This thesis explores drinking water policy and practices on the University of Victoria campus. I describe the initiatives, including the student referendum and bottled water ban in SUB, which occurred on campus from 2010 to 2011 related to the availability of drinking water. I explore the policies and guiding documents that affect drinking water provision on campus. I also conduct an analysis of discourses being mobilized on campus to discuss drinking water. Hajer's approach to discourse analysis (discussed in more detail in Chapter 3) structures my research questions and provides the framework for my analysis.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the human rights discourse, utilized by the UWSA to persuade the University of Winnipeg's administration to ban bottled water on their campus. I also examine other dominant discourses mobilized to make claims about drinking water and bottled water, including commodity and environmental discourses. These discourses operate within the University of Victoria as well as on a larger scale to both define the issues of drinking water and bottled water, and suggest solutions designed to meet the drinking water needs of various populations.

In Chapter 3, I describe the design of this research, including the methodology, methods, and analytic approach. I have utilized an argumentative approach to discourse analysis, Hajer's approach, which draws on the work of Foucault as well as the field of social-psychology. Using Hajer's framework, I have conducted interviews with five members of the campus community, including representatives of two student groups and two University offices, and analyzed several texts, including policy documents and campus-based newspaper articles. In this chapter, I introduce the people whom I chose to interview, and discuss the groups and offices with which they are affiliated. I also describe the analytic approach that I used to identify relevant articles, themes, discourses, and story-lines.

In Chapter 4, I describe the policies that govern drinking water provision on the University of Victoria campus, relevant initiatives that have occurred on campus through 2010 and 2011, as well as the groups that were involved in forming and managing these policies and leading these initiatives. Initiatives include efforts to promote tap water consumption as well as those designed to limit or eliminate the sale of bottled water on campus. It is my goal that this chapter sets the stage for the rest of my analysis, and allows the reader to gain sufficient knowledge of the landscape in which my research occurred.

Chapter 5 is an analysis of the discourses and story-lines operating on campus to make claims about drinking water. I argue that several discourses are mobilized, conceptualizing water as an environmental issue, public resource, human right, commodity, health issue, and revenue issue, respectively. I maintain that groups and individuals on campus are mobilizing these discourses and advancing story-lines that give meaning to the debate and define the issue in particular ways. Groups and individuals advance multiple discourses and story-lines, some of which are incongruous.

In Chapter 6, I identify discourse coalitions that I see operating to advance common story-lines and initiate similar practices. I argue that there are two primary opposing discourse coalitions making claims about drinking water on campus: one is composed of the University of Victoria Sustainability Project and the University of Victoria Students' Society, and the opposing discourse coalition is composed of the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations and Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability. I evaluate the usefulness of Hajer's discourse coalition framework to analyze the common practices and storylines mobilized by major players operating in this debate.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I evaluate the mobilization of discourses on campus and suggest that public resource and health discourses have gained discursive hegemony. I make claims about the silences in the discourse, as well as the opportunities that arise from the research, including ways in which students and other activists can effect change.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Three discourses - water as a human right, water as a commodity, and water as an environmental issue - dominate the literature with respect to drinking water. A commodity discourse has been mobilized by corporations and institutions to advance water as a commodity and support the sale of water on the open market. A rights discourse has largely been mobilized as a response to a commodity discourse. Advocates of a rights discourse argue that control of water should rest in public hands, and that privatization of water sources, including in the form of bottled water, threatens the accessibility of water. Water has also been described as an environmental resource (Allan, 2005; National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, 2009). The literature examining water through an environmental lens is too large in scope to discuss in this thesis; as such, I will focus my review of the environmental discourse on its employment to make claims about bottled water, specifically.

Water is a Commodity

Support for recognition of water as an economic good, or commodity, first came out of the Dublin Statement in 1992, which noted that "water has an economic value in all its competing uses and should be recognized as an economic good" (United Nations, n.d., para 14.).[1] As a commodity, water can be bought and sold on the free market (Barlow, 2008) and can reap immense profits for industry, especially in the face of a water crisis. This free market discourse is mobilized by many powerful corporations, including Pepsi-Co, Coca-Cola, Suez, and Veolia; international institutions, including the World Trade Organization, World Water Council, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund; and many governments of the Global

[1] The Statement also notes that the conception of water as an economic good must be limited by the conception of water as a human right.

North[2] (Barlow, 2008; Clarke, 2007). Two subjects that are intimately connected to the commodification of water are the privatization of water systems and the sale of bottled water.

Privatization.

Private water providers and their supporters have advanced the story-line that, due to the high costs involved in ensuring widespread and reliable water access, private sector involvement in water provision is necessary (Bluemel, 2004). They have pointed to the inability of many governments to provide water for their people, and argued that the private sector is the most efficient and responsible way to optimize drinking water distribution. For example, in 1999, the Bolivian city of Cochabamba awarded a consortium of companies called Aguas del Tunari (AdT) a 40-year concession contract to provide water services to Cochabamba residents (Nickson, 2001; Norris & Metzidakis, 2010). Prior to privatization, the state-owned utility, SEMAPA, had failed to provide water to almost half of the population, including the poorest members, who were forced to buy water from private vendors (Bluemel, 2004; Nickson, 2001). Water giant RWE summarizes nicely the argument that private water systems optimize efficiency and distribution: its website refers to the work of its engineers and technicians, who, "in close cooperation with recognized experts from science, . . . are steadily exploring new ways of further optimizing the production, treatment and distribution of drinking water . . . and of increasing the economic efficiency of the processes involved" (RWE, n.d., para. 2).

Although the majority of water services globally are still owned by governments, private companies now provide water to many municipalities around the world (Barlow, 2008; Snitow & Kaufman, 2007). There are three main types of water privatization contracts. First, concession contracts allow a private company to run the distribution system and charge customers for use.

[2] Although various terms, including First, Second and Third World, are used to differentiate more wealthy and developed nations from those less wealthy ones, I have chosen to utilize the terms "Global North" and "Global South", in keeping with terms used by the United Nations.

Under this arrangement, the company is responsible for any new investment or infrastructure. Second, a company can secure a lease, wherein they run water distribution and charge customers for use, but the government is responsible for any new investment. Last, a company can secure a management contract, under which it manages the water system but it is not responsible for any investments (Barlow, 2008). All three of these arrangements have been coined "public-private partnerships" or PPP's.

Globally, three corporations - Suez, Veolia, and RWE – dominate the water business and are amongst the world's largest corporations (Snitow & Kaufman, 2007). These private companies have the support of international organizations, including the World Bank, who funded more than 300 private water projects in the Global South between 1990 and 2006. In 1993, the World Bank adopted the *Water Resources Management* policy paper, which stated that water should be treated as a commodity and that there should be an emphasis on efficiency, financial discipline, and full-cost recovery (Barlow, 2008). Full-cost recovery involves a corporation recovering the full costs of supplying water to all users. According to Bluemel (2004), some members of the international community agree that treating water as a commodity will ensure water availability to all by "minimizing inefficiencies" (p. 962). They believe that higher prices would promote water conservation, in effect increasing the total amount of water available across households.

Bottled water.

Exemplifying the success of those mobilizing a free market discourse with respect to water is the story of bottled water. Marketed as a healthy alternative to both tap water and carbonated beverages, bottled water began to boom in the early 1980s (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 2009; Griffin, 2009). The fastest-growing segment of the beverage industry,

bottled water has a higher per capita volume of consumption in Canada than does milk, apple juice, coffee, or tea. Mass consumption has been highly profitable for the bottled water industry: worldwide sales have skyrocketed within the last two decades, reaching US $62.9 billion in 2005 (Clarke, 2007).

Close to one-fifth of the population of Canada and the United States rely exclusively on bottled water for their daily water intake (Clarke, 2007). Rising consumption of bottled water is due to a number of factors, including discourses advanced by bottled water producers and associations espousing superior quality and safety over tap water. These associations, such as the Canadian Bottled Water Association (CBWA) and International Bottled Water Association (IBWA), serve to protect the interests of the bottled water industry's stakeholders, including bottlers, distributors, and suppliers (CBWA, n.d.a.; IBWA, 2009). According to Clarke (2007), the bottled water industry has campaigned to undermine confidence in public water systems by arguing that tap water is unsafe or that its safety is unreliable. These campaigns have been successful: statistics indicate that, although over 90% of North Americans have access to safe tap water (Clarke, 2007; United States Environmental Protection Agency, 2003), approximately 40-50% believe that their tap water poses a mild or moderate health risk (Dupont, Adamowicz & Krupnick, 2009).

Tainted water cases in recent Canadian history have likely played a role in fears over the quality of publicly-supplied water. Perhaps the most publicized case occurred in the Ontario town of Walkerton. In May 2000, the town's water supply became contaminated with E. coli bacteria. Although hundreds of people began to experience simultaneously symptoms of infection, and test results confirmed the contamination, the Walkerton Public Utilities Commission, who operated the water supply, insisted for days after contamination was found

that the water was safe. Approximately 2,500 people became ill and seven people died as a direct result of the water contamination, numbers that likely could have been lowered if the Public Utilities Commission had acknowledged the contamination sooner. A resulting inquiry found that improper operating procedures on part of the Public Utilities Commission were largely to blame, while cutbacks on the part of the provincial government and deregulation of water testing were also contributing factors ("Indepth: Inside Walkerton", 2004).

Water is a Human Right

A rights discourse has emerged in part to counter the discourse that water is a commodity on the free market. A global water justice movement, comprising environmentalists, small farmers, indigenous peoples and women's groups, and grassroots organizations, has called for recognition of water as a human right and for control of the resource to rest in public hands (Barlow, 2008). This water justice movement has resisted the corporate takeover of water sources, demanded that people have access to their local water sources, and fought for access to water regardless of ability to pay (Barlow, 2008; Bluemel, 2004). As Barlow (2008) describes, "'[w]ater for all' is the rallying cry of local groups fighting for access to clean water and the life, health and dignity that it brings" (p. 102). As both privatization of water sources and bottled water are key initiatives resulting from a free market discourse, those who advocate that water is a human right have spoken out against both.

Anti-privatization.

Barlow has written prolifically about the water crisis as well as risks that she believes privatization poses to accessible water. She advocates for a "global covenant" on water, involving the following components: 1) water conservation – recognition by governments of the right of the Earth and all species to clean water as well as a pledge to protect and conserve water

sources; 2) water justice – solidarity between the Global North and South to achieve local water control as well as water for all; and 3) water democracy – acknowledgment by governments that water is a human right (Barlow, 2008).

Based on the above components, Barlow argues that there are fundamental flaws in allowing private companies to control water sources. Her arguments are as follows: Private companies operate to generate a profit. Thus, their decisions regarding water allocation are based on economic, as opposed to social, ethical, or environmental, concerns. If a private company were to operate on the principles of water conservation, justice, and democracy, it arguably would not be able to compete within the water market. Regarding conservation, private water corporations generate profits through consumption; therefore, it is not in their best interest for users to conserve water. Regarding justice, corporations offer water services based on the ability to pay, not the level of need. Finally, regarding democracy, corporate control of water reduces, or even eliminates, the oversight that local governments have over water provision in their respective jurisdictions. Barlow (2008) stresses that "only governments, with their mandate to work in the public good, can operate on these principles [of conservation, justice and democracy]" (p. 162). What the private sector understands, she argues, is that, "in a world running out of fresh water, whoever controls it will be both powerful and wealthy" (p. 34).

Barlow (2008) has also criticized the language of public-private partnerships (PPP's). She argues that the term "partnership" is used in place of "privatization", because the former conjures images of democracy and shared responsibility. However, she argues that PPP's should still be considered privatization because they involve profits for a company as well as "cutoffs to people who cannot pay for their 'product'" (p. 40).

Advocates of a rights discourse have argued that there have been many well-documented cases in which privatization reduced access of many households to safe, or potable, drinking water (Barlow, 2008). Returning to the contract in Cochabamba, AdT was to provide a "regulated volume of water of a certain quality for the city of Cochabamba in exchange for a negotiated sixteen percent return on its investment" (Norris & Metzidakis, 2010, p. 36). From the start, privatization resulted in high prices for consumers, as AdT sought to recoup unexpected costs associated with treatment systems and water sources. Some residents were spending upwards of 30% of their household income on water (Bluemel, 2004). This percentage is substantially higher than that deemed appropriate by the World Health Organization (WHO): according to WHO, affordable water means that access to the resource should not cost more than 3-5% of an individual's income (Bluemel, 2004). In response, a citizen coalition called La Coordinadora de Defensa del Agua y de la Vida (the Coalition in Defense of Water and Life), formed within months of privatization and demanded that the government cancel the water contract with AdT. In early 2000, thousands of citizens took to the streets in non-violent protest. On April 10, 2000, the government gave in to public pressure and terminated the contract, returning control of water provision to public hands (Barlow, 2008). Out of the water crisis arose the People's Agreement of Cochabamba, or the Cochabamba Declaration, which demanded recognition of "the right of all peoples, living beings, and Mother Earth to have access to water" (World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth, 2010, para 29.)

The role of the United Nations.

Water has been recognized as a human right by the United Nations (UN). In 2002, the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) issued General Comment

No. 15, calling for States to adopt "effective measures to realize, without discrimination, the right to water" (UN, 2003, p. 2). A General Comment is a document, published by one of the six UN human rights treaty-monitoring bodies, including the CESCR, providing guidelines to States pertaining to interpretation of human rights treaties (World Water Council, 2010). According to General Comment No. 15, the State has the following obligations: 1) respect – the State must "refrain from directly or indirectly interfering with the enjoyment of the right to water" (UN, 2003, p. 9); 2) protect – the State must "prevent third parties from interfering in any way with the enjoyment of the right to water" (UN, 2003, p. 9); and 3) fulfil – the State must "adopt the necessary measures directed towards the full realization of the right to water" (UN, 2003, p. 10). Further, General Comment No. 15 proscribes any discrimination, including that based on:

> race, colour, sex, age, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, . . . disability, health status, . . . sexual orientation and civil, political, social or other status, which has the intention or effect of nullifying or impairing the equal enjoyment or exercise of the right to water. (UN, 2003, p. 6)

However, a General Comment, like other UN declarations and treaties, is an "interpretive tool" as opposed to a legally binding law (World Water Council, 2010, para. 19). States are not required to act in line with a General Comment or ratify treaties and, even if they choose to ratify, there are no legal repercussions for failing to uphold the terms of the treaty. Thus, even though, in 2010, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution recognizing the human right to water (UN, 2010), states are not legally obligated to ensure that their citizens have access to safe drinking water.

Some groups, including the Council of Canadians, which mobilize a rights discourse, argue that Canada has consistently refused to support the human right to water, most recently by

abstaining from the 2010 vote, in which water and sanitation were officially recognized by UN members as human rights (Council of Canadians, 2010; Naidoo, 2010).[3] Melissa Lantsman, Press Secretary for then-Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon, issued the following statement, describing the federal government's position on the issue:

> We continue to assert that international human rights obligations in no way limit our sovereign right to manage our own resources. . . . We remain of the view that the general right to water is not codified under international human rights law and . . . currently there's no international consensus among states regarding the existence, scope or content of a possible right to water. Canada alongside others, abstained in that regard. ("Canada abstains from UN water vote", 2010, para. 6)

Tap versus bottled water.

The safety and cost of bottled water has been challenged by those advocating that water is a human right. They have argued that, despite concerns over the safety of public water systems advanced by industry, studies have shown that neither spring nor purified bottled water is necessarily safer than the tap water in many American and Canadian communities (Clarke, 2007; Olson, 1999). The Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) found that one-third of tested bottled water contained unacceptable levels of contamination, including by synthetic organic chemicals, bacteria, and arsenic (Olson, 1999). Similarly, other studies of bottled water have found unacceptable levels of total dissolved solids, chloride, lead, bacteria, fungi, and mercury ("High level of bacteria found in bottled water", 2010; Pip, 2000). The NRDC study reported that the majority of bottled water is of good quality but cautioned that bottled water

[3] The General Assembly voted 122-0, with 41 abstentions, including by Canada, to adopt a resolution calling on governments and international organizations to "provide financial resources, build capacity and transfer technology, particularly to developing countries, in scaling up efforts to provide safe, clean, accessible and affordable drinking water and sanitation for all" (UN, 2010, para 1).

should not automatically be assumed safer than tap (Olson, 1999). Health Canada (2009) goes further, stating that there is no evidence to support the claim that bottled water is safer than tap water.

Concerns have also been raised regarding the price of bottled as compared to tap water. The NRDC study found that bottled water is between 240 and 10,000 times more expensive than its tap counterpart (Olson, 1999). This astonishing price mark-up has led to accusations by activist Tony Clarke of "price gouging" (Clarke, 2007, p. 79). Price gouging becomes even more apparent when the source of some bottled waters is considered. For example, 25% of bottled water sold in Canada is simply purified tap water (CBWA, n.d.b). Furthermore, purified water bottlers, including Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Co, pay very little to access municipal water systems (Clarke, 2007). As Clarke (2007) describes, "people are being sold something that they have already paid for through their own municipal taxes: quality tap water" (p. 81).

Bottled Water is an Environmental Issue

A discourse has been mobilized arguing that bottled water has a negative impact on the environment. Barlow, Clarke, and others argue that negative environmental consequences result from the production, transportation, and disposal of bottles as well as the search and extraction of groundwater sources (Barlow & Clarke, 2002; Clarke, 2007; Griffin, 2009). Plastic water bottles are produced from non-renewable fossil fuels, including natural gas and crude oil. Carbon dioxide as well as toxic chemicals, including benzene, ethylene oxide, and xylenes, are released into the air and water during their production (Clarke, 2007). Atmospheric pollution also occurs during the transport of bottled water, due to fossil fuel combustion in vehicles (Ferrier, 2001; Griffin, 2009). Furthermore, while most water bottles are recyclable, Clarke (2007) argues that the "vast majority" of plastic water bottles are discarded rather than recycled (p. 70). In terms of

the search and extraction of water, Barlow and Clarke (2002) describe that, "in rural communities throughout much of the world, the industry has been buying up farmland to access wells and then moving on when the wells are depleted" (p. 144). Furthermore, unlike the oil industry, which pays royalties for the oil that it extracts, the bottled water industry does not have to pay for water extracted in most Canadian jurisdictions (Barlow & Clarke, 2002).

Conclusion

A review of the relevant literature indicates that a number of discourses have been mobilized to make claims about drinking water. Three of these discourses represent water as a commodity, human right, and environmental issue, respectively. A commodity discourse espouses that water has an economic value and is to be bought and sold on the free market. Accordingly, bottled water is conceptualized as a commodity like any other. A human rights discourse conceptualizes access to water as a right of everyone, regardless of ability to pay. As such, the commodification of water, as in bottled water, runs counter to the discourse. Finally, an environmental discourse conceptualizes bottled water as an environmental issue. Accordingly, the environmental implications of accessing water, including in its extraction, purification, transport, sale, and disposal, are relevant to the drinking water debate.

In the chapter to follow, I move from a discussion of water-related literature to a description of the theory and methods that guide my research. I utilize Hajer's approach to discourse analysis, as well as the methods of interview and textual analysis, to address my research questions and make claims about discourses being mobilized at the University of Victoria with respect to drinking water. I also describe the site of the research as well as the organizations and offices within the University on which I chose to focus.

Chapter 3

Research Design and Methodology: Hajer's Discourse Analysis

This chapter provides an introduction to discourse analysis and describes the specific approach that I employ in this thesis, Hajer's discourse analysis. Hajer's framework informed my research approach and influenced the lens through which I evaluated my findings. After a discussion of theory, I specify my research questions, describe the site of my research, discuss the methods used for data collection, and outline my analytic approach.

Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is an investigative approach to qualitative research that involves analyzing written and spoken language (Grbich, 2007). It is employed in a variety of disciplines, including linguistics, psychology, and sociology, and can be understood in a variety of ways. Wetherell, Taylor, and Yates (2001a) identify five traditions of discourse analysis: 1) conversation analysis; 2) sociolinguistics; 3) discursive psychology; 4) critical discourse analysis; and 5) Foucauldian analysis. I will briefly discuss each in turn, comparing and contrasting the approaches to Hajer's method of discourse analysis. Although I present these traditions as distinct approaches, note that there is much overlap in terms of focus and influence.

Conversation analysis (CA) is used to analyze "naturally occurring interaction" (Wooffitt, 2001, p. 49), including the ways in which people talk. The approach derives from the work of Harvey Sacks, a sociologist who studied the organization of everyday language use (p. 50), as well as the work of Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel (Heritage, 2001). Conversation analysis posits that "talk-in-interaction" is a social domain worthy of study in its own right (Heritage, 2001, p. 52). Social interaction is considered to be orderly, and patterns of interaction are sought out, as are apparent sensitivities to normative ways of speaking.

Conversation analysis and Hajer's approach to discourse analysis both assume that social action occurs through language use (Hajer, 1995; Wooffitt, 2001). That is, both approaches are concerned with the tasks that language accomplishes in the course of social interaction. However, CA, unlike Hajer's approach, is primarily concerned with how something is said, as opposed to what is said. For example, CA involves analysis of each word, pause, and intonation in a transcript, in order to study the function of each utterance. An additional distinction is that CA is data-driven, in that researchers do not begin with sets of theory-led questions to investigate; rather, analysis begins with the data (Wooffitt, 2001).

Like CA, sociolinguistic approaches to discourse study language in use. Further, both approaches investigate spontaneous speech (Meyerhoff, 2006). However, sociolinguists analyze the ways in which culture and society affect language use. Sociolinguistics investigates the ways in which speakers say something, and studies variants between speakers. Variants are "linguistically equivalent but socially distinct choices in language" (Llamas, Mullany, & Stockwell, 2007, p. 233); for example, the words *friend, pal,* and *chum*. Both sociolinguistics and Hajer's discourse analysis investigate language through a social lens but, whereas sociolinguistics focuses on the effects of social and cultural factors on language, Hajer studies the social bases for the ways in which problems are constructed. Hajer's focus on social interaction involves the ways in which orators try to persuade others to make sense of the world in certain distinct ways (Hajer, 1995).

Discursive psychology is an approach to discourse analysis that involves psychological concepts (Horton-Salway, 2001). Developed in the United Kingdom in the 1990s by Derek Edwards and Jonathan Potter (Edwards & Potter,1992), the field of discursive psychology is influenced by the work of conversation analysts, including Sacks (Wooffitt, 2001); social

psychologist Michael Billig (Billig, 1997); and ethnomethodologists, including Garfinkel (Horton-Salway, 2001). Discursive psychology is not a method of discourse analysis per se, but the application of discourse analysis to psychology (Potter, 2003). This approach centers on social action and discursive practices, as opposed to cognitive processes, which are the foci of many other psychological traditions (Horton-Salway, 2001). Discursive psychology analyzes "how events are described and explained, how factual reports are constructed, [and] how cognitive states are attributed" (Edwards & Potter, 1992, p. 2).

The approach argues that descriptions, including the recollection of memories, are never neutral and is, in this way, similar to Hajer's approach, as Hajer (1995) posits that problems are represented in specific ways in order to argue a certain version of reality. I argue that discursive psychology analyzes word choice and sentence structure to a greater extent than does Hajer's approach, which focuses on larger units, such as ideas, concepts and categorizations, including metaphors. For example, Hajer's discursive analysis does not involve studying the repetition of words within a dialogue, as do approaches to discursive psychology (Horton-Salway, 2001).

Critical discourse analysis is an approach that focuses on social power. According to Wodak and Meyer (2009), the school of critical discourse analysis emerged in the early 1990s and has roots in rhetoric, text linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, socio-psychology, cognitive science, literary studies, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and pragmatics. Critical discourse analysis involves the study of language in its relation to power and ideology (Fairclough, 1995, p. 1). According to Fairclough (1995), power is conceptualized in the following way:

> Both in terms of asymmetries between participants in discourse events, and in terms of unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed . . . in particular sociocultural contexts. . . . The power to control discourse is seen as the power

to sustain particular discursive practices with particular ideological investments in dominance over other alternative (including oppositional) practices. (pp 1-2)

Discourse is considered "a form of social practice" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 7), and is "socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people" (Wodak, 1996, p. 17). Critical theories, including critical discourse analysis, have the objective of creating social change: critical approaches aim to "produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 7).

Like Hajer's approach, critical discourse analysis focuses on "larger units than isolated words or sentences" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Both approaches focus on the analysis of texts, discourses, conversations, and speech acts, as well as non-verbal events or gestures (Hajer, 1995; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Further, both approaches investigate how problems are represented (Hajer, 1995). However, the social justice ambitions of critical discourse analysis as well as its focus on power differentiate it from Hajer's approach. Although Hajer does investigate power relations, he doesn't focus his approach on the role of discourse in the production, reproduction, and challenge of dominant structures and relations. As such, Hajer's approach is not considered to be situated within critical discourse analysis.

Foucauldian analysis is closely related to critical discourse analysis. Both approaches focus on the role of discourse and structures in producing and reproducing power relations. Foucauldian discourse analysis involves the analysis of the ways in which knowledge is "put to work through discursive practices in specific institutional settings to regulate the conduct of others" (Hall, 2001, p. 75). Foucault is concerned with "the production of knowledge and

meaning through discourse" (Hall, 2001, p. 78). He sees discourse as both language (i.e., what ones says) and practice (i.e., what one does), and argues that discourse produces objects of knowledge. Hajer, like Foucault, emphasizes practices, techniques and mechanisms, as opposed to larger institutional systems, as the level of discursive analysis (Hajer, 1995, p. 47). Further, both theorists emphasize that interests are constituted through discourse and have to be continually reproduced through the aforementioned practices, techniques and mechanisms (Hajer, 1995, p. 51). Hajer is influenced by Foucault in terms of the constraining effects of discourse: both theorists emphasize that discourses prohibit subjects from raising certain questions, making certain arguments, or even participating in certain discourses (Foucault, 1971, as cited in Hajer, 1995).

Hajer's approach.

In this research, I draw upon an approach to discourse analysis, advanced by Maarten Hajer, which is influenced by Foucault as well as social-psychologists Harré and Billig (Hajer, 1995). Hajer (1995) advances an argumentative approach to discourse analysis that takes the object of inquiry to be the practices "through which actors seek to persuade others to see reality in the light of the orator" (p. 53). This focus on interpersonal interaction and argumentation is one of the ways in which Hajer is influenced by Harré and Billig: specifically, Hajer, Harré and Billig would all support the argument that "human interaction [is] . . . an exchange of arguments, of contradictory suggestions of how one is to make sense of reality" (Hajer, 1995, p. 53).

Hajer (1995) employs discourse analysis to "illuminate the social and cognitive basis of the way in which problems are constructed" (p. 15). He argues that, in post-positivist social sciences, language is problematized: it is "recognized as a *medium*, a system of signification through which actors not simply describe but *create* the world" (Hajer, 1993, p. 44). This

emphasis on the construction of meaning situates the approach in the social constructionist tradition, which assumes the existence of "multiple, socially constructed realities instead of a single reality, governed by immutable natural laws" (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p. 176). Reality is seen as socially constructed; accordingly, the analysis of meaning and language are emphasized (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005).

Hajer conceptualizes a specific idea of reality or the status quo as upheld "by key actors through discourse" (Hajer, 1995, p. 55). Through discourse analysis, Hajer (1995) analyzes "the ways in which certain problems are represented, differences are played out, and social coalitions on specific meanings somehow emerge" (p. 44). He defines discourse as "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities" (p. 44). Hajer uses the concept "story-line" to discuss metaphors that are enacted to allow for the discussion of inter-discursive problems (Hajer, 1995). Story-lines are narratives that "give meaning to specific physical or social phenomena" (p. 56). These story-lines act as metaphors to construct a problem and also to position actors and attribute responsibility and blame (p. 65). They also allow for discursive closure, whereby problem definition occurs and, consequently, alternative solutions are prevented.

According to Hajer (1995), discourse coalitions are formed based on the set of story-lines to which each adheres: they are an ensemble of a set of story-lines, the actors who utter them, and the practices in which this discursive activity is based. For example, those who support water as a human right and those who advocate that it is a commodity would be considered two distinct and largely opposing discourse coalitions. Actors within these coalitions mobilize

common story-lines, which are the basis of their practice, i.e., of their political action. As Hajer argues, story-lines are "the discursive cement that keeps a discourse-coalition together" (p. 65).

Research Questions

The purpose of this research is to identify and describe the discourses mobilized on the University of Victoria campus to make claims about drinking water. I have used Hajer's approach to discourse analysis to facilitate my exploration of the following research questions:

1. Which discourses and story-lines are expressed by University of Victoria-based groups with respect to drinking water on campus?
2. How do University-based groups mobilize these discourses?
3. Who has formed coalitions around drinking water discourses on campus?

Site of Research: The University of Victoria

The University of Victoria (also referred to herein as the University or UVic) is a mid-sized university located in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. Celebrating its 50th anniversary during the 2012-2013 school year, the University has established itself, in the words of a high-profile official document, "among the best universities in Canada and the world, recognized for excellence in teaching, learning, research, artistic creativity, professional practice and service to the community" (University of Victoria Planning and Priorities Committee, 2012). The reasons that I situated my study at the University of Victoria are three-fold. First, I wanted to move the discussion from drinking water issues and crises globally, to an analysis of drinking water locally. Essentially, I wanted to enact the "think global, act local" mantra that is lived, breathed, and celebrated by many fellow environmentalists and activists.

Second, as I will argue in the chapters to follow, the provision of drinking water on campus is currently being contested by university-based groups. Given that I am a student at this

university, and that initiatives are occurring on campus to challenge the provision of drinking water by bottled beverage providers, this research is both relevant and timely and the research site appropriate.

Third, the University has recently completed a Strategic Review, wherein its strategic plan has been reviewed and renewed (University of Victoria Planning and Priorities Committee, 2012). As the University implements goals and action plans that will lead the institution into the future, I believe it is important to assess if, and in what capacity, the water crisis is addressed and which, if any, water-related discourses are mobilized. This research sheds light on how water is being talked and written about at the University of Victoria including whether and how events and circumstances in the larger world are seen as relevant to University-based action.

Methods

I gathered data for this research by means of both individual interviews and textual analysis. Through use of these methods, I explore the discourses being mobilized, both written and orally, and, together, these methods enable me to present a more complete picture of the discursive field.

Interviews.

I chose my interviewees after an initial search of the work that had been done in the past two years pertaining to the provision of drinking water on campus. I tried to identify the major players at the University regarding this issue, and found that they are the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability, the University of Victoria Sustainability Project, the University of Victoria Students' Society, and the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations. All of these offices and organizations have been involved in initiatives to improve the accessibility of tap water on campus. Further, the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations is responsible for

acquiring partnerships, called strategic alliances, with businesses that provide services to the campus community. One of these strategic alliances is with Pepsi-Co, involving the provision of cold bottled beverages, including water, on campus.

Participation in this research was voluntary. Prior to being interviewed, participants signed a consent form describing the purpose of the project and details of participation. All of the interviewees gave their informed written consent to be identified in the research and to have their responses attributed to them by name, position, and organizational affiliation. Although I did not indicate my preference either verbally or on the consent form, I preferred that participants be identified in the results by name, as opposed to being assigned a pseudonym, which was an option available to participants. The reason for this preference was my desire to identify and describe the groups and people who were working to affect, in some way, drinking water provision on campus. I wanted to identify linkages between these groups and to discuss which, if any, formed discourse coalitions, based on the criteria outlined by Hajer (1995). As all interviewees consented to this level of anonymity, I was able to make clear these linkages.

I conducted five interviews, one with each of the following people:

1. Rita Fromholt, Sustainability Coordinator with the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability
2. Charles McQuade, Director of Corporate Relations and Operations/ Director of Operations for the Division of External Relations
3. Alison Ducharme, Manager of Corporate Relations and Operations
4. Edward Pullman, 2010-2011 Board Member of the University of Victoria Sustainability Project (UVSP)

5. Dylan Sherlock, 2010-2011 Chair of the Environmental Responsibility Committee of the University of Victoria Students' Society (UVSS)

In January 2012, I contacted the participants via email, sending each a letter of invitation and consent. I had previously met Rita Fromholt at a University of Victoria sustainability event, and Dylan Sherlock and Edward Pullman at a community event, and had spoken to each of these three people about potentially participating in my research. I did not have prior contact with either Alison Ducharme or Charles McQuade.

Originally, I had planned to conduct four interviews: one each with representatives of the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations, Campus Planning and Sustainability, UVSS, and UVSP. I sent an invitation to both Charles M. and Alison D., as I was unsure who would be the most appropriate, and interested, representative from the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations. Both Charles M. and Alison D. indicated an interest in participating, so I decided to conduct interviews with both respondents, believing that this arrangement could present a more complete picture of the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations' involvement in drinking water issues on campus without making the number of interviewees unmanageable.

It is important to note that there are other groups and people who have been involved in initiatives to either promote the consumption of tap water or ban the provision of bottled water on campus. In no way do I wish to discount the efforts made by other groups and individuals during the time period covered by my study as well as before and after. However, I felt that the aforementioned organizations most consistently and clearly had prominent roles in creating the discourse. These groups and people had been involved in the most or largest initiatives during the time period with which I was concerned; that is, 2010 and 2011.

Between January 27 and February 3, 2012, I conducted one face-to-face, semi-structured interview with each participant. This type of interview consists of a set of open-ended questions designed to ensure that the topic of interest is addressed. The interviewer is free to vary the sequence of questions, but usually asks the same set of questions of all participants (Richards & Morse, 2007). Each interview consisted of four main questions, with follow-up questions and probes used as necessary (see Appendix A). This number of questions is considered appropriate to get sufficient depth and breadth of answers (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). With the permission of interviewees, I recorded each interview using a digital audio recorder. The interviews ranged from 18 to 49 minutes in length: the two interviews that I conducted with students (i.e., Edward P. and Dylan S.) were the longest, at 39 minutes and 49 minutes, respectively.

Textual analysis.

I conducted a text analysis of documents produced at the University of Victoria that have relevance to drinking water on campus. Documents include those pertaining to the University's bottled water contract with Pepsi-Co, as well as efforts to promote the consumption of tap water. Besides official documents, including policies, produced by the University of Victoria, I also analyzed articles published in *The Martlet* and *The Ring*, two campus-based print publications. *The Martlet* is an independent weekly student newspaper at the University of Victoria, while *The Ring* is a monthly newspaper produced by the University of Victoria Office of Communications. I chose to analyse articles, both opinion and news, from these two publications because they are the two most prominent newspapers on campus, and, as one is published by students and the other by the administration, I thought that they would provide valuable perspectives from each group.

Document selection.

I located policy documents for analysis by searching the University of Victoria's website (University of Victoria, 2012), using the search term "water", as well as conducting a survey of web pages belonging to University Offices, including the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability as well as Purchasing Services. Official policy documents produced by the University that I chose to analyse were selected based on the following criteria: 1) does the document pertain to either drinking water or bottled water?; 2) does the document shed light on the University's priorities with respect to water use on campus?; and 3) does the document provide insight into the University's objectives with respect to sustainability? A document need not meet all of the aforementioned criteria to be included in this research; rather, I selected documents based on whether they met one of the criteria and would, in my estimation, make a meaningful contribution to this research. I identified eight documents for analysis. These documents were all available electronically at the time of writing (January 2013; see Appendix B).

I utilized *The Martlet* website (Martlet, 2010) to find and select *Martlet* articles for analysis. I began my search by scanning the title and first paragraph of each news and opinion article published from January 1, 2010 to December 31, 2011. I chose this two year window because I felt that it was wide enough to provide me with a significant number of texts, but not so wide as to make my research unmanageable. Further, I began data collection in early 2012, so collecting documents published through 2011 provided me with current policies and articles.

My search criteria were simple: I was looking for pieces that discussed drinking water on campus. I bookmarked potentially relevant articles (four opinion pieces and 14 news articles) and, if unsure, I read the entire article to evaluate whether it was appropriate for my

investigation. Fifteen *Martlet* articles (four opinion pieces and 11 news articles) met my criteria and were selected for analysis (see Appendix B).

I selected articles from *The Ring* by entering the search term "water" into the search box on *The Ring's* archive website (University of Victoria, n.d.a). I scanned all water-related articles published from January 1, 2010 to December 31, 2011, again bookmarking articles that focussed on drinking water on campus. I bookmarked three articles and, after carefully reading each, eliminated one that was not specifically focussed on drinking water on campus but, instead, general sustainability initiatives. Thus, I analyzed two articles from *The Ring* (see Appendix B). Overall, 25 texts were analyzed; most (n=15) were from the student newspaper, 11 of which were published in 2011 (see Table 1).

Table 1: Summary of Analyzed Texts

Type and Time Frame	Number
UVic policy documents (2003-2012)	8
The Martlet articles and opinion pieces (2010-2011)	15
The Ring articles (2010-2011)	2
Total	25

Analysis

After personally transcribing each of the interviews and selecting newspaper and policy documents, I began my analysis by reading through each text and identifying key themes. For example, I highlighted all sentences or paragraphs that discussed specific initiatives designed to affect the provision of drinking water on campus and labelled them "initiatives". I did not

highlight every sentence in any document, only those pertaining to one of the areas that I identified: namely, context, coalitions, revenue, bottled water ban, potential barriers to a ban, initiatives regarding drinking water on campus, indicated reasons for these initiatives, and other information that I identified as pertaining to discourse. This preliminary analysis did not break down specific themes, discourses or story-lines: rather, it identified the passages that contained information about initiatives or discourses. I later broke down these passages to identify and group specific discourses, for example, those to do with choice, or with the environmental impact of bottled water.

I had some preconceived notions of what I would find prior to carefully reading texts and conducting interviews. However, the material that I collected is much richer than I anticipated, both in depth and breadth of discourses and story-lines. Therefore, I believe it accurate to describe my identification of discourses as a product both of prior conceptions and "letting the data speak to me". That is, I was looking for indicators of certain discourses, but I also found discourses that I had not anticipated.

Analytic Approach

Through conducting a discourse analysis of the data collected, I am able to understand and analyze the concepts and discourses that are mobilized at the University of Victoria with respect to drinking water on campus. Hajer's approach underlines that many issues are inter-discursive in nature; as such, "an understanding of the phenomena necessarily requires the combination of knowledge claims that are the product of distinct discourses" (Hajer, 1995, p. 61). Given that the phenomena that I am discussing, including bottled water, involve knowledge claims derived from several distinct discourses, Hajer's approach provides me with valuable tools to navigate this complicated terrain.

In this research, I make claims about discourses, story-lines, and arguments. Based on the work of Hajer, I understand discourses to mean the conceptualizations that give meaning to physical and social reality. For example, an environmental discourse is one lens through which to conceptualize the drinking water debate, i.e., it gives meaning to the debate and defines the issue of bottled water as an environmental one. Hajer uses the concept "story-line" to discuss metaphors that are enacted to allow for the discussion of inter-discursive problems (Hajer, 1995). I understand story-line to be the narrative that serves to mobilize the discourse (Hajer, 1995). For example, a story-line mobilizing an environmental discourse is that waste is produced in the formation, transport, and disposal of water bottles. Hajer's (1995) approach is argumentative in that it analyzes the ways in which actors make arguments in order to persuade others to see reality in a certain way. I use the term argument to describe what is being done or said as part of this persuasion, referring to the implications of the interplay of various discourses and story-lines. It captures the "so-what?" With reference to the environmental discourse and the related story-line that bottled water produces waste, the resultant argument is that, since bottled water is an environmental issue and bottles produce waste throughout their lifecycle, bottled water should be banned on the merit of environmentalism.

In this thesis, I also describe the University-based groups that are mobilizing particular discourses and producing relevant story-lines. These groups can be understood, according to Hajer's framework, as belonging to discourse coalitions. I analyse interview transcriptions and the selected texts to identify discourses and story-lines as well as the discourse coalitions that employ them. Further, I identify and describe the practices in which actors are engaged, for example, efforts to promote the accessibility of tap water on campus.

In the following chapter, I will describe both the initiatives that took place on campus in 2010 and 2011 as well as the groups that acted as key players. This primary account will set the stage for Chapter 5, an analysis of discourses and story-lines operating at the University of Victoria, as well as Chapter 6, wherein I identify discourse coalitions operating to make claims about drinking water on campus.

Chapter 4

Setting the Stage

This chapter describes the policies that govern drinking water provision on the University of Victoria campus, outlines relevant initiatives that occurred on campus through 2010 and 2011, and identifies the groups that were involved in these policies and initiatives. The University community has access to drinking water from both private and public sources. Bottled water is available for sale from vendors and vending machines across campus, with the exception of inside the Student Union Building (SUB). Additionally, many, if not all, buildings on campus contain water fountains, designed for the user to drink from directly. As I describe below in some detail, many of these water fountains have been retrofitted to allow for easy filling of a reusable water bottle. I will first discuss the University's bottled water contract with Pepsi-Co, and then describe initiatives related to improving access to public sources of drinking water and banning the sale of bottled water.

Bottled Water Provision

Currently, the University has a contract with Pepsi-Co for the provision of cold bottled beverages, including water, on its campus. Pepsi-Co products are provided by Ryan Vending, a British Columbia-based Vending Services company, and bottled by Gray Beverages (University of Victoria, n.d.b). According to Rita F., the Pepsi-Co contract specifies that the University must purchase Pepsi-Co products exclusively, but it does not mandate which products are to be included. That is, the University can choose which Pepsi-Co products are available for sale on campus (personal communication, February 1, 2012). This contract, or strategic alliance, as it is referred to by the University, has existed for over a decade. According to Alison D., the University is in the second of two terms with Pepsi-Co as the campus' cold beverage supplier (personal communication, February 2, 2012).

Strategic alliances are created and managed in accordance with a number of university policies. One such policy, the *Policy on Strategic Alliances* (FM 5110; University of Victoria, 2003), specifies "the principles for the negotiation of strategic alliances between UVic and external organizations" (para. 1). According to this policy, strategic alliances are "contractual arrangement[s] between the University and an external organization that sets out an agreed-upon exchange of cash, goods and/or services that have a direct measurable value" (para. 2). These alliances must be consistent with the mission and principles of the University, as outlined in the *Strategic Plan* (University of Victoria Planning and Priorities Committee, 2012). Further, they must provide "goods and services we need and at the same time provide additional benefits" to the campus community (University of Victoria, 2003, para. 4).

A related policy document, called the *Strategic Alliance Agreement Principles and Procedures* (University of Victoria, 2008), supports the implementation of the *Policy on Strategic Alliances*. It outlines the procedures for establishing strategic alliances, including identification of potential alliances; solicitation and award of contracts; and stewardship. In accordance with the document, both Purchasing Services and Corporate Relations and Operations are involved in the management of strategic alliances. The role of Purchasing Services is to "obtain the best value and supply agreement for the [U]niversity", while Corporate Relations and Operations is responsible for the "management of the supplier servicing and administration of the allocation of these value-added contributions to constituents of the [U]niversity community" (p. 3).

Strategic alliances must also conform to the *Purchasing Services Policy* (FM5105; University of Victoria, 2009a), which details the responsibilities and accountabilities involved with the purchasing of goods and services on campus. In accordance with Policy Provision

1.2.1, acquisitions of goods, services and construction through purchase, lease, or rental are to be undertaken in a fair, open, and competitive manner. The *Policy* also outlines the parties authorized to make purchasing decisions as well as the constraints within which purchases must be made.

According to the University, strategic alliances "enhance the experience of students" (University of Victoria, n.d.b, para. 5). In terms of the Pepsi-Co alliance, the University community benefits through financial support of student orientation, scholarships, awards, and sponsorships; product donations to departments, faculties, student groups and clubs; and events, campaigns and contests (University of Victoria, n.d.b). However, the strategic alliance with Pepsi-Co does not extend the entirety of campus. In the Student Union Building (SUB), managed by the University of Victoria Students' Society (UVSS), cold bottled beverages are supplied by Coca-Cola (McCleery, 2010). As a Society separate from the University, the UVSS has the power to manage its own operations and finances and has a mandate to provide services, events, and advocacy to undergraduate students of the University of Victoria (UVSS, 2013a). The UVSS is housed within the SUB and controls the building and Society's annual operating budget of $10 million (UVSS, 2013a). A student-elected Board of Directors, composed of five executive directors, 11 directors at large, and five constituency representatives, serves as the decision-making body of the Society (UVSS, 2013b). These Directors make decisions based on the values that guide the UVSS; namely, community, equity, inclusiveness, advocacy, sustainability, and fun (UVSS, 2013a). As I will describe below, the UVSS Board worked within the terms of the Coca-Cola contract to end the sale of bottled water from the SUB (UVSS, 2012a).

Promoting Consumption and Accessibility of Tap Water

The bottled water ban in SUB is one of the ways in which drinking water options available to the University community are being challenged and contested. The UVSS as well as other campus-based organizations are working to promote the accessibility and consumption of tap water and/or to ban its bottled counterpart. I will address each type of initiative in turn.

Several groups have led or been involved in initiatives to promote the consumption of tap water and to increase its accessibility. One such group is the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability. This small office, which consists of a Director, two Sustainability Coordinators, and a work study student, is mandated to "guide the University towards fulfillment of its various goals and targets set forth around sustainability in operations" (Rita F., personal communication, February 1, 2012). Sustainability in operations was named a strategic priority for the University in its *2007 Strategic Plan* (University of Victoria Planning and Priorities Committee, 2007). Out of this priority came two documents: a revised version of the *University Sustainability Policy* (University of Victoria, 2009b) as well as the creation of a *Sustainability Action Plan (SAP): Campus Operations 2009-2014* (University of Victoria, n.d.c). The *University Sustainability Policy* is an "overarching framework that serves to assist the University Community in incorporating Sustainability into decision making and provides a common understanding of what Sustainability means at the University of Victoria" (University of Victoria, 2009b, para. 2). Essentially, it defines sustainability ("the state of achieving the ecological balance that allows social development and economic prosperity to be achieved across generations"; para. 16) and specifies that the University community has committed to sustainability in their activities, which include operations, practices, teaching, research, decisions, events, strategies, actions and planning.

The *SAP* identifies measurable goals and actions stated in the *2007 Strategic Plan* that apply to the area of Campus Operations, primarily within the portfolio of the Vice-President of Finance and Operations. Created in 2008 after a public forum and "extensive consultation across campus with students, faculty [and] staff" (Rita F., personal communication, February 1, 2012), the *SAP* outlines eight key areas in which sustainability initiatives are to occur: 1) energy and climate; 2) transportation; 3) purchasing; 4) governance, decision-making and sustainability resources; 5) buildings and renovations; 6) grounds, food and urban agriculture; 7) waste management; and 8) water management. Within each of these topic areas, a vision, principles, goals, benefits, and action items are outlined. The section on water management specifies the goal to "increase campus community access to public water for drinking" as well as the related action item to "promote the high quality of water through education programs and add new drinking water stations designed to accommodate filling bottles" (University of Victoria, n.d.c, p. 20). This public drinking water is provided by the Capital Regional District (CRD), in which the University of Victoria is situated.

In line with these objectives, the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability, with the aid of the plumbing department and the support of the Associate Vice President, Finance and Operations, is in the process of retrofitting water fountains across campus, adding a water spout specifically designed to fill water bottles. According to Rita F., traditional water fountains can have poor water pressure and be designed in such a way that prohibits the filling of a water bottle (personal communication, February 1, 2012). Retrofits began in 2010 and fountains in high-traffic areas were to be retrofit first. As of June 1, 2010, water fountains in 10 buildings had been retrofit, including in the SUB, Social Sciences and Mathematics Building, MacLaurin Building, and Strong Building ("Get your H2O", 2010). As of early 2012, 55 fountains had been

retrofit across campus (Lowther, 2011a; Rita F., personal communication, February 1, 2012), with another 25 retrofits planned before the end of 2012 (University of Victoria Campus Planning and Sustainability, n.d.a).[4] Referring to the goals outlined in the *SAP*, Director of the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability Neil Connelly says that retrofits align with "our objectives of reducing waste and energy costs and promoting the high quality of the [Capital Regional District] public water supply" (Connelly, as cited in Lowther, 2011a, para. 15).

The UVSS has also worked to retrofit water fountains in the SUB. There are multiple water refilling stations in the building; further, reusable cups are available near Bean There, a cafe in SUB, for users at no cost. According to Dylan S., Christine Comrie, former Director of Services within the UVSS, spearheaded these initiatives (personal communication, January 30, 2012). The UVSS has led other initiatives, in addition to the fountain retrofits, that are designed to increase the consumption of tap water on campus. In September 2011, the UVSS gave reusable water bottles to all first year undergraduate students, as a way of ensuring that new students were "getting used to the idea of using reusable water bottles" (Dylan S., personal communication, January 30, 2012). According to Dylan S., the UVSS gave out approximately 2400 water bottles, which were "really well-received" (personal communication, January 30, 2012).

The University of Victoria Sustainability Project (UVSP) has also led initiatives designed to promote the consumption of tap water on campus. The UVSP is a student-run organization located in the SUB. The organization aims to "create tangible results and visible change on sustainability issues" and acts as a resource for other projects and organizations (UVSP, n.d.a, para 1). The vision of the UVSP is to "create a space of learning where people can be challenged to seek out and address the root causes [of] environmental degradation, . . . explor[e] the

[4] Whether this target was met by the end of 2012 has not been published or reported.

relationships between ourselves, the surrounding lands, plants, and animals, [and] . . . foster better relationships, and healthier communities" (UVSP, n.d.a, para. 1). The organization is run by a group of up to nine student board members, as well as up to two community members, elected annually (UVSP, n.d.a, para. 3). Initiatives that the UVSP has been involved in include: the Good Food Box Program, the Food Revolution: Everybody Eats (FREE) Food Project, a bicycle loan and rental program, a sustainability grants program, and an annual two-day event called Earthfest (UVSP, n.d.b).

According to Edward P., one of the water-related initiatives that the UVSP engaged in involved putting up posters on vending machines, "directing people towards . . . water fountains" (personal communication, January 27, 2012). The poster campaign was awareness-oriented: the goal was to make people aware that they didn't have to purchase bottled water. As Edward P. describes, learning about the volume of bottled water purchased on campus was the impetus for the posters:

> The sheer amount of bottled water that's sold on campus is quite, it's quite, extreme. I remember being told . . . that the University has incredibly high bottled water sales, higher than the norm. I believe we're kind of a 70:30 ratio, or something, something extreme, where bottled water dwarf all other sales, and that's the exception compared to other campuses. My understanding is that other campuses actually have . . . much lower sales but, for whatever reason, UVic does very well. So, . . . it struck me . . . quite early on, you know, why is [*sic*] bottled water sales so particularly high on this campus? (personal communication, January 27, 2012)

The UVSP also conducted a survey of the location of all water fountains on campus. This information was not made public: rather, it was collected so as to provide the UVSP with more

information about tap water availability on campus (Edward P., personal communication, January 27, 2012).

The Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability and the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations have been involved in another initiative designed to increase the accessibility of tap water – the purchase and use of a Waterfillz station. The Waterfillz is a portable unit that attaches via a hose to a water source and has a spout to fill water bottles with either filtered or unfiltered tap water (Groves, 2011; Rita F., personal communication, February 1, 2012). The station is designed to be used for outdoor events and was purchased to "reduce the number of plastic water bottles on campus" (Groves, 2011, para. 1). The Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability manages the use of the machine, including its bookings and operation. Rita F., who has operated the station at several campus-based events, says that she doesn't use the filter option, as she wants to promote the high quality of CRD tap water, which is one of the objectives in the *SAP*. She emphasizes that she wants to "make the point that it doesn't need to be filtered" (personal communication, February 1, 2012).

According to Rita F. and Charles M., both the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability and Office of Corporate Relations and Operations, respectively, had been contacted by the maker of Waterfillz, a Surrey-based company called SafeStar Products Company Limited (SafeStar Products Company Limited, 2012). Both Offices thought that the station would be beneficial to the campus community and, consequently, the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations worked to find an appropriate partner to sponsor the initiative (Alison D., personal communication, February 2, 2012). Waste Management, the company that collects garbage and recycling from the University grounds, was approached by the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations (Charles M., personal communication, February 3, 2012; Rita F.,

personal communication, February 1, 2012). According to Charles M., the objectives of Waste Management fit well with the sustainability aspect of the Waterfillz station: "it was just [about] connecting the two companies" (personal communication, February 3, 2012). Alison D. describes both the Waterfillz station and the formation of the strategic alliance:

> We approached . . . [Waste Management] last year to see if they would like to partner with us, as part of a sponsorship opportunity, to bring on campus a unit called the Waterfillz machine. And what that Waterfillz machine is, is a self-standing unit that all, all it needs is a water supply and it can be moved anywhere on campus, and students or faculty or staff or visitors to campus can bring their own water bottles to this unit and fill them up for free. So, it's an opportunity to try and lessen the [amount] of . . . bottled water that's used on campus and also, particularly at large events where we'd have a . . . critical mass of people on campus, it's an excellent way to ensure that there's ample drinking water, but not any potential waste associated with that. (personal communication, February 2, 2012)

According to Charles M., Corporate Relations and Operations worked with Campus Planning and Sustainability as well as the Facilities department to bring the initiative to campus and ensure it has the necessary supplies, including hoses, to operate (personal communication, February 3, 2012).

Bottled Water Ban

While efforts to increase the consumption of public drinking water have taken place on campus, so too have those designed to ban its bottled counterpart. Discussions surrounding drinking water, and specifically a ban on bottled water, have been "going on for years on campus in one form or another" (Edward P., personal communication, January 27, 2012). Several

student groups have worked to make campus a bottled-water free zone. In 2010, a University of Victoria undergraduate student brought to campus a branch of Development and Peace, an international social justice organization, specifically to highlight issues with privatization of water, including the role of bottled water in the global water crisis. From October 2010 to March 2011, Development and Peace UVic hosted several speakers, who discussed water-related issues facing the Global South, and held film screenings, including the documentary "Water on the Table", which chronicles the work of Maude Barlow (Lowther, 2010; McCleery, 2010).

Further, the UVSS has been involved in a Canadian Federation of Students (CFS) campaign to eliminate the sale of bottled water on campuses across Canada (Dylan S., personal communication, January 30, 2012). The CFS campaign, *Back the Tap,* promotes the consumption of public water and the elimination of water privatization, including through the sale of bottled water (CFS, n.d.). *Back the Tap* campaign initiatives include offering resources to guide individuals and groups in going bottled-water free; creating a pledge where individuals can commit to going bottled-water free; and providing materials, including stickers, flyers, and notepads, which promote banning bottled water (CFS, n.d.). The UVSS utilized CFS campaign materials, including a petition, to advocate for a bottled-water free campus. The UVSS also facilitated the University's participation in the CFS's Annual Bottled Water Free Day in 2011 (Dylan S., personal communication, January 30, 2012).

In late 2009 and early 2010, the UVSP ran the *Think Outside the Bottle* campaign to inform students about the "social, political and environmental aspects of bottled water" (O'Farrell, as cited in Karstens-Smith, 2010, para. 6). An additional goal of the campaign was to promote the high quality of Victoria's public drinking water. Campaign activities included

lectures by environmental and social activists, tables set up on campus to provide students with information about water issues, water tastings, and film screenings (Karstens-Smith, 2010).

Although the campaign name *Think Outside the Bottle* was not used after March 2010, the UVSP continued to work towards banning bottled water sales on campus. In January 2011, the UVSP circulated a petition on campus asking students to sign if they supported the gradual elimination of bottled water on campus. The petition was designed both to gauge the support of the student body as well as to collect enough signatures (10% of the student population) to get the question brought to students in a referendum (Edward P., personal communication, January 27, 2012; Lowther, 2011a; Lowther, 2011b). The petition was endorsed by the UVSS (Willetts, 2011), some members of which personally helped to circulate the petition (Dylan S., personal communication, January 30, 2012). The bottled water question was a central issue in the campaign of several students vying to get elected to the UVSS Board of Directors under the slate FUSE UVic (Dylan S., personal communication, January 30, 2012; Karstens-Smith, 2011).

According to Edward P. and Dylan S., the petition and referendum question were based on a campaign that occurred at the University of Winnipeg in 2009. Dylan S. describes the influence that the University of Winnipeg's referendum had on that at the University of Victoria:

> [Ed looked at] the University of Winnipeg, where they were the first Canadian campus to go bottled-water free, . . . the first high-profile one, anyways, and he thought, wouldn't it be a cool idea if we just literally copy and pasted their campaign, and ran it here, and which was basically [*sic*] that they wrote a . . . very good referendum question, which their student union had a referendum on and [it] passed. (personal communication, January 30, 2012)

The petition generated the required number of signatures and, in March 2011, the question went to referendum. Students voted on the following question: Would you be willing to support an initiative led by the University of Victoria, the UVSS, and the UVic Sustainability Project to gradually eliminate sales of bottled water on campus, with increased access to clean and free drinking water? The question passed with 2469 "yes" votes and 421 "no" votes, resulting in 85% of voting students in favour of a gradual ban (Dylan S., personal communication, January 30, 2012).

Both Dylan S. and Edward P. saw the petition and referendum as the "first step in a larger process" (Edward P., personal communication, January 27, 2012). After the referendum was passed, the focus shifted to implementation, or, as Dylan S. described, to "operationalizing the change" (personal communication, January 30, 2012). In September 2011, the UVSS was given permission by its Board of Directors to begin phasing out the sale of bottled water from the SUB. The UVSS's Chairperson, Tara Paterson, proposed the motion, which described the UVSS's goal of eliminating the sale of bottled water from all SUB vendors and vending machines by April 2012, while specific vendors, including Bean There and the Health Food Bar, would halt sales by December 5, 2011 (see Appendix C for UVSS motion). According to Paterson, the UVSS motion came about because of the outcome of the bottled water referendum, which showed strong student support for a ban (Rosario, 2011a; Rosario, 2011b; Rosario, 2011c). Further, the UVSS Board of Directors discussed contract negotiations with Coca-Cola and Ryan Vending regarding exchanging bottled water for reusable bottles in at least two of the vending machines in the SUB (Dylan S., personal communication, January 30, 2012; Rosario, 2011a; Rosario, 2011b). The UVSS announced in its 2012 *Annual Report* that it planned to ban bottled water within the SUB by the end of 2012 and restated that it is lobbying the University to institute a

campus-wide ban (Dylan S., personal communication, January 30, 2012; UVSS, 2012a). By the end of 2012, the UVSS had achieved its goal of going bottled-water free within SUB.

Consultation.

The UVSS's efforts to institute a campus-wide ban involved Chairperson Tara Paterson writing a letter to the University's Vice-President of Student Affairs, requesting that the University Executive Committee develop a position on the sale of bottled water and eliminate its sale by April 2012. Based on this request, the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability began a consultation process in early 2012 to solicit feedback from the campus community on this proposal (University of Victoria Campus Planning and Sustainability, n.d.b). In addition to a survey available through the University's homepage, the Office planned to gather feedback through a public forum as well as "smaller consultations with Student Transition Services, Student Services, Food Services, . . . Human Resources, . . . unions, . . . [and] the Faculty Association" (Rita F., personal communication, February 1, 2012). The Office also produced a document, *FAQs on bottled water at UVic*, which describes why the University is considering a ban on campus; promotes the safety and taste of CRD water (in keeping with the objective outlined in the *SAP*); and provides information about how the University may be affected by such a ban, both environmentally and economically (University of Victoria Campus Planning and Sustainability, n.d.b).

Official positions.

At the time of writing (January 2013), the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability and Office of Corporate Relations and Operations have not developed official positions regarding bottled water sales on campus. Rita F. has made clear that the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability will adopt the official position of the University, which will be based

on the results of the consultation process (personal communication, February 1, 2012). Charles M. states that the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations has not "declared one way or another [and] . . . we haven't been asked to" (personal communication, February 3, 2012).

Conversely, Edward P., of the UVSP, has stated that the UVSP is opposed to the sale of bottled water on campus and would like to see it phased out (personal communication, January 27, 2012). The UVSS clearly stated its official position on the sale of bottled water at the University of Victoria: it was committed to eliminating "all sales of bottled water in the Student Union Building before the end of 2012" and lobbied the University to "eliminate all sales of bottled water on campus before the end of 2012" (UVSS, n.d.; 2012b). At the time of writing, bottled water is still available for sale on campus outside of the SUB.

The value of process.

Based on the information that I gathered through interviews and text analysis, there seems to be consensus amongst the groups who are working to ban bottled water that the ban is not simply something to be voted on one day and instituted the next; rather, the groups see it as in their best interest that a gradual process be followed. Edward P. describes the steps that he sees as part of a process that would lead to the successful elimination of bottled water sales on campus:

> You have to look for opportunities [for] how you can fit it into . . . your schedule of events, . . . for example, with orientation. How can we . . . talk about bringing in the next batch of students and how can we educate them on this issue instead of just . . . declaring this issue done and then moving on? . . . I think that you do need timelines and you do need to look at how you're going to put up material, how you're going to inform people . . . . There's all of these . . . logistical considerations that need to be taken into account as

> well, so I don't think that a straight immediate ban is really in anyone's interests at all. I think you need to talk about how you can shape the culture on campus and certainly just initiating the ban is going to shape the culture, but not necessarily in a good way. [It's about] working with actors and procedures and . . . rituals or whatever in the institution to achieve that outcome. (personal communication, January 27, 2012)

For Edward P., as well as for Dylan S. and the UVSS, a bottled water ban is the end goal, but there are many steps that need to precede it, such as establishing: 1) a successful working relationship with the university administration; 2) adequate drinking fountains; and 3) a culture on campus that values going bottled-water free. The UVSS and UVSP, as well as the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability, recognize the complexity of implementing a ban, including that it would have to be approved by the University's Board of Governors, and implemented by both the Office of Purchasing Services and Food Services (Rita F., personal communication, February 1, 2012).

Conclusion

In sum, several groups and people have been involved in drinking water-related initiatives on campus in the time period covered by my research. Initiatives include, but are not limited to, retrofits of water fountains to install spouts designed to fill water bottles; posters on vending machines to direct the campus community towards water fountains; giving out free water bottles to new students; the purchase of a Waterfillz station; petitions to gauge support for a bottled water ban; a student referendum regarding banning bottled water on campus; letter writing campaigns to the University Executive; and consultation, conducted by the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability, with the campus community. In the next chapter, I will describe the discourses and story-lines that are being mobilized on campus to make claims about

bottled water and tap water. I will also discuss the potential implications of these claims for policy and practice.

Chapter 4

Discourses and Story-lines

In this chapter, I argue that multiple discourses are being mobilized to make claims about drinking water on campus. These discourses position water as: 1) an environmental issue; 2) a public resource; 3) a human rights concern; 4) a commodity on the free market; 5) a health issue; and 6) a revenue issue. I argue that groups and individuals on campus who are mobilizing these discourses are advancing story-lines that give meaning to the debate and define the issue in particular ways. I will present each discourse and then discuss the story-lines being uttered that mobilize the discourse (see Figure 1). Some of these story-lines encompass multiple discourses, evidence that this is indeed an inter-discursive issue. As Hajer (1995) argues, the mobilization of discourses and story-lines allow for the problem to be defined, for solutions to be presented, and for alternative solutions to be prevented. Accordingly, I will discuss policy implications that may result, or are suggested, by the story-lines being mobilized to define the debate.

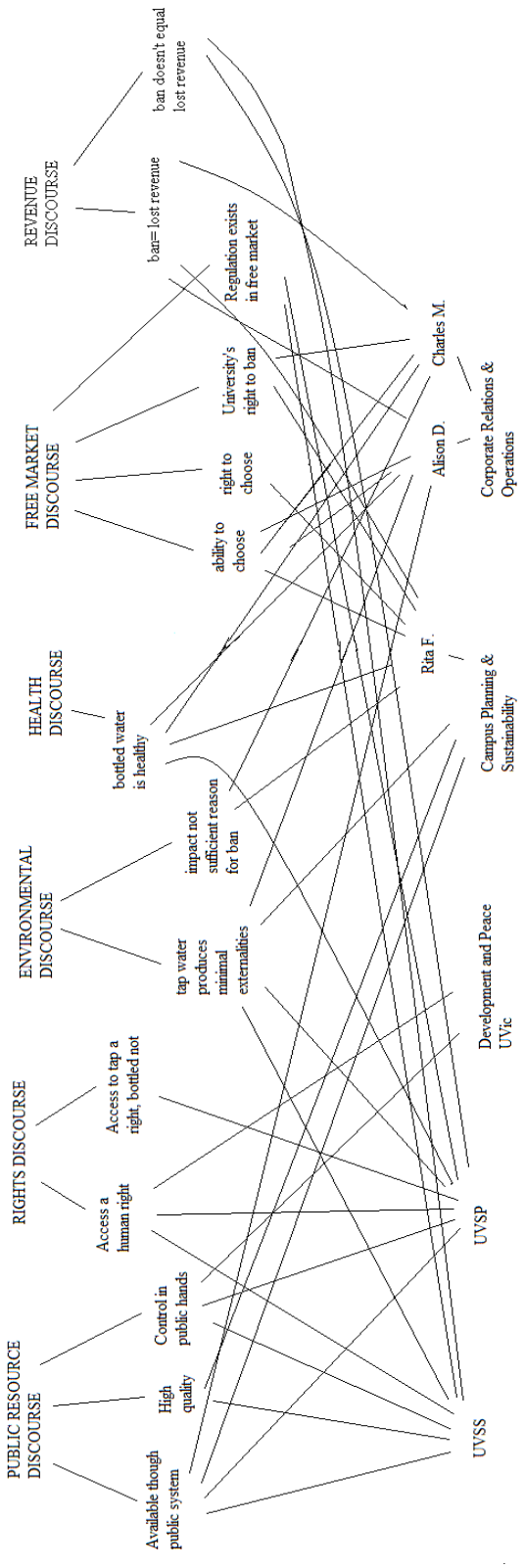

Figure 1. Discourses and Story-lines

Environmental Discourse

An *environmental discourse* has been mobilized to make claims about tap and bottled water on campus. The most prevalent story-line mobilizing this discourse argues that tap water creates minimal environmental externalities as compared to bottled water. This story-line has been advanced by student groups, including the UVSP and UVSS; Alison D., from the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations; and documents produced by the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability. Rita F. and Charles M. also make claims about the environmental aspects of bottled water, but argue that the waste associated with bottled water is insignificant and irrelevant to the debate about a bottled water ban.

Story-line 1: tap water produces minimal environmental externalities as compared to bottled water.

A story-line mobilizing an environmental discourse is that bottled water has a negative effect on the environment, as compared to tap water. Edward P., of the UVSP, argues that the production, transportation, and disposal of bottled water create unnecessary waste:

> You've got the environmental externalities associated with bottled water and the greenhouse gas emissions due to its transportation, production, packaging, consumption, and, you know, all the plastic that is a result of that. The fact that large chunks of bottled water end up in the landfill, contribute to the . . . pacific garbage patch. So there's [*sic*] just a huge number of environmental externalities associated with its use, for a product that is completely substitutable at any given time. (personal communication, January 27, 2012)

In this excerpt, Edward P. argues not only the environmental costs associated with producing and transporting bottles, but also those associated with improper disposal, i.e., bottles ending up in a

landfill or garbage patch instead of being recycled. He argues elsewhere that 40-80% of plastic water bottles end up in landfills (Pullman, 2011). Accordingly, he sees bottled water as a significant environmental issue, claiming that the bottled water issue is one that any environmental group would raise. Edward P. argues that these significant environmental externalities are created in the production of a product that is substitutable by tap water, which has minimal environmental costs. Thus, he is also mobilizing a *public resource discourse* and the related story-line that drinking water is available through a public system, which I will discuss later in this chapter.

Representatives from both the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations and Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability have mobilized an environmental discourse to argue that there is waste associated with the sale of bottled water. Alison D. states that the Waterfillz station was purchased to "try and lessen the [amount of] . . . bottled water that's used on campus . . . . It's an excellent way to ensure that there's ample drinking water, but not any potential waste associated with that" (personal communication, February 2, 2012). The Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability mobilizes an environmental discourse in the *Sustainability Action Plan* (*SAP*), described in the previous chapter. One of the topic areas in the *SAP* is waste management. Goals related to this topic area include increased waste diversion through reducing, reusing, recycling, and composting. Although the reduction of plastic bottles is not explicitly stated in the *SAP*, Director of Campus Planning and Sustainability Neil Connelly argues that retrofits of water fountains align with the University's stated objective of reducing waste (Lowther, 2011a). Further, in the *University Green Guide*, developed by the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability, one of the "Top 20 Campus Sustainability Actions" recommended to members of the campus community is to "always carry a reusable coffee mug

and water bottle" (University of Victoria Campus Planning and Sustainability, 2011, p. 6). This action item mobilizes an environmental discourse by describing the use of a reusable water bottle as a sustainable initiative.

Story-line 2: environmental impact is not a sufficient reason to ban bottled water.

Another story-line mobilizing an environmental discourse makes the claim that bottled water is not a waste issue, due to the fact that a high percentage of water bottles being used on campus are recycled. In our interview, Sustainability Coordinator Rita F., from the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability, argues that bottled water is not a waste issue. Further, she argues that, since the campus community recycles a very high percentage of water bottles, a ban based on the merit of environmentalism is unconvincing. She states that she, personally, does not support a bottled water ban, hypothesizing that a ban will not result in a reduction of plastic bottles being produced, or in the amount of bottled product being consumed, as consumers may choose to substitute other bottled beverages for bottled water (personal communication, February 1, 2012). I will address the issue of substitutability later in this chapter.

Like Rita F., Charles M. claims that bottled water is not an environmental issue. His arguments focus on the negligible impact that he claims a bottled water ban would have on the University in terms of environmental progressiveness:

> I don't think banning [bottled] water makes the University any more environmentally progressive than not banning water. I think the University does a lot of things that make it environmentally sustainable, from capturing groundwater, to LEEDS buildings, to sustainability programs, to recycling, [and] compost. There are a lot of things that the University does that make it a leader environmentally and [in terms of] sustainability, in

> progressive thinking and moving forward. I don't personally see that banning [bottled] water is going to add anything to that. (personal communication, February 3, 2012)

For Charles M., the University can be a leader in sustainability whether or not it bans the sale of bottled water on campus. For him, bottled water is not an environmental issue. Accordingly, he does not consider story-lines that position the issue of bottled water as an environmental one to be relevant or salient.

Policy implications: binning the bottle?

The policy implications of an environmental discourse with respect to bottled water are fairly straightforward. First, there are those who mobilize the story-line that bottled water creates waste and that tap water does not. These groups include the UVSS and UVSP, and they support a ban on bottled water, partly on environmental grounds. Second, there are others who mobilize a story-line that bottled water creates waste, but do not, on these grounds, support a bottled water ban. These include Alison D., of the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations, as well as the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability. Neither of these Offices has developed an official position on the sale of bottled water, but both have undertaken initiatives, including the purchase and operation of the Waterfillz station, to lessen the number of water bottles sold on campus. Improved recycling initiatives as well as increased consumption of tap water could be seen as solutions to a perceived waste problem associated with bottled water. Finally, there are others who do not conceptualize bottled water as an environmental issue, and, therefore, would not support a bottled water ban on the merit of environmentalism. Charles M. and Rita F. belong to this group. Arguably, neither would suggest a solution, as both have argued that bottled water is not a waste issue. They argue that banning bottled water would not have a significant environmental impact.

It is interesting to note that the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability has not provided a unified message regarding whether drinking water is an environmental issue. The *Green Guide* and *SAP* both position bottled water as having negative environmental effects, but Rita F. seems to disagree that bottled water is an environmental issue. Given that Rita F.'s opinion is a personal one, this mixed messaging does not necessarily have policy implications. That is, one could reasonably argue that the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability operates based on the objectives set forth in their guiding documents, including the *SAP*, and not based on the personal opinions of staff members.

Representatives of the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations also present different story-lines regarding the environmental impact of bottled water. As I have argued, Alison D., but not Charles M., describes environment impact as a significant factor in the sale of bottled water on campus. The two come together, though, by both conceptualizing choice as the primary consideration in the debate. They mobilize a *free market discourse*, as I will discuss later in this chapter.

Public Resource Discourse

Another discourse being mobilized on campus to make claims about drinking water is a *public resource discourse*. Multiple story-lines mobilize this discourse.

Story-line 1: drinking water is available through a public system.

A story-line advanced by the UVSP to mobilize a public resource discourse is that drinking water is available through a public system. As described in the previous chapter, the UVSP took inventory of drinking water fountains on campus, as a way of collecting data about the availability of tap water on campus (Edward P., personal communication, January 27, 2012). They later put up posters on vending machines directing the campus community to these water

fountains, to make the community aware that "you don't have to purchase bottled water" (Edward P., personal communication, January 27, 2012). Edward P. argues that the impetus for the poster campaign was "just the lack of need of bottled water. . . The fact that there's . . . a general consensus among the UVSP and just among . . . us so-called enlightened environmentalists that . . . you've got perfectly good tap water that works" (personal communication, January 27, 2012). An editorial in *The Martlet* also mobilizes a public resource discourse to describe drinking water on campus. The editorial encourages the consumption of tap water, arguing that it's "free, it's safe and it has zero calories" ("Water: free health product", 2011).

Dylan S., of the UVSS, mobilizes a public resource discourse by arguing that the difference between bottled water and other bottled products is the availability of the former through a public system:

> On the plastics side of things too, . . . having a conversation about . . . your smoothie or about my root beer, [or] whatever, is not a useful starting point . . . because they taste awesome, first of all, and they don't come out of taps. If they came out of taps, . . . that would be like a totally different conversation. *But, water comes out of taps, and other stuff doesn't* [emphasis added]. (personal communication, January 30, 2012)

For Dylan, the issue of drinking water on campus is defined by the story-line that water is available through a public system. By discussing plastics, he also mobilizes an environmental discourse and the story-line that bottled water involves the use and disposal of plastic bottles.

Story-line 2: tap water available on campus is of high quality.

Another story-line advanced on campus argues that the public drinking water available at the University is of exceptional quality. The Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability has

been the primary source arguing the high quality of water in the Capital Regional District (CRD) and has highlighted this information in a number of ways. Rita F. states that the Office wants to make the campus community aware of the high quality of drinking water in the CRD:

> I'm in favour of more awareness campaigns that the CRD drinking water is extremely safe and it tastes fabulous, contrary to maybe some community where people came from in Alberta or Saskatchewan, where it tasted awful and people didn't want to drink it. . . . Our water tastes fabulous, right out of the tap. . . . It's been rated as some of the top drinking water in Canada. That's the kind of awareness I want to get out. (personal communication, February 1, 2012)

Promoting the high quality of CRD water is specified as an action item in the *SAP*. As described in the previous chapter, the Office created the *SAP* based on the results of campus consultations as well as goals outlined the University's *2007 Strategic Plan*. Promotion of CRD water is to occur "through education programs and add[ing] new drinking water stations designed to accommodate filling bottles" (University of Victoria, n.d.c, p. 20, para. 5). The Office also creates awareness through use of the Waterfillz station. Rita F. operates the station without filtering the water, so as to "make the point that it doesn't need to be filtered" (personal communication, February 1, 2012). Further, the Office's document *FAQ's on bottled water at UVic* describes CRD tap water as "some of the safest and best tasting in Canada" (University of Victoria Campus Planning and Sustainability, n.d,b, para. 6) and argues that tap water is more stringently regulated than its bottled counterpart.

Articles in *The Martlet* have also argued the high quality of Victoria's drinking water as well as made comparisons between tap and bottled water in terms of quality. In "UVSP turns on new water campaign", high water quality was listed as one of the emphases in the *Think Outside*

the Bottle campaign. In the article, a UVSP representative was quoted as saying that Victoria's tap water is "better than anywhere" (Karstens-Smith, 2010, para. 8) and that tap water and some bottled water is "taken from the same watersheds and tap water goes through a more rigorous process, so it's even better" (para. 9). Dylan. S., of the UVSS, also makes a comparison between tap and bottled water in terms of quality. He argues that some of the most widely sold brands of bottled water, including Aquafina and Dasani, are bottled tap water, and claims that "the Aquafina that we get in BC is . . . City of Calgary municipal water and we have nicer municipal water in Victoria. We have some of the best municipal water in the entire country" (personal communication, January 30, 2012).

Story-line 3: control of water sources should rest in public hands.

As mentioned above, the story-line that public water is available on campus mobilizes the discourse that water is public resource. A related story-line argues that, not only is water available on campus through a public source, but that drinking water sources should be maintained and controlled as public resources (Dylan S., personal communication, January 30, 2012; Edward P., personal communication, January 27, 2012; Sable, 2011). Dylan S. argues that the private control of water that bottled water represents is a key concern driving the UVSS's campaign to ban the sale of bottled water on campus (personal communication, January 30, 2012). Since fountains supply water from the public drinking water system, while bottled water is provided by private companies, Edward P. describes buying bottled water as "opting out" of the public system:

> With your purchasing of bottled water, you're opting out of . . . the public drinking process. . . . You're substituting . . . a publically-funded service, which is completely adequate and which delivers a service to you at no cost and minimal externalities, [for]

> . . . a private commodity, which provides an identical product, of similar or arguably lesser value. Especially when you consider triple bottom line implications, then certainly you're at an inferior product due to, at the very least, the environmental and potentially the social costs of the use of this product. (personal communication, January 27, 2012)

In this excerpt, Edward P. argues that water from fountains is superior to bottled water, in terms of cost, environmental impact, and locus of control (i.e., public versus private). He is criticizing the private nature of bottled water and, as such, makes a claim against conceptualizing water as a commodity.

Development and Peace UVic also criticizes the private nature of bottled water. Co-President St-Laurent argues that the main problem with bottled water is that it supports the privatization and commodification of water, and, as such, "it contributes to the growing crisis of the lack of access to safe water in the Global South" (McCleery, 2010, para. 9). She points to some cases, such as in Plachimada, India, where groundwater has been drained to produce bottled water, causing water shortages for locals, arguing that these cases highlight a direct link between bottled water and the water crisis. As aforementioned, the group held a screening of *Water on the Table*, in which Maude Barlow argues that "bottled water is the first step towards privatization" (Barlow, as cited in Lowther, 2010, para. 7).

Policy implications: bottled water is unnecessary.

Together, the story-lines being advanced on campus relating to a public resource discourse produce an argument that bottled water is unnecessary. The argument is as follows: given that drinking water of a high quality is available through the public system, there is no need for bottled water to be sold on campus. This argument seems to be advanced by students, including the UVSP and UVSS, more so than faculty or staff. Further, it seems that students

who are making this argument believe that other students are like-minded. Edward P. argues that students buy bottled water not because it is necessary, but because it is convenient. He argues that students believe bottled water is "bad":

> Students know it's bad, students have been told it's bad, they believe that . . . fully, . . . but they still go and buy and drink bottled water, because it's just there as a convenience. So, when given another venue at which to . . . affirm those principles that they have, . . . they took it up. . . . They found a way to close that gap between their principles and their actions by voting yes [in the referendum]. (personal communication, January 27, 2012)

In this excerpt, Edward P. argues that a bottled water ban is not only a given, but an opportunity for students to align their values with their actions. He claims that bottled water runs counter to students' values, although he doesn't describe what these values are, specifically.

Rita F. agrees with Edward P. that students believe a bottled water ban will occur. She remarks that, "because there's the impression that it's going to happen anyways, it doesn't seem to be a hot topic amongst students" (personal communication, February 1, 2012). The perceived obviousness to some students of a bottled water ban on campus is further evidenced by Dylan S.'s remark that the campaign to ban bottled water is "kind of a campaign that fights itself" (personal communication, January 30, 2012). The strong student support shown by the results of the referendum, in which 85% of voting students voted in favour of a gradual bottled water ban on campus, substantiates the claims that the vast majority of students see a bottled water ban as a positive development. Dylan S. argues that most of the campus community, not just students, agree that bottled water on campus is not only unnecessary but problematic:

> That shit's fucked up, and, you know, we can't change everything, we can't fix every single problem, but most people agree that this shit's fucked up. And wouldn't it be good

if we could just solve this one fucked up problem? (personal communication, January 30, 2012)

The perceived obviousness of a bottled water ban is what makes the issue, for Dylan S. and Edward P., a symbolic one. The use of plastics, as well as the issue of water privatization, make banning bottled water a show of support for sustainable systems and publically-funded operations (Dylan S., personal communication, January 30, 2012; Edward P., personal communication, January 27, 2012). For Dylan S., problematizing bottled water means that "we can have a conversation about two really important issues, about privatization of water, and about use of plastics, and we can accomplish them all in one fell swoop" (personal communication, January 30, 2012). The link between public resource and environmental discourses is being made explicit in order to argue against the sale of bottled water.

Rights Discourse

A *rights discourse* is being mobilized on campus to describe water as a human right. This discourse is clearly mobilized by students, but not members of the administration. The dominant story-line advancing a rights discourse argues that access to drinking water is a human right. The discourse has close ties with a public resource discourse, especially the story-line that water sources should be controlled by public, as opposed to private, interests.

Story-line 1: access to public drinking water is a human right.

One of the students that I interviewed, namely, Edward P., as well as several students who were cited in documents that I analyzed, frame the issue of bottled water in the language of human rights, arguing that access to publically-provided drinking water is a human right (Edward P., personal communication, January 27, 2012; Sable, 2011). Edward P. argues that the campus community "should have easy access to water and we shouldn't have to pay for it"

(Pullman, 2011). Representatives of other student groups on campus, including the UVSS and Development and Peace UVic, argue that the control of water by private companies is a human rights concern. Former UVSS Chairperson Tara Paterson argues that privatization of water is "a means to monetize a basic human right" (Rosario, 2011b, para. 5). Further, Development and Peace UVic has supported Maude Barlow's work in calling for water to be recognized as a human right. The group brought the documentary *Water on the Table* to Cinecenta, the University's movie theatre. The screening was part of Development and Peace UVic's efforts to raise awareness of the dangers of water privatization. In the film, Barlow describes how the high price of bottled water, as compared to tap water, means that access to water becomes determined by ability to pay. Development and Peace UVic's Co-president Laquian expands on this argument:

> In the global south, usually people already have little access to clean drinking water and [having to pay] means they now have no access at all. And so water becomes a commodity rather than something that everybody should have access to. (Laquian, as cited in Lowther, 2010, para. 11)

Development and Peace UVic argues that there are dangers involved when control of water rests in private hands (i.e., high prices and reduced access), and claim that recognizing water as a human right puts pressure on governments to "provide free, clean water to their populations" (McCleery, 2010, para. 5). The close ties between public resource and human rights discourses are evident in this argument. A public resource discourse and the related story-line arguing that water should rest in public hands could arguably be the result of a rights discourse. That is, if one argues that water is a human right, then a way to ensure that populations have access to water is to ensure that control is in public, as opposed to private, hands.

Story-line 2: access to drinking water is a right, access to bottled water is not.

Not only does Edward P. claim that access to drinking water is a human right, he also argues that people who support the right to bottled water are misguided: "instead of people demanding the right to easily accessible drinking water, we have people demanding the right to purchase a product we should have ample access to at all times" (Pullman, 2011, para. 2). University of Victoria student Carly Sable adds that "clean drinking water is a fundamental human right; bottled water is not" (Sable, 2011, para. 7). This story-line positions a rights discourse in opposition to a *free market discourse*, which I will discuss further in this thesis. It clearly advances water as a human right and criticizes a discourse that positions water as a commodity.

Policy implications: external versus internal focus.

The policy implication of rights-based story-lines is that bottled water should be banned at the University of Victoria because its sale runs counter to recognition of water as a human right. Other universities, including the University of Winnipeg, have banned bottled water on these grounds. It is important to note that, since public drinking water is available on the University of Victoria campus, the human right to water is indeed being protected. However, some communities external to the University, both in Canada and abroad, do not have accessible drinking water. I argue that the groups and individuals at the University of Victoria who are mobilizing a rights discourse are conceptualizing events and circumstances external to the University as relevant to the bottled water debate on campus. The story-lines that they are mobilizing argue that the choices we make here at the University of Victoria impact water availability or access for those outside of campus and vice-versa.

I have argued that Development and Peace UVic clearly describes bottled water as a global issue. Other campus-based groups have also argued that there is a connection between bottled water on campus and access to water on a larger scale. The UVSP campaign *Think Outside the Bottle* was created because the UVSP believes that students need to be "informed about the social, political and environmental impacts of bottled water" (O'Farrell, as cited in Karstens-Smith, 2010, para. 6). UVSP organizer Lisa Federspiel adds that "in many parts of the world the struggle for water has already begun and the threat of the global 'water wars' is already looming large" (Federspiel, as cited in Karstens-Smith, 2010, para. 3). *Think Outside the Bottle* campaign activities included a screening of "Flow", which documents the world water crisis, as well as speakers discussing the privatization, commodification, and conservation of water (Karstens-Smith, 2010; Peterson, 2010). One such speaker was UVic environmental psychology professor Robert Gifford, who lectured about water conservation and warned that, "if water can't be preserved around the world, conflicts will increase" (Gifford, as cited in Peterson, 2010, para. 11). He highlighted growing tension in the Middle East and predicted tensions cropping up in other regions in the near future.

UVic student Carly Sable writes into *The Martlet* to argue that the critical issues surrounding bottled water involve the rights of citizens and communities who are negatively affected by the privatization of water. She problematizes control of public water sources resting in the hands of private companies:

> Should large multinational corporations have the right to pump, bottle and sell our water? Did Canadians choose to put the ownership of our water in the hands of for-profit companies? What about communities that have to buy bottled water at disgustingly inflated prices? Shouldn't they have a right to choose? In recent years, 20% of Canada's

> municipalities have faced water shortages, and many First Nations communities lack access to clean drinking water. We need to stop taking our water for granted. Water needs to be protected and cherished, not sold to the highest bidder. (Sable, 2011, para. 6)

Not only is Sable arguing that individuals and communities should have the right to accessible water, as opposed to the right to purchase bottled water, she is also introducing larger issues into the debate, including the privatization of water sources by multinational corporations, as well as the lack of access experienced by some groups and communities, including First Nations in Canada. By describing water sources as "our water", she is mobilizing a public resource discourse and stating that ownership of water belongs in public hands. She is also defining water availability in the larger world as significant to the issue of drinking water on campus.

Just as those who advance a rights discourse seem to conceptualize the issue of bottled water in a global context, those who do not advance a rights discourse argue that the issue is local, or internal to campus. Rita F. and Charles M. describe the sale of bottled water as an action that has consequences only within the University community. Rita F. makes clear that she does not believe that banning bottled water on campus will have meaningful impact on a larger scale:

> For sure, when they're [privatizing water] in third world countries, like India and Africa, and taking away the water supply to make Coke, . . . that's horrid. . . . But I don't see that as our direct issue here. . . . I don't see, if UVic bans bottled water, that it's going to change the situation in Africa or India for those people at all. (personal communication, February 1, 2012)

By representing the issue as only University-based, Rita F. is refuting the globally-based arguments that some proponents of a bottled water ban have advanced. She is stating that

arguments in support of a bottled water ban that rest on the impact of water privatization globally, as well as water as a human right, are irrelevant. In other words, story-lines mobilizing public resource and rights discourses that focus on water availability off-campus are not salient to Rita F. with respect to bottled water on campus.

Like Rita F., Charles M. expresses concern about the privatization of water but does not believe that bottled water, including the sale of bottled water at the University of Victoria, has a significant impact on privatization of water on a larger scale. He explains his position in the following excerpt:

> The issue to me is . . . selling our water and not having any for ourselves, if water is becoming such a scarce resource around the world. So, those are sort of bigger Canadian- [American] issues, and I don't know that it actually trickles down to the sale of a bottle of water in a cafeteria – . . . I see that as a personal choice. (personal communication, February 3, 2012)

Here, Charles M. expresses concern about the sale of water on a national scale and an awareness of water scarcity globally. His argument suggests that he supports water as a public resource and connects water privatization with a potential lack of water availability for Canadians. However, he does not conceptualize bottled water as relevant to those issues. He argues that the sale of bottled water is an issue of choice and convenience, affecting only members of the campus community. He mobilizes a *free market discourse*, which I will discuss in the following section.

Free Market Discourse

A form of *free market discourse* is being mobilized on the University of Victoria campus. This discourse works to position water as a commodity, and invokes ideas and concepts that construct the issue as one of consumer choice. The free market discourse is advanced by all

three of the University staff members that I interviewed (i.e., Alison D., Charles M., and Rita F.), as well as by a student who wrote a letter to *The Martlet* (Rokeby, 2011). As I will explain, this discourse was criticized by the other two individuals (both students) that I interviewed.

Story-line 1: the campus community should have the ability to choose.

One story-line related to consumer choice advances the idea that members of the University community should be able to choose whether or not to purchase bottled water. Alison D.'s arguments about a potential bottled water ban centre on her belief that "choice is an important thing on a campus" (personal communication, February 2, 2012). She does not believe that removing choice or forcing decisions on the campus community is desirable, and, as such, sees a bottled water ban as problematic. Her arguments aren't specific to bottled water, as she states that "whenever the word banning comes up, all that comes to my mind is removal of choice" (personal communication, February 2, 2012).

According to Alison D., the importance that the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations places on providing choice on campus influenced their decision to purchase the Waterfillz station:

> The Waterfillz unit was one initiative we brought on campus just to try and provide choice for people, [but the] . . . Waterfillz machine can't be everywhere at all times, and there's times of the year where it probably can't be outside, if it relies on a water source . . . . The choice of someone going to a vending machine or going to a cafeteria to find bottled water, if that's removed, I think it removes choice for people. (personal communication, February 2, 2012)

For Alison D., choice does not equate with simply having the option of purchasing bottled water, but also the choice to not purchase bottled water and still have accessible drinking options. She

does not, however, mention drinking fountains as a suitable alternative to bottled water, or as another way to provide choice. That is, she seems to conceptualize drinking water options as only the Waterfillz station and bottled water. The issue of perceived drinking water options relates to substitutability, which I will discuss later in this chapter.

Story-line 2: the campus community should have the right to choose.

The story-line that the University community should be able to choose to purchase bottled water has been extended to say that this choice is a right. In his letter to *The Martlet*, student Andrew Rokeby[5] argues that "the first issue with this ban on bottled water is that it strips the individual of his or her right to choose" (Rokeby, 2011, para 4). Despite his belief that bottled water is expensive and wasteful, and his admission that he drinks tap water, Rokeby argues that students should have the option of purchasing bottled water and that a ban should not be instituted. Rokeby urges students to "call upon your student politicians to come up with creative solutions that do not infringe on peoples' liberties. Banning bottled water on campus . . . unnecessarily restricts liberty" (para. 8). For Rokeby, these creative solutions include a surcharge on all bottled products, which could be used to purchase carbon offsets. These proposed solutions are intended to address environmental impact; thus, in addition to a free market discourse, Rokeby mobilizes an environmental discourse and the story-line that bottled water has harmful environmental effects.

Rita F. has also expressed her belief that the University community has the right to purchase bottled water. She argues that she doesn't want "anyone to tell me I don't have the right to purchase what drink I want. . . . All the students here on campus are responsible adults, who can make their own choice" (personal communication, February 1, 2012). Rita F. is

[5] It is not clearly stated in the *Martlet* article whether Rokeby is a student or a staff/faculty member. Since *The Martlet* is a student publication, I am making the assumption that he is a student.

responsibilizing the individual, as opposed to the institution, for making the decision of whether or not bottled water is to be purchased on campus. That is, she is arguing that the campus community, as consumers, should be the ones who make the choice whether or not to purchase bottled water. This focus on the decision-making power of an individual as a consumer is a keystone of the free market discourse. Rita F. further extends the story-line that one has a right to choose to purchase bottled water by arguing that taking away this right, via a ban, is a social justice issue. She argues that a ban would be "taking away people's right to choose what they want", which she considers important enough to be deemed an issue of social justice (personal communication, February 1, 2012).

Rita F. does not use the language of rights to argue the right of the campus community to access public drinking water, as student groups on campus have done. Rather, she employs a rights discourse to make claims in support of the sale of bottled water. Rita F. argues that the campus community has a right to access bottled water, and, as such, positions the rights of a consumer more centrally than the rights of a citizen receiving services from a public institution.

Story-line 3: the University does not have the right to ban bottled water.

Another related story-line, advanced by Rita F. and Charles M., is that the University does not, and should not, have the right to prevent the University community from purchasing bottled water on campus. Rita F. sees a ban as misaligned with the role of the University as an institution. She poses the question: "Does the University have the prerogative to tell people what they can and can't have?" (personal communication, February 1, 2012). She argues that awareness campaigns to educate the campus community about the high quality of CRD tap water are important. In her capacity as Sustainability Coordinator within the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability, Rita F. has organized such campaigns. However, she personally

does not believe that the University has the prerogative to prevent the sale and purchase of bottled water on the University of Victoria campus. She believes that individuals have a right to choose, and that the University does not have the right to interfere.

Charles M. also advances story-lines pertaining to the role of the University with regards to regulation of the market. He argues that buying bottled water "really is a choice that we should let our students, faculty and staff, and visitors or consumers make . . . themselves" (personal communication, February 3, 2012). He share's Rita F.'s sentiments that the University should not be controlling what products are sold on campus:

> I don't think the government's place is really . . . to legislate everything that we do. . . . I don't think you can protect people from all harms that are out there in the environment. So, I think people should have the choice to do what they want to do. (personal communication, February 3, 2012)

Charles M. does not believe that "banning anything in a university sector is a good idea" (personal communication, February 3, 2012), and argues that banning products or services is not what the University stands for. Arguably, he equates the University administration with a government within a free market economy, and, accordingly, equates the proposed ban on bottled water with government regulation of this economy. He defines members of the University community as consumers, who should be able to decide what products to purchase, and argues that "it's up to the market to decide whether it's a viable business opportunity for people to pay more for a litre of water than to pay for a litre of gas" (personal communication, February 3, 2012). This story-line advances bottled water as a commodity and members of the University community as consumers. Rita F. agrees, arguing that the onus is on each one of us, as opposed to the institution, to make responsible purchasing decisions:

> We have to be responsible consumers, I think, and any company, if it can make money trying to convince us that we need . . . something, will seize that opportunity, but we need to be responsible consumers, and that's something I hope students can learn from this. (personal communication, February 1, 2012)

Arguably, Rita F. is assuming that the market operates, and should operate, freely within the University, and that each person, as a consumer, has a right to choose which products to purchase. This story-line defines drinking water as one such product, ergo, as a commodity. Rita F. also seems to describe the sale of bottled water as a learning opportunity for students, where students have a chance to evaluate products and services available for purchase. She does not specifically state whether or not she believes that buying bottled water is a responsible purchasing decision, but posits that the University is not in a position to prohibit members of the University community from making that decision.

Story-line 4: regulation exists in the free market.

Additional members of the campus community mobilize a free market discourse, but argue that regulation of the free market necessarily exists. In the following excerpt, Edward P. problematizes the story-line that banning products infringes on the rights of consumers, arguing that government regulation exists even in a free market economy:

> You can argue free market, free market, free market all you want, but I mean, . . . the free market in that sense is a total myth. You know, we constantly have government regulators making decisions for us, what we can or cannot purchase, for a variety of reasons, and certainly in ... the instance of public health, we largely accept that . . . we don't get to buy products that . . . severely harm us. I mean, we do with alcohol and cigarettes but . . . I just always find the free market argument to be really comical because

> it's just kind of a joke. . . . [Y]ou could allow anything to be packaged and sold to a person, and, . . . with bottled water, . . . sure, there's the convenience of it, and sure, why would you want to deny someone that convenience? But, at the same time, . . . there's broader considerations I think that have to be taken and I think it's the venue of a university and of an institution [that is] committed to . . . education and the advancement of society to be at the forefront and to be looking at these issues and considering what changes should we be making to produce better outcomes for everybody? And I think that's a perfect example of an action that you can take to produce a better outcome. I think we'd be better off without bottled water and I think, at the end of the day, that you have water that comes out of a tap, which is just fine for you, and doesn't require you to purchase water that's been trucked in from thousands of miles away in a bottle . . . that may end up in a landfill. (personal communication, January 27, 2012)

Edward P. argues that regulation exists in a free market economy to ensure that harmful products, with exceptions, are not legally available for purchase. Thus, he is challenging the story-line that the University community should be able to purchase whichever products, including bottled water, they so choose. He also challenges the story-line that the University does not have the prerogative to ban bottled water. He claims that the University, as a place of education and the advancement of society, should be making decisions that are in the best interest of the public. He sees these decisions and outcomes as more important than the choice to, and convenience of, purchasing bottled water, and argues that the University not only has the right, but the responsibility, to provide accessible drinking water to the campus community. To him, "it's just about as simple as this – [the] institution should be providing these services instead of encouraging us to purchase bottled water" (personal communication, January 27,

2012). In this excerpt, he also mobilizes public resource and environmental discourses, arguing that drinking water is available on campus with minimal environmental externalities.

Dylan S. also challenges the notion that the University should operate as a free market, in which members of the University community, as consumers, have a right to purchase whichever products they wish. He states that he is "not a big believer in being able to choose to do whatever you want. . . . I think choice is very much . . . entitlement language, like, oh, you're entitled to choice" (personal communication, January 30, 2012). For Dylan S., the debate should be reframed away from the right to choose, and also the right to water, toward the capability of having clean and free drinking water. He argues that "the ability to choose certain things doesn't necessarily conceptualize what people need [in order] to do the shit that they need to do" (personal communication, January 30, 2012). Dylan S. describes that he is drawing on the work of Amartya Sen, who conceptualizes rights-based arguments as entitlement language, preferring to speak about human capabilities (personal communication, January 30, 2012).

Implications: the purview of the University.

I have argued that story-lines mobilizing a free market discourse make claims that the University is not in a position to ban the sale of products on campus, and that students, faculty, and staff should be able to choose, and may even have a right to choose, to purchase bottled water if desired. According to these story-lines, regulation should be minimized to allow for the unrestricted operation of the market. Water is being defined as a commodity, the issue of a ban is being classified as one of choice, and the University is being conceptualized as a free market. The arguments that result from the mobilization of a free market discourse include that bottled water sales should continue on campus, and that a ban would be restricting the liberty of members of the campus community.

A story-line is also being advanced that challenges the story-line that bottled water sales should be a right on campus. This story-line emphasizes the regulation of products and services by government administration within a free market economy, claiming that the University, rather than the market economy, should have a greater role in regulating what products and services are available on campus. The resultant argument is that the University should be providing drinking water to members of the campus community and has the ability, and arguably the responsibility, to ban bottled water on campus. This argument brings in a public resource discourse and the story-line that public, as opposed to private, interests should maintain and control water provision.

There are implications of these story-lines that extend much further than the realm of drinking water. They involve the role of the University as well as the rights and responsibilities of members of the University community. If banning the sale of products on campus is conceptualized as infringing on the rights of members of the campus community, then the policy implication involves ensuring that no products or services currently available on campus are banned. Further, barring any vendor or company from beginning to sell on campus could be conceptualized as violating the rights of members of the University community.

On the other hand, the advancement of market regulation story-lines prescribes that products or services perceived by the University administration as problematic in some way can and should be banned or otherwise regulated by the University. Story-lines are put forward that the University has the prerogative and responsibility to make decisions that result in "better outcomes" for everybody (Edward P., personal communication, January 27, 2012). Arguably, what these better outcomes are depends on how they are conceptualized as well as the hegemony of discourses at any given time. For example, if an environmental discourse is hegemonic and

salient to the University administration, then a ban on the sale of all bottled products could be conceptualized as a better outcome.

Health Discourse

Another discourse being mobilized to discuss the issue of drinking water on campus is a *health discourse.* The story-line related to this discourse describes the drinking water debate as a health issue. It functions to position the debate in a context of health, and position health issues that Canadians are facing, including growing rates of diabetes and obesity, as relevant to the issue of drinking water on campus. A health discourse also invokes ideas about the importance of a healthy lifestyle. I argue that this discourse is most frequently mobilized by students and administration who are opposed to a bottled water ban, to make claims that bottled water is a healthy vending option, as compared to other vending options.

Story-line: bottled water is healthy as compared to other bottled beverages.

Bottled water is described, by several students and all three members of the administration that I interviewed, as a healthy vending option, especially as compared to other bottled beverage options. Rita F. describes bottled water as a "nice clear" healthy drink (personal communication, February 1, 2012), while Andrew Rokeby (2011) argues that bottled water is healthier than "sugar-laden soda and juice" (para. 5). Charles M. mobilizes a health discourse by arguing that "rather than drink[ing] pop or juice, . . . water is certainly [a] very natural, good for you, hydration product that is fantastic on so many levels" (personal communication, February 3, 2012). He expresses confusion as to why plain bottled water, as opposed to pop or flavoured water, is being targeted for the ban:

> I have a little bit of a problem discerning where we would draw the line in a ban of bottled water. So, is flavoured water the same as bottled water? Is mineral water or

> vitamin water included in that ban? Fundamentally, I wonder if-, what do they think that pop is made out of? . . . I mean, it's all made out of water. . . . Why not sugary soft drinks? Like, they've banned them out of vending machines for [secondary school] students. (personal communication, February 3, 2012)

He argues that, if a bottled product is to be banned, it should be pop or another sugary beverage. This argument mobilizes a health discourse to make claims about drinking water on campus and to position bottled water as a healthy beverage.

Edward P. is the only interviewee who advances a health discourse and who is simultaneously opposed to the sale of bottled water on campus. Edward P. mobilizes this discourse to hypothesize why bottled water sales, as a percentage of cold beverage sales on campus, are higher than on most other campuses:

> Why is [*sic*] bottled water sales so particularly high on this campus? . . . We have some concerns around health. I think we live in a very healthy area, where people are very active in sports and [live] in some kind of an environment that facilitates it. (personal communication, January 27, 2012)

Here, Edward P. claims that bottled water is healthier than other bottled beverages, arguing that members of the campus community drink bottled water because they are health-conscious. He mobilizes a health discourse to explain why the campus community purchases bottled water more so than other bottled products, not to support bottled water on the merit of health, as do members of the University administration that I interviewed.

Implications: the right to choose a healthy option.

The first implication of the story-line describing bottled water as a healthy vending option is that the campus community should be able to choose whether or not to purchase bottled

water, based on the merit of health. This argument mobilizes both health and free market discourses, advancing the position that the University community has a right to choose whether or not to purchase bottled water. Indeed, all of the interviewees who mobilize a free market discourse also mobilize a health discourse, arguing that the University community has a right to purchase this healthy vending option. These groups and individuals include Charles M. and Alison D., from the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations, as well as Rita F. from the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability. Rita F. mobilizes both health and free market discourses, as she argues that, as a responsible adult, she should be able to choose whether or not to purchase bottled water:

> If I want a healthy drink, instead of an unhealthy drink, who's to tell me I can't make that choice, as a responsible adult? . . . It's not the same as banning smoking, because smoking is a health hazard, a known health hazard. Drinking water is not a health hazard. (personal communication, February 1, 2012)

By comparing the consumption of bottled water to smoking, Rita F. is mobilizing a health discourse, arguing that regulating the sale of bottled water for health reasons is unconvincing. Arguably, she is saying that it makes sense to ban smoking on campus, because smoking has negative health consequences, but not bottled water, because it does not. In this excerpt, Rita F. argues that bottled water is both a healthy vending option and also an inappropriate product to ban on the merit of health. She also makes a claim as to what kinds of products can or should be banned on campus; i.e., those that are hazardous to one's health. She does not make explicit whose health needs to be jeopardized before a ban is to be instituted – the users' or others affected by the use of the product.

The second policy implication of the story-line mobilizing a health discourse relates to concerns about beverages options if a ban were to be instituted. The argument is that, since bottled water is a healthy vending option, a bottled water ban might result in the increased consumption of less healthy bottled beverages. Alison D. makes such an argument:

> I think [a ban] removes choice for people. Would they then choose something that's maybe not as healthy as water? Potentially. So, if they are choosing something that's more high [*sic*] in sugar or something that isn't a fluid replacement specifically, like water is, I think that [a ban] has a downside. (personal communication, February 2, 2012)

Here, Alison D. is arguing that a ban of bottled water might lead to members of the University community consuming beverages that are high in sugar. She describes water as a fluid replacement, which suggests that water, as compared to other beverages, is beneficial in terms of health. Rita F. makes similar arguments, claiming that people "may substitute other beverages, like vitamin water, pop, juice, and energy drinks, that cost more and have more sugar and chemicals and things in them, than a nice clear bottle of water" (personal communication, February 1, 2012). Rita F. suggests that drinking water is healthier and purer than other bottled beverages, which she argues contain sugar and chemicals.

Students have also argued that a bottled water ban could result in the increased consumption of less healthy beverages. Nathan Lowther, a writer for *The Martlet*, argues that, "if water is gone, it could leave students nothing to purchase except pop and high-sugar fruit concentrates" (Lowther, 2011a, para. 8). Rokeby (2011) adds that, "with growing rates of obesity and diabetes, the last thing we need is to be encouraging greater consumption of sugar" (para. 5). Here, it seems that Lowther and Rokeby are arguing that banning bottled water is akin to pushing the University community to purchase pop or other sugary beverages. Essentially,

these students are suggesting that a ban makes the choice for them, and that they would have no choice but to purchase these other products. By mobilizing a health discourse and advancing the story-line that bottled water is a healthy bottled beverage, the solution of a bottled water ban is prevented.

Predicting increased consumption of other bottled beverages, should a bottled water ban occur, positions other bottled products as the substitute for bottled water. Through their use of a health discourse, Rita F., Charles M., Alison D., Rokeby, and Lowther frame the issue as one of (healthy) bottled water versus other (less healthy) bottled products. However, as I have described in the *public resource discourse* section, supporters of a bottled water ban, such as the UVSS and UVSP, represent tap water as the alternative to bottled water. Dylan S. argues that plain bottled water is completely substitutable by tap water. This substitutability is one of the reasons why the UVSS chose to target plain bottled water, as opposed to flavoured water, for the ban. Dylan S. believes that the average student conceptualizes flavoured water, including pop, as value-added or otherwise modified, and, therefore, would argue that tap water is not substitutable for those products. Thus, the UVSS believes that a ban of plain bottled water would more easily garner the support of students, and, ultimately, of the University administration. Dylan S. explains that "the main reason [for targeting plain bottled water] was that it would be easier [to implement] and that, to make it happen, the whole theme is really about going in steps" (personal communication, January 30, 2012). Thus, the UVSS's first step is to push for the removal of a substitutable product (i.e., plain bottled water) from campus, while the ultimate goal is for there not to be any bottled beverages sold on campus at all (Dylan S., personal communication, January 30, 2012). The issue of substitutability relates to the mobilization of a *revenue discourse*, as I describe below.

Revenue Discourse

A *revenue discourse* is being mobilized on campus to make claims about drinking water. Strategic alliances with cold beverage providers bring in revenue for the University: the sale of cold beverages on campus results in rebates for the University, which fund campus activities (Alison D., personal communication, February 2, 2012; Rita F., personal communication, February 1, 2012). There are two, competing, story-lines being mobilized to discuss the revenue implications of a bottled water ban.

Story-line 1: a ban may result in lost revenue.

All of the members of the University administration that I interviewed advance the story-line that a bottled water ban may result in lost revenue for the University. Rita F. makes this argument:

> Pepsi[-Co] gives rebates to UVic, on the percentage of sales, over-the-counter and [from] vending machines, that come back and are used for scholarships and to fund Vikes recreation. If they start losing [bottled water sales], Student Services is going to lose revenue. . . . It could be a fairly significant drop in that revenue stream. (personal communication, February 1, 2012)

Just as Rita F. predicts a loss in revenue to fund student initiatives, Alison D., argues that, if there is a "total campus-wide ban on bottled water, . . . there's a potential reduction in rebates, which means that there's a reduction in funds that goes back to support student programs" (personal communication, February 2, 2012). Charles M. adds that, since bottled water is the most popular drink on campus, as a percentage of total cold beverage sales (Lowther, 2011b), a ban could result in "financial implications through volume discounts and rebate programs and fees that are attached to the strategic alliance" (personal communication, February 3, 2012).

Story-line 2: lost revenue would be made up by the sale of other bottled products.

Both of the students that I interviewed advance the story-line that a bottled water ban would not necessarily result in lost revenue for the University. They argue that the sale of other bottled products would make up some amount of lost revenue. Dylan S. minimizes the economic impact of a bottled water ban:

> The economic impact of it doesn't need to be as big as people make it out to be. . . . People often put things in really polarizing terms when they are talking about the impact of removing bottled water from sales, being like 'it's 10% of our sales gone for-', but . . . that's just not how selling products works. Especially, you know, because vending machines are such an impulse buy thing. You remove one product from a vending machine, . . . the impact on the sales is not going to be equivalent to what you're currently selling in volume of that unit. (personal communication, January 30, 2012)

Dylan S. calls bottled water an impulse purchase and, as such, suggests that the purchase of bottled water will be substituted by that of other bottled beverages. This substitution is specifically why Dylan S. does not believe that the revenue losses will mirror current sales of bottled water. Edward P. also argues that "there is an expectation that . . . there has to be some effort made to supplant that [lost] revenue" (Pullman, personal communication, as cited in Lowther, 2011a, para. 6). He claims that the administrations of the University and SUB are expected to address the potential loss of sales that could result from banning one of the most popular bottled beverages on campus[6]. Accordingly, he argues that there will be some replacement of product, potentially pure fruit juices, which will reduce the economic impact of a bottled water ban (Lowther, 2011a). Further, he states that appropriate planning for a ban includes examining what the replacement of product will look like:

[6] Specifically who Edward P. argues holds this expectation is not clear.

> What negotiations are needed with your beverage contract providers to opt out of those? You know, what does that loss of sales look like? What does the replacement of product look like? Obviously, bottled water sales represents [*sic*] such a high portion of sales on campus, what are you going to substitute that product [with]? (personal communication, January 27, 2012)

In the above excerpt, it is unclear whether Edward P.'s discussion of replacement product suggests that: a) consumers will consider other bottled products substitutes for bottled water; or b) vendors will have to replace bottled water with something else and that "something" is still to be determined. The former would contradict the argument that tap water is the substitute for bottled water, while the latter does not correspond or contradict with any arguments discussed above as related to the financial implications of a ban. Rather, the latter aligns with the contract specifics as discussed by Rita F.; namely, that the cold beverage contract with Pepsi-Co does not specify which products must be purchased by the University (Rita F., personal communication, February 1, 2012). Accordingly, a removal of bottled water sales from vending machines could occur without breach of contract, as long as other cold bottled beverages were being purchased from the University in its place.

Implications: substitutes for bottled water.

Taken together, there are incongruities in the story-lines advanced by nearly all of the interviewees with respect to the ways in which they conceptualize the substitute for bottled water and the potential revenue implications of a bottled water ban. All three of the administrators that I interviewed advance the story-line that a ban of bottled water may lead to lost revenue for the University. In their mobilization of a health discourse, these same administrators describe the substitute for bottled water as other bottled beverages. These two story-lines are incongruent, as

the first assumes that bottled water sales will not be made up by the sale of other bottled beverages, while the premise of the second is that a bottled water ban may result in the increased consumption of other bottled beverages.

Conversely, Dylan S. and Edward P. argue that bottled water sales would be made up by the sale of other bottled products. This story-line suggests that other bottled beverages are the substitute for bottled water. However, as I have described earlier in this chapter, Dylan S. explains that one of the reasons why the UVSS supports a bottled water ban is because bottled water is "the same stuff that you get from taps" (personal communication, January 30, 2012), indicating that he and other representatives of the UVSS conceptualize tap water as substitutable for its bottled counterpart. Edward P. also argues that tap water is substitutable for bottled water (personal communication, January 27, 2012).

I conclude that incongruities with respect to revenue and substitutability largely stem from interviewees advancing story-lines and arguments that they believe shore up support either for or against a bottled water ban. I argue that the administrators I interviewed predominantly advance story-lines that they believe would result in the ban being defined as "undesirable" by the University community. These story-lines include that a ban would result in a loss of revenue to fund student activities, and also that it could result in the increased consumption of less healthy beverages.

On the other hand, student interviewees argue that bottled water should be banned. They argue that tap water is substitutable for bottled water, yet claim that losses in bottled water sales could be made up by sales of other bottled products. For example, Edward P. has made clear that he conceptualizes tap water as the alternative for bottled water. However, he advances that the solution to lost revenue is to sell pure fruit juices (Lowther, 2011a). I argue that these

contradictions are pragmatic more so than ideological. Edward P. perceives (I believe accurately) one of the barriers to the implementation of a bottled water ban to be lost revenue. As such, he is suggesting ways for that lost revenue to be supplanted. Further, he is likely aware that another criticism of a ban is the potentially increased consumption of unhealthy beverages and, therefore, he suggests a relatively healthy beverage as a substitute for bottled water.

Conclusion

This chapter has identified discourses operating on the University campus with regards to the ways in which drinking water is conceptualized. Whereas some members of the campus see bottled water as a convenient and healthy alternative to other bottled products, others see it as unnecessary and wasteful. The ability to purchase bottled water on campus is seen by some as a right, while others see it as contrary to the human right to water and argue that it is the University's responsibility to provide accessible water to its members. While some see both the sale and banning of bottled water as local issues that affect only the campus community, others conceptualize the debate as a part of something larger: an issue centered on human rights, privatization of water sources, and the commodification of water.

There does not seem to be disagreement that the University should provide its members with drinking water. Where tension exists is in terms of what drinking water options should be available, and whether drinking water should be only publically-provided or also available for purchase. Further, there are tensions around the potential implications of a bottled water ban. Some argue that a ban would result in a loss of revenue for the University, loss of choice for consumers, and/or the increased consumption of sugary beverages. Other participants on the issue argue that a ban would result in decreased waste as well as the reaffirmation that drinking water is a public resource and human right.

In the chapter to follow, I identify discourse coalitions advancing story-lines and mobilizing discourses in order to represent the drinking water debate in particular ways. While discourse coalitions can be identified, there exists much overlap between discourses, story-lines and the groups and individuals who mobilize them. Given this interconnectivity, I discuss the usefulness of Hajer's concept of discourse coalition to identify groups and players operating to influence drinking water provision on campus.

Chapter 6

Discourse Coalitions

According to Hajer (1995), discourse coalitions are an ensemble of a set of story-lines, the actors who utter them, and the practices in which discursive activity is based. Using this conceptualization, I identify discourse coalitions making claims about drinking water on campus. I also evaluate the utility of Hajer's discourse coalition framework as a tool to describe the collaboration, and shared story-lines and practices, of interviewees.

The UVSS and UVSP, together, form the most cohesive discourse coalition in this debate. According to Hajer's conceptualization of a discourse coalition, the UVSS and UVSP could arguably form a number of discourse coalitions; one for every common discourse that they mobilize and sets of practices in which they engage. As the UVSP and UVSS have advanced similar story-lines with respect to multiple discourses, I will describe together their common story-lines, actors, and practices, as opposed to structuring the discussion of these groups on a discourse by discourse basis.

The UVSS and UVSP have worked together on several drinking water-related initiatives, including those designed to ban bottled water sales on campus. They have collaborated to collect the student signatures needed to bring the bottled water question to referendum, and have both pressured the University to ban bottled water campus-wide. As mentioned in Chapter 4, these groups have also led initiatives to promote the consumption of tap water. In 2011 and 2012, the UVSS gave reusable water bottles to all incoming undergraduate students. They have also been involved in retrofitting drinking water fountains within the SUB (Dylan S., personal communication, January 30, 2012). The UVSP surveyed the location of water fountains on campus and initiated a poster campaign to raise awareness about these locations and to steer the

campus community away from vending machines (Edward P., personal communication, January 27, 2012). Beyond practices, the UVSP and UVSS advance common story-lines with respect to all but one of the discourses that I have identified. They both argue that: a) bottled water produces waste from extraction of water to disposal of bottles (environmental discourse); b) high-quality drinking water is available through the public system (public resource discourse); c) control of water resources should rest in public hands (public resource discourse); d) access to drinking water is a human right (rights discourse); and e) regulation exists in a free market (free market discourse). Based on these shared story-lines, the UVSS and UVSP have made similar arguments, including that: a) the available and quality of tap water make bottled water unnecessary; b) bottled water is a symbolic issue; c) reasons for a bottled water ban are obvious; and 4) events occurring in the larger world are relevant to bottled water sales on campus.

It is only with reference to a health discourse that the UVSS and UVSP have not mobilized similar story-lines. I argue that this discrepancy does not minimize the strength of the discourse coalition, as Edward P.'s mobilization of a health discourse aligns with other story-lines advanced by the UVSP and UVSS. As I have argued, Edward P. mobilizes a health discourse by hypothesizing that the popularity of bottled water on campus is due to value placed by the campus community on health. He is attempting to explain why the campus community purchases bottled water more so than other bottled products and does not mobilize a health discourse to support bottled water on the merits of health.

The UVSS and UVSP also share personnel: Dylan S. asserts that Edward P. has had an instrumental role in shaping the policies and practices of both the UVSS and UVSP. He claims that Edward P.'s involvement in both groups not only brought the groups together, but made water a key topic for both:

> [Edward P] I see as being someone who really crosses, like, blurs the UVSS UVSP line. [He] stopped being Director of Finance [in the UVSS], like, my role, and then, . . . in his last year, was a Director for UVSP and did some staff stuff for UVSP, and, [took] them all these different routes of doing things around water. So, I think really Eddie is kind of like the mastermind of doing a lot of that stuff, and picking the battles to fight, . . . over the years, leading up 'til now. (personal communication, January 30, 2012)

The UVSS and UVSP not only share personnel, story-lines, and have engaged in similar practices, but they seem to be working towards the same objectives; namely, the banning of bottled water on campus and the promotion of tap water as an appropriate substitute.

With the exception of the UVSS and UVSP, groups on campus that I investigated have worked together on very few initiatives. According to Hajer (1995), this does not mean that discourse coalitions do not exist, as working together, or even awareness of the other group or individual, is not a requirement of a discourse coalition. Rather, employing common storylines and engaging in similar practices are his criteria for membership in a discourse coalition. Although neither the UVSS nor UVSP seem to have worked with Development and Peace UVic on a specific initiative, these three student groups form discourse coalitions with respect to both rights and public resource discourses. These groups have all worked to frame water as a human right, and advance story-lines arguing that bottled water supports the privatization and commodification of water sources. They position bottled water sales on campus in a global context, and reference cases, in Canada and around the world, in which people lack access to clean water.

The only discourse coalition that is composed of student groups and a University office is formed around a public resource discourse: the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability,

together with the UVSP and UVSS, and Development and Peace UVic, form a public resource discourse coalition. These groups have all worked to promote the consumption of tap water, including through giving away free water bottles (the UVSS); hosting speakers and holding film screenings (Development and Peace UVic); conducting poster campaigns directing people to water fountains (the UVSP); operating the Waterfillz station (the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability); and retrofitting water fountains so that reusable water bottles can be more easily filled (the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability, the UVSS). These initiatives are practices that support the story-line that public water is, and should be, available on campus.

Unlike other groups who support water as a public resource, the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability does not link access to public water with a right to public water (i.e., a rights discourse). Rita F. mobilizes a rights discourse, but it is in the context of a right to choose to purchase bottled water, which I argue positions water as a commodity more so than a human right. Interestingly, she uses the language of social justice, which is more commonly associated with a human right, as opposed to a free market, lens. By describing access to bottled water, but not access to public water, as a social justice issue, Rita F. blurs the boundaries of discourses mobilized to make claims about drinking water.

Rita F.'s mobilization of a free market discourse positions the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability in a discourse coalition with the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations. Given that Hajer (1995)'s conceptualization of discourse coalition includes practices in which discursive activity is based, and that the two offices have not engaged in similar practices with respect to a free market discourse, I am using Hajer's framework loosely by arguing that a discourse coalition is made up of these Offices. Representatives of both Offices mobilize a free market discourse by arguing that members of the campus community have a right to choose

whether or not to purchase bottled water. Rita F., Charles M., and Alison D. have all mobilized a free market discourse to make claims about drinking water on campus and have positioned drinking water as a commodity. The Office of Corporate Relations and Operations is clearly engaged in practices that support water as a commodity, since it manages the University's cold beverage strategic alliance with Pepsi-Co. However, the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability has not engaged in practices that support a free market discourse. Rather, the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability has engaged in practices that support the public nature of drinking water. It is the personal opinions of Rita F. with regard to bottled water that mobilize a free market discourse, not the practices undertaken by the Office.

The issue of personal opinions as compared to the official position of an organization with which the person is affiliated is another complicating factor in this analysis. While, in most cases in this research, an interviewee's personal opinions, when characterized as such, seem to align with the views of his or her organization, some of Rita F.'s viewpoints act as an exception. Her conceptualization of water as a commodity, through her personal support of a free market discourse, opposes the discourses on which work of the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability is based, including retrofits of water fountains as well as messaging in the *Green Guide*, which encourages members of the campus community to carry a reusable water bottle (University of Victoria Campus Planning and Sustainability, 2011). Hajer's discourse coalition framework does not address this personal - professional discrepancy and, as such, does not provide guidance as to how this discrepancy affects the formation and operation of a discourse coalition. As I have suggested in the previous chapter, I assume that, when discrepancy arises, the mandate of an organization trumps the personal opinion of members when it comes to decision-making. This assumption is supported by the efforts, described above, in which the

Office has been engaged. The practices of the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability that I assessed align with the mandate of the Office, as stipulated in guiding policy documents (University of Victoria, 2009b; n.d.c).

It is not only with respect to the ways in which to consider personal versus professional viewpoints that Hajer's concept of discourse coalition fails to fully capture the complexity of the story-lines operating to make claims about drinking water on campus or the groups and individuals who utter them. Hajer's framework seems best-suited to analyzing a situation in which there can be identified a discourse coalition composed of actors uttering distinct story-lines and engaging in similar practices. As I have argued, even between discourse coalitions that seem to oppose one another, for instance, the human rights and public resource discourse coalitions made up of the UVSS, UVSP, and Development and Peace UVic, and the free market discourse coalition made up of the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations and, arguably, the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability, there is overlap between story-lines and individuals. In some cases, groups share practices but do not engage in similar story-lines. The Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability and the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations worked together to bring the Waterfillz station to campus, but, despite the shared practice, the sets of story-lines uttered by each Office with respect to the station are distinct. Alison D., from Corporate Relations, described the Waterfillz station as a way to lessen the number of bottles sold, which mobilizes an environmental discourse. She also mobilizes a free market discourse by describing the station as a way in which to provide choice to the campus community (personal communication, February 2, 2012). Rita F., from Campus Planning and Sustainability, doesn't mobilize either of these discourses with respect to the station, focussing instead on the public water utilized by the station. That is, she uses the Waterfillz station to

promote CRD water, stating that she doesn't use a filter when operating the station, so as to highlight the high quality of the water (personal communication, February 1, 2012).

In sum, Hajer's discourse coalition framework allows me to gain insight into the ways in which groups on campus conceptualize the issue of drinking water. I was able to analyze the points of convergence and divergence in terms of the arguments and story-lines that groups and individuals advance. However, the interconnectivity between story-lines advanced by individuals in the research presents a more complex picture than Hajer's framework seems to allow.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have identified discourse coalitions that I see operating at the University of Victoria to influence drinking water policies and practices. I have also evaluated the discourse coalition framework as a tool for analyzing the action and interaction of groups on campus. In the next, concluding, chapter, I evaluate the mobilization of discourses on campus and suggest that public resource and health discourses have gained discursive hegemony. I make claims about both the silences in the discourse, as well as the opportunities that arise from the research, including ways in which students and other activists can effect change.

Chapter 7

Concluding Comments

Arguably not an ivory tower, in which intellectuals engage in pursuits detached from the practical concerns of everyday life, the modern university is a place of teaching and research, wherein scholars "inform the debate on every vexing issue of public life" (Rhodes, 2001, p. xi). Further, students, staff, and faculty engage in activism, working to effect political, economic, environmental, and social change (Dominguez, 2009). In this thesis, I have attempted to examine one issue which has led many Canadian universities to re-examine or revise policy; namely, the sale of bottled water on their campuses. By employing Maarten Hajer's approach to discourse analysis, I examined the discourses, story-lines, and discourse coalitions operating at the University of Victoria to make claims about drinking water. Hajer (1995) argues that discussion of a problem, especially a complex one, often involves many different discourses. It is clear that the case of drinking water policy and practices on the University of Victoria campus is one such inter-discursive issue. I identified several discourses being mobilized to discuss drinking water on campus, including those that position water as a human right, commodity, public resource, health issue, environmental issue, and revenue issue.

Juillet (2007) utilizes Hajer's approach to discourse analysis to analyze Aboriginal waterfowl hunting rights. He argues that the disagreement between opposing discourse coalitions "rested largely on a fundamental difference in the very definition of the issue, and consequently, in the terms used in the debate over potential solutions" (p. 263). My discourse analysis echoes that general observation. Certainly, there is disagreement in how the issues of drinking water and bottled water are defined, and, therefore, in the debate over proposed solutions on the University of Victoria campus. The UVSS, UVSP, and other students groups,

including Development and Peace UVic, problematize bottled water, arguing that it creates unnecessary waste, supplies a product that is readily available through a public source, and exemplifies control of water sources by private companies. For these groups, the solution is to ban bottled water and encourage the University community to replace the product with tap water. They conceptualize tap water as the alternative to bottled water, and argue that banning bottled water makes sense because of readily available, high-quality tap water.

In contrast, representatives from the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations and Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability largely conceptualize bottled water as a convenient and healthy product. They argue that choice, both in terms of drinking water options and in other realms, is essential on a campus. While they were clear, at the time of interview, that their Offices had not developed an official position on the sale of bottled water on campus, Alison D., Charles M., and Rita F. were not in support of a bottled water ban, which they argue is an example of unnecessary restriction of liberty. They claim that a bottled water ban might result in increased consumption of other, less healthy, bottled products, an indication that they conceptualize other bottled products as the substitute for bottled water. Thus, there are multiple and competing discourses being advanced by multiple groups and individuals.

While some interviewees perceive a bottled water ban as obvious, not all interviewees advance that argument. The question of "why would we want to ban bottled water?" came out several times in interviews as well as text, mostly by representatives of the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations. For Charles M. and Alison D., the reasons why a ban would be implemented are not clear. Charles M. acknowledges that "what confuses [him] is there's no real clear direction why we want to ban bottled water. Is it a political issue and a social issue around the right to free water?" (personal communication, February 3, 2012). That is, Charles

M. is unsure of what discourse is being mobilized by groups and individuals who are in favour of a ban. Similarly, Alison D. expresses that she is not sure that she's been "made aware of the actual reason for wanting to push a ban on water" and asked "why would they want to ban it? Is it . . . waste reduction? Or is it access to free water? Those are two very different schools of thought" (personal communication, February 2, 2012). According to both of these interviewees, knowing the reasons why proponents want a bottled water ban to be implemented would affect the degree to which they would support a ban. Charles M. articulates that, if the University chose to ban bottled water as a clear stand against the privatization of water, then he would "understand that reason and [he] would support it" (personal communication, February 3, 2012). However, as I've stated above, the environmental aspect is not as relevant to him, and so, if that were the stance that proponents were taking (i.e., banning bottled water on the basis of environmental impact), then he would not support a ban. Similarly, Alison D. emphasizes that she's "not comfortable saying that [she] totally would not support a ban. . . . [She] would need to know more information as to why they would want to ban bottled water" (personal communication, February 2, 2012). For Alison D., unclear objectives are a barrier to the implementation of a bottled water ban:

> Everybody needs to be fully informed as to why there is a ban happening. . . . [I]f people aren't fully informed, they won't endorse or approve the ban. But, if a case can be made that having bottled water on campus causes all of these issues, and they all make sense to the majority, then there won't be an obstacle in place. If there are people that can still debate the reason as to why the ban is there, then that's going to be an obstacle. (personal communication, February 2, 2012)

Just as Edward P. and Dylan S. argue the importance of a proper process being followed if a ban is to be successfully implemented, so too does Alison D. believe that certain steps need to be taken. It seems as if what Alison D. and Charles M. see as missing in the debate is the mobilization of a dominant discourse by proponents of a ban, arguing why a bottled water ban is preferable to the current state of affairs, wherein tap water is available through the public system, and bottled water is available for sale from vending machines and vendors. When Alison D. and Charles M. say that they would need to be made aware of the reasons why a ban should be implemented before they could support it, they are arguably stating that the story-lines being advanced, as well as the discourses being mobilized, by ban proponents are unclear or otherwise insufficient.

It is instructive to now revisit the way in which a ban of bottled water was instituted on the University of Winnipeg campus. On March 23, 2009, University of Winnipeg President and Vice-Chancellor, Lloyd Axworthy, announced that the University would be the first in Canada to ban the sale of bottled water on its campus. Lloyd Axworthy's career has been multi-faceted, involving work in academic, political, and non-profit settings. He served in the Manitoba Legislative Assembly as well as in Federal Parliament, as Minister of Employment and Immigration, Minister for the Status of Women, Minister of Transport, Minister of Human Resources Development, Minister of Western Economic Diversification, and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Notably, he has done much work to advance human security and human rights, including serving as a board member of Human Rights Watch as well as establishing treaties to ban the use of anti-personnel landmines (University of Winnipeg, n.d.).

In their efforts to ban bottled water at the University of Winnipeg, the University of Winnipeg Students' Association (UWSA) primarily mobilized the discourse that water is a

human right. The UWSA defined the problem as one of human rights (i.e. water is a basic human right), which was salient to the University's administration. Returning to the University of Victoria, it does not seem as if the UVSP and UVSS have mobilized a primary discourse to define the problem of bottled water. Whereas Edward P. and Dylan S. spoke with me about their reasons for why they believe a bottled water ban should be implemented (i.e., environmental and public resource concerns), it is possible that the "banning bottled water is obvious" argument has contributed to a lack of messaging directed to the campus community as to why a ban should be supported. Indeed, Alison D. argues that a successful ban would only result from a very strong case being made, specifically addressing why a ban should be implemented on campus. She does not believe that such a case has been made to date. It is important to note, however, that there may be strategic reasons for not mobilizing only one discourse or basing a campaign to ban bottled water on just one argument, as I will discuss below.

Problem Definition and Proposed Solutions

Hajer (1995) argues that problems need to be defined in order to give policy-making "a proper target" (p. 22). Given that the issue of bottled water on campus is being defined in multiple and competing ways, Hajer might argue that these major disagreements about how the issues are defined constitute a barrier to the implementation of bottled water policy on campus. The campus community seems to agree that water is a public resource and, as such, policy improving the accessibility of public water has been developed. However, the story-line that selling bottled water is incompatible with a public resource discourse has not gained salience by the University's administration.

There is a lack of clarity on the part of groups supporting a bottled water ban as to why a ban is desirable. This may well be a barrier to implementation of change, as University

administrators try to pin down specifically why a ban should be instituted. There are, however, strategic reasons for vagueness. Bottled water is an inter-discursive issue. I have argued that there are environmental, health, human rights, public resource, free market, and revenue aspects to the issue of bottled water. As such, groups who work primarily to address environmental issues, such as the UVSP, and those more focussed on human rights concerns, such as Development and Peace UVic, can find common ground in an issue such as bottled water. If, for example, the UVSS framed the issue of bottled water as simply an environmental one, it is possible that they would not garner support from groups and individuals who frame the issue in a different way. A lack of specific messaging opens the door to disparate groups working together to effect change.

In his discourse analysis, Juillet (2007) argues that Aboriginal peoples suffered important disadvantages in the debate over waterfowl hunting rights, including that they were generally poorly organized and had limited access to the policy-making arena. I argue that discourse coalitions in the debate over bottled water at the University of Victoria do not have equal power to affect change. Student groups, like Aboriginal peoples in Juillet's research, have limited access to, and power in, the policy-making arena. Since students are transient members of the campus community and face the demands of coursework and, potentially, thesis work, they are more likely than the University administration to be poorly organized for political activity. They also have limited opportunity to affect policy campus-wide. As the bottled water ban in SUB demonstrates, students have considerable power to effect change in this student building; however, this power does not extend across campus, where the University administration dominates the policy arena.

Discursive Hegemony

Hajer (1995) argues that politics is a "struggle for discursive hegemony in which actors try to secure support for their definition of reality" (p. 59). Discursive hegemony is achieved once the conditions of discursive structuration and institutionalization are satisfied. The criterion of discourse structuration is satisfied if "the credibility of actors in a given domain requires them to draw on the ideas, concepts, and categories of a given discourse" (Hajer, 1995, p. 60). I argue that the public resource discourse has achieved discourse structuration on campus. Both of the students that I interviewed discuss drinking water through the lens of a public resource discourse, arguing that bottled water is unnecessary because water is available through a public system. Rita F. mobilizes a public resource discourse to describe the high-quality of water available on campus and in the CRD. Further, the Office of Campus Planning and Sustainability, through fountain retrofits and the use of the Waterfillz station, the latter a joint initiative with the Office of Corporate Relations and Operations, has made significant efforts to increase the accessibility of public water on campus.

Regarding discourse institutionalization, this criterion is satisfied if a discourse is "translated into institutional arrangements", including policies (Hajer, 1995, p. 61). I argue that the public resource discourse has achieved discourse institutionalization on campus. Not only is public water available on campus, but access to public water is being improved through fountain retrofits as well as the purchase and operation of the Waterfillz station. These initiatives are being undertaken by groups who have argued in favour of continuing the sale of bottled water, further support for the discursive structuration of a public resource discourse. Although a ban of bottled water has not been institutionalized, a public resource discourse has achieved both

discourse structuration and institutionalization. Accordingly, this discourse can be said to be hegemonic on campus.

I argue that the only other discourse that has achieved hegemony in this debate is a health discourse. Not one interviewee argued against the claim that bottled water is a healthy beverage, as compared to other bottled beverages. As I discuss below, this was one of the silences in the discourse. Interviewees, including Edward P., Alison D., Charles M., and Rita F., draw on a health discourse to make claims about drinking water on campus. Alison D., Charles M., and Rita F. frame bottled water as a healthy choice, while Edward P. puts forth pure fruit juices, as opposed to other bottled products, as a healthy substitute. If a bottled water ban does indeed result in the sale of pure fruit juices, then reformed institutional arrangements (i.e., policy) would satisfy the criterion of discourse institutionalization and reflect the hegemony of a health discourse.

Other discourses that I have identified, including an environmental discourse, do not appear to have achieved hegemony on campus. Although University policies, including those in the *SAP*, reflect an environmental discourse, and some interviewees, including Dylan S., Edward P., and Alison D., draw on an environmental discourse to make claims about drinking water, bottled water is not accepted by all interviewees as a waste issue. Some interviewees, including Rita F. and Charles M., refute the link between an environmental discourse and bottled water. That is, they do not draw on claims of an environmental discourse to discuss the issue. Conversely, not one interviewee refuted that public water should be available on campus, or that bottled water is a healthy beverage option. I argue that these discursive silences substantiate the claims that public resource and health discourses are hegemonic. Even those interviewees supporting a free market discourse, which seemingly counters a public resource discourse, did

not position bottled water as the preferred vehicle through which to provide drinking water to the campus community. Rather, Alison D., Charles M., and Rita F. emphasize choice. By claiming that water is, and should be, available on campus both through a public system and as bottled water, they can support the public provision of drinking water, and simultaneously support the sale of bottled water without having to do the latter explicitly. As a free market discourse has not achieved discursive hegemony, advancing support for this discourse without coupling it with a public resource discourse through the language of choice would likely be poor strategy. Advancing a free market discourse on its own would position the speaker in direct opposition to student groups as well as University initiatives promoting access to public water.

Strategic Implications of this Research

Although students at the University of Victoria may have limited power to effect change campus-wide, they did significantly influence policy with the SUB. By obtaining petition signatures and asking students via referendum their views on bottled water, student groups were able to gauge the support of the student populous. Based on referendum results, the UVSS made improvements to public water facilities in the SUB and also instituted a ban of bottled water in that building. Referendum results also led the University to conduct campus-wide consultation on the issue. The results of this consultation have not yet been released, although I have heard unofficially that the University will not be instituting a ban of bottled water on campus. So, how can students affect change campus-wide? How can activists elsewhere effect change if they, too, have limited power in a decision-making arena?

A bottled water ban is unlikely to be instituted campus-wide unless one or more of the discourses being advanced by the groups in support of a ban become salient to the University administration. I have argued that a public resource discourse has achieved hegemony amongst

the interviewees, students and administration alike. I prescribe that student groups as well as other activists build on commonalities between the story-lines they advance and those advanced by groups in positions of power. In this case, groups should build on the shared recognition of water as a public resource. One of the ways to do this would be to emphasize the incompatibility of a dominant discourse advanced by the University administration, namely, a free market discourse, with a public resource discourse. Currently, representatives of the University administration mobilize a public resource discourse in conjunction with free market arguments, centered on the right to choose. If the story-line that public water is a right, and bottled water is not, were presented more centrally then it has to date, then perhaps the dominance of the free market discourse amongst the administration could be weakened.

This reframing draws a rights discourse into the foreground and links the rights and public resource discourses, as the UVSP, UVSS, and Development and Peace UVic have done. Thus, another way to position the argument against bottled water is to make explicit the link between these discourses. The link is based on an outward lens; that is, groups who mobilize human rights discourses see access to public water on a global scale as an important factor in the debate. Perhaps student groups should focus story-lines on the interconnectivity of the (local) campus and the larger (global) world. Advancing story-lines that the ways in which we provide drinking water locally have an effect globally, and should be influenced by events and circumstance in the larger world, could help to reframe the issue and make water-related human rights concerns more salient to University administrators. This reframing could result in bottled water being defined by the University administration as problematic, given the interconnectivity between the provision of water on campus and beyond.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

1. Can you please describe any initiatives that your organization/office has launched that are related to the availability of drinking water on campus?
    a. Why did your organization/office decide to launch these initiatives?
    b. Did any other organizations work with you on these initiatives?
2. Can you describe any other campus-based organization's or office's initiatives that you are aware of regarding the availability of drinking water on campus?
    a. Can you describe any drinking-water related initiatives on which your organization/office worked with any other campus-based organizations/offices?
    b. Can you describe any drinking-water related initiatives on which your organization/office worked with any non-campus based organization?
3. Several universities and municipalities, including the City of Victoria, have banned the sale of bottled water on their campuses or within their facilities. What do you think about banning the sale of bottled water on the University of Victoria campus?
    a. Do you think it is a good idea? Why/why not?
    b. What do you see as potential barriers to a ban of bottled water being instituted on campus?
    c. Does your organization/office have an official position on the sale of bottled water on campus? If so, please describe.
4. Can you describe any written materials that your organization/office has produced about the availability of drinking water on campus?
    a. What was the objective of producing these materials?
    b. Where are these materials available?

Appendix B: Texts Included in Analysis

Policy Documents

1) University of Victoria Green Guide (University of Victoria Campus Planning and Sustainability, 2011)
2) University Sustainability Policy (University of Victoria, 2009b)
3) University of Victoria Sustainability Action Plan: Campus Operations 2009-2014 (University of Victoria, n.d.c)
4) University of Victoria Strategic Plan (University of Victoria Planning and Priorities Committee, 2012)
5) Strategic Alliance Policy (University of Victoria, 2003)
6) Strategic Alliance Agreement Principles and Procedures (University of Victoria, 2008)
7) FAQs on Bottled Water at UVic (University of Victoria Campus Planning and Sustainability, n.d.b)
8) Purchasing Services Policy (University of Victoria, 2009a)

The Martlet

News

1) January 28, 2010 - UVSP turns on new water campaign (Karstens-Smith, 2010)
2) February 4, 2010 – Protect our valuable water resources, experts warn (Peterson, 2010)
3) October 21, 2010 – Water should be free: UVic club (McCleery, 2010)
4) December 2, 2010 – Film, student group protest privatization of water (Lowther, 2010)
5) January 13, 2011 – Bite-sized board briefs (Willetts, 2011)
6) January 23, 2011 – WEB EXCLUSIVE: Petition calls for referendum on bottled water on campus (Lowther, 2011b)

7) January 27, 2011 – UVSP, UVSS want to move towards bottled water ban (Lowther, 2011a)
8) March 12, 2011 – WEB EXCLUSIVE: Fuse sweeps UVSS elections (Karstens-Smith, 2011)
9) September 29, 2011 – Bite-sized board briefs (Rosario, 2011a)
10) October 13, 2011 - SUB starts phasing out bottled water (Rosario, 2011b)
11) October 19, 2011 – Bite-size AGM briefs (Rosario, 2011c)

Opinion

1) March 3, 2011 – Ill-conceived bottled water ban will be a bane (Rokeby, 2011)
2) March 17, 2011 – Letters: bottled water is not the right to fight for (Pullman, 2011)
3) March 17, 2011 – Letters: bottling issue shouldn't be watered down (Sable, 2011)
4) October 27, 2011 – Water: free health product ("Water: free health product", 2011)

The Ring

1) May 31, 2010 – Get your H2O from a bottle refilling station ("Get your H2O", 2010)
2) August 19, 2011 - Bring your own bottle (Groves, 2011)

Appendix C: UVSS Motion Regarding Bottled Water Sales in SUB and on Campus

Motion 2011/09/00: 17 – Paterson/Rob McDonald
Whereas a referendum was held in March, 2011 in which 85% of students voted "to gradually eliminate sales of bottled water on campus with increased access to clean and free drinking water;" and,
Whereas the bottled water industry is environmentally detrimental in its use of terephthalic acid (PTA) and monoethylene glycol (MEG) (toxic chemicals that are derived from crude oil), the energy used in the production of plastic water bottles and its significant contribution to waste; and,
Whereas the bottled water industry contributes to the increasing move to privatize water, thus jeopardizing access to a basic human right; and,
Whereas several universities, student unions and municipalities have already gone bottled water free; and,
Whereas the University has already instituted a series of "bottled water free zones" in food outlets across campus; and
Whereas it is in the interest of the UVSS and the University to move forward concurrently on this issue;
BIRT the UVSS halt the sale of bottled water from Health Food Bar and Bean There by December 5th, 2011; and,
BIFRT the UVSS enter into discussions with Coca-Cola and Ryan Vending to replace the sale of plastic water bottles in at least two of our vending machines with reusable water bottles on or prior to December 5th, 2011; and,
BIFRT the UVSS halt the sale of all bottled water in the Student Union Building by April, 2012; and,
BIFRT the Chairperson write a letter to the VP Student Affairs requesting that the University Executive Committee develop a position on the sale of bottled water at the University of Victoria that includes phasing out bottled water by April, 2012.

(from Sept 26, 2011 UVSS minutes)