INTEGRATION FROM BELOW:
TRANSNATIONAL REGIONALISM IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

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INTRODUCTION

A great deal of scholarly attention has been focused on regional activity for the last twenty years, be it regional integration, regional cooperation, or regional trading blocs. The research on regionalism has considered regions consisting of two or more states, such as Western Europe, North America, or Southeast Asia, or regions within the borders of a single state. What is missing is consideration of regional activity across national borders by subnational units of two or more states. In this paper, the term transnational regionalism will be used to refer to such activity.

This term has been used in research about cooperation in energy resource management between New England states and the Canadian Maritime provinces (Howe 1980). Although essentially synonymous with "cross-border cooperation" (Martinos and Humphreys 1992), this author feels that transnational regionalism is more descriptive of the phenomenon under consideration.

The type of activity described by transnational regionalism is cooperative, whether it be in energy resource management, development of transportation infrastructure, or any of several other areas. Furthermore, these activities may occur as a result of national-level cooperation or integration agreements, or as a result of the perceived common interests of subnational actors.

The purpose of this paper is to begin to explore how this latter type of transnational regionalism may lead to theintegration of the states of which the subnational units are a part in the absence of national-level agreements. This is described as "integration from below." Conversely, "integration from above" results from national-level agreements. The data are such that no particular hypothesis can be evaluated at this time. However, after exploring what is available, several questions and hypotheses for future research will be suggested.

First, the major theoretical works on integration will be briefly reviewed in order to place this study in the appropriate context. Second, cases of transnational regionalism in Europe and North America will be described. Finally, the cases will be compared and preliminary conclusions will be drawn regarding the influence of transnational regionalism on integration.

Integration literature

In this section, I will briefly consider the major theoretical works on international integration to place this study in context. These works include Mitrany (1966), Deutsch (1969), Haas (1968), and Lindberg (1963).

David Mitrany, in laying out the foundations Of functionalism, discusses three stages in the process of integration. The first is coordination within the same group of functions. Coordination of several groups of functional agencies is the second stage. The final stage is the coordination of functional agencies with international planning agencies. Although a political authority to oversee this functional integration is possible, Mitrany claims that it is not essential(Mitrany 1966, 73-75). The implication in Mitrany's discussion is that the agencies are at the national level. However, there is no reason why they could not be functional agencies of state or provincial governments, cooperating at the subnational or transnational levels.

Karl W. Deutsch defines a security community as "a group ofpeople which has become 'integrated,'" and integration as "the attainment, within a territory, of a 'sense of community' and of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure, for a 'long' time, dependable expectations of 'peaceful change'" (Deutsch 1969, 5). Again, it is implied that the "territory" is national territory, although there is no reason it could not be subnational territory. Interestingly, Deutsch uses the United States and Canada as an example of a pluralistic security community - where two separate

governments form a security community without being merged. The idea of transnational regionalism and integration from below is that subnational units may bring about such a merger through ever increasing cooperation.

According to Ernst B. Haas,

[p]olitical integration is the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the preexisting national states (Haas 1968, 16).

Haas considers the political actors in his definition to be political elites, ". . . the leaders of all relevant politicalgroups who habitually participate in the making of public decisions" (Haas 1968, 17) including politicians, high-level civil servants, party leaders, and lobbyists. As before, the implication is that these are national-level elites, but nothing precludes the involvement of state or provincial elites. Haas goes on to describe the processes of integration at the national level (involving political parties, trade associations, trade unions, and member governments) and at the supranational level. What is lacking is a discussion of processes at the subnational level, which would focus on integration from below.
Finally, Leon N. Lindberg agrees with Haas' definition of political integration, with the emphasis on elites as the major political actor involved. Additionally, Lindberg outlines his conception of the requirements of the process of political integration, including the development of central institutions and policies, inherently expansive tasks assigned to the institutions, and member states continued self-interest in the process (Lindberg 1963, 7). As with the authors discussed above, these requirements and the process of integration could apply equally as well to integration from below as to integration from above.
To summarize, none of the authors explicitly mention the possibility of integration from below, but none precludes the possibility either. Their theoretical constructs could be adapted from the national level to the subnational level. This paper is a beginning at such adaptation - an exploration into theimprovement of the theories that have been the foundation of thestudy of integration for years.
These works and others distinguish between integration as aprocess and as a condition or end-state. This paper falls clearly in the former category. One theoretical approach to integration excluded from this review is federalism. This is because, with the exception of radical federalists, federalism is seen as an end-state of integration rather than as a process (Lintner and Mazey 1991, 1-2) and so is outside the scope of this paper. In the next sections, transnational regionalism in Europe and North America will be outlined, with the purpose of developing the idea of integration from below.

EUROPE
When one thinks of "regionalism" and the European Union, one usually thinks of the EU's regional policy to aid less developed regions (see Armstrong 1993; George 1991; Pinder 1983; Tsoukalis 1993; Wallace, Wallace, and Webb 1983). Traditionally, the focus of regional policy has been on regions within the borders of Member States. Only recently has attention been paid to transnational regions when promoting or funding regional development programs.
Transnational regionalism is not a new phenomenon in Europe. After World War II, it developed in Scandinavia, the Alpine region, and along the French and German border. More recently it has spread to southern Europe as well. Initially, transnationalregionalism in Europe occurred as a result of local and regional initiatives, but more recently it has been supported and actively promoted by the European Union, especially with the completion of the single internal market (Martinos and Humphreys 1992, 13-14).

One of the major programs of the EU, the purpose of which is to facilitate transnational regionalism, is Interreg. The aims of Interreg are:
-- to assist both internal and external border areas of the Community in overcoming the special development problems arising from their relative isolation within national economies and within the Community as a whole . . .
-- to promote the creation and development of networks of cooperation across internal borders . . .
-- to assist the adjustment of external border areas to their new role as border areas of a single integrated market,

-- to respond to new opportunities for cooperation with third countries in external border areas of the Community (European Communities 1990, 4).

Under the program, EU Member States and regional and local authorities present proposals to the Commission for assistance in the form of loans or grants. Proposals should focus on" creating alternative employment opportunities in areas where job losses may arise due to changes in customs and other borderrelated activities" (European Communities 1990, 4). Eligible measures include the development of small and medium-sized enterprises, the development of tourism, the provision of water, gas, and electricity supplies, pollution prevention and control, rural and agricultural development, the development oftransportation and communications infrastructure, the promotion of cooperation in higher education, and training and employment measures (European Communities 1990, 5).

Several programs have been funded and implemented under the Interreg initiative, a few of which will be discussed here. Interreg Spain-Portugal focused on the development of roads, agriculture, and tourism, among other things. Euregio, along the Dutch-German border, was established in 1958 and presented its first cross-border initiative to the EU in 1987. This region has also made use of Interreg funds to promote technology transfer, training programs, the development of leisure areas, and the establishment of institutions to advise consumers and businesses. Interreg Ireland-United Kingdom (Northern Ireland) has funded the development of auxiliary electric power, water quality management plans, and vocational training courses (European Commission 1994c, 32-40). Overall, the breakdown of activities funded by Interreg is as follows: 45% for transport and telecommunications, 17% for support for enterprise, 11% for tourism and heritage, 10% for the environment, 7% for rural development, 5% for training and employment, 4% for transfrontier contacts and structures, and 1% for technical support and administration (European Commission 1992).

Given the success of Interreg, the Commission decided toextend the initiative, now Interreg II, until 1999. The aims and eligible measures remain the same as for Interreg, except with the addition of measures to complete energy (natural gas and' '
electricity) networks in southern Europe. Previously, these measures were funded under the Regen initiative, but are now included in Interreg II (European Commission 1994a, 16-17).

Other EU programs which promote transnational regionalism include LACE (Linkage Assistance and Cooperation for the European Border Regions), the purpose of which is to promote cross-border cooperation and development, and SAPIC (Special Action Program for Inter-regional Cooperation), which provides technical assistance to local groups (Martinos and Humphreys 1992, 19-20). Outside of specific programs such as these, the Commission hasacted" to develop cross-border networks of infrastructurein and between the Member States (trans-European networks)[by identifying] 26 concrete projects in the field of transport " (European Commission 1994c, 6). Projects include the development of high speed train links, tunnels, bridges, and roadways. The Treaty on European Union provided for support for these trans-European networks, and the Council and the Commission have been working together as a catalyst for national and individual proposals (European Commission 1994c, 2-5).

In addition to EU programs, transnational regionalism in Europe is being facilitated in other ways. One of these is by the "Four Motors" of Europe - Barcelona, Lyon, Milan, and Stuttgart. These cities signed a cooperation agreement in 1988 and since then have worked together to promote their economic development. The first two have also developed connections with other neighboring cities, Barcelona with Toulouse and Montpelierin France, and Lyon with Geneva and Turin. The success of the Four Motors has led to the development of similar partnerships between other European cities such as Antwerp and Rotterdam, and Maastricht, Liege, and Aachen. Most of the cooperation in all cases is in developing transportation and communications infrastructure, while some have extended it to culture, education, and the environment (Drozdiak 1994, C3; see also Krause 1994).

Above the level of cities, at least one observer has noted the importance of transnational regions in the economic and social development of Europe. Darrell Delamaide has noted the existence of "superregions" - "large territories reflecting historical patterns of migration and trade, ethnic and linguistic heritage, and social customs" (Delamaide 1994, ix). Such superregions include the Latin Crescent, the Atlantic Coast, Mitteleuropa, and the Alpine Arc.

Transnational regionalism has existed in Europe for as long as the European Union and in areas outside of the EU. To an extent, this cooperation has aided the development of an integrated EU. But more

importantly, as the EU has pursued further integration through the Single European Act and the Treaty on European Union, it has acted as a catalyst for transnational regionalism. The Interreg initiatives are intended to help transnational regions cope with the creation of the single internal market. Support for trans-European networks was provided for in the Maastricht Treaty, as was the creation of a\new institution, the Committee of the Regions. Furthermore, the major agreements creating an integrated Europe - the Paris and Rome Treaties, the Single European Act, and the Treaty on European Union - are national-level treaties. Therefore, transnational regionalism has played a minimal role in furthering integration in Europe. Indeed, the opposite has been true most recently: integration has furthered transnational regionalism.

NORTH AMERICA

Cooperation between the United States and Canada on matters of mutual concern, specifically related to the border area, has existed for quite some time. Formal cooperation in the form of the establishment of bilateral institutions dates from the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, which created the International Joint Commission. Other institutions and their date of creation include the International Boundary Commission (1910), the Permanent Joint Board on Defense (1940), the Canada-U.S.A. Ministerial Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs (1953), the North American Air Defense Command (1957), and the Canada-United States Technical Committee on Agricultural Marketing and Trade Problems (1967) (Holsti and Levy 1974, 877-878; see also Willoughby 1979). The Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement also created bilateral institutions. For example, in the area of dispute resolution, the Canada-US Trade Commission and its permanent secretariat oversee general dispute resolution and antidumping and countervailing duty dispute resolution (Horlick, Oliver, and Steger 1988, 66-68). Informal cooperation between the governments is likely to have preceded this more formal cooperation. However, this cooperation is at the national level, between the national governments of the two countries.

At the subnational level, no evidence has been found that cooperation pre-dates the national-level cooperation. There is evidence, however, of a great deal of subnational-level cooperation (i.e., transnational regionalism) beginning in the 1960s. One study includes the preliminary findings of surveys of Canadian provincial officials regarding contacts with American states (Leach, Walker, and Levy 1973). As a result of survey responses, 170 different relations were reported. These were categorized according to function and the degree of formality. The functions covered a wide range of activities, including public service, protective/environmental, public works, andprotective/commercial. "Informal . . . relationships seem moreapt to occur in the fields of public health and welfare, labour,and agriculture . . . More formalized modes of co-operation are found in the fields of transportation and highways, international bridges, boundary waters and pollution, hydroelectric power, forests, civil defence, justice, tourism, and recreation" (Leach, Walker, and Levy 1973, 477).

With respect to the time frame of provincial-state contacts, little significant data is available from the surveys. Definite information was gathered for only 47 of the 170 relations:" . . . three date from the 1940s or earlier. A further fifteenbegan in the 1950s, but the bulk - 29 - were products of the period 1960-71" (Leach, Walker, and Levy 1973, 481). Furthermore, "There is no evidence to indicate that these relations were linked to particular domestic or international events or to individual leaders or party programs" (Leach, Walker, and Levy 1973, 481).

Several years after this study was conducted, the U.S. State Department issued a research contract to study the relationships between U.S. states and Canadian provinces. The results of this study were published by the State Department (Swanson 1974) and also were summarized in an article (Swanson 1976) and excerpted in a book chapter (Swanson 1978). The author discovered 766 state/provincial interactions meeting the following requirements: 1) currently active as of July 1974, 2) direct communication between state and provincial officials at some point in the process, and 3) more than a single exchange. These 766 do not include state interactions with the Canadian federal government, with private Canadian financial units, or with Canadian municipalities (Swanson 1978, 232-233). Swanson categorizes formal interactions as agreements, less formal interactions as understandings, and the least formal interactions asarrangements. An agreement is" . . . a jointly signed documentsetting forth regularized interactive procedures;" understandingsare" . . . correspondence, resolutions, communiqu,s, ormemoranda, not jointly signed, setting forth regularizedinteractive procedures;" and arrangements are" . . . any otherwritten or verbal articulation of a regularized interactive procedure"

(Swanson 1978, 236-237). The following table depicts the numbers of each type of interaction by functional category.

Table 1
Summary of interactions by types of interaction and by functional category

Source: Swanson 1978, 244.

Most state/provincial interaction occurs in the area of transportation, followed by natural resources; however, it is clear from Table 1 that state/provincial interaction is pervasive, existing in most .if not all areas of government activity. Furthermore, informal arrangements are the most numerous type of interaction overall, and in all functional categories except transportation.

While the study was not able to uncover the time frame for arrangements or understandings, most agreements were concluded in the 1960s and 1970s: nine in 1960-1964, 10 in 1965-1969, and 19 in 1970-1974 (Swanson 1978, 245-246). As with the previous study, there are no particular events that appear to have stimulated these interactions in the 1960s and 1970s. As will bediscussed below, however, the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement did act as a catalyst for more recent interactions.

Geographically, Maine accounted for the most interactions, 14.4%, followed by Michigan (7.3%), New York (6.3%), Minnesota (6.1%), and Wisconsin (4.8%). Overall, the border states account for 61.7% of the interactions. On a regional basis, the Northeast is most active with 36.3% of the interactions, followed by the Midwest (30.5%), the Pacific (10.7%), the South (9.8%), the Mountain States (8.6%), and the Southwest (4%) (Swanson 1978, 233-235).

Some examples of state/province interaction include the following. The premiers of Eastern Canada and the governors of the New England states met in 1973 to discuss matters of mutual concern, and followed up with annual meetings for at least the next decade. At this first meeting, the New England/Eastern Canadian Provinces Transportation Advisory Committee and the New England/Eastern Provinces Energy Advisory Committee were established (Swanson 1976, 20-21). The Sugarbush Compact was signed by the premiers and governors in 1974. Its purpose is to promote cooperation in the energy sector (Howe 1980, 179-180). Also in the early 1970s, Oklahoma and Ontario signed an agreement regarding licensing of insurance agents, New York and Ontario informally agreed to discuss mutual air pollution problems, and North Dakota, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba entered into informal arrangements regarding disaster emergency activities (Swanson 1978, 235-236). To summarize the evidence from these studies undertaken in the early 1970s, state/provincial interactions have covered virtually the entire range of government activities. Much of the cooperation has occurred in the areas of transportation, natural resources (including energy), and the environment. The interactions have ranged from formal to informal, with the latter predominating. In terms of the time frame, most of the interactions have taken place (or begun) in the 1960s and 1970s, but with no apparent catalytic events.. Finally, it is difficult to summarize the findings in geographical terms because some of the data represents only bilateral interactions while some represents all interactions. The Northeastern states have the highest percentage of all interactions on the U.S. side, while the most active pair is Maine/New Brunswick (Swanson 1978, 247). Yet based on the data, one cannot conclude that the area of greatest interaction is the Northeastern U.S./Eastern Canada because Eastern Canada has a smaller percentage of bilateral interactions (17.0%) than the Central provinces (Ontario and Quebec - 47.8%) and the Western provinces (35.2%). Different data would have to be collected to get a true sense of the geographic distribution of interactions on both sides of the border.

Studies similar to the two described above have not been undertaken recently, yet there is evidence that state/provincial interactions continue. The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement was signed and ratified in 1988. This, in addition to Canada'sconstitutional crisis, environmental problems which transcend the U.S.-Canadian border, and "a shared frustration with eastern ignorance and indifference, and a strong feeling of regional identity" (Welcome to Cascadia 1994, 52) has spurred interest in "Cascadia."

The idea harkens back to the first half of the 19th century, when the frontiers of the Oregon Territory extended across present-day state and national borders. The core of the new country -- named for the region's imposing mountain range -- would be Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, and it would have a combined land mass of 529,000 square miles, three times the size of California, and a

population of over 10 million people. If expanded to include the states of Idaho, Montana and Alaska and the Canadian province of Alberta, as some suggest, it would have an economy greater than all but nine nations of the world (Claiborne 1991, 29).

Ranking Cascadia as the tenth largest economy in the world is based on an estimated GNP of $250 million (Et in Cascadia, ego 1992, 28).

While some speak of Cascadia as a new country, most proponents are not secessionists, rather they are focusing on economic realities and a new regionalism. Political and business leaders from the states and provinces have met to discuss, inter alia, pooling resources on economic, education, research and development, energy, and environmental matters, a common telecommunications network, worker training, high-speed rail, a regional opera company (Claiborne 1991, 29), and even sharing the Seattle Mariners baseball team (by playing home games in Seattle, Portland, and Vancouver), renaming it the Cascadia Mariners (Chass 1992, 8:11). Interactions are through state/provinceagreements (Washington State has signed two agreements with British Columbia concerning cooperation in trade, investment, and tourism (Egan 1993, AS)), business councils, government bodies at the regional and city levels, policy institutes, and taskforces (Welcome to Cascadia 1994, 52). Support for this transnational economic union has move beyond academics to include politicians and business leaders.

The types of interaction taking place in Cascadia are similar to those described in the 1970s studies in the sense that they cover a wide range of government functions and they range from formal to informal. The differences are obvious: Cascadia is a more recent phenomenon than those described above, and it represents an increase in interactions in the Western region. Thus, a new survey of interactions might see the geographic balance tipped more toward the West. Furthermore, it appears that Cascadia is at least in part a reaction to the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, whereas 1960s and 1970s interactions had no similar catalyst.

Similar to the idea of "superregions" in Europe is the idea of the "nine nations" of North America. Washington Post editor Joel Garreau traveled the continent to interview people and redraw the map of North America. He argues that one cannot understand the similarities and differences between people by dividing them into Canada, the United States, and Mexico. A better way is to consider nine nations: Ecotopia, the Empty Quarter, Breadbasket, the Foundry, New England (all of whichcross the Canadian-U.S. border), Quebec, Dixie, the Islands, and Mexamerica. According to the author, these divisions are more accurate politically, socially, culturally, and economically than the current political division into three nation-states (Garreau 1981).

While integration in North America, through the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA), has facilitated transnational regionalism, a good deal of the cross-border cooperation predates the FTA. It is more likely, then, that transnational regionalism has played a significant role in facilitating integration in North America than vice versa. This possibility is alluded to by the authors of one of the studies described above: "It may even be that the integration of two contiguous subsystems of the respective national systems is a prelude to the integration of the latter into a North American political system" (Leach, Walker, and Levy 1973, 481).

It is also possible that transnational regionalism in Cascadia will further North American integration beyond that envisioned by the FTA or the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The FTA focused on eliminating barriers to trade and investment between Canada and the United States, while NAFTA essentially extended such provisions to include Mexico. What is happening in Cascadia in particular goes somewhat further than either of these. The interactions in Cascadia include not only trade and investment, but also educational, social, and cultural activities as well.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper was to explore transnational regionalism and its role in integration from below. In particular, transnational regionalism in Europe and North America was discussed, with a view to evaluating its effect on integration on both continents.

Transnational regionalism in Europe and North America is similar in that the functional areas of cooperation are much the same - for example, transportation and the environment. Additionally, the interactions range from formal to informal.

One difference is the time frame of much of the transnational regionalism onethe two continents. While transnational regionalism has existed in both Europe and North America for some time, such

cooperation appears to have increased in North America in the 1960s and 1970s, and then again in the late 1980s-early I990s. Europe had no such increase until the late 1980s.

Another difference is the role of transnational regionalism in facilitating integration. It appears that transnational regionalism has facilitated integration in North America, whereas in Europe, integration has facilitated transnational regionalism. Therefore, while integration has occurred both from above (e.g., through national-level treaties) and from below in Europe and North America, the evidence provided in this paper indicates that it is possible to tentatively conclude that integration in Europe has been primarily from above; in North America, it has been muchmore from below.

Future research needs to be conducted in order to develop a better understanding of the role of transnational regionalism in facilitating integration. The term "facilitating" is used purposely here because it is not possible at this point to speak of a causal relationship between transnational regionalism and integration. Several research questions that merit further study include the following: how much transnational regionalism existed in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, and how much exists today? How much transnational regionalism exists in North America today? How much further has transnational regionalism developed than is provided for in national-level integration agreements? Istransnational regionalism pushing national governments tonegotiate further integration agreements? To what extent does the type of governing system in a country (i.e., federal or unitary) affect the existence or success of transnational regionalism? This is especially interesting in comparing the case of the U.S. and Canada, which are both federal systems, with European cases. Furthermore, in the wake of NAFTA, it is possible to consider transnational regionalism across both land borders of the U.S. (see Orme 1993).

When the answers to these questions are found, it will then be possible to evaluate hypotheses such as: 1) transnational regionalism is a factor in the process of integration, and 2) integration in North America is from below, whereas in Europe it is from above. The evidence provided in this paper indicates that this is a fruitful area for further research.

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