



Government  
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Projet de recherche  
sur les politiques

# The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions Between Canada and the United States

Reaping the promise and public value  
of cross-border regional relationships

## Final Report

November 2008

PRI Project  
**North American Linkages**

Canada 



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## ABOUT THIS REPORT

The Policy Research Initiative contributes to the Government of Canada's medium-term policy planning by conducting cross-cutting research projects, and by harnessing the knowledge and expertise within the federal government and from universities and research organizations. However, conclusions and proposals contained in PRI reports do not necessarily represent the views of the Government of Canada or participating departments and agencies.

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## MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE HEAD

It is well known that Canada and the United States are becoming increasingly intertwined. However, there is a strong regional story to these Canada-US linkages, and this story lies in the borderlands. For it is here—among the groups of neighbouring and nearby provinces and states that form diverse regions straddling the border—where Canada-US linkages are broadening and deepening most quickly, making the study of cross-border regions essential.

In a collaborative and path-breaking endeavour, the Policy Research Initiative (PRI) has joined with several other federal departments and outside experts and stakeholders to examine the growing significance, scope and nature of cross-border regional relationships, and to explore their importance for the Government of Canada. This *Final Report* presents the key findings from this collaborative project. For the project, new research was combined with a first-of-its-kind *Leader Survey* and follow-up Executive Interviews, plus a series of Regional Roundtables and a Washington Workshop. It was an innovative research approach that engaged experts and players active in cross-border regional relationships. As well, it took stock of lessons learned from cross-border regional relationships along the Mexico-US border and in Europe.

The results underscore the increasing importance of cross-border regions and regional relationships to present-day Canada-US relations and to Canada's future growth and prosperity. This importance highlights the need for new ways of thinking about policies and policy development, and, more than ever, shows that using a cross-border regional lens is necessary to recognize, understand, and better respond to the rising co-operative links and the increasing participation of

regional players and local stakeholders in the practical problem-solving of common issues in the border areas of Canada and the United States.

The PRI thanks the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), Western Economic Diversification Canada (WEDC), Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions (CEDQ), the Canada-US Inter-Parliamentary Group (CUSIPG) of the Parliament of Canada, and the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) for their financial and other support.

Sincere appreciation is also extended to EKOS, under whose auspices the *Leader Survey* was carried out, and to the academic guides to the design of the Survey: Debora Van Nijnatten, Associate Professor, Wilfrid Laurier University; Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, Assistant Professor, University of Victoria; and Susan E. Clarke, Director of the Center to Advance Research and Teaching in the Social Sciences at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly was also instrumental, with Tony Payan of the University of Texas at El Paso, in suggesting possible lessons for Canada from the emergence of cross-border regions along the Mexico-US border and in Europe.

The PRI also thanks all the senior officials from different levels of governments, private sector networks and organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and academics—in both Canada and the United States—who responded to the *Leader Survey*, and who participated in the follow-up interviews.

Special thanks as well to all those who, through their assistance and enthusiasm, helped make the Regional Roundtables the success that they were. In particular, thanks go to Johanne Béchar, Vice-President at CEDQ; Brant Popp, Director General at WEDC; David Slade, Director General at ACOA; the Honourable (Senator) Jerahmiel Grafstein, Co-Chair of the CUSIPG; and John English, Executive Director, CIGI. We also extend our gratitude to the individuals who helped organize these events, particularly Albert Juneau, Consultant for CEDQ; Barry Brickman, Consultant for WEDC; Daniel Schwanen, Chief Operating Officer and Director of Research at CIGI; Richard Cormier, Senior Analyst at ACOA; Jim Phillips, President and CEO of the Canadian/American Border Trade Alliance; and Serge Pelletier, Executive Secretary for the Canada-US Inter-Parliamentary Group. For our Washington visit, we especially thank Christopher Sands of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (Mr. Sands is now with the Hudson Institute); David Biette of the Canada Center at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; and Daniel Abele of the Canadian Embassy in Washington, for all of their help and

assistance. Many other people have contributed their time, energy, and ideas over these events, and thanks are due to Doug Robertson, Director at ACOA; Jules Léger, Senior Analyst at CEDQ; Brent DePape, Senior Policy Analyst at WEDC; and Thorsten Duebel, Senior Policy Analyst at WEDC. Most importantly, we thank the participants of the Regional Roundtables and Washington Workshop for their valuable comments and recommendations.

Finally, I acknowledge the various PRI research officers who contributed to the project, including Jean-François Abgrall, Christian Boucher, Pierre-Paul Proulx, Gary Sawchuk and Bryan Smith. This Final Report was prepared under the direction of André Downs, Director General, Policy Research Initiative.

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***Thomas Townsend***

*Executive Head*

*Policy Research Initiative*

## A SHORT WORD FROM THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

This project has been both exciting and enlightening. It took us right across the country and allowed us to see, first hand, how indelibly important cross-border regional linkages are—as a key, forward-going, feature of North American integration.

Clearly, a turning point has been reached, where the management of Canada-US relations is evolving into something much more dynamic and sophisticated—involving not only the Canadian and US federal governments, but the provinces and states, private businesses and civil organizations as well, in a plethora of informal and formal relationships and networks all concerned with the practical problem-solving of common challenges and issues in the border regions of Canada and the United States. More than anything, this growing involvement of players reflects a maturing of the Canada-US relationship, and nowhere is this more evident than in the borderland regions, where cross-border regional relationships are flourishing.

Of course, this has important implications for the Government of Canada, which must recognize and support the vital contributions of its partners and work within the realities of the new dynamic.

In this report, interesting suggestions are reported based on extensive survey, interviews and roundtable/workshop discussions involving actual cross-border network practitioners on how to modernize the role of the Government in Canada—to make the Government of Canada a more germane, integral, and effective participant and beneficiary of these new co-operative mechanisms. The bottom line is that a stronger, more prosperous Canada relies upon vibrant cross-border regions, which in turn depend upon how well governments, regional players and local stakeholders on both sides of the border can address their intertwined challenges that will ultimately determine their common destinies.

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**André Downs**  
*Director General*  
*Policy Research Initiative*

## HIGHLIGHTS

- The Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) resulted in an increasing level and diversity of links between Canada and the United States.
- Through a first-of-its-kind, cross-border region *Leader Survey* with follow-up Executive Interviews, Regional Roundtables and a Washington Workshop involving active participants in cross-border regional relationships, the growing significance, scope, and nature of these cross-border regional relationships were substantiated and considered for their policy implications for the Government of Canada.

### Key Findings from New Research

- Higher bilateral trade intensities underline how much more the economies of neighbouring provinces and states now depend on each other.
- As well, analysis using a socio-cultural index shows that the northeast and northwest coastal regions are especially characterized by shared values. The socio-cultural values of Atlantic Canada are closer to those of the US east coast, while Alberta and British Columbia have socio-cultural values that are closer to those of the western part of the United States.
- Regional cross-border networks and organizations have proliferated since NAFTA, and provide a useful vehicle for bi-national business and community groups to work together on issues of mutual interest, often with the ultimate aim of problem-solving or creating local edges for success in the larger North American and global economies.
- Based on these economic, socio-cultural, and organizational considerations, a few fairly distinct groupings of neighbouring and nearby provinces and states were identified.

In the West: British Columbia, Alberta and Yukon with Alaska, Washington, Idaho, Oregon and Montana. Overall, the “thickness and intensity” of links appear greatest out west, where cross-border networks and organizational links

are most advanced, economic ties are significant, and socio-cultural values are quite similar.

In the Prairies-Great Plains area: Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba with Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota and Minnesota. Formal cross-border organizational links are perhaps at their weakest, but informal networks and the Prairie Provinces’ economic links with their cross-border state partners and trade dependencies are relatively strong compared to those between other Canadian provinces and states.

- In the Great Lakes-Heartland area: Ontario with Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio. Ontario has important links with its neighbouring states in the Great Lakes-Heartland in all three of the economic, socio-cultural and organizational dimensions. So does Quebec, with respect to economic and organizational links.
- In the East: Quebec with Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire and New York; Atlantic Canada with Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. Atlantic Canada has quite active networks and organizational links and fairly significant economic and socio-cultural links with its cross-border state partners. This is a cross-border region bound together by a common history, culture, economy and shared challenges.



### Key Leader Survey and Follow-up Interviews Findings

- The *Leader Survey* and follow-up interviews highlighted several resultant benefits of cross-border regional relationships, including:
  - Stronger bi-national regional forums
  - Greater involvement of regional stakeholders in Canada-US issues
  - Practical bi-national problem solving in a broad range of fields
  - Improved access by regional stakeholders, through cross-border regional alliances, to national government decision making in Canada and the United States
- The findings also underscored the widespread view among stakeholders that although cross-border regional relationships are beneficial, they frequently are under appreciated for their influence on Canada-US relations.

### Key Regional Roundtables/ Washington Workshop Findings

- Cross-border regional relationships are a “bottom-up” phenomenon that has developed largely without the involvement of the Government of Canada.
- Cross-border regions have their own identities and unique characteristics, which adds complexity to the policy-making process.

### Key Lessons Learned from Elsewhere

- Lessons for Canada from the study of the emergence of cross-border regions along the Mexico-US border and in Europe reveal that

the rise in cross-border regional relationships is an international phenomenon. Europe’s Euroregions provide a contrast with the Canada-US experiences insofar as cross-border regions in the former reflect top-down, program-driven initiatives.

Euroregions are leading the way in the recognition and development of cross-border community links and regions.

### Policy Considerations

- As the economies of neighbouring and nearby provinces and states become more intertwined, it will be important that national governments join with their regional governmental and non-governmental partners on both sides of the border to consider ways to address joint problems more effectively.
- This may require new ways of thinking about policies and policy development that incorporate a cross-border regional lens. This, in turn, may require the Government of Canada to increasingly consider ways to contribute to these networks; and look for opportunities to better co-ordinate its own efforts with those of the provinces and states, private and civil stakeholders, as well as the US government and agencies.
- This is especially appropriate for those issues arising from increased North American integration and those policies aimed at regional development, where future policy development frameworks at the cross-border regional level could benefit from the active participation of the other stakeholders.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

EU	European Union
FTA	Canada-US Free Trade Agreement
GLG	Council of Great Lakes Governors
IAGL-SLM	International Association of Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Mayors
INTERREG	EU Community Initiatives programs for International Regions
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NEG-ECP	Conference of New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PNWER	Pacific NorthWest Economic Region
PRI	Policy Research Initiative
SPP	Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America
TILMA	Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement
WGA-WP	Western Governors Association and Western Premiers Conference
WTO	World Trade Organization

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# 1. WHY THIS PROJECT?

## Key Feature of Canada-US Integration

On June 21 and 22, 2004, as a joint initiative of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) and the Policy Research Initiative (PRI), more than 50 participants mostly from academia, think-tanks and the Government of Canada, met in Ottawa to discuss North American integration, and especially the growing phenomenon of cross-border regional relationships between Canada and the United States, and the emergence of cross-border regions.

Until then, research on Canada-US relations had mainly focused on the larger national perspective, but it is increasingly apparent that strong and multi-dimensional linkages are taking hold at the regional level, especially between adjacent and nearby areas along the border.

Mostly a bottom-up phenomenon, these Canada-US cross-border regional relationships are growing quickly, as seen in the accelerated development of both informal relationships and formal networks, and a rise in cross-border regional co-operative mechanisms that often complement formal Canada-US engagements.

Still, little attention is paid to the regional and sub-national dimensions of Canada-US relations despite the fact that the myriad cross-border regional relationships are a key feature of Canada-US linkages, which can raise some new policy considerations for the Government of Canada. This awareness became the genesis of this Government of Canada inter-departmental research project.

## What We Set Out to Learn

In particular, the project targeted these key questions:

- What are the significance, scope and nature of these cross-border regional relationships? How similar are these relationships across all regions of the country?

- What are their motivating factors, benefits and public value to Canada-US relations?
- If cross-border regional relationships have public value, does this entail additional new roles and actions by the Government of Canada to promote further helpful cross-border regional relationships and facilitate these benefits?

## Our Research Instruments

To answer the above questions, the project undertook a multifaceted approach involving four lines of investigative activity (Figure 1).

The first involved a review of recent research and the undertaking of new research and analysis that explored three main dimensions of Canada-US cross-border regional linkages, namely: economic linkages, socio-cultural regional similarities, and cross-border regional networks and organizations. Much of this research relied on evidence-based, quantitative analysis.<sup>1</sup>

Additional qualitative detail and understanding of cross-border regional relationships, for instance on the motivating factors, was gained through a *Leader Survey* and follow-up interviews.

The six Regional Roundtables with key players who are active in cross-border regional relationships were undertaken to review the research, survey and interview findings, and to further discuss key issues and implications for the Government of Canada. This was followed by a Washington Workshop which included interested individuals from the public, private and academic communities in the Washington area.

Finally, the cross-border regional lessons learned from European and Mexican experiences were explored for Canada.

Figure 1. Key Research Activities—A Chronology

<b>Research Activities</b>	<b>Milestones</b>
<b>Project Commencement</b> SSHRC-PRI Roundtable on North American Integration, focusing on the growing phenomena of cross-border regional relationships	June 21–22, 2004
<b>Research and Analysis</b> PRI Interim Report and PRI Working Papers	Spring-summer of 2005 (see Interim Report plus Previous Publications listed at the end of this Final Report)
<b>Leader Survey and Executive Interviews</b> 100 respondents from Canada and the United States	Carried out by EKOS, July 28–Oct. 15, 2005
<b>Regional Roundtables and Washington Workshop</b> Vancouver, BC _____ Winnipeg, MB _____ Waterloo, ON _____ Montréal, QC _____ Sackville, NB _____ Ottawa, ON _____ Washington, DC _____	November 23, 2005 to May 3, 2006 February 16, 2006 February 14, 2006 February 28, 2006 November 23, 2005 March 3, 2006 March 6, 2006 May 3, 2006
<b>Lessons from European and Mexican-US experiences</b>	Summer 2007

See information boxes on *Research and Analysis on Canada-US Cross-Border Regions*, *Leader Survey and Interviews*, and *Regional Roundtables and Washington Workshop*.

## 2. WHAT WE FOUND

### Basic Findings—Research and Analysis

Our new research focused on the economic and socio-cultural dimensions, and the rising presence of regional cross-border networks and organizations as critically important features of emerging Canada-US cross-border regions.<sup>2</sup> However, we must also note that geography, history, demography and transportation corridors have all played an instrumental role in helping to shape and set the stage for present-day regional cross-border linkages (Figure 2).<sup>3</sup> For instance, gateways and transportation corridors, and cross-border supply chains tend to integrate the Canadian and US economies regionally.<sup>4</sup>

The economic dimension is crucial because it provides a foundation in the sense that it is the quest for economic benefit that usually creates the incentive for regional cross-border initiatives. Meanwhile, the socio-cultural dimension and the rising presence of regional cross-border networks and organizations help determine the environment and facilitate the means for regional

cross-border co-operation and even, sometimes, cross-border regional awareness and identity (Figure 3).

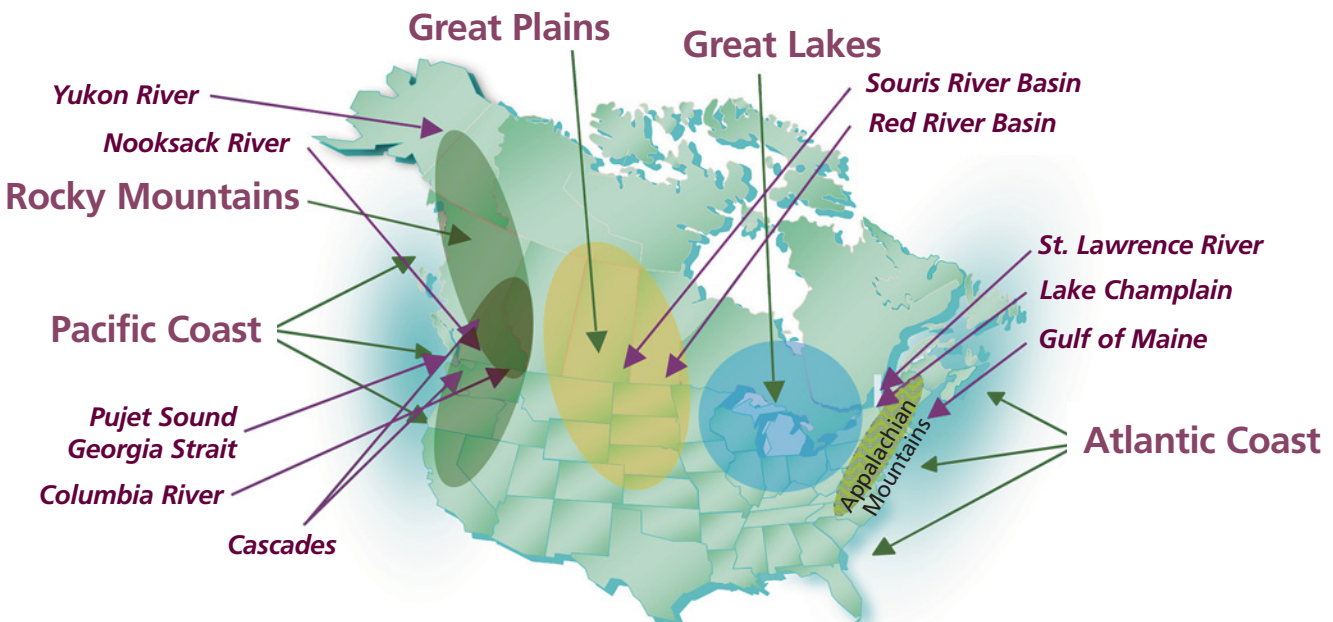
### Economic Dimension

Business people and the various levels of government on both sides of the border find it increasingly in their interest to engage in regional cross-border co-operative activities to jointly improve their economic development. Trade levels and flows at the provincial-state level bear out the existence of regional economic links that are in many ways fairly distinct, increasingly important and quite dynamic (Figure 4).<sup>5</sup>

Generally speaking, not only is the level of trade much greater between individual provinces and neighbouring and nearby states, but so, too, their recent growth in trade volumes.<sup>6</sup> Also, provinces now export a wider variety of goods to neighbouring states—in keeping with the view that the more integrated an area, the broader the range of goods exchanged.

Indeed, Canada and the United States are moving away from being simply trading partners to functioning as

Figure 2. A Shared Geography





## Research and Analysis

To address the preliminary research needs of the project of substantiating the significance, scope and nature of cross-border regional relationships, and to provide initial insights, several research papers were completed and integrated into an *Emergence of Cross-Border Regions: Interim Report*. This was later supplemented by select further research and analysis, for instance on the impact of cross-border regions on Canada-US trade.

The research and analysis focused on economic and organizational cross-border regional linkages as well as socio-cultural cross-border regional similarities, and found the following:

### *The Economy*

- Canada-US economic activities are stronger and more involved in border areas.
- Provincial trade flows are often more intense with neighbouring and nearby states.
- Basic economic structures are also more similar and economic performance more interdependent.
- Key industrial activities and clusters frequently cut across the border.

### *Socio-Cultural Values*

- Similar values, beliefs and ideology facilitate the “sense of belonging” to a cross-border region.
- Socio-cultural values are often more similar within cross-border regions than between different regions of each nation.

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To receive a copy of *The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions: Interim Report* (2005) or any of the publications listed on the back page, please visit the PRI website, at <[www.policyresearch.gc.ca](http://www.policyresearch.gc.ca)> or contact <[questions@prs-srp.gc.ca](mailto:questions@prs-srp.gc.ca)>.

## *Cross-Border Regional Networks and Organizations*

- There are a large number of cross-border regional networks and organizations along the border: general- and single-purpose inter-governmental organizations, business associations, and intercity and civil organizations.
- Cross-border regional organizations are usually involved exclusively in provincial or shared jurisdictions, and often act as facilitators. They are key players in the regional management of Canada-US relations.

## *Key Research and Analysis Findings*

- Cross-border linkages may not be equally strong in all dimensions, they are nevertheless significant across Canada.
- The existence of cross-border regions requires new ways of thinking about policies and policy development that incorporate a regional lens and that recognize the greater level of co-operation and co-ordination that occurs at the regional level between Canada and the United States. The potential benefits are many—for example, the more effective management of regional, bi-national issues. In this regard, cross-border regional networks and organizations provide a useful mechanism for the increased and proactive participation of regional stakeholders in Canada-US issues.





**Figure 3. Three Dimensions of Research**

The research and analysis of cross-border regional relationships focuses on these three dimensions:

**Economic**

**Social and  
Cultural Similarities**

**Cross-Border Networks  
and Organizations**

While geography, history, demography, and transportation corridors all play an instrumental role in helping to set the stage for and shape the cross-border regional linkages we see today, cross-border regions should exhibit substantial economic links, socio-cultural similarities, and the presence of cross-border networks and organizations.

The economic dimension provides the foundation in the sense it is the quest for economic benefits that usually creates the incentives for cross-border initiatives. However, the socio-cultural and organizational dimensions help determine the environment and provide the facilitative means for cross-border cooperation and even, sometimes, cross-border regional awareness and identity.

more integrated economies, with much of this integration occurring in and impacting cross-border regions. Higher bilateral trade intensities further underline how much more the economies of neighbouring provinces and states now depend on each other.

These findings reflect, in part, the fact that a number of important regional economic activities are shared in common by neighbouring provinces and states along the border and that several important North American hubs have cross-border influences, including Boston, Montréal, Toronto, Detroit, Minneapolis, Winnipeg, Calgary-Edmonton, Seattle and Vancouver.

Consequently, as shown in Figure 4, the economic performance of neighbouring and nearby provinces and states tend to be related. Moreover, this similarity in economic performance among intra-regional provinces and states has been, on the whole, getting tighter.

An exception is Ontario whose economic performance was more similar with neighbouring states before the FTA,<sup>7</sup> but is now becoming more synchronized with states and provinces further away.

Border effects<sup>8</sup> have held a special place in the recent literature on Canada-US integration, ever since the startling finding by John McCallum (1995) that trade between two provinces was more than 20 times more intense than trade between a province and a state of the same size and distance away. Subsequent refinements of his work by others, discussed in Downs

(2004), and investigated in Downs and Sawchuk (2007), has shown that the actual magnitude of the border effect between Canada and the US might be less, and declining over time, but the Canada-US border effect is still quite significant. However, since trade between Canada and the US is most intense among the provinces and states in the borderland regions, Downs and Sawchuk also looked at Canada-US border effects in the context of these cross-border regions. Figure 4 shows that the border effect on overall trade *is lower within cross-border regions*, for every province, signifying that the level of trade in the borderlands is above and beyond that which can be solely explained or expected from the economic size of the participants and their proximity.<sup>9</sup>

### **Culture and Values**

It is widely understood that the existence of commonly held and shared values among business and community leaders on both sides of the border facilitates the creation and expansion of regional cross-border links.<sup>10</sup>

PRI research reveals socio-cultural values are often more similar at the cross-border regional level.<sup>11</sup> And there is a regional sense of identity within cross-border regions (Figure 5). Based on a socio-cultural index involving 32 values, the northeast and northwest coastal regions are especially characterized by shared values.

**Figure 4. Correlations in Provincial Economic Activity**

	West		Prairies-Great Plains			Great Lakes-Heartland	East					
	BC	AB	AB	SK	MB	ON	Quebec QC	Atlantic Canada NB NS PE NL				
<b>Averages</b>												
<i>with</i> (1979-1988)												
Neighbouring/Nearby States	0.57	0.39	0.38	0.31	0.40	0.89	0.95	0.96	0.95	0.97	0.96	
Others	0.71	0.67	0.69	0.71	0.82	0.79	0.78	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75	
<i>with</i> (1989-2004)												
Neighbouring/Nearby States	0.97	0.95	0.97	0.96	0.95	0.88	0.98	0.98	0.97	0.97	0.95	
Others	0.95	0.95	0.95	0.94	0.93	0.93	0.93	0.92	0.94	0.92	0.88	

For further information, please see *The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions: Interim Report*, 2005.

**Canada-US Border Effect on Provincial Trade**

	BC	AB	AB	SK	MB	ON	QC	NB	NS	PE	NL
<i>with</i> (2002)											
All of the US	8.4	12.9	11.1	7.5	5.1	4.9	6.0	32.4	30.9	97.3	
Neighbouring/Nearby States	3.4	14.9	2.8	2.5	7.4	2.3	2.1	2.5	11.1	5.4	33.4



*In the West:* British Columbia, Alberta, and Yukon with Alaska, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana.

*In the Prairies-Great Plains area:* Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba with Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota.

*In the Great Lakes-Heartland area:* Ontario with Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio.

*In the East:* Quebec with New York, Vermont, Maine and New Hampshire; Atlantic Canada with Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island.

*Source:* PRI calculations based on quarterly data for provinces and states (and Washington, D.C.) from the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia and Industry Canada.

The socio-cultural values of Atlantic Canada are closer to those of the US east coast.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, Alberta and British Columbia have socio-cultural values that are closer to those of the western part of the United States. However, the cross-border areas in and around the Great Lakes share commonalities in socio-cultural values and ideological communities, but not so much a common identity. The Prairies-Great Plains have significant but generally weaker cross-border similarities in terms of socio-cultural values.

**Cross-Border Networks and Organizations**

PRI research clearly shows that there are occurring, at any time, and in any particular region of Canada, various ad hoc and/or ongoing forms of cross-border

consultation, co-operation, and collaboration.<sup>13</sup> They involve an extraordinarily broad range of endeavours connecting private and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), enterprises and different levels of government. The bulk of these take place “beneath the surface,” involving informal and largely non-institutional relationships, where person-to-person linkages are vital.<sup>14</sup> The informal relationships are often specific to an issue, and can involve information sharing, symposia, conferences and sometimes joint training and the exchange of personnel. The issues can include many sensitive cross-border economic matters in the areas of energy, water, agriculture, transport, and how to facilitate the movement of goods and people in a heightened security environment.

However, there are also various forms of formal cross-border regional organizations and structures. Regardless of the form, these networks and organizations can bring bi-national regional interest and expertise to the table, and show how working together on a common issue will be helpful for those on both sides of the border. For instance, many formal cross-border networks and organizations are active at the regional level in such fields as transport, the economy, environment and security (Figure 6).<sup>15</sup>

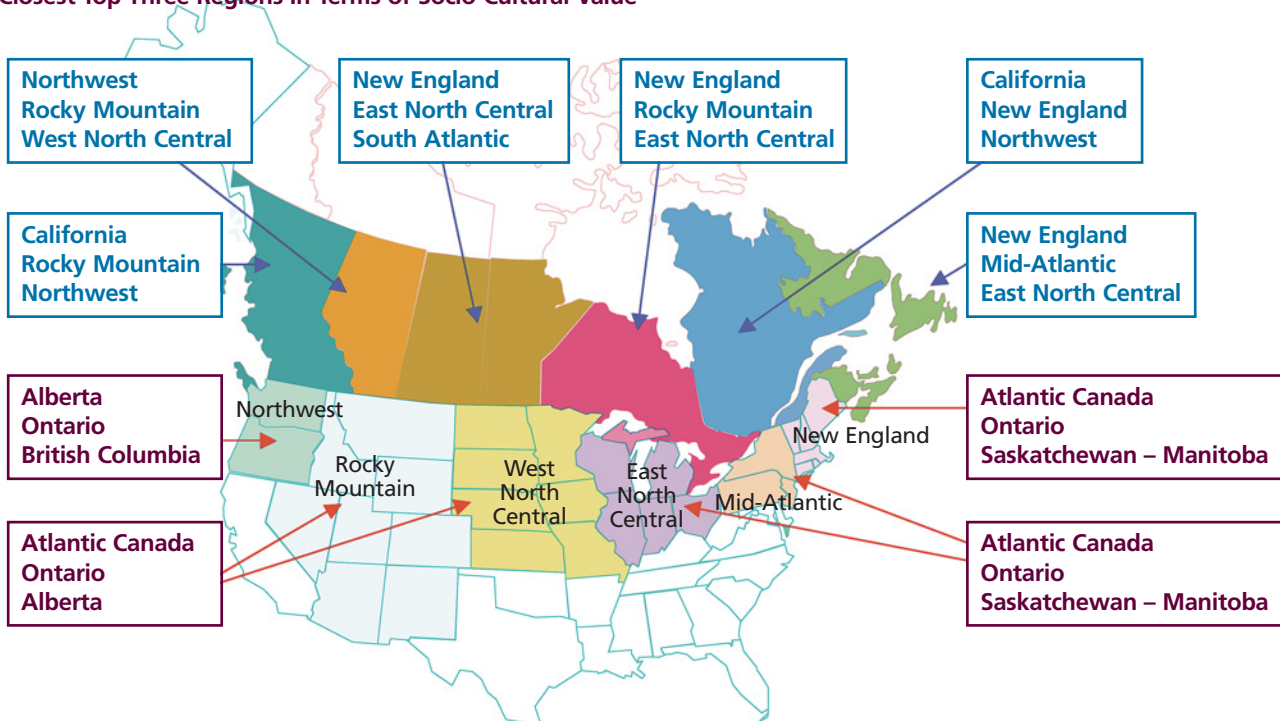
It is worth noting that while the FTA and NAFTA kept common institutions to a minimum, regional cross-border networks and organizations (often privately initiated) have helped to fill the institutional void. By their regional nature, these networks and organizations provide public value by frequently focusing on local issues that may not have enough national momentum to attract the necessary resources from their respective central governments. Regional cross-border networks and organizations tend to be more numerous among those provinces and states having stronger trading relationships, and in fields under provincial/state jurisdictions or in shared federal-provincial and federal-state jurisdictions.

The Pacific Northwest Economic Region (PNWER), with its network of private and government officials, provides an example of organized regional cross-border co-operation through its 17 different working groups and memberships that includes premiers, governors, legislators, counties, economic development commissions, industry associations and private sector members. At the Conference of New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers (NEG-ECP), generally held annually, the governors and premiers discuss issues of common interest and concern, and enact policy resolutions that call on actions by the state and provincial governments, as well as by the two national governments. During the year, the Conference convenes meetings of state and provincial officials, organizes roundtables and workshops, and prepares reports and studies of issues of regional import.

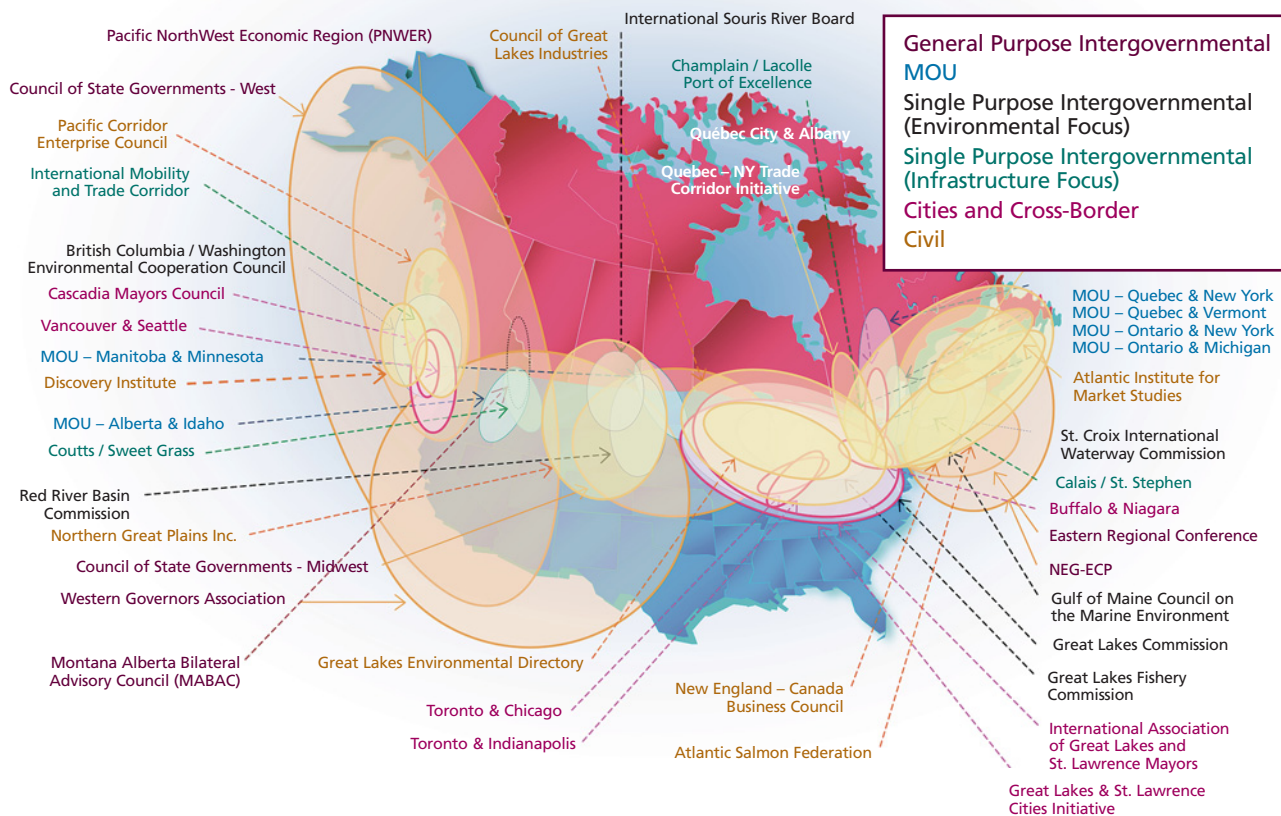
It can be noted that there is an increased number of government actors now involved in bilateral regional relationships, in a wide variety of forms,<sup>16</sup> involving customary practice; processes as summits, working groups, task forces, panels and advisory groups, etc.; and agreements such as MOUs, protocols and exchanges of letters.

**Figure 5. Socio-Cultural Values**

Closest Top Three Regions In Terms of Socio-Cultural Value



**Figure 6. Select Cross-Border Networks and Organizations**



**Cross-Border Regions**

Based on the above economic, socio-cultural, and network and organizational considerations, a few fairly distinct groupings of neighbouring and nearby provinces and states can be identified (Figure 7).

The links may not be equally strong in all dimensions, but they are nevertheless significant across all regions of Canada.<sup>17</sup> One can argue that both the West and the Prairies-Great Plains share Alberta and Montana, which in turn could be considered as a separate sub-region (Rocky Mountain). The East could be also divided into the two overlapping sub-regions of Quebec-Northern New England, and Atlantic-New England.

Key characteristics of individual cross-border regions are discussed in the *Interim Report*, but overall, the “thickness and intensity” of links appear greatest in

the west, where formal cross-border organizational links are most advanced, economic ties are significant, and socio-cultural values are quite similar. Organizational links are most formal in the West, with PNWER and with strong interest in the idea of a cross-country Cascadia region.<sup>18</sup> In the Prairies-Great Plains, formal cross-border organizational links are perhaps at their weakest, but informal networks and the Prairie Provinces’ economic links with their cross-border state partners and trade dependencies are relatively strong compared to those between other Canadian provinces and states.

Ontario has important links with its neighbouring states in the Great Lakes-Heartland in all three of the economic, socio-cultural and organizational dimensions. So does Quebec, with respect to economic and organizational links.



Atlantic Canada has quite active networks and organizational links and fairly significant economic and socio-cultural links with its cross-border state partners.<sup>19</sup>

### Basic Findings—Leader Survey and Executive Interviews

The findings were based mostly on quantitative indicators. These indicators were then supplemented by qualitative *Leader Survey* evidence and findings from follow-up Executive Interviews involving key individuals from business, various levels of government, academia, think tanks, and cross-border organizations and associations.

The *Leader Survey* and Executive Interview results provide new information and details about the identity of stakeholders involved in cross-border regional relationships, and contribute to a better understanding of the nature and scope of regional cross-border linkages.

In addition to confirming the varied nature and broad scope of cross-border regional relationships, the *Leader Survey* and Executive Interview responses portray a positive outlook concerning the future growth of cross-border regional relations.

The findings indicate that cross-border regional stakeholders often have more in common with others within their cross-border region, north-south, than they do east-west with stakeholders in other regions.<sup>20</sup> Regional networks and linkages, particularly in the areas of infrastructure, energy and economic linkages, are expected to expand.

Concerning their public value, the results underscored the widespread view among active stakeholders that cross-border regional relationships are beneficial but frequently have an under-appreciated influence on Canada-US relations. *Leader Survey* respondents and interviewees identified a number of benefits for Canada, ranging from the public value of stronger regional cross-border networks for the bi-national

### Leader Survey and Executive Interviews

The *Leader Survey on Canada-US Cross-Border Regions* and follow-up interviews were used to investigate further the cross-border linkages identified in the PRI *Interim Report*, and to more fully explore the nature of cross-border regional relations, especially as they present opportunities and challenges for Canada.

The questionnaire focused on defining what constitutes a cross-border region, identifying the linkages that the surveyed organizations may have developed, evaluating the policy opportunities and challenges associated with cross-border regions and exploring the evolution of cross-border linkages.

The *Leader Survey* and follow-up interviews were designed by the PRI with the assistance of academic experts, and carried out by EKOS,

between July 28 and October 15, 2005. It was the first time a survey and interviews of such magnitude were conducted on the topic of Canada-US cross-border regions.

More than 110 leaders from Canada and the United States responded to the mail-in survey, representing organizations in both the private and public sectors, and from every major cross-border region. Follow-up interviews were conducted to discuss the survey issues further.

For more information about the *Leader Survey* and follow-up interviews, and to receive the PRI Working Paper: *Leader Survey on Canada-US Cross-Border Regions: An Analysis*. PRI Working Paper No. 12. 2006, please contact the PRI at <questions@prs-srp.gc.ca>.

Figure 7. Putting It All Together!

	West		Prairies-Great Plains			Great Lakes-Heartland	East				
	BC	AB	AB	SK	MB	ON	QC	Atlantic Canada			
								NB	NS	PE	NL
<b>The Economy</b>											
Trade level	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Trade growth	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Trade breadth	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Trade dependency	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
<b>Culture and Values</b>	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
<b>Organizations</b>											
Intergovernmental											
Single-purpose	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
General-purpose	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Civil	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Cities	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●



*In the West: British Columbia, Alberta, and Yukon with Alaska, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana.*

*In the Prairies-Great Plains area: Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba with Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota.*

*In the Great Lakes-Heartland area: Ontario with Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio.*

*In the East: Quebec with New York, Vermont, Maine and New Hampshire; Atlantic Canada with Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island.*

- Relatively Strong
- Significant
- Weak

discussion and resolution of cross-border regional issues, to the ability to pragmatically deal with local Canada-US concerns and voice cross-border regional points of view in national capitals. It was also identified that regional cross-border networks and organizations serve as “laboratories for policy innovation” (e.g. PNWER successfully advocated for the “Nexus Plus” program).

Everything considered, regional cross-border networks and organizations provide valuable services that complement those provided by the Government of Canada. Respondents acknowledged the significant role played by provincial and state governments in cross-border

regional relationships, but the role of the Government of Canada was also recognized as integral to successfully addressing many barriers that impede further regional cross-border co-operation.

More is discussed below in the section on public policy considerations, but briefly, respondents suggested that the Government of Canada should facilitate and thereby garner future benefits from cross-border regional relations through such activities as the provision of better information and support to cross-border regional stakeholders and their work on cross-border regional issues.

## Basic Findings—Regional Roundtables and Washington Workshop

A series of Regional Roundtables and a Washington Workshop were instrumental in learning further about cross-border regional relationships, and gathering fresh insights that built upon the *Leader Survey*, Executive Interviews and research findings.

The Regional Roundtables and the Washington Workshop engaged important active participants from the private sector and civil society, plus senior government officials from different levels of governments (e.g. consuls, politicians, provincial deputy ministers). The participants were asked to reflect upon the public value and the challenges to the development of further cross-border regional linkages, and to deliberate upon the potential policy implications that cross-border regions represent for the Government of Canada, thus helping to chart a path forward (which will be addressed in Section 3). The Regional Roundtables were supported by a number of federal departments including Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions, and Western Economic Diversification Canada. In total, six Regional Roundtables were held across Canada—in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Waterloo, Montréal, Sackville (New Brunswick), and Ottawa. This was supplemented with a Workshop in Washington, D.C., hosted by the Center for Strategic and International Studies in conjunction with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars' Canada Institute.

## Key Insights

The Roundtable and Workshop participants unanimously voiced three important observations:

- The FTA and NAFTA were codifications of the economic reality at the end of the last century, but Canada-US cross-border regions and regional relationships are part of an important and new socio-economic reality that requires attention.
- Cross-border regional relationships are a “bottom-up phenomenon” that have developed largely without the involvement of the Government of Canada. Often they reflect informal networks that lack permanent institutional structure and are difficult to identify. But these, and more formal networks and organizations can still benefit substantially from Government of Canada support.
- Cross-border regions have their own unique identities, which obliges the Government of Canada to try to take cross-border regional specificities into account in its policy-making process.

Regional Roundtable discussions and those of the Washington Workshop, provided a number of examples of how the nature of cross-border relationships in individual regions could be uniquely different, yet in many ways similarly significant and pervasive. Personal observations were provided as to how innumerable practical and functional cross-border networks across Canada have sprung up in recent years between provinces, states, municipalities, business groups and other non-government organizations, and civil society.<sup>21</sup> While unique combinations of informal and institutional structures often reflect the interests, concerns, and capabilities of the cross-border regional stakeholders,<sup>22</sup> there was considerable agreement on major issues and challenges.

## Regional Roundtables

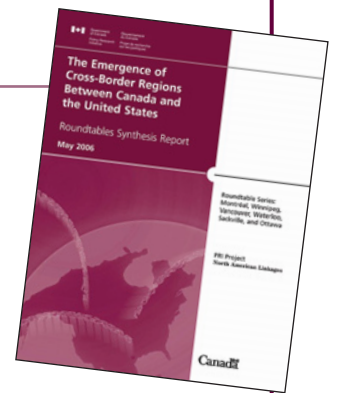
There was considerable agreement among the participants attending the various roundtables when it came to identifying the important public value of cross-border regional relationships as well as the major challenges to further development of cross-border regional relationships.

These research findings were presented and discussed in a series of Regional Roundtables held between November 2005 and March 2006, plus a Washington Roundtable in May 2006. The roundtables included Montréal, November 23, 2005; Winnipeg, February 14, 2006; Vancouver, February 16, 2006; Waterloo, February 28, 2006; Sackville, New Brunswick, March 3, 2006; Ottawa, March 6–7, 2006; and an event hosted by the Canada Institute at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars and the Center for Strategic and International Studies Smart Border North Working Group in Washington, D.C., May 23, 2006.

Almost 200 Canadian and US experts drawn from business associations, cross-border regional organizations, public policy think-tanks and research institutions, academia and all levels of government participated in the regional roundtables, and another 50 took part in the event in Washington, D.C.

Each of the one-day roundtable events was divided into three sessions. First, the PRI research findings from the *Interim Report*, *Leader Survey* and executive interviews were presented and discussed. Then, to understand better how cross-border regions operate, various local projects, agreements, and regional initiatives were examined along with their lessons learned. Finally, possible and potential public policy implications and considerations were discussed in the context of what the existence of cross-border regions suggests for the Government of Canada. Reports, papers and roundtable presentations are available from the PRI website at <[www.policyresearch.gc.ca](http://www.policyresearch.gc.ca)>.

For further information about the Regional Roundtables, and to receive a copy of the *Roundtables Synthesis Report*, please contact the PRI at <[questions@prs-srp.gc.ca](mailto:questions@prs-srp.gc.ca)>.



In particular, participants described the following benefits of cross-border regional relationships and networks:

- They provide channels for cross-border dialogue and discussion of important issues.

Regional cross-border networks and organizations often provide forums in which regional stakeholders can take part in meaningful two-way dialogues on important Canada-US issues. They can provide an effective channel to move forward in specific issues of a regional nature that may not have the

same level of interest required at the national level.

- Their activities are complementary and supportive to federal initiatives.

Perhaps because regional cross-border networks and organizations are often actively involved in addressing issues that fall under provincial or state jurisdictions, at least partially, participants at all of the Regional Roundtables felt that their roles are often complementary to and always supportive of federal activities.



- They can draw together key actors and stakeholders from the private, civil and public sectors.

Similarly, regional cross-border networks and organizations are useful for drawing together the private and public sectors and civil leadership, sometimes into single forums. For instance, PNWER provides formal structures for building and enhancing Canada-US relationships and discussing issues on a regional basis.

- They make significant contributions to the energy and strength of Canada-US relations at the regional level.

Participants underscored that the real strength of Canada-US relations lies at the sub-national level since regional cross-border networks and organizations are often essential in the resolution of many bi-national regional challenges (many of relevance to the federal governments).<sup>23</sup> Several participants also drew attention to the fact that the private sector has the key role in the promotion of cross-border regional initiatives.

But this does not belie federal participation. In fact, participants drew particular attention to the suggestion that the Government of Canada could benefit from and provide a useful role in monitoring, facilitating and co-ordinating information from activities related to the regional cross-border interactions.

- They exemplify how more and better results can be accomplished by cross-border stakeholders working together.

They also provide a mechanism for federal and sub-national regional governments to find ways to co-ordinate policy and pursue common interests. A number of participants stated that cross-border regional organizations can provide the virtual infrastructure for international intergovernmental policy co-ordination without the need for governments on either side of the border to either reorganize or add agencies.

As industrial and economic activities increasingly transcend regional borders, co-operation, co-ordination, and collaboration are more and more required to create stronger, more efficient cross-

border regional economies.<sup>24</sup> A more cohesive cross-border approach at the regional level in specific economic activities and sectors could ensure the cross-border region's competitiveness in third markets.<sup>25</sup>

- Their activities lead to easier and more practical bi-national problem-solving.

Indeed, participants at the Regional Roundtables and the Washington Workshop pointed out that it becomes easier and more practical to address bi-national local issues through the helpful participation and co-operation of cross-border regional stakeholders and relationships. Also, the benefits are less diffuse and more readily identifiable at a regional level. Hence, regional cross-border networks and organizations provide an effective channel to move forward on specific issues of a regional nature (i.e. public-good type issues such as environmental, resource management and border-related infrastructure) that may not meet the threshold required to trigger interest and action at the national level. An example is the environmental co-operation that exists amongst Quebec, Vermont and New York to protect Lake Champlain.

There are matters on which Canada, the United States, the provinces and states and other levels of government, and civil society on both sides of the border can do better by working together.<sup>26</sup> For the Government of Canada, this means conceding that provinces, states, municipalities, private and civil sectors are already often working together on cross-border issues. However, the opportunities for success can be elevated by the participation of the Government of Canada, which can also facilitate and contribute to favourable outcomes that are aligned with federal initiatives in a particular region.

This may mean that the federal governments of both Canada and the United States should increasingly co-ordinate their efforts together with regional governments and partners, for more effective policies. This, in turn, means future policy development frameworks should, to a greater extent, involve the diversified stakeholders and additional levels of government at the cross-border regional level.

## Key Challenges

What are some of the special challenges to the development of further regional cross-border linkages? Many participants took up the question of key obstacles. A consensus emerged on the seriousness of a number of challenges:

- A key concern among respondents and interviewees was the need for more effective border *management*. Transportation operations and program planning must be better integrated on a regional basis. This includes stronger emphasis being given to traffic management to and from the border. Participants in various Regional Roundtables observed that effective border management does not only affect Canada's trading relationship with the United States, but it also has important ramifications in international trading relationships, such as the West region's relationship with the Asia-Pacific.
- Another important issue was improving *transportation infrastructure*. In all Regional Roundtables, the need to improve transportation infrastructure between Canada and the United States was clearly identified as a serious barrier to regional cross-border linkages (many emphasized that Canadian investment in transportation infrastructure along the border lagged behind that of the United States). A number of participants argued that transportation corridors are vital to the health of cross-border regions. Several argued for the need to improve infrastructure in all modes of ground transportation. For example, rail service between Atlantic Canada and New England is severely fragmented and is not conducive to developing further economic cross-border linkages.<sup>27</sup>
- In most of the Regional Roundtables and the Washington Workshop, *regulatory issues* were highlighted. Inconsistent regulatory policies have huge implications on the growing supply chains and just-in-time delivery mechanisms between Canada and the United States since logistical efficiency (e.g. shipment size) is not maximized due to bi-national regulatory differences.
- As well, the *increasing interdependence of issues and jurisdictions* was duly noted. Jurisdictions are increasingly intertwined horizontally in a number of sectors and vertically among the federal, provincial and local levels. For example, transportation is now linked strongly to security. Yet, transportation is in large part a provincial or state jurisdiction, while security is under federal jurisdiction. For many participants of the Regional Roundtables, these jurisdictional differences are confusing and can lead to inefficient and ineffective policies regarding bi-national co-operation.
- But a key and crucial challenge was simply helping groups and individuals to take fuller advantage of these vast Canada-US regional cross-border networks or create their own. Here, it was thought that the Government of Canada could play a special role in gathering information in a consistent way across regions, and then sharing that information—about best practices in other regions, for instance—thereby providing a useful service channel for regions to learn from one another. This can also involve sharing data, resources, and ideas about challenges, successes, and next steps, so that cross-border stakeholders in different regions can find ways to better collaborate and build on the expertise, experience and successes of others. Indeed, participants urged the Government of Canada to support regional cross-border networks and organizations as effective conduits to increase the amount and quality of information available to assess policy issues and provide guidance to policy-makers at both the regional and national level. The process would work both ways, as regional cross-border networks and organizations can be used to both gather information of a more regional nature and diffuse information from the central governments to regional stakeholders, for example, on the regional impacts of policy decisions.

## Viewpoint

### ***Building Effective Cross-Border Linkages a Priority***

Building effective cross-border linkages is a priority for British Columbia, as these relationships help us respond to common concerns and take advantage of common opportunities.

British Columbia is a strong supporter of the Pacific NorthWest Economic Region in promoting regional cooperation. As a bi-national public-private partnership, PNWER provides a unique venue for provincial and state legislators and the private sector of both Canada and the United States to understand each other's political systems and develop common regional priorities that can be advanced in Ottawa and Washington, D.C. PNWER has done groundbreaking work in promoting more effective border management, critical infrastructure security, energy planning, cross-border workforce mobility, and economic innovation.

British Columbia works closely with its neighbours on priorities such as secure and open borders, climate change and the environment, energy, transportation, tourism, trade, and the 2010 Winter Olympics. In recognizing that meaningful solutions to cross-border challenges can be better accomplished by working together, British Columbia seeks out opportunities to work collaboratively with other provinces and states, participate in

regional organizations, advance common priorities, and share best practices in policy design and implementation.

For example, British Columbia recently signed the Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement (TILMA) with the Province of Alberta in 2006. This groundbreaking agreement developed out of regular joint cabinet meetings, and it removes barriers to trade, investment and labour mobility—effectively creating the second-largest economic region in Canada.

British Columbia and Washington State collaborate on matters of mutual interest through High Level Summits held annually. The Province is forging a “Pacific Coast Collaborative” from Alaska to California to establish a forum for leadership on topics of mutual concern especially climate change and ocean health. BC is actively involved in the Western Climate Initiative with US States.

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***The Honourable John van Dongen***  
*Minister of State for Intergovernmental Relations, Government of British Columbia and Canadian Vice-President of the Pacific NorthWest Economic Region (PNWER)*

## **Basic Findings—Lessons from Elsewhere**

To take stock of possible useful lessons and insights for Canada from an understanding of cross-border regional relationships elsewhere, a review was undertaken of the Mexico-US and European experiences.

(See *The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions along the Mexican-US Border and in Europe: Lessons for Canada*. PRI Working Paper, No. 35, 2008.)

The study of emerging cross-border regions along the Mexico-US border provides an interesting comparison because Mexico and Canada both share their major border with the United States, both are members of

NAFTA, and both have a federal structure of government. But there are also some striking differences, in terms of Mexico's very different history and heritage, and issues related to economic development and border security. Nevertheless, the Mexico-US story reinforces the instrumental role that history, geography, and demographics can play in helping set the stage for the bottom-up development of cross-border regions.

In the Mexico-US case, a rich, shared Spanish history, important north-south geography, and growing Hispanization in the southern US states have helped shape Mexican-US cross-border regional relationships. NAFTA has spurred two-way economic activity between Canada and the US. Similarly, growing Mexico-US economic interdependencies have benefited from NAFTA and border industrialization programs. These in turn have contributed to Mexico-US cross-border regionalism and a growing number of local initiatives aimed at dealing with the complex border relationships. In both the Mexico-US and Canada-US cases, ongoing, informal, pragmatic and often low-cost engagements involving private sector representatives and/or officials from various levels of government often must precede the development of more structured, formal cross-border regional organizational relationships.

The European experience is intriguing for several additional reasons. Unlike North America, where only three geographically large and relatively new countries share the continent, Europe is made up of numerous, much smaller nations sharing long and sometimes supra-national regional histories. The active interest in Europe regarding cross-border regional relationships is focused on smaller-scale strips of borderlands that perhaps pertain more, in the North American sense, to regional cross-border co-operation involving local governments (municipalities, and sometimes larger but still geographically small regional authorities). Over the past two decades, there has been an extraordinary proliferation of these cross-border Euroregions. In

fact, there are virtually no local or regional authorities in European border areas that are not involved in regional cross-border co-operation initiatives. The Euroregions are funded through a supra-national European Commission governance structure, and provide examples of new policy-development frameworks that involve different levels of government and diversified stakeholders including business people on both sides of the border, in a regional context.<sup>28</sup>

In all three cases—Mexico-US cross-border regions, Euroregions, and Canada-US cross-border regions—the recognized advantages of cross-border regional relationships include the creation and development of regional cross-border supply chains and activity clusters, and the economic prosperity of the borderland regions. A related finding was that the forging of stronger links between border regions and markets further afield was crucial to helping cross-border regions diversify into higher-value products and services.

However, comparing Mexico-US and Canada-US cross-border regions to the Euroregions provides a genuine contrast between the bottom-up development of cross-border regional relationships and top-down, program-driven initiatives.<sup>29</sup> In Europe, borderland areas are priorities for regional economic development, and the rapid growth of the Euroregions in the 1990s demonstrates how institutional innovation involving supra-national EU support schemes, together with active, local cross-border co-operation, can provide a practical and viable approach for borderland regional development. Euroregions are, in the majority of cases, linked to and promoted by the implementation of what are known as INTERREG programs (EU Community Initiatives on International Regions), particularly its Strand A that apply to cross-border co-operation in border areas.

On the other hand, in the case of Mexico-US and Canada-US cross-border regions, cross-border co-operation involving business, civil society, and levels of government becomes a vehicle for each side

of a region to work together on activities that generate economies of scope, and increased efficiency. Even so, these organizations are not funded to implement regional policy in the co-ordinated manner of the Euroregions in their joint development of borderland regions.

### ***Insights from Europe on Top-down Funding***

The European experience shows that top-down funding can be instrumental in stimulating and stabilizing cross-border contacts, and the number and nature of cross-border projects. While it remains uncertain whether the Euroregions and their formed relationships will be perpetually dependent on the INTERREG funds, many, especially long-standing Euroregions such as in the Germany-Benelux borderlands, successfully avoid total reliance upon INTERREG programs. This is less the case in newer areas of program use such as in Eastern Europe where “relationship bridges” are being built—unlike in North America, where ties already exist.

Still, the distinction must be made that the scope for non-central governments in Europe to co-operate in these cross-border initiatives has widened considerably, due in large part to the formal macro-regional integration in Europe. Supra-national integration as in the European Union has not occurred in North America. Consequently, similar to Euroregions, funding initiatives for North American cross-border regions would involve bold changes from a Canada-US or Mexico-US standpoint, since funding sources exist only under the aegis of central, state, and local authorities.

### ***Insights from Europe on the Governance of Cross-Border Regions***

Another important question concerns whether national, regional and local governments in North America can ever reach agreements to co-ordinate to the same degree as the Euroregions. That is, is it

possible that influential, institutional forms of organizations can take shape in North America as in Europe without a supra-national body similar to the European Commission?

Euroregions do involve governance institutions, as set out by the INTERREG programs. The governance is intended to facilitate the participation of local stakeholders and regional players (including different levels of government, chambers, associations, unions, employers, cultural organizations, and tourism associations) in the joint development of projects and the division of tasks.

However, there are different ways of working together. Depending on the nature of the issue and/or problem, activities between Euroregion partners can take place outside of the INTERREG program. As cross-border regions develop, cross-border co-operation may become more spontaneous, diverse, and fluid, regarding who participates and whether the INTERREG program is involved. Consequently, regarding whether formal structures are required for Canada-US cross-border relationships to be effective and to thrive and grow, the European experience suggests that a necessary condition remains the actual willingness and desire by cross-border participants to work together.

In Europe, where history has made cross-border co-operation difficult, the INTERREG program does provide a welcome stimulus to help stakeholders overcome difficulties and hesitations to cross-border co-operation. However, it should be noted that along the Canada-US border, friendships and communities have developed less hindered, and the impediments to collaborative action are often issue-specific. For instance, there are impediments relating to infrastructure and differing regulations. Nevertheless, the finding of accommodation amid sometimes competing interested among stakeholders is still not always easy when different countries are involved, no matter how good the terms between them.



***Insights from Europe on the Benefits of Networking Among Cross-Border Regions***

There is an important European insight that underscores the benefits of networking. Euroregions profit from a transnational network of border region interests through the Association of European Border Regions (AEBR), where know-how and information can be exchanged, common interests and problems addressed, and European political bodies informed about cross-border issues.

This helps the Euroregions to stay in tune with the latest developments on a wider stage, and to compare practices and experiences. The exchange of information and experience can concern exploring new ideas, strategies and activities—thereby speeding up the process of innovation and creative thinking, and the spread of best practices among the cross-border regions. The network and inter-cross-border region dialogues are also helpful in terms of identifying trends, interpreting patterns, consultation, and gaining inspiration from leaders.

Similar networks along the Canada-US border, whether formal as in the case of the AEBR, or improvised and impromptu for a particular issue, might be beneficial for individual Canada-US cross-border regions.

## 3. PUBLIC POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

### New Regional Reality of Cross-Border Relationships

The rapidly rising importance of cross-border regional relationships and networks heralds an important new dynamic taking place within the context of Canada-US relations—one that includes the greater active engagement of sub-national players in Canada-US relations at the regional level. The management of Canada-US relations is therefore becoming more inclusive and sophisticated—entailing not only the Canadian and US federal governments, but also provinces and states, private businesses and civil organizations, in a plethora of informal and formal cross-border relationships and networks.

This entails the Government of Canada to reflect further on its own role and actions, and to consider how it might better address these cross-border regional relationships and networks in its policy considerations; and ultimately, how to make its policy considerations more responsive to the new cross-border regional reality.

### How can the Government of Canada Play a More Useful Future Role?

The Government of Canada is, of course, already quite active in Canada-US activities—if not in distinctively regional ways, then unquestionably from a general national perspective (see textbox on p. 20). Indeed, the Government of Canada already fulfills a vital role by ensuring that overall Canada-US relations are strong, and by adopting a role in resolving bi-national disputes. Key current challenges include maintaining an open border, improving transportation infrastructure, and continuing with such imperatives as reducing and eliminating needless regulatory differences. As a result, individual federal departments, agencies, and

officials are involved, on a daily basis, with their US counterparts and stakeholder groups on both sides of the border.

The Washington Advocacy Secretariat at the embassy in Washington has a Parliamentary and Provincial/Territorial Affairs section that helps advance regional issues in Washington (it includes a Minister-Counsellor for the Province of Alberta). The Government of Canada also increasingly involves provincial governments in trade discussions and in asking provinces to use their antennae south of the borders to improve our understanding of the complex American society.

This is in line with our findings that, at the regional level, provinces, states, and others are becoming increasingly active and are now taking a leadership role in the development and growth of cross-border regional links between Canada and the United States.

However, the views, illustrations, and experiences expressed by active participants in cross-border regional relationships—through the *Leader Survey* and follow-up Executive Interviews, the Regional Roundtables, and the Washington Workshop—further accentuated the need by the Government of Canada to pay closer attention to cross-border regional relationships. To be sure, they offered interesting suggestions as to how the Government of Canada might modernize its role, and regarding potential activities that would make the Government of Canada a more germane, integral, and effective participant and beneficiary of these new co-operative mechanisms. Indeed, when asked in the *Leader Survey*, which levels of government should take the lead in promoting new cross-border linkage initiatives, 71 percent of Canadian leaders identified the federal government and 64 percent chose the provincial government.<sup>30</sup>

## Ways in Which the Government of Canada is Already Involved in Cross-Border Activities

The Government of Canada is a participant in and supporter of cross-border activities, especially those of a national nature. It employs a variety of mechanisms to foster cross-border initiatives, including financial contributions, scientific/technical support, in-kind contributions and the formulation of umbrella MOUs to facilitate cross-border interactions.

For a comprehensive overview of these activities, please see:

Canada School of Public Service. 2004. *Building Cross-Border Links: A Compendium of Canada-US Government Collaboration* (Action-Research Roundtable on Managing Canada-US Relations).

Canada School of Public Service. 2004. *Advancing Canadian Interests in the United States: A Practical Guide for Canadian Public Officials* (Action-Research Roundtable on Managing Canada-US Relations).



### Recognize and Support

At the top of the list is for the Government of Canada to simply recognize that there is a new dynamic at play. It can also formally recognize and officially encourage the work and contributions of regional and local stakeholders who are already involved in cross-border regional relationships and networks, by accepting invitations to actively participate in, and be supportive of regional cross-border networks. This includes providing strategic support to help promote, stabilize, and enhance working relationships among all partners.

Indeed, *Leader Survey* respondents strongly underscored the importance of both “political” support and financial resources as the two most important actions that government could take in promoting cross-border co-operation (Figure 8).<sup>31</sup>

- “Political” support pertains to the recognition on the part of the Government of Canada of the

already active and important role being played by others in regional cross-border relationships and networks. Since the rise of cross-border relationships and networks has been a bottom-up phenomenon along the Canada-US border, the provision of political support by the Government of Canada can sometimes be the most appreciated supportive action it can initially offer.

However, such support also underscores the need for the Government of Canada to ensure that at the cross-border regional level, its future policy frameworks and considerations include the effective involvement of diversified stakeholders, additional levels of government, and networks that draw together provincial, state, and municipal governments, the private sector and civil leadership for useful consultation.



Using a cross-border regional lens is necessary to better understand the contributions already being made by regional players and local stakeholders in the practical problem-solving of common challenges and issues in the border regions of Canada and the United States.

- The *Leader Survey* respondents identified financial resources as the greatest barrier to cross-border regional co-operation and the (operational) capacity-building of cross-border organizations and networks. At times, it is necessary to provide resources for increased capacity-building on a project-by-project basis.

Participants of the Regional Roundtables also voiced the importance of having such targeted financial support. They saw enhanced capacity as vital to greater, more fruitful and sustained interactions among all stakeholders. They also emphasized the importance of financial support that is focused on promoting cross-border co-operation and co-ordination: e.g., through professional seminars/presentations and other meetings that allow participants to learn from one another, undertake joint work and research initiatives and develop partnerships.

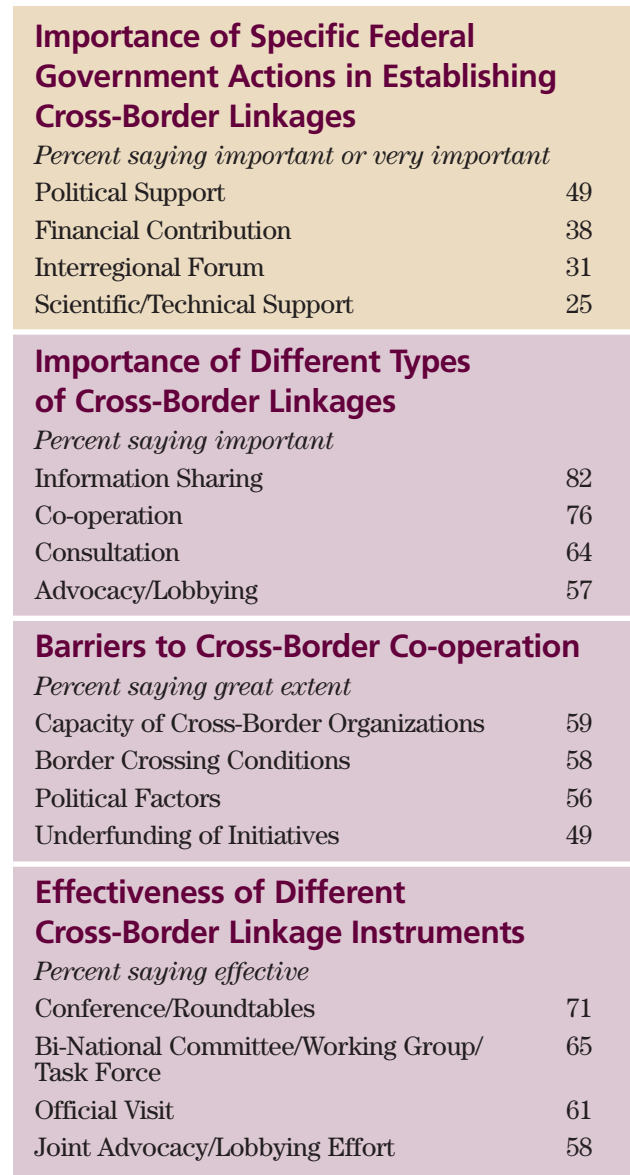
In research that examined the Euroregions in Europe, the beneficial impact of financial inducements was demonstrated in helping border area stakeholders overcome their hesitation in working with others across the border and developing cross-border partnerships for mutual gain.<sup>32</sup>

### Communication

The *Leader Survey* respondents and Regional Roundtable participants also identified that the Government of Canada could provide a valuable service by helping to foster regular and ongoing communication among network participants.

In particular, they highlighted the usefulness of intra-regional events including scientific/technical support/workshops, as well as inter-regional forums. These can help stakeholders learn from one another regarding best practices, for instance in developing cross-border contacts and partnerships.

**Figure 8. Top Four Responses by Select Leader Survey Question**



For further information, see *The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions: Highlights from the Leadership Survey and Executive Interviews*, 2006.

### **Facilitate Working Together**

Clearly, today's cross-border challenges can be better met if those affected or impacted can work together for more efficient and mutually beneficial solutions—and the more co-ordinated and cohesive the effort, the more likely that these will be effective and successful.

However, this will require new ways of thinking about policies and policy development (both internally, and with regional players). This will also require recognizing common issues and realizing individual strengths when co-operating, co-ordinating activities and collaborating with others.

### **Potential New Actions**

What types of *specific* new actions and initiatives by the Government of Canada will be most helpful? From the above, a number of suggestions can be gleaned that focus on: (1) types of financial assistance, (2) ways in which the Government of Canada can contribute to the communication of needed information through information-sharing, spreading knowledge about best practices and helping with new research and technical capacity, and (3) promoting policy coherent policy (internally and with other parties).<sup>33</sup>

### **Financial Assistance—To Strengthen Network Capacity**

Direct grants and subsidies to help offset network operations could be of significant benefit.

Not only did the *Leader Survey* respondents point out that a lack of capacity within cross-border networks and organizations is hindering the faster growth of cross-border regional relationships, but Regional Roundtable participants also emphasized that individual regional cross-border networks and organizations have few or no permanent staff—limiting considerably what they can undertake.

The Regional Roundtable participants further suggested that if this were to change, it would probably result in a quantum leap in what could be accomplished: the networks and organizations could substantially diversify their activities, and tackle cross-border issues more quickly and in greater depth.

### **Financial Assistance—Targeted to Specific Activities/Projects**

Targeted funding was also mentioned by participants of Regional Roundtables as an action that cross-border practitioners would welcome from the Government of Canada. In particular:

- Topical or geographic grants to stimulate activities, or special projects that could make a difference to the success of individual collaborations.
- Travel funding to improve the ability of private staff and management of cross-border networks and organizations to travel out of the country to work with cross-border relationships, attend meetings, and hold events that would bring both sides together more often.

### **Fostering Communication—Through Information Sharing**

It was very clear to the participants of the Regional Roundtables that all would benefit from better, more co-ordinated, monitoring of what is going on at the regional level, both within an individual cross-border region, and in other regions—providing more consistent and improved information.

Especially with the rising importance of a multiplicity of active sub-national players in Canada-US relations at the regional level, and the increasing cross-border interdependence of issues and jurisdictions, the Government of Canada could provide great benefits *to others outside the Government of Canada* by acting as a “go-to” source of information. Particular interest was expressed among the Regional Roundtable participants engaged in cross-border regional relationships in learning what works, and in understanding the operational aspects of network-building, overlapping committees that work in partnership, and how to build trust in cross-border relationships. Also there was acute interest in learning about such issues as shared initiatives to improve infrastructure, transportation and commerce, and the co-ordination of federal and sub-national efforts.

The Government of Canada was viewed as best placed to play a special role in monitoring cross-border regional relationships and networks. For instance,

who is doing what and in what relationships; and collecting and providing basic contact information on individuals and stakeholders, to be used as a reference source by interested parties.

In particular, respondents of the *Leader Survey* and participants of the Regional Roundtables expressed a strong interest in learning about best practices within their own and other cross-border regions.

Such knowledge about best practices is especially important because the creation of cross-border regional relationships is a bottom-up phenomenon for which there are no available blueprints for guidance. Knowledge about these best practices can be an inspiration for other cross-border regional stakeholders, and can provide models for success upon which to build new networks and relationships.

### ***Fostering Communication—Through Inter-regional Forums***

It was suggested that the Government of Canada could underwrite an annual conference/roundtable on Canada-US emerging issues, in concert with provinces and think tanks and networks/organizations, and all players actively engaged in cross-border regional relationships.

While sharing information, best practices and experiences from elsewhere was of interest to many active participants in cross-border regional relationships, this is often not possible without an organized gathering or forum.

- The *Leader Survey* revealed that conferences/roundtables were most effective in promoting cross-border co-operation. A strong majority also believed that bi-national committees/working groups/task forces (65%), and official visits (61%) are effective. The basic commonality among these is that they permit face-to-face interaction in support of cross-border initiatives.
- The Government of Canada was seen as a key player ideally suited to facilitate these types of information-sharing sessions, and in particular for disseminating information among cross-border regions.

### ***Fostering Communication—Through Sharing Research***

*Leader Survey* respondents also saw a vital role for the Government of Canada in providing research and technical capacity to support cross-border regional initiatives. This could be through collaboration or as individual government initiatives.

- Participants of the Regional Roundtables recognized the Government of Canada as best placed to carry out and share research that could be of benefit to the various Canadian stakeholders who are active in diverse regions along the border and in different types of cross-border regional relationships.

### ***Policy Coherency—Internal Consistency of Federal Efforts***

As mentioned earlier, at any one time, various federal departments, agencies and officials are involved with their US counterparts and a range of stakeholder groups on both sides of the border. It is essential, though, that the Government of Canada brings a federally coherent voice to the table on issues of a bilateral regional nature. This can be a major challenge. There are many federal players within Canada's regions who would either be involved in international issues (DFAIT, Canada-US relations) or regional issues (regional development agencies, Federal Regional Councils).

Coherency of Government of Canada policies reduces duplication, and makes more effective use of resources. It also helps to ensure the Government of Canada speaks with a single voice when working with other players. Even within the Government of Canada, it's easy for policy officers working on a variety of issues that have an impact on cross-border regions, not to be fully-connected or aware of what other departments/agencies/organizations are doing on these same regional issues.

## Figure 9. Integrating Cross-Border Regional Relationships into Government of Canada Policy Frameworks

Based on participant responses from the Leader Survey, Executive Interviews, Regional Roundtables, and Washington Workshop

### Government of Canada could be more responsive to the new cross-border regional reality

This means recognizing cross-border networks as a key feature of North American integration, creating a new dynamic.

### Suggestions for Government of Canada—Roles and Actions

#### Recognize and Support

Strengthen Network Capacity  
Targeted Financial Assistance  
(Specific Activities/Projects)

#### Facilitate Communication

*(through events and engagements)*

Information-sharing  
Sharing of best practices  
Research-sharing

This lays the foundation and encourages more fruitful future relations with other participants engaged in cross-border regional relationships.

### Advantages—More Effective Cross-Border Regional Development and Issue Management

#### Regional Issues

Quicker, pragmatic, more effective problem solving.  
Resolve regional bi-national disputes locally, respecting regional needs and priorities.

#### Regional Development

More effective integration of infrastructure and transportation systems. Co-ordinated programming and greater economies from integrated activities, cross-border supply chains and clusters.

The new dynamic involves greater local participation (provinces, states, others) in the management of Canada-US issues, and the increasing interdependence of issues, jurisdictions and interests.

### Facilitate Working Together

#### Internal

Consistency among Federal initiatives

#### External

Briefing and consulting on new initiatives  
Coherency of efforts with others

This facilitates collaboration with regional sub-national partners on common challenges. Government of Canada could take advantage of the transformational diplomatic role played by cross-border stakeholders.

### Strong and Prosperous Canada

A strong Canada depends upon prosperous regions. Prosperous regions depend upon successful cross-border regional relationships.

Less a patchwork of unco-ordinated policies that reflect yesterday's challenges.

Working together (with regional partners) to constructively address common interests and prepare for tomorrow's opportunities.

One Regional Roundtable suggestion was for the Government of Canada to assign a single dedicated Canada-US Issues Officer, Co-ordinator or Secretariat (Desk for short) within each region of Canada so that the Government of Canada can keep track and monitor and share information on cross-border regional issues and developments in a consistent, co-ordinated fashion—to which all departmental and agency offices in the region could refer and summon information.

- In essence, the Canada-US Issues Desk would provide a single go-to point for federal officials with a regional cross-border strategic focus. Such would benefit issue specialists, as well as officials who work only occasionally on issues on which cross-border regional relationships come to bear—which is increasingly the case for a growing list of issues. For most Government of Canada departments at some time or another, bilateral issues are often critically important. The advantages of a Desk would include a common base of knowledge about cross-border networks, and could include the preparation of an evergreen list of local, provincial, state and US government contacts, as well as private stakeholders and civil leaders who are involved in cross-border networks and who could be approached for further information.<sup>34</sup> The Desk could also provide advisory services and potential points of contact. This should translate into the provision of more useful, consistent and higher quality information and briefing materials to senior federal officials across the country. A system of regional Canada-US Issues Desks across Canada could also permit the rapid and timely transfer of important information, for instance concerning best practices.
- As well, federal representatives could be quickly put in contact with others in different regions working on similar cross-border issues. This could only prove helpful in co-ordinating senior-level and mid-level federal efforts even across different bi-national disputes, and enhance the contributions and effectiveness of federal efforts and cross-border networks in finding quick and welcome solutions to cross-jurisdictional problems. The system of regional Canada-US Issues Desks would also complement

existing efforts in support of the Canadian NAFTA office, and ministry branches of the Government of Canada focused on Canada-US issues.

Given the wide-ranging variety and scope of cross-border regional issues, the question arises as to its placement. However, the Desk could be located in a regional office of a department or regional agency designated as the base or Government of Canada's champion for regional cross-border concerns in that region.

PRI consultations indicate that several federal departments, including Industry Canada and Human Resources and Social Development Canada, have regional offices across Canada that routinely monitor and collect considerable regional intelligence. Although none have mandates and expertise in all areas in which cross-border issues arise, these same regional offices could possibly provide the administrative home for dedicated desks.

International Trade Canada (ITC), which has international responsibilities, also has at least one regional office (Regional Offices of the Trade Commissioner Service) in every province (Alberta has two offices, in Calgary and Edmonton, as does Saskatchewan, in Saskatoon and Regina, and Quebec, in Montréal, and Québec City) and personnel cognizant of border issues especially in the commercial realm. The ITC Regional Offices assist local and provincial business succeed in US and world markets, and are already engaged in regional networking activities involving partnerships with other departments, and with provincial and local governments, and business groups through their Regional Trade Networks (also sometimes named provincial Trade Teams).

The regional agencies—Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions, and Western Economic Diversification Canada—at least for the West, Great Plains, Quebec, and Atlantic cross-border regions could provide important liaisons for a system of regional Canada-US Issues Desks insofar as the agencies are knowledgeable about regional interests and issues, and already coordinate and convene initiatives and activities, and participate in regional partnerships, on behalf of the



Government of Canada. For instance, Western Economic Diversification Canada has provincial offices that could contribute to cross-border issues monitoring for the two major cross-border regions in its area (the West and Great Plains cross-border regions), or for an overall cross-border issues monitoring service for the west as a whole. Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency similarly has local offices across the Atlantic region that could provide crucial regional intelligence to individual provincial desks or provide a network-feed for a single, dedicated cross-border issues desk within the Atlantic region as a whole.

The consultations also revealed that there is considerable knowledge of Canada-US regional concerns, and relevant, related monitoring of cross-border issues taking place in the offices of especially those Canadian

Consulate missions in the United States which serve US regions closest to the border. This includes for instance, the offices of the Canadian Consulate Generals found in Boston, New York, Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis and Seattle. Their US Consulate counterparts located across Canada (Halifax, Québec City, Montréal, Ottawa, Toronto, Calgary and Vancouver) have similar proficiencies. Wherever Canada-US Cross-Border Issues Desks might eventually be placed, they would benefit from access/links to the knowledge and expertise found within these Canadian and US Consulates, and from periodic events such as the Interregional Forums discussed above at which knowledgeable individuals from these missions and various federal departments and agencies from across the country could attend and share insights.

### Viewpoint

#### *A Great Step Forward*

The final report represents a great step forward in understanding the importance of Canada-US, cross-border regional economies, and especially the value of organizations like PNWER that facilitate key stakeholder relationships, both state and provincial, and public and private.

The recommendations and conclusions are especially relevant to our cross-border region in the Pacific Northwest. There is a tremendous advantage to having an ongoing structure to facilitate regular interaction on a host of issues ensuring that cross-border regions are globally competitive. It is incumbent on both the US and Canada to utilize cross-border regions as “test-beds” and laboratories to develop stakeholder-led solutions for the increasing “thickening” of the border—allowing tested innovative solutions to inform the Canada-US relationship.

With ever-increasing economic integration, policy development must involve state and province public and private stakeholders if we are to maintain and build competitiveness in our regional economies. Border issues will continue to be a major

challenge in the largest trading relationship on the planet. Thank you for developing a terrific product, and a very comprehensive process that led to your conclusions.

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#### **Matthew Morrison**

*Executive Director*

*Pacific Northwest Economic Region, Seattle, WA*

*Matt Morrison has been the Executive Director of PNWER since 1998. PNWER was established in 1991 by statute in the states of Alaska, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Oregon, and the western Canadian provinces of British Columbia and Alberta, and Yukon. His duties include co-ordinating all projects. He also co-ordinates the working groups of PNWER in Homeland Security, Environment, Sustainable Development, Energy, Transportation, Agriculture, Forestry, Tourism, Health Care, Workforce, Trade, High Technology, Infrastructure Finance, and Border Issues.*

### ***Policy Coherency—Of Efforts with Sub-National Cross-Border Regional Partners***

As Canada-US relations evolve into something much more sophisticated—involving not only the Canadian and US federal governments, but also provinces and states, private businesses, and civil organizations—co-operation and co-ordination among all stakeholders becomes absolutely essential. Government of Canada participation means that policy coherence can be better organized to yield greater benefits to all parties involved—facilitating cross-government approaches.

There are two aspects to this.

First, because of the transformational diplomatic role played by cross-border stakeholders,<sup>35</sup> participants in the Regional Roundtables drew attention to the benefits of being better informed by the Government of Canada through briefings or even in a consultative way with respect to new and important Government of Canada policies in their individual region (e.g. regarding issues relating to regulations, trade, transportation, as well as those promoting regional development, productivity, and innovativeness). For instance:

- The Canada-US Regulatory Co-operation Framework, which sets out sectoral co-operation initiatives, may have regional variations that impact neighbouring partners in the borderlands. Similar interest was expressed at the Regional Roundtables that strategic partners in cross-border relationships be kept up-to-date on key initiatives such as the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP), and the Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridors Initiatives. They could have useful insights regarding the policy development, program design, and the delivery of service.
- The Government of Canada is investing more than \$2.1 billion in a national trade gateway fund,<sup>36</sup> including \$1 billion in the Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridors Initiatives to position western Canada as its gateway of choice between North America and Asia.<sup>37</sup> But the success of the initiatives will also

depend upon trade links to US markets and therefore upon efficient and successful partnerships in Canada-US cross-border regions involving investments in infrastructure and integrated multi-modal transportation systems. Bi-national trade is much more diverse between the neighbouring and nearby provinces and states within cross-border regions, and cross-border regions often act as the gateway through which Canadian business introduces new and higher value products and services into the US marketplace.

- The Government of Canada has also signed recent memoranda of understanding with Ontario and Quebec concerning the development of a strategy for integrated and globally competitive transportation systems, and with the four Atlantic Provinces concerning an Atlantic Gateway to facilitate the movement of international commerce on North America's east coast.<sup>38</sup>

The second aspect concerns the point brought out by many Regional Roundtable participants, that more can be better accomplished through working together. The *Leader Survey* respondents also highlighted the need for more co-operation between the two federal governments, and the need for more federal/provincial co-operation/involvement in implementing cross-border agreements.

A patchwork of unco-ordinated policies may better reflect the nature of yesterday's challenges when issues were more easily defined jurisdictionally. Today's challenges reflect a more global, open and integrated world that requires that interested parties work together in partnership to capture synergies. At the same time, many problems require regional solutions or have a regional overlay of local interests and interactions that must be taken into consideration to best address them. This is especially true regarding cross-border regional development issues, and the need for more effective regional management of those issues arising from increased North American integration.



This obliges the Government of Canada and others to not only identify common challenges, but to also take stock of each others' activities and their strengths, so that synergies of effort can be found, and planning undertaken that optimizes the contributions of participating partners through greater orchestrated effort.<sup>39</sup> The Government of Canada could then consider adapting its programming at the regional level to take into consideration the capabilities, strengths and potential contributions of other cross-border regional partners to resolve regional bi-national issues in a way that is responsive to regional priorities and needs.

Nowhere is this more important than in the viability and development of cross-border supply chains and activity clusters.<sup>40</sup> It was highlighted in the Regional Roundtables' discussions and in economic research findings associated with The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions project that there are concentrations of economic activity along the border. With the rise of new competitors in Asia, Canadian and US regional producers are facing intense competition at home and abroad in a growing number of sectors, underlining the importance for governments and partners to work co-operatively in cross-border regions to maintain their relative competitiveness.

### Viewpoint

#### ***More Work Remains***

Research conducted by the PRI over the past several years unequivocally demonstrates that, although debates regarding appropriate responses to globalization, security concerns, and integration continue to take place within the corridors of power in Ottawa and Washington, D.C., it is as commonplace—perhaps even more so—for these conversations to take place in community conference rooms, home offices of elected officials, and coffee shops in cross-border regions all along the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel. Given that the institutional framework of NAFTA is weak (and intentionally set up so), PRI's effort is critically important for better understanding the social, economic, and political dynamics of cross-border regions and their relevance to shaping the contours of North American integration.

The PRI has led the way in new thinking about economic integration in North America and setting forth important implications for policy-makers. Yet more work remains to be done. Further data gathering on, and analysis of, linkages at the sub-provincial/state level are necessary to tell a richer story of North American integration and assist

policy makers in strategic management of the Canada-US relationship. Let there be no doubt—building upon PRI's efforts to drill down and better understand the densification of cross-border linkages at the local and regional levels will allow policy makers to leverage these synergies and secure economic prosperity. Nothing could be more critical in a globalized world where Canada and the United States are inextricably intertwined.

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#### ***Dr. Kathryn Bryk Friedman***

*Executive Head*

*The University at Buffalo Regional Institute*

*Kathryn Friedman has served as Deputy Director of the University at Buffalo Regional Institute since January 2006, where she has developed and managed the Regional Institute's cross-border initiatives. She currently leads efforts to gather and analyze data on the bi-national Southern Ontario-Buffalo Niagara region and policy implications for local, regional, state/provincial and federal policy-makers.*

## Benefits for the Government of Canada

This section briefly reiterates that for the Government of Canada, the potential results are positive—that there are distinct advantages and benefits for it to integrate cross-border regional relationships into its policy considerations.

A prosperous Canada depends upon prosperous Canadian regions, which, in turn, depend upon successful cross-border regional relationships. Moreover, it is easier and more practical for the Government of Canada to address regional bi-national issues of shared interest with the participation and co-operation of cross-border regional stakeholders, relationships and networks.

Cross-border networks and organizations can become a means for the government to work in partnership with regional stakeholders on activities that generate economies of scope to save money, increase efficiency and give cross-border regions the edge they need to prosper and succeed in the larger global world. In this way, cross-border networks and organizations provide the Government of Canada with greater policy capacity to act.

Focusing solely for the moment on information-sharing, it is apparent that the advantages to the Government of Canada “run both ways:”

- On one hand, cross-border regional relationships and networks provide mechanisms for the Government of Canada to inform others about its assessment of and progress on issues and policies, and to share information with stakeholders in individual regions about insights, success factors and best practices gleaned from across the country.
- On the other hand, the government can learn valuable information about specific Canada-US issues in a regional context, and about what is most important to regional stakeholders. It also provides an opportunity for the government to see first-hand what other players are doing on the same issues. This could prevent needless duplication of effort and at the same time, open doors to collaboration. In turn, this can help public and private stakeholders to plan and work together—which, as indicated

above, will likely become increasingly central to the ability of cross-border regions to prosper in the future.

- Cross-border regional organizations and networks (informal or formal) can provide early warning alerts on emerging border issues, trends, irritants, as well as leadership on dispute resolution. This can help identify emerging issues, long before the matters would otherwise reach the attention of Ottawa and Washington. Proactive regional responses to border issues can be a highly effective alternative, addressing concerns before they become bigger issues.
- Dialogue on Canada-US regional issues with both public and private stakeholders can also take place before the issues reach Ottawa and Washington. Insofar as cross-border regional stakeholders are also able to impact US federal policy research and other initiatives, being aware of cross-border regional concerns also provides the Government of Canada with a “heads-up” in terms of understanding future US government activities.

## Going Forward

In this section, we touch on three final matters, all based on insights emanating from the Survey responses, Regional Roundtables and Washington Workshop discussions. First, is the matter of the future—what will it bring? Second, salient reflections were raised by cross-border stakeholders concerning initial steps the Government of Canada might take in addressing these new roles and activities. Third, some thoughts were raised concerning important areas for further attention and research.

### *On the Matter of the Future*

The broad evidence and general understanding among Survey respondents and Regional Roundtable and Washington Workshop participants is that Canada-US cross-border regional relationships and networks will only further proliferate and increase in importance. Consequently, the participation of provinces, municipalities, states, and other interested regional and local players in valuable informal and formal co-operative initiatives and networks along the border will continue

to escalate. These initiatives include simple ad hoc meetings, discussions, working and technical relationships, and increasingly MOUs, and more formal associations and organizations.

Cross-border regional relationships and networks are not only here to stay, but the earlier that their increasing importance can be integrated into Government of Canada policy considerations, the better.

At the same time, interest by the Canadian and US central governments in undertaking greater action of a bi- and tri-national nature is also being manifest in follow-up discussions to the NAFTA. At the North American Leaders' Summit in Montebello, Quebec, in August 2007, the NAFTA partners expressed a willingness to work together and to identify policy strategies to respond to the ever-increasing pressures on North American competitiveness and their integrated economies.

In the case of Canada and the United States, much of their economic integration occurs in a not exclusive but a most important way in the border areas, where sub-national players also have a helpful role to play, and are doing so increasingly.<sup>41</sup>

Given that integration is greatest and affects most deeply the border areas, and given the special and unique ways that regions differ along the border, it is advantageous for central governments to work closely with their sub-national partners, which includes actively participating with local and regional stakeholders in promoting and making more effective, their cross-border regional networks.

### ***Cross-Border Stakeholder Reflections on "Initial Steps in a New Direction"***

The following is a selection of reflections and thoughts arising from Survey respondents, and participants of the Regional Roundtables and Washington Workshop concerning the way forward for the Government of Canada.

During the course of their answers and discussions, the respondents and participants suggested steps the Government of Canada might consider to proceed on the matter of integrating cross-border regional relationships and networks into its policy considerations.

## **Figure 10. A Forward Vision**

### **A Look Into the Future**

Cross-border regions and relationships are here to stay, and will only increase in importance.

North American central governments are striving to work more closely together, but greater success will lie in also including their sub-national partners.

### **Stakeholder Reflections on "Initial Steps in a New Direction"**

Evergreen monitoring of Cross-Border Regional Stakeholders.

Annual Borderlands Roundtable or Forum

Canada-US Leadership Academy

Canada-US Cross-Border Region Commission

### **Focal Points For Future Attention and Research**

Not an issue of another level of government, but joint governance.

Explore incentives that support cross-border integrated industries and clusters.

Removal of internal barriers within Canada.

Not a program, nor policy in and of itself, small initial steps for consideration were suggested by cross-border stakeholders as ways to enhance the work and contributions of their cross-border regional relationships and networks. These steps are in keeping with their earlier suggestions regarding possible Government of Canada roles and activities.

First, is the task of undertaking an **evergreen monitoring** to gather information on who is doing what, and in what relationships, that could be made available to current and prospective cross-border, network participants. In time, such a base of knowledge should prove useful for cross-border regional analysis—for instance, in identifying where collaborative practices work well or could be strengthened; what makes some

networks and organizations more effective; and under what circumstances should certain types of networks, organizations and institutions (e.g. working groups, task forces) or agreements (e.g. memoranda of understanding, treaties) be used?<sup>42</sup> The evergreen monitoring could be carried out as part of the mandate of the dedicated Canada-US Issues Desk (Officer, Co-ordinator or Secretariat) described above within each region of Canada.

Another suggestion is that an **Annual Borderlands Roundtable or Forum** be convened on Canada-US Emerging Issues, at which cross-border regional stake-

holders could discuss topical issues such as those relating to border infrastructure and management, transportation, regulations, the increasing interdependence of these and other subjects. The annual event would also provide a venue to listen to what really matters to stakeholders in the individual cross-border regions. It could rotate among the borderland regions, and with similar US government support, it could alternate between the two countries. This could also provide a venue at which officials from the diplomatic missions (Canadian Consulate General teams based in northern cities in the United States, and US Consulates in Canada) could attend and engage in the discussions.

## Viewpoint

### *Something New and Exciting—A View from the United States*

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States did not transform Canada-US relations, as some suggest, but they did transfigure them, revealing to many for the first time the inadequacy of the way in which both countries managed their shared border. And, like a flash of lightning, September 11 also showed us how many people in both countries were involved with, affected by, and prepared to play a role in bilateral relations.

The growing economic integration of Canada and the United States, boosted by the Canada-US FTA and NAFTA, has contributed to strong cross-border regional ties, and has generated a number of shared concerns over the adequacy and quality of infrastructure—from roads and rail links to pipelines and power lines. Adjacent sub-national jurisdictions and local stakeholders that had begun working together to ensure public safety and health—as they did in the 2002 SARS outbreak centered on Toronto, or the 2003 blackout in the Midwest and Northeast—saw the benefits of cooperation across national borders and began looking for other areas to improve working relationships.

What began as the extraordinary work of a few leaders in response to these crises has gradually

become the norm. Governors, premiers, legislators, and officials at the state/provincial and even local government levels are involved routinely in resolving disputes and otherwise facilitating integration in many sensitive areas of energy, water, agriculture, transport, and how to facilitate the movement of goods and people in a heightened security environment.

PRI research has documented this activity, and the regional networks of personal contact and goodwill that this has created. At any time, and in any particular region of Canada, we are seeing various ad hoc and ongoing forms of cross-border consultation, co-operation, and collaboration involving different levels of government, non-governmental organizations, enterprises, and organizations. These various forms of cross-border regional arrangements—some formal, leading to new organizations, and some informal—provide a useful vehicle for bi-national business and community groups and different levels of government to work together on issues of mutual interest. They bring bi-national regional interests and expertise to the table, and show how working together on a common issue will be helpful for those on both sides of the border.

An idea suggested by PNWER at a Regional Roundtable is to create a **Canada-US Leadership Academy** for state and provincial political leadership; PNWER announced that it would be prepared to take a leading role in this venture. This could be carried out in conjunction with the two federal governments.

An even bolder idea is that the Government of Canada consider a **Canada-US Cross-Border Region Commission** tasked with advancing the case for a comprehensive strategy to improve ways that knowledge is developed and shared and activities co-ordinated

with cross-border regional stakeholders. Such a Commission would consider all the regional interactions among the various elements, and levels of involvement of different actors (business and other civil stakeholders; and local, regional and central governments). This could involve a broad membership of the private, civil, and provincial, state and local government sectors with advisory committees to investigate issues specific to cross-border regions, as well as those broadly related to addressing cross-border issues and leadership.

This is something new and exciting: we are seeing the first emergence of a new pattern of governance in North America. Cross-border regional ties suggest new networks of cooperation that can knit together the continent, filling a growing governance gap that has resulted from overcrowded national agendas and the pull of a globalized world that leads our federal governments to look outward. They suggest the need for new ways of thinking about policies and policy development, necessitating more than ever the use of a cross-border regional lens to recognize, understand, and better respond to the rising co-operative links and the increasing participation of regional players and local stakeholders in the practical problem-solving of common issues in the border areas of Canada and the United States.

It is interesting to note that the founders of the United States and Canada each chose federalism—the separation of powers based on geography—to govern large, continental nations. Economic integration has led governments at all levels to find practical partners to address shared challenges by ignoring the limits of national borders. The federal governments in Canada and the United States should regard those state and provincial governments that are working together

with local stakeholders to address common concerns as good governance, consistent with the constitutional aspirations of our founders—and not fight to contain the proliferation of new policy-makers relevant to the management of our increasingly integrated economy and environment.

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### **Christopher Sands**

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### ***Focal Points for Future Research***

A major concern was whether the emergence of cross-border regions, and Government of Canada participation in cross-border regional relationships and networks would add a new layer of government, or incursion of the central government into a bottom-up dynamic. However, as bottom-up phenomena, cross-border regions and relationships are not about new levels of government, and this would not change with Government of Canada participation. The informal networks depend on the interest and willingness of all parties to be co-operative and open to collaboration. The more formal organizations and networks may involve organizational governance, but not government. Each organization and network would consider its specific goals and objectives, participation guidelines, standard operating procedures and roles.

The European experience provides lessons on the usefulness of cross-border organizations in contributing information, assisting in co-ordination and encouraging collaboration. However, the individual Euroregions still often rely on bottom-up interest, timely initiatives, and frequently, visionary leadership (public and private)—which is often the key to establishing any effective networks, either formal or informal.

Certainly, local and regional involvement is crucial to cross-border regional relationships, and would remain at its core, and never be discouraged. But by participating, the Government of Canada could contribute to the success of the networks in their issues work and problem-solving, to the mutual benefit of all. The government would be subject to the same organizational governance. PNWER provides an example of cross-border regional relationships leading to institution-building and a viable structure where the governance arrangement embraces a wide array of stakeholders.

Several participants in the *Leader Survey*, Executive Interviews, Regional Roundtables, and Washington Workshop shared their thoughts on two key areas requiring greater attention and research that do not deal directly with cross-border regional relationships, but are nevertheless important to them.

The first is associated with the bi- and tri-national issues of North American economic platforms. Cross-border regional stakeholders thought it interesting to explore the incentive that cross-border integrated industries and clusters provide for establishing multi-level economic networks and organizations that could together develop harmonized and reinforcing policy frameworks aimed at specific industries or sectors (e.g. steel, automotive and agricultural industries). This involves a better understanding of cross-border supply chains, and their importance to Canadian and regional economies. In particular, participants wanted more research done to explore how Canada, the United States and regional stakeholders might better co-operate in the joint development of high-value economic activities (and treat shared regional cross-border space as a platform for policy co-operation).<sup>43</sup>

The second focuses not on the Canada-US border, but on the provincial borders that hamper the integration of Canadian regions. Participants at the many Regional Roundtables were also conscious that as a precursor to reducing Canada-US border hindrances, more research is necessary on how to remove the remaining national barriers to the movement of people, goods and services within Canada. An illustrative point: at a recent meeting of PNWER, a group expressed interest in PNWER possibly joining the Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement (TILMA) which was signed between the governments of British Columbia and Alberta<sup>44</sup> and came into effect on April 1, 2007, and is scheduled to be fully implemented by April 1, 2009 (see Alberta, 2006; British Columbia, 2006). If this were to occur, it would spark further regional cross-border integration.<sup>45</sup> PNWER participants are already active in new and novel forms of cross-border regional co-operation, such as TerraNW, whose mission is to introduce the world to opportunity in the Canadian and US Pacific Northwest, with a focus on winter sport (including the 2010 Winter Olympic Games). Under the guidance of PNWER, TerraNW's partners include the Canadian provinces of British Columbia and Alberta and the US States of Washington, Oregon and Idaho.



## 4. CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Cross-border regions are where Canada-US relationships are the most intense and dynamic, where Canada-US bridges of friendship, co-operation, and business are often first developed, and where the benefits and challenges of North American integration are first and foremost felt.

For the most part, the emergence of cross-border regional relationships and networks has complemented formal Canada-US engagements, in providing a useful vehicle for bi-national business and community groups to work together on issues of mutual interest, often with the ultimate aim of practical problem-solving or creating local edges for success in the larger North American and global economies. Indeed, these cross-border regional relationships and networks have become key features of present-day Canada-US relations that will be increasingly important to Canada's future growth and prosperity.

Participants in a first-of-its-kind *Cross-Border Regions Leader Survey*, follow-up Executive Interviews, Regional Roundtables and a Washington Workshop, suggested that the Government of Canada has a greater role to play:

- By recognizing shared concerns and interests, the increasing interdependence of issues/jurisdictions, and the greater local participation (provinces, states, others) in Canada-US issues in Canada's borderland regions.
- By recognizing that better outcomes result from regional bi-national collaboration and co-ordinated solutions. This reflects the fact that cross-border challenges and issues can be best met through interested stakeholders working together according to regional priorities, and the more co-ordinated and cohesive the effort, the more likely there will be an effective and successful solution.
- By being willing to work within the new dynamic by participating in and supporting cross-border regional relationships and networks, and facilitating information-sharing, and co-operative and collaborative activities.

This could include targeted assistance to buoy up the capacity-building of especially privately initiated cross-border regional networks—which can be vital to sustained interactions among their stakeholders—and support for special projects that could make a difference to the success of a collaboration. All stakeholders would also benefit from better, more co-ordinated monitoring of what is going on at the cross-border regional level, and the Government of Canada is best-placed to provide consistent and ongoing communication of needed information at least to Canadian stakeholders within the various cross-border regions.

- By facilitating co-operative federal as well as coherent cross-government approaches. This may require new ways of thinking about policies and policy development, especially for those issues arising from increased North American integration, and those policies aimed at cross-border regional development.

A stronger, more prosperous Canada will ultimately rely upon vibrant cross-border regions. This, in turn, will depend upon how well governments, regional players, and local stakeholders on both sides of the border can address their common regional challenges that will ultimately determine their intertwined destinies.

Indeed, as the neighbouring and nearby provinces and states of Canada-US cross-border regions become more entwined it will be paramount that national and regional governments and stakeholders on both sides of the border consider ways to address joint problems more effectively *and together promote* the success of their shared cross-border regions.

For the Government of Canada, this might mean ensuring that its bi-national policy considerations reflect, to a greater extent at the cross-border regional level, the already-active involvement of diverse regional stakeholders and networks that draw together the various levels of governments, private sector, and civil leadership for useful information sharing, consultation, co-operation and collaboration.

## Viewpoint

### *Further Observations and Remarks on Cross-Border Regions*

The future of Canada-US relations lies increasingly in the hands of the little platoons of businesspeople, officials and citizens who live near and work across the border and share common social and economic interests. That is the essence of the emerging cross-border regions that the PRI has so effectively documented here. Whether it is our region, Atlantica, in the east, Cascadia in the west, or the other regions in between, the border's real significance is increasingly being managed by the people on the ground, not in distant national capitals.

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**Brian Lee Crowley**

*President, Atlantic Institute for Market Studies*

Experience gained throughout Europe shows that jointly developed programmes and projects can be most effectively implemented and realised if the regional and local partners play a considerable role. ... It is a matter of fact that cross-border cooperation helps to reach the critical mass in order to make sure that something can happen in a reasonable and economically justifiable way.

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**Jens Gabbe**

*Secretary General of Association  
of European Cross-border Regions  
Speech on "Importance of Cross-Border  
Cooperation" on the occasion of the INTERACT  
Seminar on Cross-border Cooperation,  
June 14, 2006, Riga.*

Given recent trends point not only to the emergence of new cross-border regions but also to the broadening and deepening of existing cross-border regions, this (PRI) report is not only timely but essential. The value that neighbours in a region can bring by working together deserves to be recognized, and it is important that we continue to support the networks of people and organizations that play such a vital role in energizing the West.

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***Honourable John van Dongen***

*Minister of State for Intergovernmental Relations  
Government of British Columbia  
and Canadian Vice-President of the Pacific  
NorthWest Economic Region (PNWER)*

Cross-border regions do not have governments but rely on voluntary co-operation... In various forms, the principle of governance—often contrasted with government—has widely been connected to the operation of networks among parties willing to co-operate in the absence of a hierarchical instance.

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***Markus Perkmann***

*Wolfson School, Loughborough University  
“Construction of New Territorial Scales: A  
Framework and Case Study of EUREGIO Cross-  
Border Region.” *Regional Studies*, April 2007.*

Borderlands have become places with meaning and identity; they have emerged and have been transformed from distinct places separated by a boundary to a more common place where people co-exist and cooperate across the border.

These borderlands at the junction of the United States and Canada are plural; they are international or cross-border regions along the boundary.

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***Victor Konrad and Heather Nicol***

*Beyond Walls: Reinventing the Canada-United  
States Borderlands. 2008.*

## NOTES

- 1 This also included research on cross-border regional relationships within particular natural resources sectors (forestry, mining, energy).
- 2 In particular, in our analysis, we define a cross-border region as a grouping of neighbouring and nearby provinces and states whose intra-regional links and commonalities set them apart on the basis of substantial economic links, socio-cultural similarities, and the presence of cross-border regional networks and organizations. In reality, the geographic geometry of a cross-border region remains somewhat fuzzy since different configurations of provinces and states could be construed as a cross-border region depending on the interest and dimensions considered.
- 3 See Wiggins, 1997 and 2006.
- 4 A number of the Regional Roundtables and Leader Survey participants, and interviewed executives, felt that trade corridors and transportation infrastructure is an important dimension of the Canada-US relationship that should be incorporated into the PRI definition of cross-border regions. Some argued that this dimension might be a condition of success of cross-border regions.
- 5 This includes measures of the absolute growth of trade and level of trade: a border bias occurs when states and provinces accredited as being export destinations or import origins are actually pass-through points—however, this reporting problem has more relevance for levels of trade than growth rates. Although the border bias is not likely to be sufficiently large to deny the relatively stronger trade links between Canada and northern US states, the significance of the problem has been an ongoing topic for research.
- 6 See *The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions: Interim Report* (2005), and also Chen and Curtis (2004), Yerger and Sawchuk (2004), and Smith and Vachon (2006) for a fuller discussion of the importance of nearness for trade links between nearby regions of Canada and the United States.
- 7 Ontario is generally more diverse in its US-bound exports, but more specialized in its exports to its cross-border states, which are relatively concentrated in such key industries as auto parts, chemicals and industrial equipment. On the other hand, Ontario has always exported in a relatively more extensive range of industries to a wider number of US states than many of its provincial counterparts—Ontario targets the whole US marketplace. The border bias may explain some of this.
- 8 The literature suggests that the “border effect” is a measure of the resistance to trade created by the presence of the border. The border effect has declined substantially under the FTA and NAFTA, but remains significant. It was suggested that the border effect among cross-border regions be measured in order to test the hypothesis that cross-border regions would have a smaller border effect. The existence of a border effect can generally be interpreted in two ways. First, a persistent border effect suggests that Canada can generate further trade and economic gains by reducing the remaining resistance to Canada-US bilateral trade. At the same time, the border effect can be viewed as a shield that provides Canada with some policy discretion. For example, Boychuk and Van Nijnatten (2004) shows how economic integration does not necessarily lead to cross-border policy convergence.
- 9 Equally important, the magnitude of provincial border effects with the US varies considerably by province and the direction of trade.

- 10 Inglehart, Nevitte and Basañez (1996) investigated the cultural, economic, and political ties among the United States and Canada. See also Ohmae (1991, 1995) which examine borders and the rise of regional economies; and *Caught in the Middle: Border Communities in an Era of Globalization* (2001) which outline border community aspects of the same phenomena.
- 11 See *The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions: Interim Report* (2005), and also Boucher (2005).
- 12 See Hornsby and Reid, ed., 2005.
- 13 See *The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions: Interim Report* (2005), and also Abgrall (2005).
- 14 From information-sharing between regulators over the Internet to ad hoc meetings between legislators, these informal channels constitute one of the unique strengths of cross-border regional relationships. However, because of their emphasis on personal relationships, while these channels allow much co-operation without elaborate rules they require reliable partnerships. This will involve the officer-level issue-specialists and functionalists, but also raises the need for senior executive points of contacts, at least initially and at opportune times.
- 15 It is noteworthy that the nature of cross-border co-operation appears to be changing. In the 1930s and the years immediately following World War II, for example, there was a growth in the number of cross-border regional co-operative initiatives. But they were usually limited in scope and dedicated to a specific question—generally local environmental and infrastructure problems. These types of initiatives still exist, but now there are also larger, more general forms of co-operation.
- 16 Canada School of Public Service (2004a) provides a compendium containing a descriptive overview of the main channels of collaboration between Canadian governments (at the federal and provincial levels) and their US counterparts.
- 17 It is important to note one other potential cross-border region: the North—comprised of Canada's northern territories plus Alaska. While Yukon and Alaska have been considered above in the context of the West, it is also true that there is a strong similitude in the economic experiences, opportunities and challenges facing the inhabitants of the continental north that contribute to a sense of northern identity. As well, the North is rich in the cultures of northern indigenous peoples, and has organizations that are specific to northern concerns and transcend northern boundaries.  
  
Unfortunately, much more work would need to be carried out to better understand the economic, socio-cultural and organizational dimensions of this important cross-border northern region. While some of the lessons learned from the study of these other cross-border regions will be relevant, it is unlikely they will be able to capture the total reality of the North.
- 18 Cascadia has been the focus of a considerable literature, including Alper (1996), Artibise (1995), Gal-Or (2001), and Sullivan (2004). See also Sandomir (2003), for a discussion of how neighbouring and nearby US states supported the Vancouver Olympic bid.
- 19 A cross-border Atlantica concept is common to two important regional organizations in Atlantic Canada. One of these is Atlantica: The International Northeast Economic Region. For a description, visit their website, <[www.atlantica.org](http://www.atlantica.org)>. Also, Crowley (2004). The other organization is the recently created Atlantica Council. It was spearheaded by the Atlantic Provinces Chambers of Commerce (a federation of 128 Chambers of Commerce in Atlantic Canada), with public support from the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, to promote the competitiveness and economic development of the region encompassing the Atlantic provinces, the north-eastern United States and eastern Quebec. For a description, visit their website, <[www.apcc.ca/english/home/index.cfm](http://www.apcc.ca/english/home/index.cfm)>.

20 However, when broken down by cross-border region, the leaders responses did reveal that certain unique and distinctly different characteristics exist among individual cross-border regions. In fact, the range of responses were often greater among cross-border regions than between Canada and the United States.

21 Participants of Regional Roundtables highlighted various projects, agreements and cross-border regional initiatives. Many of the interactions may be informal and take place outside of institutionalized arrangements. From information-sharing between regulators over the Internet to ad hoc meetings between legislators, these informal channels constitute one of the unique strengths of cross-border regional relationships. These channels allow much co-operation without elaborate rules and, through their emphasis on personal relationships, create incentives to establish reliable partnerships. In addition, they are flexible mechanisms that allow for the incorporation of new and evolving priorities. Roundtable participants also highlighted important success factors:

- To be successful, cross-border regional initiatives must demonstrate ongoing tangible benefits, abetted by early, clear successes.
- Ongoing tangible results are best ensured if cross-border regional initiatives are the recipients of non-partisan political support, and if they involve ongoing and frequent interactions that engage the private sector, civil society, and public sectors.
- Regular face-to-face meetings build trust and long-term relationships, and in turn guarantee the continuity of projects.
- A strong relationship between the private sector, civil society, and public representatives from different levels of government ensures that there is sufficient and timely support for those working on the front line for the initiative.

- Generally-speaking, participants held positive views on the prospects of cross-border regional relationships in their borderland region.

22 In the West, formal networks are more prevalent as a result of a legal framework provided by the Pacific NorthWest Economic Region (PNWER). Provincial and state governments are asked to identify designates to participate in working groups co-chaired by members of the private and public sectors in a wide range of cross-border projects. Recent examples include the bi-national energy planning initiative, the 2010 Olympic Winter Games, and various security projects.

In the Prairies-Great Plains, the networks are mostly informal, project-driven, but highly functional, quietly getting the job done. The “appropriate” level of engagement is based on the issue at hand, and individuals on either side of the border may initiate personal contact directly or through a cross-border organization to ensure project success. The networks often involve cost-effective and low-cost engagements that do not require an overarching institutional structure such as in PNWER. Individual provinces and states may work together to pool their influence on shared interests. Greg Dandewich, Economic Development Director of Destination Winnipeg, pointed out that solid informal networks are needed for successful cross-border relationships, and a lack of an overarching institutional structure does not imply a lack of effective, informal networks.

In the Great Lakes-Heartland, cross-border linkages often occur on a bilateral basis between political actors. Multilateral meetings with US governors also occur at the Council of Great Lakes Governors, the Midwestern Legislative Conference, and the Council of State Governments.



In the East's *Quebec-Northern New England* sub-region, the networks are described as multi-level/multi-agency. A good example is the Border Crossing Committee, which is composed of trucking association representatives, Canadian Border Services, United States Customs and Border Protection, exporters, brokers, economic development corporations, and la Fédération des chambres de commerce du Québec (FCCQ).

In the East's *Atlantic-New England* sub-region, cross-border collaborations are supported by both strong informal networks defined by interpersonal relationships and public and private organizations (e.g. The Conference of New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers (NEG/ECP), and *Atlantica: The International Northeast Economic Region* (AINER)).

- 23 A number of participants at the roundtables argued that cross-border regional organizations are effective in co-ordinating a number of regional issues that have ramifications across the border (e.g. emergency management, pandemic flu preparation, animal tracking technology, etc.).

Regional cross-border organizations associated with PNWER in the West provided an opportunity for detecting early frictions and finding a resolution to the dispute in the Milk River conflict between Alberta to Montana.

The Government of Manitoba and the State Government of Minnesota have joined together to advocate and mutually oppose North Dakota's controversial Devils Lake outlet.

- 24 Robert Noble, Deputy Consul General of Canada in New York and previously a Trade Commissioner, felt that in many industrial sectors there are often not enough cohesive and coherent market approaches within cross-border regions.

- 25 The existence of North American linkages that are stronger within cross-border regions has an important impact in the context of policies aimed at regional development. As Canadian regions become more integrated with, and dependent on, the performance of specific US regions and economic sectors, policies targeted at regional development in Canada will need to take this new reality into account. Both sides of a cross-border region benefit, for example, when common problems are successfully dealt with and additional business is attracted to the cross-border region. This is especially apt for those issues arising from increased North American integration and those policies aimed at regional development.

It is also noteworthy that cross-border regions can also be seen as important launching points and test grounds for Canadian firms interested in introducing and testing new products in the United States before subsequently tackling more distant markets within the United States and beyond. In other words, cross-border regional relationships can play a key role in quickening the introduction of Canadian products in US markets and can act as important gateways for the promotion of innovative activities and new products that could be important to Canada's future prosperity.

The Honourable (Senator) Jeremiah Grafstein, Co-Chair of the Canada-US Inter-Parliamentary Group, went a step further by suggesting that cross-border regions represent a new economic model that can best meet the challenges of a competitive global marketplace.

26 For Canada, participation in regional cross-border organizations can be advantageous because the imbalance present at the national level is largely absent at the sub-national level. Hence, while Canada is faced with an imbalance of 10-to-1 in terms of population and GDP in its bilateral interactions with the United States, the ratio is much smaller when the interactions take place at the sub-national level in the context of cross-border regions. This may lead to a “rapport de force” where the interest of each party is less diffused and much less tilted in favour of the larger country.

Moreover, in the dynamic of regional cross-border co-operation, the US states have often been the demanders. One could ask if Canada has taken the true measure of that situation. It may be an indication that Canada is in a more forceful position to negotiate. At the national level, in contrast, Canada is often the initiator and the situation is generally more asymmetrical there.

27 The study entitled *Northwest CanAm Connections: Integrating the Economy and Transportation* is a Department of Transportation of the State of Maine led initiative currently assessing economic development and transportation connections across the region of central Maine and the northern tier of New Hampshire, Vermont and New York states as well as along neighbouring Canadian provinces. For further information, visit [www.canamconnections.com](http://www.canamconnections.com).

28 Euroregions provide a useful example of how central governments can share regional policy implementation with lower level governments and partners through supra-national funding initiatives. It is noteworthy, that 40 years ago, most European national governments still opposed local and regional attempts to engage peers across their borders. Now, government-like institutions in the form of Euroregions are leading the way in

the recognition and development of cross-border community links and regions. It shows that times do change, and that government innovation can be a key ingredient of this change.

The experiences of the numerous Euroregions will, in time, provide a rich database to learn specifics regarding the merits of alternative organizational arrangements, regional development strategies, economic and industrial policies, methods to engage local groups, and other matters. This is discussed more fully in *The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions along the Mexican-US Border and in Europe: Lessons for Canada*, PRI Working Paper No. 35, 2008.

29 The Euroregions also depend upon bottom-up interest on the part of the private sector, civil, and local governments to co-operate in cross-border ventures, but the top-down programming provides financial inducements to help stakeholders overcome and bridge border difficulties.

30 Please see: *The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions: Highlights from the Leadership Survey and Executive Interviews*, 2006. According to the responses from the Leader Survey and Executive Interviews, which were echoed in the Regional Roundtables and Washington Workshop, cross-border organizations and provincial/state governments are seen as doing the best job overall in promoting regional cross-border linkages, and are currently seen as the most effective in promoting, supporting, and advancing the growth of cross-border relationships and networks. Among those surveyed, more than 76 percent ranked cross-border organizations and associations as effective in promoting cross-border linkages, and 40 percent considered them to be very effective. Provincial and state officials tend to have a strong presence in these organizations. Provincial or state governments were thought to be effective in supporting

cross-border linkages by 61 percent, while 31 percent felt they were very effective. As one respondent explained, “provincial governments often lead in the development and implementation of cross-border initiatives.” Fewer considered research communities/think tanks, non-governmental organizations (47%), and then the federal government (45%) to be effective in promoting cross-border regional linkages.

- 31 When asked “How important are the following (federal, provincial) **government actions** in helping your organization establish cross-border linkages?” political support of the part of federal (49%) and provincial/state (69%) governments was seen as the most important action that could be taken. This was closely followed by financial contributions: 38 percent on the part of the federal government, and 56 percent on the part of provincial/state governments.

The hierarchy of responses is virtually the same whether the Survey respondents were asked about federal or provincial/state government actions. Across all the actions tested, the leaders surveyed assigned much greater importance to provincial/state actions over federal government actions. These results are largely similar among both the Canadian and American organizations surveyed.

- 32 Financial programming was successful in Europe as a way to spark and co-ordinate regional redevelopment in border areas. See *The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions along the Mexican-US Border and in Europe: Lessons for Canada*, 2008.
- 33 For a fuller discussion, see *Leader Survey on Canada-US Cross-Border Regions: An Analysis* (2006), and *The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions between Canada and the United States: Roundtables Synthesis Report* (2006).
- 34 The base of knowledge could also describe who is doing what in which cross-border relationships and networks.

- 35 The objective of transformational diplomacy can be defined as the ability to work and do things with partners, and is rooted in partnership, not paternalism. Perhaps one of the most interesting findings coming out of the Regional Roundtables related to the role that cross-border regional stakeholders can play in Canada-US relations, in helping the Government of Canada by working with the federal government to better their **own** lives, and to transform their **own** futures by building better cross-border relationships and borderland region.

Transformational diplomacy is a benefit to the Government of Canada insofar as it promotes healthy relations among provinces and states along the border. If cross-border regional stakeholders can advance regional issues, this frees up the Government of Canada to focus on more global issues. As highlighted earlier, regional cross-border networks and organizations can make substantial contributions to Canada-US relations by providing policy solutions to real problems, helping to resolve bi-national disputes, and giving a voice to cross-border regional concerns in Washington and Ottawa. The Government of Canada can support the development of transformational diplomacy by encouraging cross-border players and interest groups to network and meet in a way that is rooted in partnership.

- 36 Transport Canada, Gateways Connect, 2007c.
- 37 Transport Canada, Gateways Connect, 2007a.
- 38 Transport Canada, 2007b and 2007d, as well as news releases, Transport Canada, Gateways Connect, 2007a and 2007b.
- 39 This already takes place among sub-national partners in regional cross-border organizations such as PNWER, with its large representation and numerous working groups.
- 40 See also Blank, 2007.

- 41 The PRI Working Paper No. 35, entitled *The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions along the Mexican-US Border and in Europe: Lessons for Canada*, 2008, finds similarly that considerable Mexico-US integration involves and has great importance for the Mexican-US cross-border regions.
- 42 As is usually the case for research of any kind, the availability of data is a paramount concern, and there were calls to improve the available data on cross-border relationships. A few individuals highlighted that there is an increasing need for research on cross-border trade flows at a more local level (e.g. only a few case studies of corporate supply chains and micro-economic analysis are available). Other participants mentioned the statistical problems in tracking the final destination of merchandise trade, since exports are frequently transformed before they reach the hands of the consumer. As mentioned earlier, countries in Western Europe have already decentralized their regional development policies, and the many Euroregions provide a rich database of experiences to learn specifics regarding the merits of alternative organizational arrangements, and regional development strategies, to better identify and appreciate the value added for different specific forms of multi-government, public-private co-operation.
- 43 For example, at the Regional Roundtable held in Montréal (November 2005), Robert Noble commented that many companies have research and development facilities in Montréal and corporate offices in Cambridge, Massachusetts to be close to the Boston-based venture capital community. Another example is the aerospace industry in Quebec, which is becoming similar to the automobile cluster in Ontario in the way that components of products are crossing the border several times before the final product reaches the consumer. Stephen Blank of Pace University suggested that case studies of larger firms would be helpful in examining how this process operates between business partners within cross-border regions.
- 44 Smith, 2007 and Canada West Foundation, *Dialogues*, Winter 2007.
- 45 The TILMA is also resulting in renewed attention to inter-provincial trade. At the August 2007 meetings of the Council of the Federation (established in 2004 by provincial and territorial premiers but with no federal representation), premiers expressed renewed interest in strengthening inter-provincial and territorial trade (Council of the Federation, 2007; Committee on Internal Trade, 2007; see also Macmillan and Grady, 2007).

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## APPENDIX A: LEADER SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE (Canadian version)



Policy Research  
Initiative

Projet de recherche  
sur les politiques

Month Day, Year

Prefix FirstName LastName  
Title  
Organization  
Address 1  
Address 2  
City, Province PostalCode

Dear Prefix LastName,

The Government of Canada's Policy Research Initiative is conducting an important research project on the emergence of cross-border regions (CBRs) between Canada and the United States. The objective of this project is to substantiate the emergence of bi-national regions, and to assess the opportunities and challenges they may represent for both Canada and the United States.

Research to date confirms high levels of economic, institutional, and cultural activity among neighbouring Canadian and US regions. For example, evidence shows that economic relations are more significant with neighbouring US states than non-neighbouring states, that a significant number of cross-border organizations grew substantially following the implementation of the FTA and NAFTA, and that social values have a strong cross-border dimension.

To advance the knowledge of CBRs, we are, in partnership with EKOS Research Associates Inc., conducting a survey of US and Canadian leaders in various government jurisdictions, chambers of commerce, cross-border associations, NGOs, and think tanks. **We would greatly appreciate it if you, or another senior official in your organization familiar with US-Canada relations, would complete the attached questionnaire and return it to us in the envelope provided.** Your participation in this survey of leaders is key to the success of this research.

All responses will remain strictly confidential – neither your name, nor that of your organization, will be linked to any of your answers. **As a token of thanks, the survey results will be distributed to participating organizations, helping you to understand better the environment in which your organization operates.** The survey results will also be presented, in autumn 2005, at regional roundtables that will discuss further the emergence of CBRs.

This roundtable exercise is a component of the North American Linkages project being conducted by the Policy Research Initiative. Participating organizations include Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions, and Western Economic Diversification Canada.

For additional information, please do not hesitate to contact Christian Boucher, Project Coordinator, at 613 943.8412, or André Downs, Senior Project Director, at 613 995.3655. Information on the Policy Research Initiative and the North American Linkages project can be found at <[www.policyresearch.gc.ca](http://www.policyresearch.gc.ca)>.

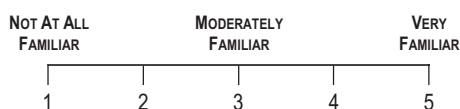
Yours sincerely,

Jean-Pierre Voyer  
Executive Director  
Policy Research Initiative

Canada

### Leader Survey on US-Canada Cross-border Regions (Mail-In)

1. What is your overall level of familiarity with cross-border regions (CBRs)? Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means not at all familiar, 5 means very familiar, and the mid-point 3 means moderately familiar.

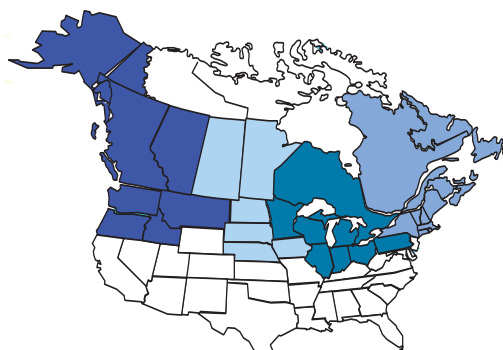


**SECTION ONE:** The next questions focus on defining what constitutes a CBR.

In the context of our research, a **CBR is defined as a distinct region that includes different provinces and states straddling the US-Canada border, exhibits a critical mass of economic, organizational and co-operative linkages, and displays some degree of similarity in cultural terms.** One must concede that the boundaries of a CBR may vary somewhat depending on the criteria or indicator used.

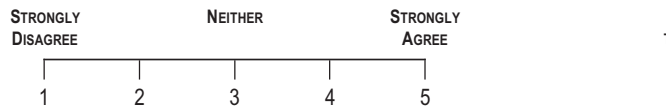
In our research, the following four regions emerged from this definition:

- **North West** - Alaska, Yukon, British Columbia, Alberta, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Oregon;
- **Plains** - Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Minnesota\*, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, and Nebraska;
- **Great Lakes** - Ontario, Quebec\*, Minnesota\*, Michigan, New York\*, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania;
- **North East** - Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec\*, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York\*, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.



\*These are in more than one CBR and are shaded in a striped pattern of the colors of their associated regions.

**2.** To what extent do you agree or disagree that the above definition captures the linkages of your cross-border region (CBR)? Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means strongly disagree, 5 means strongly agree, and the mid-point 3 means neither agree nor disagree.



If you answered strongly agree ("5") in Q2, please skip to Q4.

**3.** What would you change in the above definition to capture the linkages of your CBR?

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**4.** Cross-border regions (CBRs) can be defined according to various characteristics. Please rate the importance of each of the following in defining a CBR using a 5-point scale, where 1 means not at all important, 5 means very important, and the mid-point 3 means moderately important.

	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT		MODERATELY IMPORTANT		VERY IMPORTANT	DON'T KNOW
	1	2	3	4	5	9
a. Cultural similarities.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
b. Historical links .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
c. Locational factors (e.g. proximity, topography and climate).....	1	2	3	4	5	9
d. Shared ecosystems .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
e. Intensity of economic exchanges.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
f. Shared institutions or organizations .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
g. Other shared issues (please specify) .....	1	2	3	4	5	9

**SECTION TWO:** The next questions explore the cross-border linkages that your organization may have developed. By cross-border linkages, we refer to **agreements** or **institutions** involving your organization and a Canadian neighbouring entity that may include, but are not limited to, memorandum of understanding, participation in bi-national committees or conferences, twinning agreements, trade missions, joint lobbying efforts, and official visits.

**If your organization has no cross-border linkages as described above, please skip to Q11**

**5.** Based on your experience, please rate the effectiveness of the following formal instruments in building cross-border linkages that have yielded benefits to your organization. Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means not at all effective, 5 means very effective, and the mid-point 3 means moderately effective.

	NOT AT ALL EFFECTIVE		MODERATELY EFFECTIVE		VERY EFFECTIVE	DID NOT USE
a. Memorandum of understanding.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
b. Bi-national committee/working group/task force.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
c. Twinning or sister agreement.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
d. Trade mission .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
e. Joint advocacy/lobbying effort.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
f. Official visit.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
g. Conference/roundtable.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
h. Joint research activity.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
i. Other (please specify) _____	1	2	3	4	5	9
j. Other (please specify) _____	1	2	3	4	5	9

**6.** In addition to these formal instruments, please provide up to three examples of informal linkages that you may have developed in your cross-border region.

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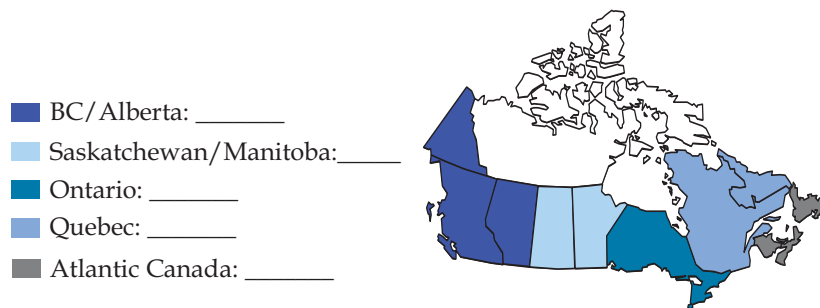
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**7.** Thinking of all cross-border linkages that your organization may have had with Canada, please rate the importance of these linkages along the following categories using a 5-point scale where 1 means not at all important, 5 means very important, and the mid-point 3 means moderately important.

	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT		MODERATELY IMPORTANT		VERY IMPORTANT
	1	2	3	4	5
a. Information-sharing (exchange of verbal or written information on common issues).....	1	2	3	4	5
b. Consultation (seeking an opinion or advice).....	1	2	3	4	5
c. Advocacy/lobbying (action with the objective of influencing a desired outcome).....	1	2	3	4	5
d. Co-operation (action leading to mutual benefits).....	1	2	3	4	5
e. Harmonization (action leading to a compatibility of actions or policies).....	1	2	3	4	5
f. Integration (adoption of similar actions or policies).....	1	2	3	4	5

**8.** Still thinking of all cross-border linkages that your organization may have had with Canada, what would you say is the distribution of these linkages among the following regions (in percentage terms)?



**9.** Please provide up to three examples in which cross-border linkages have helped your organization to meet its objectives and/or address problems in your region.

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**10.** Based on your experience, how effective are the following players in promoting cross-border linkages? Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means not at all effective, 5 means very effective, and the mid-point 3 means moderately effective.

	NOT AT ALL EFFECTIVE		MODERATELY EFFECTIVE		VERY EFFECTIVE	DID NOT DEAL WITH
	1	2	3	4	5	
a. Non-Government Organizations (NGOs).....	1	2	3	4	5	9
b. Federal government .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
c. State governments.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
d. Cities.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
e. Research Communities/Think Tanks .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
f. Cross-border organizations or associations.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
g. Chambers of commerce .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
h. Other (please specify) _____	1	2	3	4	5	9

**11.** Thinking of cross-border linkages, please describe what you consider to be a “best practice” that could be adopted by other cross-border regions.

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**SECTION THREE:** The next questions explore the policy opportunities and challenges associated with cross-border regions (CBRs).

**12.** Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements using a 5-point scale where 1 means strongly disagree, 5 means strongly agree, and the mid-point 3 means neither agree nor disagree.

	STRONGLY DISAGREE		NEITHER		STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW
	1	2	3	4	5	9
a. CBRs provide better access to national governments through regional alliances. ....	1	2	3	4	5	9
b. CBRs facilitate the involvement of regional stakeholders in US-Canada issues. ....	1	2	3	4	5	9
c. CBRs lead to the development of strong networks. ....	1	2	3	4	5	9
d. CBRs help to avoid and/or resolve bi-national disputes. ....	1	2	3	4	5	9
e. The absence of legal authorities for international trade and foreign affairs at the sub-national level seriously limit the development of CBRs. ....	1	2	3	4	5	9

	STRONGLY DISAGREE		NEITHER		STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW
	1	2	3	4	5	9
f. Informal relationships are key in developing more formal mechanisms of cross-border co-operation. ....	1	2	3	4	5	9
g. The emergence of CBRs is the direct consequence of economic integration. ....	1	2	3	4	5	9
h. CBRs are a temporary phenomenon.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
i. CBRs complement rather than compete with federal government activities.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
j. CBR co-operation is primarily concerned with practical problem-solving in a broad range of fields. ....	1	2	3	4	5	9
k. My organization initially became involved in cross-border co-operation through the initiative of a few individuals. ....	1	2	3	4	5	9
l. CBRs will be stronger if they develop incrementally from the bottom up. ....	1	2	3	4	5	9
m. CBRs have a strong influence on the US-Canada relationship.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
n. Linkages within CBRs are often low-cost engagements with high results. ....	1	2	3	4	5	9
o. CBRs occur without the support of my federal government. ....	1	2	3	4	5	9
p. CBRs are key instruments to compete in the global economy.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
q. Cross-border organizations could serve as a model for North American institutions.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
r. CBRs could lead to another layer of bureaucracy.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
s. CBRs could facilitate further economic integration between the US and Canada.....	1	2	3	4	5	9

**13.** Please rate the extent to which each of the following is a barrier to cross-border co-operation. Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means to no extent whatsoever, 5 means to a great extent, the mid-point 3 means to some extent.

	To No EXTENT WHATSOEVER		To SOME EXTENT		To A GREAT EXTENT	Don't KNOW
	1	2	3	4	5	9
a. Infrastructure conditions (e.g., roads, railways) .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
b. Border crossing conditions (e.g., proximity of check point, customs, waiting time to cross the border) .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
c. Economic conditions (e.g., technical requirements, exchange rate, lack of trade, investment barriers) .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
d. Capacity of cross-border organizations (e.g., staff, operational budget).....	1	2	3	4	5	9
e. Political factors (e.g., trade disputes, lack of interest, conflicting jurisdictions) .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
f. Security (e.g., illegal immigrants, terrorism).....	1	2	3	4	5	9
g. Different regulatory/legal systems .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
h. Underfunding of initiatives.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
i. Other (please specify):.....	1	2	3	4	5	9

**14.** How important is each of the following **federal government** actions in helping your organization establish cross-border linkages? Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means not at all important, 5 means very important, and the mid-point 3 means moderately important.

	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT		MODERATELY IMPORTANT		VERY IMPORTANT	Don't KNOW
	1	2	3	4	5	9
a. Financial contribution.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
b. Scientific/technical support.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
c. Political support.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
d. Legal expertise.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
e. Inter-regional forum .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
f. Other (please specify):.....	1	2	3	4	5	9

**15.** How important is each of the following **state government** actions in helping your organization establish cross-border linkages? Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means not at all important, 5 means very important, and the mid-point 3 means moderately important.

	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT		MODERATELY IMPORTANT		VERY IMPORTANT	DON'T KNOW
a. Financial contribution.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
b. Scientific/technical support.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
c. Political support.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
d. Legal expertise.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
e. Inter-regional forum .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
f. Other (please specify):.....	1	2	3	4	5	9

**16.** Are there any other actions your governments could take to encourage your organization to establish cross-border linkages? In your response, please specify the level of government (federal, state or local).

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**SECTION FOUR:** The next section explores the evolution of cross-border linkages.

**17.** Would you say linkages in your cross-border regions have increased or decreased over the **past 5 years** in each of the following sectors? Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means decreased greatly, 5 means increased greatly, the mid-point 3 means stayed about the same.

	DECREASED GREATLY		ABOUT THE SAME		INCREASED GREATLY	DON'T KNOW
	1	2	3	4	5	9
a. Agriculture .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
b. Border .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
c. Education .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
d. Energy .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
e. Environment .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
f. Natural resources .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
g. Culture .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
h. Health care .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
i. Infrastructure .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
j. Immigration .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
k. Tourism .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
l. Trade and economic development .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
m. Security .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
n. Water .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
o. Transportation .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
p. Other (please specify):.....	1	2	3	4	5	9

**18.** Would you say linkages in your cross-border region will likely increase or decrease over the **next 5 years** in these same sectors? Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means will decrease greatly, 5 means will increase greatly, and the mid-point 3 means will stay about the same.

	WILL DECREASE GREATLY	2	WILL STAY ABOUT THE SAME	4	WILL INCREASE GREATLY	DON'T KNOW
a. Agriculture .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
b. Border.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
c. Education .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
d. Energy .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
e. Environment.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
f. Natural resources .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
g. Culture .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
h. Health care .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
i. Infrastructure.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
j. Immigration .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
k. Tourism .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
l. Trade and economic development .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
m. Security .....	1	2	3	4	5	9
n. Water.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
o. Transportation.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
p. Other (please specify):.....	1	2	3	4	5	9

**SECTION FIVE:** This last section focuses on some more objective characteristics of your organization.

**19.** Approximately, what percentage of your organization's overall activities is devoted to cross-border region activities?

% of Activities

**20.** Approximately, how many full-time employees worked for your organization in 2004?

# of Employees

**21.** We will be holding regional roundtables in the fall of 2005 to discuss further the emergence of CBRs, and the type of opportunities and challenges they may represent for Canada and the United States. Would you be interested in participating in the session that will be held in your region?

Yes ..... 1  
No ..... 2

**22.** Please confirm the name of your organization, your name, job title and e-mail address below, or attach your business card.

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Finally, if you wish, please provide in the return envelope any supporting documentation for the above questions, or send by e-mail to [c.boucher@prs-srp.gc.ca](mailto:c.boucher@prs-srp.gc.ca).

**Thank you for completing this survey.**

## APPENDIX B: LEADER SURVEY RESPONDENT LIST

Railway Association of Canada	Government of Alberta, Ministry of International and Intergovernmental Relations
Government of Manitoba, Department of International Affairs and Trade	Government of Alberta, Truck and Trade Corridor Development, Strategic Policy Branch
Government of Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Trade and Export Partnership	Province of Prince Edward Island
Carleton University, Centre on North American Politics and Society	Government of Nova Scotia, Regional Relations Intergovernmental Affairs
Canada West Foundation	Government of Ontario, Ministry of Enterprise, Opportunity and Innovation
BC/Washington Environmental Co-operation Council	Government of New Brunswick, Department of International and Intergovernmental Relations
Pacific NorthWest Economic Region	Regina and District Chamber of Commerce
International Mobility and Trade Corridor	Government of Manitoba, Energy Development Initiative
Province of British Columbia, Ministry of Small Business and Economic Development, International Relations Secretariat	City of Whitehorse
The New England-Canada Business Council, Inc.	Government of Yukon, Intergovernmental Affairs, Ottawa Office
City of Montréal	St. John's Board of Trade
Université du Québec à Montréal, Observatoire sur les États-Unis	Fédération Des Chambres de Commerce Du Québec
Atlantic Provinces Chamber of Commerce	Powertech Labs Inc.
University of Alberta, Western Centre for Economic Research	The Canadian Chamber of Commerce
Société de développement économique du Saint-Laurent	Greater Saskatoon Chamber of Commerce
Kwantlen University College, Institute for Trans-Border Studies	Government of Manitoba, Federal-Provincial and International Relations and Trade
Université Laval, Centre d'études interaméricaines	Government of Alberta, Ministry of International and Intergovernmental Relations
Eastern Border Transportation Coalition	Whitehorse Chamber of Commerce
Government of Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Government Relations	The Focus Corporation Ltd., Corporate Development
Government of the United States, United States Department of Commerce, United States Commercial Service	Government of Nova Scotia, Department of Energy
Team Fredericton Making Connections	Government of Alberta, Alberta Economic Development
Université du Québec, Institut national de la recherche scientifique	Government of Yukon, Yukon Executive Council Office, Intergovernmental Relations
	Montréal International

Pacific Salmon Commission	Western Interstate Energy Board
Institute for Competitiveness and Prosperity	North America's SuperCorridor Coalition Inc.
Sustainability Reporting Program Canadian	University of Maine, Canadian-American Center
Destination Winnipeg, Business Services Centre	Western Legislative Forestry Task Force
Calgary Economic Development, Research and Business Information	Western Governor's Association
International Business Development, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania	Atlantic Institute for Market Studies
Council of State Governments, Midwest Legislative Conference	Washington State, Department of Ecology
Migration Policy Institute	Bucknell University, Department of Economics
Rhode Island Government, Rhode Island Economic Development Corp.	Council of State Governments — West
Southeast Michigan Council of Governments	State of Vermont, Agency of Commerce and Community Development
State of Wisconsin, Department of Commerce	Canada-Arizona Business Council
New England Governors' Conference, Inc.	City of Seattle, Office of Intergovernmental Relations
State of Maine, Maine International Trade Center St. Lawrence Mayors and Great Lakes Cities Initiative	State of Idaho, Department of Commerce, International Business Division
Quebec-New York Corridor Coalition	Boise Valley Economic Partnership
Vermont Chamber of Commerce	Anchorage Economic Development Corporation
Washington Fish Growers Association	City of Missoula
Wayne State University, Labour and Metropolitan Affairs	Oregon Nanoscience and Microtechnologies Institute
Council of Great Lakes Industries	Pacific Northwest Economic Region
State of Alaska, Office of the Governor	Maryland Department of Transportation
International Mobility and Trade Corridor	North Dakota State Government, Department of Commerce
Commonwealth of Massachusetts Government, Executive Office of Environmental Affairs, Office of Coastal Zone Management	Institute for International Economics
Pacific States/BC Oil Spills Task Force	Ohio Chamber of Commerce
Washington Council on International Trade	Northeast States for Coordinated Air Use Management
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars' Canada Institute	Gulf of Maine Council for the Marine Environment
The Greater Portland Council of Governments	Food and Agricultural Policy Research Institute
	Bowdoin College, Department of Government
	Detroit and Canada Tunnel Corp.
	City of Nampa
	City of Brandon

## APPENDIX C: REGIONAL ROUNDTABLE AGENDA

The following was used for the Vancouver, Winnipeg, Waterloo, Montréal, and Sackville (New Brunswick) Regional Roundtables. The Ottawa Roundtable had a modified agenda. For more information, please go to the following link: [http://policyresearch.gc.ca/page.asp?pagenm=rp\\_nal\\_ev](http://policyresearch.gc.ca/page.asp?pagenm=rp_nal_ev).

### Objectives

- Present the results from the PRI study and confirm the emergence of cross-border regions.
- Obtain participants' point of view on the emergence of cross-border regions and their impact on Government of Canada's policies.

### First Session: Findings From PRI Research

The purpose of this session is to present key results from PRI research on cross-border regional relationships: 1) the Interim Research Report and 2) Leader Survey and Executive Interviews.

- Conclusions of the PRI *Interim Report*
- Presentation of the results from the *Leader Survey* and *Executive Interviews*
- Expert commentaries
- Discussion

### Second Session: Regional Initiatives and Findings

The purpose of this session is to highlight the various projects, agreements, and initiatives implemented between cross-border regions and to discuss their lessons learned in order to better understand how the cross-border regions operate.

- Two regional presentations
- Expert commentaries
- Discussion

### Lunch and Keynote Speaker

### Third Session: Implications and Roles for the Government of Canada

The objective of this session is to discuss the implications of cross-border regions and the potential public policy considerations that they may entail for the Government of Canada.

Three issues will be debated:

- 1) What is the future of cross-border links in your cross-border regions?
- 2) What challenges must be addressed in order to foster an enhancement of these links?
- 3) What policy tools must be promoted by the Government of Canada?
  - Panel and discussion
  - Discussion
  - Closing remarks



## APPENDIX D: ROUNDTABLE PARTICIPANTS

### Montréal, Quebec November 23, 2005

#### *Speakers*

**Johanne Béchar**

Acting Vice-President  
Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions

**Françoise Bertrand**

CEO, Fédération des chambres  
de commerce du Québec

**Stephen Blank**

Director, Center for International Business  
Development  
Lubin School of Business, Pace University

**Christian Boucher**

Senior Advisor  
Policy Research Initiative

**Charles Bourgeois**

Vice-President, Information Technology  
Montréal International

**Renaud Caron**

Vice-President, CGI Group; former senior public  
servant with the Government of Quebec and  
the Government of Canada

**Raymond Chrétien**

Former Ambassador of Canada to the United States,  
Member of the Board of Directors of the Governors'  
Committee for the Québec — New York Corridor and  
Strategic Adviser at the law firm Fasken Martineau  
DuMoulin LLP

**Garry Douglas**

CEO, Plattsburgh — North Country Chamber  
of Commerce

**André Downs**

Senior Project Director  
Policy Research Initiative

**Gilbert Gagné**

Director, Research Group on Continental Integration  
Université du Québec à Montréal; and Professor,  
Department of Political Studies, Bishop's University

**Albert Juneau**

Consultant for the Québec — New York Corridor  
Fédération des chambres de commerce du Québec

**François Lebrun**

Former Quebec Delegate General in Boston  
Consultant, Groupe Hébert

**Robert Noble**

Deputy Consul General of Canada, New York

**Marc-Urbain Proulx**

Directeur, Département du développement régional  
Université du Québec à Chicoutimi

**Jean-Pierre Voyer**

Executive Director  
Policy Research Initiative

#### *Discussants*

**Susanne Benoit**

Président-directeur général  
Longueuil Développement Économique

**Marie-Andrée Katia Bertrand**

Regional Director  
Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions

**Larissa Blavatska**

Consul and Head  
Canadian Consulate General

**Jean Caron**

Economic Advisor  
Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions

**Alana Cattapan**

Public Policy Forum

**Blaise Champagne**

Director General  
National Research Council Canada

**Francine Émond**

Director, Western Québec Field Unit  
Parks Canada

**Marc Gagnon**

Director General  
St. Laurence Economic Development Council

**Marie-Chantal Girard**

Director  
Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions

**Marie-Thérèse Guérin**

Research and Development Manager  
Tourism Montréal

**Jeff Heynen**

Analyst  
Privy Council Office

**Claire Jacques**

Canada Border Services Agency — Montérégie

**Dominic Jean**

Advisor  
Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions

**Sylvie Lacroix**

Directeur général  
Conseil économique du Haut-Richelieu

**Isabelle Lamy**

Analyste de politiques  
Fédération des chambre de commerce du Québec

**Jean-Michel Laurin**

Vice-Président  
Manufacturiers et exportateurs du Québec

**Michel Lavoie**

Commissariat aux relations internationales  
Ville de Québec

**Sophie Leduc**

Empire State Development

**Jules Léger**

Senior Analyst  
Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions

**Alain Lumbroso**

Economist  
Transport Canada

**Susan Matton**

Vice-President  
Plattsburgh — North Country Chamber of Commerce

**Michel Merleau**

Director General  
Ville de Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu

**Claude Métras**

President  
Cross Border Forum

**Denyse Nepveu**

Director  
Canadian Pacific Railway

**Yves Poisson**

Director, Special Projects  
Public Policy Forum

**Gilles Provost**

Senior Economic Advisor  
Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions

**Gary Sawchuk**

Senior Policy Research Officer  
Policy Research Initiative

**Gerald Shaye**

Director  
New York State Department of Economic Development

**Bryan Smith**

Policy Research Officer  
Policy Research Initiative

**Susan Snow-Cotter**

Director  
Massachusetts Office of Coastal Zone Management

**Walter Steeves**

Chief Executive Officer  
Eastern Border Transportation Coalition

**Debora Van Nijnatten**

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science  
Wilfrid Laurier University

**Winnipeg, Manitoba  
February 14, 2006**

***Speakers***

**Dale Botting**

President and CEO  
Saskatchewan Trade and Export Partnership

**Christian Boucher**

Senior Advisor  
Policy Research Initiative

**Tom Carter**

Canada Research Chair in Urban Change  
and Adaptation  
University of Winnipeg

**Greg Dandewich**

Canadian/American Border Trade Alliance  
Executive Board Member  
Economic Director, Destination Winnipeg

**Bob Dolyniuk**

General Manager  
Manitoba Trucking Association

**André Downs**

Senior Project Director  
Policy Research Initiative

**Irene Grossman**

Assistant Director  
Council of State Governments,  
Midwest Legislative Conference

**Marilyn Kapitany**

Assistant Deputy Minister (Manitoba)  
Western Economic Diversification Canada

**Allan N. Robison**

President and CEO  
Reimer Express Lines Ltd

**Annitta Stenning**

Chief Administrative Officer  
City of Winnipeg

**Todd Schwartz**

U.S. Consul  
U.S. Consulate in Winnipeg

**David Sprynczynatyk**

Director  
North Dakota Department of Transportation

**Debora Van Nijnatten**

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science  
Wilfrid Laurier University

**Jean-Pierre Voyer**

Executive Director  
Policy Research Initiative

**Daniel Watson**

Assistant Deputy Minister (Saskatchewan)  
Western Economic Diversification Canada

***Discussants***

**John Alho**

Associate Vice-President (External) and  
Director of Government Relations  
University of Manitoba

**David Angus**

President  
Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce

**Barry Brickman**

President  
North West International Ltd.

**James Carr**

President and CEO  
Business Council of Manitoba

**Suzanne Cormie**

Senior Trade Commissioner  
International Trade Canada

**Brent DePape**

Senior Policy Analyst, Policy, Planning,  
and External Relations (Manitoba)  
Western Economic Diversification Canada

**Luci Grechen**

Director, Canada — U.S. and International Relations  
Manitoba Intergovernmental Relations and Trade

**Tim Hibbard**

Director, Policy, Planning,  
and External Relations (Manitoba)  
Western Economic Diversification Canada

**Paul Larson**

Director, Transport Institute  
Asper School of Business  
University of Manitoba

**Ted Mitchell**

Chief Executive Officer  
Saskatoon Regional Economic Development Authority

**Osman Rahman**

Trade Economist, Trade Policy Branch  
Trade and International Relations  
Government of Saskatchewan

**Bill Ratcliffe**

Senior Manager, United States and Trade Operations  
Manitoba Trade and Investment  
Government of Manitoba

**Barry Rempel**

President and Chief Executive Officer  
Winnipeg Airports Authority

**Rick Savone**

Deputy Consul General and  
Senior Trade Commissioner  
Consulate General of Canada in Minneapolis

**Gary Sawchuk**

Senior Policy Research Officer  
Policy Research Initiative

**Peggy Schmeiser**

Manager, Policy, Planning and  
External Relations (Saskatchewan)  
Western Economic Diversification Canada

**Marvin Schneider**

Executive Director, U.S. Relations  
International and Intergovernmental Relations  
Government of Alberta

**Michael Shumsky**

Regional Director, Coordination and Policy Advice  
Transport Canada

**John Spacek**

Assistant Deputy Minister, Policy  
and Regulation Divisions  
Transportation and Government Services  
Government of Manitoba

**Robert Stalker**

Manager, Policy, Planning  
and External Relations (Manitoba)  
Western Economic Diversification Canada

**Graham Starmer**

President  
Manitoba Chambers of Commerce

**Mike Styre**

Regional Director General  
Canada Border Services

**Vancouver, British Columbia  
February 16, 2006**

***Speakers***

**Bruce Agnew**

Director  
Cascadia Centre for Regional Development

**Don Alper**

Director  
Canadian-American Studies  
Western Washington University

**K. David Andersson**

President  
Pacific Corridor Enterprise Council

**Christian Boucher**

Senior Advisor  
Policy Research Initiative

**Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly**

Assistant Professor, School of Public Administration  
University of Victoria

**Don Dalik**

Member of Private Sector Council of PNWER  
Partner of Fasken Martineau DuMoulin LLP

**John S. Dickson**

Deputy Chief of Mission  
U.S. Embassy, Ottawa

**André Downs**

Senior Project Director  
Policy Research Initiative

**Hon. Jim Kenyon**

Yukon Minister of Economic Development  
PNWER Vice-President, Canada

**Ardath Paxton Mann**

Assistant Deputy Minister (British Columbia)  
Western Economic Diversification Canada

**Matt Morrison**

Executive Director  
Pacific NorthWest Economic Region

**Jeffrey Parker**

Canadian Consul General in Seattle

**Hon. John van Dongen**

British Columbia Minister of State  
for Intergovernmental Relations  
PNWER Vice President, Canada

**Jean-Pierre Voyer**

Executive Director  
Policy Research Initiative

**Vinita Watson**

Senior Fellow  
Canada School of Public Service

***Discussants***

**Heather Ardiel**

Acting Director, Pacific Highway District  
Canada Border Services Agency

**Wayne Beggs**

Senior Policy Analyst, Strategic Policy,  
Planning and Economic Analysis (British Columbia)  
Western Economic Diversification Canada

**Frank Blasetti**

Assistant Deputy Minister  
BC Transport  
Government of British Columbia

**Barry Brickman**

President  
North West International Ltd.

**Hazel Cail**

Manager, Intergovernmental  
Relations, International Trade Operations  
Alberta Economic Development  
Government of Alberta

**Susan E. Clarke**

Professor, Director – Faculty  
Department of Political Science  
University of Colorado at Boulder

**Wayne Clifford**

Assistant Deputy Minister  
International Relations  
International and Intergovernmental Relations  
Government of Alberta

**Hugh Conroy**

Project Manager  
Whatcom Council of Governments

**Allen Domaas**

President and CEO  
Fraser River Port Authority

**Ron Farris**

Trade Commissioner  
International Trade Canada

**Noemi Gal-Or**

Director, Institute for Transborder Studies  
Professor, Department of Political Science  
Kwantlen University College

**David Grace**

Senior Policy Advisor, Strategic Policy Division  
Ministry of Environment  
Government of British Columbia

**Colin Heartwell**

Senior Director, Policy and Trade  
Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters

**Jane Humberstone**

Coordinator, Intergovernmental Relations,  
International Trade Operations  
Alberta Economic Development  
Government of Alberta

**Lewis Lukens**

Consul General  
United States Consulate in Vancouver

**Rolf Mirus**

Acting Vice-Provost and Associate Vice-President  
(International)  
Western Centre for Economic Research  
University of Alberta

**Beverly Olds**

Manager, Policy, Planning, and  
External Relations (British Columbia)  
Western Economic Diversification Canada



**Sukumar Periwal**

Director, International Relations  
Intergovernmental Relations Secretariat  
Government of British Columbia

**Brian Reimer**

Senior Business Officer,  
Strategic Policy, Planning and Environmental  
Analysis (British Columbia)  
Western Economic Diversification Canada

**Michael Treleaven**

Executive Director, Pacific Northwest  
Canadian Studies Consortium  
Gonzaga University

**Debora Van Nijnatten**

Associate Professor  
Department of Political Science  
Wilfrid Laurier University

**Yuen Pau Woo**

President and Co-CEO  
Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada

**David Woynorowski**

Director, Policy, Planning, and  
External Relations (Alberta)  
Western Economic Diversification Canada

## Waterloo, Ontario February 28, 2006

### *Speakers*

**Neal Belitsky**

Vice-President and General Manager  
Detroit and Canada Tunnel Corporation

**Christian Boucher**

Senior Advisor  
Policy Research Initiative

**Tom Courchene**

Jarislowsky-Deutsch Professor of Economic  
and Financial Policy  
Queen's University

**Dennis DesRosiers**

President  
DesRosiers Automotive Consultants Inc

**André Downs**

Senior Project Director  
Policy Research Initiative

**John English**

Executive Director  
Centre for International Governance Innovation

**Paul Heinbecker**

Distinguished Fellow, CIGI and Former  
Ambassador and Permanent Representative  
of Canada to the United Nations

**Jessica LeCroy**

U.S. Consul General in Toronto

**James Milway**

Executive Director  
Institute for Competitiveness and Prosperity

**David Naftzger**

Executive Director  
Council of Great Lakes Governors

**Bob Seguin**

Assistant Deputy Minister  
Ministry of Economic Development  
and Trade Government of Ontario

**Daniel Schwanen**

Chief Operating Officer and Director of Research,  
Centre for International Governance Innovation

**John D. Tennant**

Chief Executive Officer  
Canada's Technology Triangle Inc.;  
Former Consul General of Canada in Detroit

**Debora Van Nijnatten**

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science  
Wilfrid Laurier University

**Jean-Pierre Voyer**

Executive Director  
Policy Research Initiative

**Discussants**

**Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly**

Assistant Professor  
School of Public Administration  
University of Victoria

**Kathryn Bryk Friedman**

Deputy Director  
Institute for Local Governance and Regional Growth

**Terry Cowl**

Economic Advisor, North America Bureau  
Foreign Affairs Canada

**Raymond R. Datt**

President  
Automotive Industries Association of Canada

**Karen E. Vigmostad**

Director  
International Joint Commission

**John Whalley**

Distinguished Fellow, Centre for  
International Governance Innovation; and  
William G. Davis Chair in International Trade,  
University of Waterloo

**Sackville, New Brunswick  
March 3, 2006**

**Speakers**

**J. Nick Bayne**

President and CEO  
Maine and Maritimes Corp.

**Christian Boucher**

Senior Advisor  
Policy Research Initiative

**Douglas Brown**

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science  
St. Francis Xavier University

**Hon. Bill Casey**

Member of Parliament  
(Cumberland-Colchester-Musquodoboit), Nova Scotia

**David Chaundy**

Senior Economist  
Atlantic Provinces Economic Council

**Sean Cooper**

Regional Executive Director  
Atlantic Provinces Chamber of Commerce

**Jonathan Daniels**

Director, Eastern Marine Development Corporation  
Second Vice-President and Patron Director,  
Atlantic Provinces Chamber of Commerce

**Brian Dick**

Vice-President, Policy Programs  
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

**André Downs**

Senior Project Director  
Policy Research Initiative

**Leonard Hill**

United States Consul General in Halifax

**Stephen J. Hornsby**

Director  
Canadian-American Center

**Michael C. Ircha**

Professor of Civil Engineering  
University of New Brunswick

**Robin F. Neill**

Adjunct Professor of Economics  
University of Prince Edward Island

**Debora Van Nijnatten**

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science  
Wilfrid Laurier University

**Timothy C. Woodcock**

Attorney  
Eaton Peabody

***Discussants***

**Neal W. Allen**

Executive Director  
Greater Portland Council of Governments

**Daniel Boljkovac**

A/Regional Transportation Analyst  
Transport Canada

**Linda Boudreau**

Atlantic Policy Research Administrator  
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

**Annie Boudreau-Tibbo**

Policy Analyst  
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

**Daniel Bourgeois**

Executive Director  
Canadian Institute for Research  
on Public Policy and Public Administration

**Kevin Bulmer**

Senior Investment Officer  
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

**Chris Bryant**

Executive Director  
Nova Scotia Office of Economic Development  
Government of Nova Scotia

**Richard Cormier**

Senior Policy Analyst  
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

**Dale Crory**

Economic/Political Specialist  
U.S. Consulate General in Halifax

**Susanne Derrah**

Policy Analyst  
Strategic Development and Intergovernmental  
Relations

**Peter Doig**

Director of Intergovernmental Relations  
Emera Inc.

**Raymond Dufour**

Co-ordinator  
Atlantic Institute of Logistics and Transportation

**Philippe Dupuis**

Chair, Team Canada Atlantic  
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

**James Frost**

Executive Director  
Halifax Gateway Council

**Gerry Gallant**

Executive Director  
Atlantic Canada Airports Association

**Stephen Kymlicka**

Researcher  
Atlantic Institute for Market Studies

**Nicole P. LeBlanc**

Manager — Atlantic Policy Research Initiative  
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

**Alistair MacDonald**

Senior Vice-President  
CGI Atlantic

**Lynn MacKay**

Senior Policy Advisor  
New Brunswick Intergovernmental  
and International Relations  
Government of New Brunswick

**Anne McInerney**

Senior Communications Officer  
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

**Fred Morley**

Senior Vice-President and Chief Economist  
Greater Halifax Partnership

**Paul O'Driscoll**

Chair  
Greater Moncton Chamber of Commerce

**Douglas J. Robertson**

Director, Innovation Policy and Research Projects  
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

**David Slade**

Director General, Policy  
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

**Bryan Smith**

Policy Research Officer  
Policy Research Initiative

**Captain Alwyn G. Soppitt**

President and CEO  
Saint John Port Authority

**Walter W. Steeves**

Chair  
Eastern Border Transportation Coalition

**Maxine Westhead**

OAP Project Leader, Bay of Fundy/Gulf of Maine  
Oceans and Coastal Management Division  
Fisheries and Oceans Canada

**Ottawa, Ontario  
March 6–7, 2006**

***Speakers***

**Brian Lee Crowley**

President  
Atlantic Institute for Market Studies

**Greg Dandewich**

Economic Development Director,  
Destination Winnipeg  
Board Member, Northern Great Plains Inc.

**Garry Douglas**

CEO  
Plattsburgh-North Country Chamber of Commerce  
Quebec/New York Corridor

**André Downs**

Senior Project Director  
Policy Research Initiative

**Drew Fagan**

Director General  
Foreign Affairs Canada

**Hon. Jeremiah S. Grafstein**

Senator, Canada

**Matt Morrison**

Executive Director  
Pacific NorthWest Economic Region

**James Phillips**

President and CEO  
Canadian/American Border Trade Alliance

**Larry Swanson**

Director  
Center for the Rocky Mountain West

**Bill Testa**

Vice-President and Director of Regional Programs  
Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago

**Jean-Pierre Voyer**

Executive Director  
Policy Research Initiative

**Patrick Whalen**

President, PJW Consulting  
International Business Development Manager,  
Speed Transportation

***Discussants*****Christian Boucher**

Senior Advisor  
Policy Research Initiative

**Douglas Challborn**

Deputy Director  
Foreign Affairs Canada

**Richard Cormier**

Senior Policy Analyst  
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

**Terry Cowl**

Economic Advisor  
Foreign Affairs Canada

**Harold Deck**

Senior Policy Analyst  
Western Economic Diversification Canada

**June M. Dewetering**

Economist  
Library of Parliament

**Margaret DeHaan**

Senior Analyst  
Infrastructure Canada

**Jeff Heynen**

Analyst  
Privy Council Office

**Serge Pelletier**

Association Secretary  
Senate of Canada

**Yves Poisson**

Director, Special Projects  
Public Policy Forum

**Gary Sawchuk**

Senior Policy Research Officer  
Policy Research Initiative

**Bryan Smith**

Policy Research Officer  
Policy Research Initiative

**John Stewart**

Economist  
U.S. Embassy

**Debora Van Nijnatten**

Associate Professor  
Wilfrid Laurier University

**Vinita Watson**

Senior Fellow  
Canadian School of Public Service

# APPENDIX E: WASHINGTON WORKSHOP AGENDA



*The Canada Institute at the Woodrow Wilson Center and  
The CSIS Smart Border North Working Group present*

## **The Emergence of the Cross-Border Regions between Canada and the United States**

Please join us for a roundtable discussion with the research team from the PRI of the Government of Canada on the emergence of cross-border regions.

**Jean-Pierre Voyer**, Executive Director, Policy Research Initiative

**André Downs**, Senior Project Director, Policy Research Initiative

**Christian Boucher**, Senior Advisor, Policy Research Initiative

The PRI is conducting a comprehensive research project on the emergence of cross-border regions between the United States and Canada. To date, the research team has produced several research papers, undertaken a leader survey, conducted executive interviews, and organized six regional roundtables to examine the opportunities, challenges, and policy implications that cross-border regions pose for Canada and the United States. The research team will address a number of policy questions during their talk:

- What are the key dimensions and characteristics that define cross-border regions?
- How economically distinct are they? How socio-culturally similar are they?
- What institutions and informal networks support these regional relationships?
- What are the important benefits that cross-border regions entail for Canada and the U.S.?
- What are the major challenges to their further development?
- What are the possible roles and actions for the Government of Canada?

*Please feel free to circulate this announcement*

Tuesday, May 23 2006  
3:00 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.  
Center for Strategic and International Studies  
1800 K Street NW, Washington DC  
4<sup>th</sup> Floor Conference Room

Please RSVP to Tanya Primiani at [tprimiani@csis.org](mailto:tprimiani@csis.org) or (202) 775-3274

David N. Biette  
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The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars  
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## APPENDIX F: WASHINGTON WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

**Washington, D.C.**  
**May 23, 2006**

### *Speakers*

**Jean-Pierre Voyer**

Executive Director, Policy Research Initiative

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