Introduction: Constructing a Cross Border Cascadia Region

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Abstractⁱ

For the last 20 years the scholarship on borders has shifted from a narrow geographical perspective where borders were conceptualized as boundary lines drafted on maps and containers of polities, states, and sovereignties that were mutually recognized by international treaties, to complex geographical spaces, where borders result from political and policy mechanisms where people (agents) and institutions, policies and cultures and economic flows (structures) re-invent borderland, border-regions and border-zones, and ultimately the boundary line itself. Collectively, the research covered in this special issue suggests several avenues for future collaboration: on Cascadia-based research and on cross-border regional comparisons.

This special issue results from a series of lectures that were organized by the Local Government Institute, and Center for Public Sector Studies, University of Victoria, in 2006-7 on the theme of *Cascadia: the Rise of a North American Border Region*. These lectures were conceived as being interdisciplinary yet focusing on the same geographical/spatial cross border region of the Pacific North West, also called Cascadia, and underlining clear social science perspectives on the region. Each of these initial reports was substantially edited and rewritten for this special "Cascadia" issue of the *Canadian Political Science Review*.

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In this literature, Kenishi Ohmae (1995, 1999) suggests that the globalizing world marked the beginning of a borderless world, while others such as David Newman and Peter Andreas question this view suggesting, on the contrary, that borders were evolving policies contingent on borderland nations, and that their nature also responded to new imperatives in an era of security.^{iv}

In North America, the post 9/11 years profoundly changed the nature of our borders. Since the September 11th attack on New York and Washington, DC, border security has been high on the public policy agendas both for Canadians and U.S. citizens. Governments and security agencies have been confronted with an almost impossible task – that is to co-operate in order to find the "needles" (the dangerous substances and individuals) "in the haystacks" (the millions of goods and people that flow across air, sea and land border gates daily). Clearly the events of 9/11 have transformed our perception of the function of borders. Vi

Yet, this new security agenda is also woven into other important imperatives, where trade and cross-border relations play a fundamental role in the definition of border policies. Indeed, Canada and the United States share the longest undefended border in the world, but they also share the largest free trade markets in the world as well, and furthermore, they have much in common that goes beyond sharing trade and security concerns. Both Canada and the United States are complex polities that result from multicultural waves of immigration, and have significant portions of their populations that speak English and a second language, French in Canada, and Spanish in the U.S. Hence, the suggestion in this special number of CPSR that we need to disentangle the actions of people (agency) and the economic, cultural or political institutions (structures) to understand the specific nature of the Canadian - American borderlands.

The first two articles are by Allan McDougall and Lisa Philips, who take us back in history to provide detailed historical and anthropological perspectives on the contemporary cross border region. Both of their articles focus on the periods (1) just prior and (2) during the implementation of the international boundary line. They describe how a rich and large international economic entity is eclipsed by the border and how few important families of the region adapted to the new boundary line. For the region's First Nations, and its early settlers, traversing the region was essentially seamless.

The third article by Noemi Gal-Or looks at the current state of affairs from an international public policy and law perspective, focusing on conflict resolutions between the Canadian and United States part of the cross border region, and particularly on current mechanisms for the resolution of trading conflicts.

In the fourth article Patrick Smith discusses the Cascadia region's definitional dimensions. In it, Smith suggests that it is a large and complex North American cross border region where conceptual differences abound. Is this an opportunity or a challenge? Posing this as a question of "place branding", he explores, first, the competing brand options, then the idea that what began as rather different notions of the Cascadia region have seen an increasing merging of conceptions with ecology at the centre (an issue re-iterated in the Dupeyron article to follow), and, finally, the argument that a city-regional – "Mainstreet Cascadia" – brand is the most sustainable of any of the modern 'brandings' of this Cascadia region.

In the fifth article, Bruno Dupeyron compares the North West/Cascadia region to two European cross border regions to analyze and discuss how cross-border spaces are constructed through the activities and strategies of established and emerging cross-border networks. Among other concluding remarks, Dupeyron shows that in the Pacific North West, and contrary to findings in both European cross border regions, it is a largely shared ecological positivism that dominates and becomes the central symbolic feature, whereas in the European cases the cross border regions are not primarily defined by environmental values but rather by economic and symbolic principles, which exclude social actors from the hegemonic cross-border networks.

The sixth article is by Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, who documents the recent rise of economic, social and cultural and institutional relations across the Canada U.S. border and particularity of those relations across the Pacific North West/Cascadia region. This article underlines the importance of understanding cross-border relations at the sub-national level in order to understand Canada-U.S. relations. The overall argument is that the appearance of cross-border regions indicates a progressive emergence of *policy parallelism* in a multitude of policy arenas, particularly, a specifically North American form of integration.

Summaries of the Articles:

In "The Rise and Fall of Early Cascadia: Politics and Trade in the Hudson Bay Company Era," Allan McDougall documents the early 19th century Cascadia when the area was a successful pacific economic region. Indeed, under John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of the Hudson Bay Company from 1825-45, the Columbia District became an international economic entity. Neither American nor British, the District raised the ire of both and was eclipsed when the border was imposed across the region. His article reviews the politics of the division of Cascadia and the eclipse of its international presence by 1863.

In "Transitional Identities - Children of Pacific NW Entrepreneurs and the Effects of the Imposition of the US-British Border," Lisa Philips describes the transformation of people's lives at the time of the imposition of the border on the region. The paper explores the lives of those who were born and raised in the Pacific North-West prior to the 1846 Ashburton-Webster Treaty. How did the imposition of the border affect their life choices? What role did they have in the transition from joint occupation to divided countries? How do people weather such immediate and stark social changes? Some of the people discussed include the children and grandchildren of Sir James Douglas, Dr. John McLoughlin, Archibald McDonald and Dr. William Fraser Tolmie.

Noemi Gal-Or in "Institutional Development for Cascadia: Law and Politics" suggests that in the context of disputes akin to the Softwood Lumber dispute the current competing NAFTA and WTA regime competition is detrimental to dispute resolutions. She argues that these result from institutional weaknesses in Cascadia/Pacific Northwest with regard to dispute resolution at the local, regional and borderland level. Gal-Or introduces an innovative concept for dispute resolution by linking already existing relevant designs and concepts, and proposes the establishment of a procedural dispute resolution continuum embedded in a hierarchical institutional order, and available based on voluntary membership. Described in broad terms, she will offer a range of procedures from entry level facilitation, through a small claims court, to

adjudication at a NAFTA/WTO local dispute resolution branch, and with an appellate instance at an international joint court arrangement of the member jurisdictions.

In "Branding Cascadia: Who Gets To Decide? Considering Cascadia's Conflicting Conceptualizations - The Case for a Global City Region Brand, Patrick Smith, utilizes the notion of "place branding" to examine the several often competing definitions of the still emerging cross-border region called Cascadia. He concludes that a somewhat narrower urban brand – "Mainstreet Cascadia" – and one emphasizing the ecological roots of Cascadia - is the brand most likely to provide the catalyst to 'next step 'sustainable regionalism'. His conclusions offer some lessons for city regions, including cross-border ones from this Cascadia experience, noting that seven 'globalist' strategies stand out as 'best practices' for rethinking such local-cross border regional relations.

In "Cascadia: A Geopolitical Approach," Dr. Bruno Dupeyron, seeks to analyse how cross-border spaces are constructed through the activities and strategies of established and emerging cross-border networks. In order to observe cross-border actors and public policies, I use three case studies, two in the European Union, i.e. the Rhineland Valley, also known as Upper Rhine (France-Germany-Switzerland) and the Mediterranean Euroregion (France-Spain), and one in North America, i.e. Cascadia (Canada-United States). I propose to draw our theoretical approach from a model suggested by P. Bourdieu, so that it is possible to compare a series of factors that structure these borderlands. The ultimate goal of this paper is to sketch the socio-political space of these networks in each cross-border region and eventually to suggest new research lenses for Cascadia.

In "Cascadia in Comparative Perspectives - Canadian United States Relations and the Emergence of Cross Border Regions" Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly documents the recent rise of economic, social and cultural and institutional relations across the Canada U.S. border and particularity of those relations across the Western/Cascadia region. Indeed, for Canadians, cooperation with the U.S. always involves considerations of identity and sovereignty. Generally, Canadian officials resolve this issue by maintaining low-key functional and effective relations with their American counterparts, which inherently limits any expansion of the supranational role of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), but concurrently enhances other multilateral relations among Canadian and American public and private organizations. Relying on four analytical lenses—the economy, local and central politics and policies, and local cultures—this paper examines how emerging cross-border regions are changing Canadian-American relations. Specific attention is given to the varied forms of co-operation across policy fields in order to detail (1) the general and specialized and (2) the formal and informal relations and (3) the emerging border regions. This paper underlines the importance of understanding cross-border relations at the sub-national level in order to understand Canada-U.S. relations. The overall argument is that the appearance of cross-border regions indicates a progressive emergence of policy parallelism in a multitude of policy arenas, particularly, a specifically North American form of integration.

Collectively, the research covered in this special issue suggests several avenues for future collaboration: on Cascadia-based research and on cross-border regional comparisons. A future conference on some of this is planned by the Issue editors.

Endnotes

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Patrick Smith (2004) "Transborder Cascadia: Opportunities and Obstacles" in Journal of Borderland Studies 19/1. p. 99-122. And, Signe Marie Cold Ravnkilde, Jaidev Singh, and Robert Lee (2004) " Add Title, Journal of Borderland Studies 19/1, p. 59-78

Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly (2005) Theorizing Borders: An Interdisciplinary Perspective. Geopolitics # 10, p. 633-649.

World: Power and Strategy in the Interlinked Economy, (New York: Harper Business, revised, 1999). See also Kenishi Ohmae (1991) The End of the Nation State, New York: Harper Business. David Newman and Anssi Paasi (1998) "Fences and Neighbours in the Postmodern World" in Progress in Human Geography, 22/2. Peter Andreas (2000) Border Games, Cornell University Press.

^v See, for example, Alex Netherton, Allen Seager and Karl Frochauer, editors, *In/Security: Canada in the Post-9/11 World*, (Burnaby, Centre for Canadian Studies, 2005.

vi Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, Guest Editor (2006) Journal of Borderland Studies, Special Issue Security and Borders, Volume 21/1. And, Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly (2007) Borderlands, University of Ottawa Press.

vii As recently as July, 2008, Canada's Public Safety Minister Stockwell Day noted the matter of ensuring ease of flow across the Canada-US border for events such as the 2010 Olympics at a Cascadia 'regional summit' in Vancouver. See Catherine Rolfsen, "Energy, Olympics on Table at Regional (PNWER) Summit: Pacific Northwest conference brings 800 delegates to city", *The Vancouver Sun*, Monday, July 21, 2008, pp B1, B4. See also Jeff Lee, "2010 border problems dismissed", The *Vancouver Sun*, Tuesday, July 22, 2008, pp B1, B4.