

**Our Vision**

A dynamic and prosperous West in a strong Canada.

**Our Mission**

A leading source of strategic insight, conducting and communicating non-partisan economic and public policy research of importance to the four western provinces and all Canadians.

## Better Neighbours: The Ongoing Case for Interprovincial Cooperation in Western Canada

Robert Roach, Director of the West in Canada Project  
October 2009



West

## THE WEST IN CANADA PROJECT

Canada is a wonderfully diverse country with its people spread across the second largest nation-state in the world. There are many things that tie us together as Canadians, but there is no doubt that each part of the country is unique and brings a different set of characteristics and perspectives to the national table. Understanding and integrating this diversity is a challenge as big as Canada itself.

Western Canada—British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba—is one of many distinct regions in Canada. The West is no more homogenous than any other region or sub-region, but there is an abundance of features that tie the four western provinces together in special ways. Shedding light on this region, communicating its frustrations and aspirations to the national community, seeking ways to build on the common ground found in the West, and weaving the region into the national whole are the goals of the West in Canada Project. The project, like Canada West Foundation, is based on the idea that strong and prosperous regions make for a strong and prosperous Canada.

For more information, please contact Robert Roach ([roach@cwf.ca](mailto:roach@cwf.ca)).

This report is part of Canada West Foundation's The West in Canada Project. The report was prepared by the Project's Director, Robert Roach. The author wishes to thank Evan Wilson for his assistance with this report.

The opinions expressed in this document are those of the author only and are not necessarily those of the Canada West Foundation's Board of Directors, advisors or funders. Permission to use or reproduce this report is granted for personal or classroom use without fee and without formal request provided that it is properly cited. Copies may not be made or distributed for profit or commercial advantage. The report can be downloaded at no charge from Canada West Foundation's website ([www.cwf.ca](http://www.cwf.ca)).

© 2009 Canada West Foundation

ISBN 1-897423-58-5

Graphic Design and Layout by Jason Azmier

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The long-term prosperity of western Canada depends in part on the degree to which the four western provincial governments cooperate with one another. This message is repeated again and again whenever Canada West Foundation consults with western Canadians.

Fortunately, interprovincial cooperation is well-established in the West and has been building momentum in recent years with the signing of the Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement, joint Cabinet meetings and the recently announced Western Economic Partnership. The only downside to these new developments is that Manitoba has not joined in.

Given these developments, and the ongoing importance of cooperation to the region's economic success, it is an opportune time to restate the case for interprovincial cooperation in the West.

There are three basic and overlapping reasons in favour of regional cooperation: strength in numbers; economic benefits/public policy efficiency; and spillover effects. In addition to these generic advantages, there are four specific reasons for cooperation among the western provinces:

**1. The Goldilock's Principle**—It is easier to manage cooperation among the four western provinces than among 10 provinces and three territories spread out across the full width and breadth of the Canadian landmass. Simply put, pan-Canadian cooperation is “too big.” Conversely, retreating to a purely provincial approach in all instances is “too small.” The advantages of interprovincial cooperation remain a laudable goal. Hence, rising above provincial borders and engaging in regional policy cooperation has the potential for being “just right.”

**2. Spillover Effects in the West**—The four western provinces are tied to one another in a variety of unavoidable ways. The need to address policy issues that literally spill over provincial borders means that there are numerous policy areas where cooperation is an obvious and desirable option. The management of rivers that cross provincial borders is an example, as is the maintenance of an efficient regional transportation system.

West

**3. Common Ground**—One of the reasons pan-Canadian cooperation is not always the best bet for the western provinces is the fact that there are a large number of policy issues that loom large in the West, but sit at or near the bottom of the agenda in the rest of the country (and vice versa). The diverse nature of the Canadian federation means that many issues have a regional dimension that make them more important to the provinces of one region than to those in other parts of the country. Some key areas of common ground in the West include the relative importance of natural resource industries and agriculture, well-established regional business and trade linkages, high concentrations of Aboriginal peoples, strong linkages to states in the western US, and significant family and social connections due to the tendency of westerners to move about within the region. These and other common features provide fertile soil in which to grow stronger forms of regional public policy cooperation.

**4. Population Size**—The population and economy of each of the four western provinces are relatively small. Even the largest western province (BC) has a smaller population than the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area. As a result, the individual western provinces do not have the population base to achieve critical mass or an economy of scale in some areas. In a national, continental and global environment in which the individual western provinces are small players, it makes sense to work together as a region rather than as four separate units.

### **Next Steps:**

1. If the West is to reach its economic potential and improve its public services while keeping higher taxes at bay, interprovincial cooperation is key. This means that we need even more cooperation. The TILMA and the Western Economic Partnership are significant steps worthy of applause, but they are only milestones at the start of a long road. There are opportunities to cooperate that go beyond trade, investment and labour mobility. For example, a pan-western post-secondary education system, combined investments in regional transportation infrastructure and integrated regional health care services should be given serious consideration.

2. While the agreements to date are impressive, cooperation is an ongoing process—it is never finished. It is one thing to sign an agreement, quite another to put it into practice, and even harder to maintain it over the long haul. BC,

West

Alberta and Saskatchewan should not be satisfied with their success to date, but use it to propel them to “the next level” of cooperation.

3. Manitoba needs to be brought on board in meaningful ways. It is to Manitoba’s advantage to be a full member of the BC-Alberta-Saskatchewan club just as it is better for these three provinces to have Manitoba as a member. The regional common ground and the benefits of cooperation apply to Manitoba as much as to any of the other western provinces. Given this, both Manitoba and the other three western provinces should examine ways to extend the cooperative grid east of Saskatchewan so that it encompasses Manitoba.

4. While more government is rarely the best answer to policy challenges, a possible fourth step would be the creation of a permanent Western Interprovincial Cooperation Secretariat. With a modest staff and budget, the secretariat could keep track of existing cooperation initiatives, highlight areas for potential cooperation, report on cooperation in other parts of the country, and serve as a resource for all four provinces as they continue to work together on a wide range of issues.

5. More work is needed to determine if cooperation actually pays the dividends it promises. For example, would combined health programs or a regional post-secondary system actually deliver better services and lower costs? The more hard numbers that can be attached to the outcomes of cooperation, the more likely it will be that it will not only continue, but expand as well.

West

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In 2003, the Canada West Foundation published *Common Ground: The Case for Interprovincial Cooperation in Western Canada*. This study outlined the many reasons why interprovincial cooperation makes sense. Since that time, major new forms of cooperation have emerged within the region, such as the recently announced Western Economic Partnership.<sup>1</sup> *Better Neighbours* updates the previous Canada West Foundation report on interprovincial cooperation in light of these and other initiatives and restates the larger case for cooperation.

## 2. WHY COOPERATE?

Suggesting ways to improve public policy is one of the main things Canada West Foundation does. Among the many options for improving public policy is cooperation among governments. Provincial governments may, for example, be able to save tax dollars by placing a bulk order for the same math textbook or improve health outcomes by supporting a regional “centre of excellence” rather than several smaller individual provincial efforts.

This does not mean that cooperation is beneficial in all situations. It is not a cure for everything that ails public policy and it is not without cost in terms of time, resources and adaptability to local circumstances and priorities.

Governments, moreover, are complex human organizations. This means that cooperation can take place only when there is trust, familiarity and

---

<sup>1</sup> The Premiers of BC, Alberta and Saskatchewan signed the Western Economic Partnership at a September 2009 joint Cabinet meeting held in Calgary. See [http://www2.news.gov.bc.ca/news\\_releases\\_2009-2013/2009PREM0034-000322.htm](http://www2.news.gov.bc.ca/news_releases_2009-2013/2009PREM0034-000322.htm)

Cooperation should be the default option and abandoned only when its costs are shown to outweigh its benefits. This requires a new way of thinking about public policy by both elected officials and bureaucrats.

understanding among government staff. These relationships take time and effort to establish and nurture.

Despite these caveats, one can safely assert that cooperation is a generally beneficial option and should be considered as a possible way to improve a broad range of government activities. Indeed, cooperation should be the *default* option and abandoned only when its costs are shown to outweigh its benefits. This requires a new way of thinking about public policy by both elected officials and bureaucrats. After all, it is hard enough to engender cooperation across departments within the same government let alone between different governments. Without political will, staff incentives, clear results, accountability and long-term relationships, cooperation will fail.

On the bright side, interprovincial cooperation<sup>2</sup> is already quite far along in western Canada. This is illustrated by a long list of existing initiatives (see Figure 1 for some examples) and by recent developments such as the Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement (TILMA) between BC and Alberta and the brand new Western Economic Partnership between BC, Alberta and Saskatchewan.

---

<sup>2</sup> Interprovincial cooperation is defined in this report as any form of cooperative behaviour among provincial governments or their agencies. It includes everything from information sharing and coordination of tourism marketing to harmonized trucking regulations and pan-western post-secondary programs.

The importance of regional cooperation<sup>3</sup> has been brought up at virtually every meeting, roundtable and conference organized by Canada West Foundation in the last decade. Whether the topic is competing in the global economy, improving social services, addressing water issues or any number of other policy areas, interprovincial cooperation is seen as adding value.

Western Canadians also understand that, unlike the 13 million people in Ontario, 10 million westerners are dispersed among four separate provinces. This has advantages (e.g., the development of provincial policies that take into account unique circumstances and a greater degree of policy experimentation) and disadvantages (e.g., barriers to growth created by a splintered regional economy and wasteful duplication). One way to minimize the disadvantages and maximize the advantages of a region divided into four jurisdictions is through public policy cooperation. Missed opportunities on this front are costly given fiscal imperatives such as rising health care costs and a global economy marked by intense competition.

As noted, the pursuit of cooperation does not negate the value of healthy provincially-based policy experimentation or the existence of different policy priorities and preferences. Complete policy homogeneity is not the objective nor is formal political unification. The goal is to capitalize on shared interests by moving beyond “silo thinking” and realizing the potential benefits associated with cooperation among existing provincial units.

### **Cooperation or Unification?**

A lack of regional institutions that cross provincial borders means that provincial governments are the focal points of territorial interests in Canada.<sup>4</sup> There is

---

<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding the inclusion of the territorial premiers at the annual Western Premiers’ Conference, the three northern territories are considered to be a distinct region in this report rather than as part of western Canada (BC, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba). This does not diminish the importance of the West working closely with the North on a broad array of initiatives, but it does suggest that these efforts should be seen as inter-regional rather than intra-regional in nature.

<sup>4</sup> Large cities have been vying for the role of representing urban territorial interests in Canada. While they have achieved some success, it has been limited by the fact that they do not have the constitutional status and responsibilities enjoyed by the provinces. It remains to be seen how “city regions” like Vancouver, Calgary and Toronto will make their presence known in Confederation in the years ahead.

West



Provincial governments and provincial boundaries are here to stay. The durability of provincial units means that addressing common challenges and developing regional efficiencies must be accomplished through interprovincial cooperation.

no Premier of the West and no western Canadian regional government with powers outlined in the Constitution. The West, moreover, does not have tax revenue to pay for public works and programs. Provinces, of course, have all of these things and years of province-building have established them as complex political and administrative units with deep roots, significant power and a vast array of interests dependent upon them:

...since 1867 Canadians have been engaged not only in state-building but in province-building as well. The existence of separate provincial governments automatically elicits a more intense pattern of communications and associational activity within provincial boundaries than across them. (Black and Cairns 1977, 43)

Provincial governments and provincial boundaries are here to stay. The durability of provincial units means that addressing common challenges and developing regional efficiencies must be accomplished through interprovincial cooperation.<sup>5</sup>

### Is the West a “Real” Region?

Discussion of interprovincial cooperation in the West requires at least a passing nod to the somewhat fuzzy, but nonetheless useful, notion of “region.” A region can be thought of as any roughly contiguous geographic space tied together in some meaningful way (e.g., by physical, social, political, cultural or economic factors). Most would agree that the West is a region in at least

<sup>5</sup> The idea of unifying Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba was discussed at length at the *One Prairie Province? Conference* that was held in Lethbridge in 1970. The rough consensus at the conference was that unification was not the best option but that there was ample reason for the three prairie provinces (plus BC) to work together. It was at this conference that the Honourable James A. Richardson suggested the creation of an institution that could be a continuing forum for the thoughts and ideas expressed at the conference (Elton 1970). A few months later, Canada West Foundation was created to do just that.

West

some sense—even if this regional status is based on little more than the fact that people often lump the four western provinces together.<sup>6</sup>

But are there enough meaningful linkages among the four western provinces for them to be considered a “real” region? It doesn’t matter. When it comes to regional cooperation, what is required is that the western provinces choose to cooperate and, by so doing, *act like a region*.

With that said, successful interprovincial cooperation is more likely when there is common ground upon which to build relationships. Before going over this regional common ground in section 4, the next section outlines the three generic advantages of regional cooperation.

### 3. THE GENERAL CASE FOR INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION

Whether it is sub-state units like provinces or sovereign countries that are involved, there are three basic and overlapping reasons in favour of regional cooperation: 1) strength in numbers; 2) economic benefits and public policy efficiency; and 3) spillover effects.

#### Strength in Numbers

Banding together into regions is a standard means of enhancing military power, increasing political clout and trying to fend off external threats.<sup>7</sup> International cooperation designed to increase the military security of a group of nation-states (e.g., the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and free trade zones such

<sup>6</sup> *The Constitution Act, 1867* does this in section 22: “In relation to the Constitution of the Senate Canada shall be deemed to consist of Four Divisions... 4. The Western Provinces of Manitoba, British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Alberta.”

<sup>7</sup> Regional cooperation as a response to global forces is a common theme in the literature on international regions. As Breslin and Higgott argue, “Initial understandings of regionalism saw it as a defensive mechanism to reduce dependence on the international economy. The new regionalism takes a more offensive response to the global economy. It is a way of securing greater competitive access to global markets under conditions of globalisation, not a way of securing regional autarky. ... The defensive-offensive attitude towards regionalism should not be seen as mutually exclusive. The defensive legacies of the earlier phase remain” (2000, 339).

## Regional cooperation is seen as a practical response to external threats such as military intimidation or economic competition.

as the European Union or the North American Free Trade Agreement are classic examples of regional arrangements based on the premise that there is strength in numbers. Regional cooperation is seen as a practical response to external threats such as military intimidation or economic competition. Proponents of European cooperation, for example, believe that the individual countries of Europe stand a better chance of competing with large economies like the US if they work together as a relatively integrated unit: “The single market offers European businesses a larger pool of consumers and allows the creation of world-leading corporations to compete with the Americans and the Japanese” (McCormick 1999, 19). Regional cooperation is also used to increase political influence within a country or at the international level among nation-states.

The evolution of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the development of the World Trade Organization (WTO) notwithstanding, persistent barriers to a truly open global economy have meant that countries have sought to create workable economic zones based on regional synergies—zones that extend the benefits of free trade to members of the region while limiting the access of non-members (Reardon et al. 2002, 91). As sub-state regions and countries jockey for position in the global economy, being part of a regional trading bloc is a significant economic advantage. As the Western Governors’ Association argued in 1988, the benefits of regional cooperation in export trade include:

cost reductions and economies from consolidation of efforts, increased impact from a more massive presence of the states when operating in combination, increasingly knowledgeable state officers as a result of pooling of experience; greater and more rational global coverage at little extra cost; and an effective presence for Western interests in Washington and overseas. (Chi 1996, 60)

West

## Cooperation can be used to increase the political clout of a region and, in turn, the likelihood that it will achieve its objectives in political negotiations.

Although the military aspect of the strength in numbers concept does not apply to interprovincial cooperation, the economic component provides a rationale for the removal of provincial policies that balkanize regional economies and hamstring economic growth. Similarly, cooperation can be used to increase the political clout of a region and, in turn, the likelihood that it will achieve its objectives in political negotiations. As McCormick argues about the European Union, “There is greater chance of building global power and influence when the member states act in concert rather than individually” (1999, 19).

### **Economic Benefits and Policy Efficiency**

The need for relatively small or vulnerable economies to work together to compete with larger or better positioned economies points to the central role played by economic theory in the argument for regional cooperation. Working together enables a region to take advantage of economic principles such as comparative advantage and economies of scale and, by so doing, improve its overall economic performance and its ability to compete with external rivals:

In addition to the benefits of a more efficient economy, economic cooperation provides consumer benefits. These arise from two sources: access to products that are not available in one province at lower prices than would be charged in a protected market; tax benefits from lower costs in the provision of government services. (Parsons 1993, 4)

Because the economic principles of economies of scale and comparative advantage also apply to the provision of government services, regional cooperation also has the potential to generate better public services at lower cost. Competitiveness is enhanced by efficiency in *both* the private sector and the public sector.

Pooling expertise and resources saves money by reducing duplication and expanding the market for public services. Regional cooperation offers the scale of production necessary to compete with bigger players, but takes place on a small enough scale that is still manageable on a practical level. As Parsons argues, many “public services can be produced at lower average costs when they are produced in higher volumes” (1993, 2). Combining efforts, moreover, makes it easier to do some things that would be impossible or impractical for one province to undertake alone because it lacks a critical mass of resources or population.

Basing policy decisions on a regional population also allows for a greater degree of specialization. By focusing on a smaller number of services and “trading” these with regional partners, governments can provide their citizens with higher quality services and save money at the same time through the efficiency gains associated with specialization. Opportunities to create “centres of excellence” in the policy areas of education and health care abound. Indeed, as the costs of providing public health care continue to skyrocket, the cost savings promised by regional cooperation should be given serious consideration.

Harmonization across policy areas such as trucking, securities, power generation, licensing, standards, accreditation, labeling, international marketing and government procurement saves money, reduces confusion both within a region and among external investors, and increases economic performance. This, in turn, expands the tax base and helps sustain public services such as health care and education.

### **Spillover Effects**

Regional policy cooperation also allows governments to address public policy issues that are unavoidably regional in nature—issues that spill over political borders—such as water management, preservation of the environment, and transportation. The commitment to create a coordinated gang database by the end of 2009 reached at the joint BC-Alberta-Saskatchewan Cabinet meeting on September 11, 2009 is an excellent example of a spillover effect (criminal gang activity) being addressed through interprovincial cooperation.

West

## Cooperation is far from the exclusive preserve of western Canada. It can be and is both viable and valuable in other parts of the country.

Similarly, the only way to effectively manage the rivers that flow across Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba is to come to some sort of interprovincial agreement. Recognizing this, a Master Agreement on Apportionment was entered into in 1969. Recognition of the need for cooperative approaches to shared water resources dates back to 1948 when the Prairie Provinces Water Board was created:

Through almost 60 years of regular meetings, the Prairie Provinces Water Board has demonstrated that ongoing information sharing can result in the development of a high level of trust and open communication—resulting in many positive contributions in support of interprovincial water management solutions.” (International Institute for Sustainable Development, *Prairie Water Strategies*, December 2, 2005, p. 47)

Indeed, when it comes to spillover effects like those created by shared water resources, the *only* viable policy option is cooperation.

These generic reasons for interprovincial cooperation show that cooperation is far from the exclusive preserve of western Canada. It can be and is both viable and valuable in other parts of the country. In fact, Atlantic Canada has a long history of cooperation and there is much that the two regions can learn from each other in this regard. Examining the full range of interprovincial cooperation in Canada is, however, beyond the scope of this report. As such, the next section focuses on why cooperation makes particular sense in the West, but this does not in any way undermine the importance of regional cooperation among other combinations of provinces.

West

Figure 1: Examples of Existing Interprovincial Cooperation in Western Canada

| Initiative  | Description   | Start Date   | Partners   |
|---|---|--|--|
| Western College of Veterinary Medicine at the University of Saskatchewan  | The four western provinces and the federal government agreed to create a single veterinary college to serve the region.   | 1964   | Western provinces, northern territories and federal government |
| Alberta-Canada-Saskatchewan-Manitoba Master Agreement on Apportionment and the Prairie Provinces Water Board  | Established the Prairie Provinces Water Board to manage the commitments made in the Agreement surrounding easterly flowing water.   | 1969   | Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and federal government         |
| Western Premier's Meeting   | Annual meeting of the premiers of the four western provinces and three northern territories.  | The most recent meeting was in Dawson City, Yukon in June 2009 | Western provinces and northern territories                     |
| Western and Northern Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Basic Education   | Provides a forum for education ministers from the western provinces and northern territories to collaborate on education policy.  | 1993   | Western provinces and northern territories                     |
| Joint Cabinet Meetings  | Joint Cabinet meetings between BC and Alberta began in 2003. In 2008, Alberta and Saskatchewan held a joint Cabinet meeting. The first trilateral meeting took place in March 2009.                         | 2003   | BC, Alberta and Saskatchewan                                   |
| Memorandum of Understanding Between Alberta and British Columbia on a Protocol for a Partnership in Support of Assistive Technology and Other Specialized Services to Students with Special Needs | Defines a framework to enhance the availability of assistive technology and improve the delivery of other specialized services in Alberta and BC.   | 2004   | Alberta and BC   |
| Western Energy Alliance Memorandum of Understanding on Energy Across Boundaries   | Creates an "energy alliance" between the signatories, demonstrating their desire to collaborate on energy and harmonization of industry regulations, and promotion of energy supplies in the entire region. | 2006   | Western provinces and northern territories                     |
| Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement   | Signed in April 2006, the agreement is intended to provide "more secure access to the other province's market for business, investors and workers."   | 2006 (full implementation April 1, 2009)                       | BC and Alberta   |
| Carbon Capture and Storage Initiative   | Refers to cooperation between Alberta and Saskatchewan with the intent to lead the development of technologies necessary to implement carbon capture and storage.   | 2008   | Alberta and Saskatchewan                                       |
| Western Economic Partnership  | Signed at a trilateral Cabinet meeting in September 2009, the Western Economic Partnership is intended to create "a broad western interprovincial trade agreement."   | 2009   | BC, Alberta and Saskatchewan                                   |

Lumping the western provinces in with the rest of the country is counterproductive as western issues and needs are overshadowed by the concerns of other regions

#### 4. THE SPECIFIC CASE FOR WESTERN CANADIAN COOPERATION

In addition to the general advantages of regional cooperation, there are four specific reasons for cooperation among the four western provinces.

##### **Not Too Big, Not Too Small: The Goldilocks Principle<sup>8</sup>**

Mobilizing all 10 provinces and three territories—with or without the involvement of the federal government—is often (though not always) unmanageable. The number of players and the diversity of interests at the table mean that national negotiations are slow, complex, peppered with policy landmines and other barriers to successful cooperation. The advantages of cooperation are often unattainable because of the practical limitations of negotiating pan-Canadian arrangements. In addition, lumping the western provinces in with the rest of the country is counterproductive as western issues and needs are overshadowed by the concerns of other regions. In an article about the institutional weaknesses of the Annual Premiers' Conference, André Dufour notes that "if Saskatchewan wants to discuss subsidies to grain farmers, Nova Scotia plans to talk about fishing quotas" (2002). Dufour's observation highlights the barriers to pan-Canadian cooperation created by competing interests and priorities. It is simply easier to manage cooperation among the four western provinces than among 10 provinces and three territories spread out across the full width and breadth of the Canadian landmass. Simply put, pan-Canadian cooperation is "too big."

<sup>8</sup> Katzenstein uses the story of Goldilocks to illustrate the role of regions in international affairs: "Because they often mediate between national and global effects, regional effects, as in the story of Goldilocks, are neither too hot, nor too cold, but just right" (2000, 353).

West



It is tempting to argue at this juncture that the member states of the European Union face even greater barriers to cooperation, but have managed to overcome them and take advantage of the benefits of working together. Given this, why can't Canada's component parts do the same? There are four general responses to this line of reasoning.

First, Canada's provinces and territories, unlike the countries of Europe, do not have a history of bloody wars among them to act as an impetus for cooperation. Canada has the luxury of allowing certain internal divisions to remain active without the fear that they will lead to military action. Second, because Canada is a single country, it already had many of the things the EU was created to achieve (e.g., a common currency and relatively open internal borders). Third, even though there is a lot more that could be done, it is a mistake to see Canada's provinces and territories as divided as the members of the EU once were and to some degree still are. There is a great deal of common ground in Canada and all sorts of cooperative arrangements exist including the pan-Canadian Council of the Federation that was established at the end of 2003. Fourth, Canadians should take the European example to heart and challenge themselves to overcome ongoing internal differences, find ways to increase cooperation and, thereby, make the Canadian federation function as efficiently as possible. One way to do this is to continue and expand the work of the Council of the Federation.

Despite this, a pan-Canadian approach is not always needed, not always best for the West (or Canada), and not always possible. A pan-Canadian approach, moreover, may not be the best place to start given that a great deal can be learned by beginning on a regional level and building from there.

If pan-Canadian cooperation in many cases is "too big," retreating to a purely provincial approach in all instances is "too small." The advantages of interprovincial cooperation remain a laudable goal. Hence, rising above provincial borders and engaging in regional policy cooperation has the potential for being "just right." A regional approach is able to avoid (or at least mitigate) some of the pitfalls of pan-Canadian negotiations. It is also able to focus on issues of particular importance to the western provinces as a group and utilize regional common ground as a basis for cooperative

West

The diverse nature of the Canadian federation means that some needs and objectives have a regional dimension that make them more important to the provinces of one region than to those in other parts of the country. This, in turn, provides a basis for regional cooperation.

action. A regional approach yields the advantages of cooperation without the barriers to success associated with pan-Canadian policy action.

### **Spillover Effects in the West**

A second reason for regional cooperation in the West is the simple fact that the four western provinces are tied together in all sorts of unavoidable ways. The need to address policy issues that literally spill over provincial borders means that there are numerous policy areas where cooperation is an obvious and desirable option. The management of rivers that cross provincial borders discussed earlier is an example, as is the maintenance of an efficient regional transportation system. Again, it is a matter of degree rather than an either-or situation. Ontario, Quebec and Atlantic Canada have an interest in Vancouver's port system, just not to the same degree that farmers in Saskatchewan do.

### *Common Ground*

One of the reasons pan-Canadian cooperation is not always the best bet for the western provinces is the fact that there are a large number of policy issues that loom large in the West, but sit at or near the bottom of the agenda in the rest of the country and vice versa. This does not mean that the various regions of the country are indifferent to one another's concerns.<sup>9</sup> The point is that the diverse nature of the Canadian federation means that some needs and objectives have a regional dimension that make them more important to

---

<sup>9</sup> A province or region may share the concerns of another province or region, even if it is not clearly a common issue, for a variety of reasons including supporting the other region on principle or for strategic reasons. The contingencies of federal-provincial negotiations, for example, sometimes lead to deals where one province or region supports the position of another province or region as a means of increasing bargaining power.

West

the provinces of one region than to those in other parts of the country. This, in turn, provides a basis for regional cooperation.

Some key areas of common ground in the West (in addition to spillover effects) include the relative importance of natural resource industries and agriculture, well-established regional business and trade linkages, high concentrations of Aboriginal peoples, strong linkages to states in the western US, and significant family and social connections due to the tendency of westerners to move about within the region. These and other common features provide fertile soil in which to grow stronger forms of regional public policy cooperation.

The economic benefits of interprovincial cooperation in the West are well-documented in a study conducted for Canada West Foundation in 1993 by Dr. Graham Parsons entitled *A Western Economic Cooperation Agenda: Strengthening the Economic Union Within Western Canada*. The basic premise of the report is that there are natural economic linkages within western Canada that should drive the allocation of economic resources in the region, but these linkages are often severed by the division of the region into four provinces. As a result, there is—despite efforts to create a more open pan-Canadian economic union through the national Agreement on Internal Trade—an array of public policy barriers in place that hinder economic efficiency and growth. The BC-Alberta Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement (TILMA) has gone a long way toward truly eliminating barriers between BC and Alberta and the new Western Economic Partnership promises to do the same for barriers between BC, Alberta and Saskatchewan. At the time of writing, Manitoba remains outside these agreements.

It is important to note that the development of a more coordinated western economic and policy space should not seek to exclude other parts of the country. On the contrary, western Canadian successes in this area should be used to jump start the quest for a more open national economy.

West

As long as it is difficult for businesses, investors and individual Canadians to operate as if western Canada is a single economy relatively free of barriers to logical economic decisions, the West's ability to grow its economy is compromised.

#### *Population Size*

The population and economy of each of the four western provinces are relatively small. Even the largest western province (BC) has a smaller population than the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area. As a result, the individual western provinces do not have the population base to achieve critical mass or an economy of scale in some areas. In a national, continental, and global environment in which the individual western provinces are small players, it makes sense to work together as a region of 10 million people and 38% of the national economy rather than as four separate units (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Size Matters

|                | Population 2008 | Labour Force 2008 | GDP 2008 (\$ millions - nominal) | Area (km <sup>2</sup> ) |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| BC             | 4,381,600       | 2,425,900         | 199,214                          | 944,735                 |
| Alberta        | 3,585,100       | 2,088,100         | 291,662                          | 661,848                 |
| Saskatchewan   | 1,016,000       | 534,700           | 64,323                           | 651,036                 |
| Manitoba       | 1,208,000       | 633,000           | 48,549                           | 647,797                 |
| The West       | 10,190,700      | 5,681,700         | 603,748                          | 2,905,416               |
| Rest of Canada | 23,120,700      | 12,563,400        | 998,726                          | 7,079,254               |

As long as it is difficult for businesses, investors and individual Canadians to operate as if western Canada is a single economy relatively free of barriers to logical economic decisions, the West's ability to grow its economy is compromised. In addition, interprovincial cooperation in the West reduces costs and increases the quality of some public programs by accessing the economic efficiencies associated with a larger population base.

By coordinating their efforts, the western provinces can help westerners themselves take full advantage of the opportunities generated by globalization and, at the same time, create greater balance within the national economy.

A united front also increases the region's political clout. This principle has not been lost on the West's political leaders. The development of common western positions on federal-provincial issues is a longstanding means of exerting collective force on the federal government that is greater than the sum of its individual provincial parts.<sup>10</sup> The rationale is straightforward: a common regional front simultaneously increases political power and legitimacy, and prevents other governments from attempting a divide and conquer approach. As a result, regional cooperation in the area of federal-provincial negotiations has become a mainstay of intergovernmental relations in the West (Elton 1988).

Similarly, as provinces increase their role in international economic affairs (e.g., in trade disputes, marketing of investment opportunities, attracting skilled labour, and agreements with sub-national units in other countries), the ability to call on the strength in numbers created by interprovincial cooperation will boost the region's bargaining power.

By coordinating their efforts, the western provinces can help westerners themselves take full advantage of the opportunities generated by globalization and, at the same time, create greater balance within the national economy. The end result is not only stronger western provinces and a stronger West, but a stronger Canada as well. As federal Cabinet Minister Lloyd Axworthy argued in 1996:

It is time to embrace a new blueprint for action and develop a joint strategy for [western Canadian] economic and social renewal. A

---

<sup>10</sup> This rationale has also played a key role in intergovernmental relations in Atlantic Canada. One of the benefits sought from cooperation outlined in the 2001-2002 *Annual Report of the Council of Atlantic Premiers* is "greater influence over external forces and players that affect our provinces, particularly the federal government" (1).

West

stronger Western Canada will in turn increase the region's political clout nationally and abroad, making it a more valuable partner in Confederation. (1996, 3)

In summary, the Goldilocks principle, regional spillover effects, the existence of a significant amount of regional common ground, and the small population size of the western provinces combine to form a specific case for interprovincial cooperation in the West. Common ground and spillover effects tie the western provinces together across a range of policy areas and create ripple effects across the region when provinces do not act in concert. The common ground and spillover effects create a natural western Canadian policy region that is larger than its provincial parts (and therefore able to generate economies of scale), but not as unwieldy as pan-Canadian cooperation can be.

### **A NEW ERA OF INTERPROVINCIAL COOPERATION IN WESTERN CANADA?**

As the first decade of the millennium comes to a close, we seem to have entered a new phase of interprovincial cooperation in the West. The first joint Cabinet meeting in Canadian history took place in 2003 when the BC and Alberta Cabinets gathered in Calgary. The meeting has become an annual event and included Saskatchewan for the first time in March 2009 and again in September 2009.

This new phase of cooperation also includes the historic Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement (TILMA) between BC and Alberta. The TILMA has set a very high bar for both interprovincial cooperation and a common internal market that other provinces are not even close to achieving. As a result, cooperation in the West is now much more ingrained between BC and Alberta than elsewhere in the region (or elsewhere in the country).

At the September 2009 BC-Alberta-Saskatchewan Cabinet meeting, the premiers signed the landmark Western Economic Partnership. According to the news release, "The partnership will create a broad western interprovincial trade agreement to create the largest barrier-free trade and investment market in Canada. The partnership will also enhance collaboration on international marketing, innovation and procurement." This partnership brings Saskatchewan into the BC-Alberta club.

Manitoba, however, is not currently a member of the club. It remains to be seen therefore if this new phase of intergovernmental cooperation will spread to encompass the entire region.

West

## 5. THE MORE THE MERRIER

Interprovincial cooperation is, for the most part, on the right track in three of the four western provinces, but the final destination has not been reached. Indeed, several things stand out as next steps along the cooperation road.

First, if the West is to reach its economic potential and improve its public services while keeping higher taxes at bay, interprovincial cooperation is key. This means that we need even more cooperation. The TILMA and the just-out-of-its-box Western Economic Partnership are significant steps worthy of applause, but they are only milestones at the start of a long road. There are opportunities to cooperate that go beyond trade, investment and labour mobility. For example, a pan-western post-secondary education system, combined investments in regional transportation infrastructure and integrated regional health care services should be given serious consideration.

Second, while the agreements to date are impressive, cooperation is an ongoing process—it is never finished. It is one thing to sign an agreement, quite another to put it into practice, and even harder to maintain it over the long haul. The history of the NAFTA demonstrates the need for ongoing relations and the importance of political will in the face of changing circumstances. BC, Alberta and Saskatchewan should not be satisfied with their success to date, but use it to propel them to “the next level” of cooperation.

This points to a third next step: Manitoba needs to be brought on board in meaningful ways. It is to Manitoba’s advantage to be a full member of the BC-Alberta-Saskatchewan club just as it is better for these three provinces to have Manitoba as a member. The regional common ground and the benefits of cooperation apply to Manitoba as much as to any of the other western provinces. Given this, both Manitoba and the other three western provinces should examine ways to extend the cooperative grid east of Saskatchewan so that it encompasses Manitoba. The place to start may be more bilateral arrangements between Saskatchewan and Manitoba with pan-regional efforts building on bilateral successes.

West

While the theoretical case for regional cooperation is rock solid, there remains a relative lack of hard empirical evidence of its benefits. In some cases, the advantages are obvious: you simply can't manage a shared water resource without cooperation.

Fourth, while more government is rarely the best answer to policy challenges, a possible fourth step would be the creation of a permanent Western Interprovincial Cooperation Secretariat. With a modest staff and budget, the secretariat could keep track of existing cooperation initiatives, highlight areas for potential cooperation, report on cooperation in other parts of the country, and serve as a resource for all four provinces as they continue to work together on a wide range of issues.

Finally, while the theoretical case for regional cooperation is rock solid, there remains a relative lack of hard empirical evidence of its benefits. In some cases, the advantages are obvious: you simply can't manage a shared water resource without cooperation. Similarly, if you see labour mobility as a right, cooperation in this area is the only way to ensure this right is not denied.

In other cases, however, more work is needed to determine if cooperation actually pays the dividends it promises. For example, would combined health programs or a regional post-secondary system actually deliver better services and lower costs? The more hard numbers that can be attached to the outcomes of cooperation in the West, the more likely it will be that it will not only continue, but expand as well.

West



The long-term prosperity of western Canada depends in part on the degree to which the four western provincial governments cooperate with one another. This message is repeated again and again whenever we consult with western Canadians.

## 6. CONCLUSION

“I have always hoped that the four western provinces and territories could some day come together, not politically, but with common economic and social goals, some elements of a common administration, and synergies in infrastructure. This is apparently a long way down the road, but it is still worth contemplation, particularly in this era of great fiscal difficulties.”

—Canada West Foundation Chair Arthur Child, Canada West Foundation Board Meeting, February 13, 1993

The long-term prosperity of western Canada depends in part on the degree to which the four western provincial governments cooperate with one another. This message is repeated again and again whenever we consult with western Canadians.

A significant amount of cooperation already takes place in western Canada. The signing of the TILMA, the joint Cabinet meetings between BC, Alberta and Saskatchewan, and the newly minted Western Economic Partnership are positive signs that cooperation in the West is moving in the right direction. Nonetheless, there is room for more cooperation in key policy areas such as transportation, health care, post-secondary education, energy and the environment. In addition, Manitoba should be brought into the BC-Alberta-Saskatchewan club (perhaps by way of a joint Cabinet meeting with Saskatchewan as a start).

West

Increased interprovincial cooperation has the potential to generate significant cost savings, improve the quality of services available to western Canadians, boost the region's economic competitiveness, and increase the likelihood of successfully addressing a range of common public policy challenges. Ongoing fiscal pressures combined with greater exposure to a more competitive global economy are rendering "go it alone" provincial strategies in some areas too costly in a region where even the largest province is a relatively small player on the world stage. The efficiencies generated by thinking and acting like a region rather than four "silos" will help the West stay competitive and equip western Canadians with the tools they need to keep the West a great place to live. Interprovincial cooperation is not a panacea, but it is one way that the West can take positive steps toward ensuring its long-term prosperity.

West

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, F. J. 1988. *Regional Economic Analysis: A Canadian Perspective*.
- Atlantic Provinces Economic Council. 1997. *Advancing Economic Cooperation in Atlantic Canada: A Survey of Business and Other Regional Leaders*.
- Atlantic Provinces Economic Council. 1987. *Atlantic Canada Today*.
- Atlantic Provinces Economic Council. 1982. "Arguments for Maritime Union" in Paul W. Fox, ed. *Politics: Canada*, Fifth Edition.
- Axworthy, Lloyd. 1996. "Western Cooperation: A Vision for Economic Renewal in Western Canada." *New City Magazine* 17.
- Barry, Donald and Ronald C. Keith, eds. 1999. *Regionalism, Multilateralism and the Politics of Global Trade*.
- Berdahl, Loleen. 2001. *Looking West: A Survey of Western Canadians*. Canada West Foundation.
- Black, Edwin and Alan Cairns. 1977. "A Different Perspective on Canadian Federalism" in J. Peter Meekison, ed. *Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality*, Third Edition.
- Blakeney, Allan. 1977. "Western Provincial Cooperation" in J. Peter Meekison, ed. *Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality*, Third Edition.
- Boas, Morten. 2000. "The Trade-Environment Nexus and the Potential of Regional Trade Institutions." *New Political Economy* 5.3.
- Bolleyer, Nicole. 2006. "Federal Dynamics in Canada, the United States, and Switzerland: How Substates' Internal Organization Affects Intergovernmental Relations." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 36 (4), 471-502.
- Bowles, Paul. 2000. "Regionalism and Development After the Global Financial Crises." *New Political Economy* 5.3.
- Breslin, Shaun and Richard Higgott. 2000. "Studying Regions: Learning from the Old, Constructing the New." *New Political Economy* 5.3.
- Brown, Brian A. 1977. *The New Confederation: Five Sovereign Provinces*.
- Cameron, David and Richard Simeon. 2002. "Intergovernmental Relations in Canada: The Emergence of Collaborative Federalism." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 32 (2): 49-71.
- Cameron, David, ed. 1981. *Regionalism and Supranationalism: Challenges and Alternatives to the Nation-State in Canada and Europe*. IRPP.
- Cameron, David. 1977. "Whither Canadian Federalism? The Challenge of Regional Diversity and Maturity" in J. Peter Meekison, ed. *Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality*, Third Edition.

- Canada West Foundation. 1973. *A Report on the Western Economic Opportunities Conference*.
- Campbell, Gordon, Ed Stelmach and Brad Wall. 2009. "An unprecedented partnership to build the new West: Alberta, Saskatchewan and BC see hope and strength in joint approach to economy, resources, organized crime and sustainable energy." *The Vancouver Sun*, March 14.
- Certified General Accountants. 2001. *Canada's Agreement on Internal Trade: It Can Work If We Want It To*. Vancouver: Certified General Accountants Association of Canada.
- Chi, Keon S. 1996. "Interstate Cooperation: Resurgence of Multistate Regionalism." *Journal of State Government* 63.3.
- Conway, J. F. 1994. *The West: The History of a Region in Confederation*, Second Edition.
- Council of Atlantic Premiers. 2002. *Annual Report: 2000-2001*.
- Council of Atlantic Premiers. 2001. *Working Together for Atlantic Canada: An Action Plan for Regional Co-operation: 2001-2003*.
- Courchene, Thomas J. and Colin R. Telmer. 1998. *From Heartland to North American Region State: The Social, Fiscal and Federal Evolution of Ontario*.
- de Boer, Stephen. 2002. "Canadian Provinces, US States and North American Integration: Bench Warmers or Key Players?" *Choices* 8.4.
- Deutsch, John et al. 1971. "Report on Maritime Union" in Meekison, Peter J., ed. *Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality*, Second Edition.
- Dufour, Andre. 2002. "More Smoke Than Fire." *Opinion Canada* 4.28.
- Duncan, Stuart A. and E. Thomas Penner. 1989. *Time for Action: Reducing Interprovincial Barriers to Trade*. Canada West Foundation.
- Duncan, Stuart A. 1988. *Free Trade and the Western Canadian Consumer*. Canada West Foundation.
- Economic Council of Canada, *Living Together: A Study of Regional Disparities*. 1977.
- Elton, David. 1991. "Western Grievances – A Long History" in Paul W. Fox and Graham White, eds. *Politics Canada*, Seventh Edition.
- Elton, David. 1988. "Federalism and the Canadian West" in R. D. Olling and M.W. Westmacott, eds. *Perspectives on Canadian Federalism*.
- Elton, David, ed. 1970. *One Prairie Province? A Question for Canada: Conference Proceedings and Selected Papers*.
- Emery, J.C. Herbert and Ronald D. Kneebone. 2003. "Should Alberta and Saskatchewan Unite? Examining Proposals for Closer Co-Operation—From Maintaining the Status Quo to Political Union." *C.D. Howe Institute Commentary* 190, November.
- Florestano, Patricia S. and Laura Wilson-Gentry. 1994. "The Acceptability of Regionalism in Solving State and Local Problems." *Spectrum* Summer.

- Fox, Lisa and Robert Roach. 2003. *Good Neighbours: An Inventory of Interprovincial Cooperation in the West, 1990-2002*. Canada West Foundation.
- Friesen, Gerald. 1999. *The West: Regional Ambitions, National Debates, Global Age*.
- Fujita, Masahisa, Paul Krugman and Anthony J. Venables, eds. 1999. *The Spatial Economy: Cities, Regions, and International Trade*.
- Garreau, Joel. 1981. *The Nine Nations of North America*.
- Geddes, Gary, ed. 1977. *Divided We Stand*.
- Gertler, L. O. 1972. *Regional Planning in Canada: A Planner's Testament*.
- Gibbins, Roger and Sonia Arrison. 1995. *Western Visions: Perspectives on the West in Canada*.
- Gibbins, Roger. 1982. *Regionalism: Territorial Politics in Canada and the United States*.
- Gibbins, Roger. 1980. *Prairie Politics and Society: Regionalism in Decline*.
- Governments of Alberta, BC, Manitoba, NWT, Saskatchewan, and Yukon. 1993. *Working Together: An Inventory of Intergovernmental Cooperation in Western Canada 1980-1993*.
- Hettne, Bjorn and Fredrik Soderbaum. 2000. "Theorising the Rise of Regionness." *New Political Economy* 5.3.
- Hodgetts, J. E. 1977. "Regional Interests and Policy in a Federal Structure" in J. Peter Meekison, ed. *Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality*, Third Edition.
- Johns, Carloyn M., Patricia L. O'Reilly and Gregory J. Inwood. 2007. "Formal and informal dimensions of intergovernmental administrative relations in Canada." *Canadian Public Administration* 50 (1), 21-41.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. 2000. "Regionalism and Asia." *New Political Economy* 5.3.
- Kilgour, David. 1990. *Inside Outer Canada*.
- Lazar, Harvey. 2008. "Fiscal Federalism: An Unlikely Bridge Between the West and Quebec." *The Canadian Political Science Review* 2 (3), 51-67.
- Leach, Richard H. 1959. "Interprovincial Co-operation: Neglected Aspect of Canadian Federalism." *Canadian Public Administration* 2 (2), 83-99.
- Leslie, Peter. 1987. *Federal State, National Economy*.
- Macmillan, Katie. 1985. *The Canadian Common Market: Interprovincial Trade and International Competitiveness*. Canada West Foundation.
- Markusen, Ann. 1987. *Regions: The Economics and Politics of Territory*.
- McAllister, Ian. 1982. *Regional Development and the European Community: A Canadian Perspective*. IRPP.
- McCann, Larry and Angus Gunn, eds. 1998. *Heartland and Hinterland: A Regional Geography of Canada*.

- McCormick, John. 1999. *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*.
- McCormick, Peter. 1991. "The Different Dimensions of Regionalism in Canada" in Paul W. Fox and Graham White, eds. *Politics Canada*, Seventh Edition.
- McCormick, Peter, Ernest C. Manning and Gordon Gibson. 1981. *Regional Representation: The Canadian Partnership*. Canada West Foundation.
- McIntosh, Tom. 2004. "Intergovernmental relations, social policy and federal transfers after Romanow." *Canadian Public Administration* 47 (1), 27-51.
- McMillan, Charles. 2001. *Focusing on the Future: The New Atlantic Revolution*.
- Meekison, J. Peter. 2004a. The Western Premiers' Conference: Intergovernmental Cooperation at the Regional Level." In J. Peter Meekison, Hamish Telford and Harvey Lazar (eds.). *Canada: The State of the Federation 2002*.
- Meekison, J. Peter. 2004b. The Annual Premiers' Conference: Forging a Common Front." In J. Peter Meekison, Hamish Telford and Harvey Lazar (eds.). *Canada: The State of the Federation 2002*.
- Melnyk, George. 1993. *Beyond Alienation: Political Essays on the West*.
- Montreal Economic Institute. 2001. *Why We Need Freer Trade in Canada*. Montreal Economic Institute.
- Norrie, Kenneth, ed. 1986. *Disparities and Interregional Adjustment*.
- Office of the Premier (BC). "News Release: Alberta, BC and Saskatchewan Agree to Economic Partnership." September 11, 2009.
- Olling, R. D. and M. W. Westmacott, eds. 1988. *Perspectives on Canadian Federalism*.
- Parkin, Michael and Robin Bade. 1997. *Economics: Canada in the Global Environment*, Third Edition.
- Parsons, Graham. 1994. *Western Canada Economic Destiny Project: Towards a New Vision*. Canada West Foundation.
- Parsons, Graham. 1993. *A Western Economic Cooperation Agenda: Strengthening the Economic Union Within Western Canada*. Canada West Foundation.
- Phillips, Nicola. 2000. "Governance After Financial Crisis: South American Perspectives on the Reformulation of Regionalism." *New Political Economy* 5.3.
- Rawlyk, George A., Bruce W. Hodgins and Richard P. Bowles. 1979. *Regionalism in Canada: Flexible Federalism or Fractured Nation?*
- Reardon, James et al. 2002. "The Formation of Regional Trading Blocs: A Theoretical Perspective Using Game Theory." *American Business Review* January.
- Roach, Robert. 2002. *Beyond Our Borders: Western Canadian Exports in the Global Market*. Canada West Foundation.

- Roach, Robert and Loleen Berdahl. 2001. *State of the West: Western Canadian Demographic and Economic Trends*. Canada West Foundation.
- Rosamond, Ben. 2002. "Imagining the European Economy: 'Competitiveness' and the Social Construction of 'Europe' as an Economic Space." *New Political Economy*7.2.
- Rosamond, Ben. 2000. *Theories of European Integration*.
- Ross, Michael L. 1994. "Interstate Regionalism: The I-81 QUADCO Example." *Economic Development Review* Winter.
- Schwartz, Mildred A. 1974. *Politics and Territory: The Sociology of Regional Persistence in Canada*.
- Scott, Allen. 1988. *Regions and the World Economy: The Coming Shape of Global Production, Competition, and Political Order*.
- Scott, James Wesley. 1999. "European and North American Contexts for Cross-Border Regionalism." *Regional Studies*33.7.
- Shaw, Timothy M. 2000. "New Regionalisms in Africa in the New Millennium: Comparative Perspectives on Renaissance, Realisms and/or Regressions." *New Political Economy*5.3.
- Simeon, Richard. 1977. "Regionalism and Canadian Political Institutions" in J. Peter Meekison, ed. *Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality*, Third Edition.
- Storper, Michael. 1997. *The Regional World: Territorial Development in a Global Economy*.
- Strom, Harry E. 1971. "A Case for the West" in Meekison, Peter J., ed. *Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality*, Second Edition.
- Taras, David and Beverly Rasporich, eds. 1997. *A Passion for Identity: An Introduction to Canadian Studies*, Third Edition.
- Tomblin, Stephen G. 1995. *Ottawa and the Outer Provinces: The Challenge of Regional Integration in Canada*.
- Wallace, Helen. 2000. "Europeanisation and Globalisation: Complementary or Contradictory Trends?" *New Political Economy*5.3.
- Wallace, Iain. 2002. *A Geography of the Canadian Economy*.
- Westfall, William, ed. 1983. *Perspectives on Regions and Regionalism in Canada*. Association for Canadian Studies.
- Westmacott, M. and P. Dore. 1977. "Intergovernmental Cooperation in Western Canada: The Western Economic Opportunities Conference" in J. Peter Meekison, ed. *Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality*, Third Edition.
- Wood, James. 2009. "Wall headed to meeting with B.C., Alberta premiers." *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*. March 12.
- Woodcock, George. 1977. "The Sweet Gift of Governing Oneself, or True Versus False Federalism" in Garry Geddes, ed. *Divided We Stand*.

## About Canada West Foundation

### Our Vision

A dynamic and prosperous West in a strong Canada.

### Our Mission

A leading source of strategic insight, conducting and communicating non-partisan economic and public policy research of importance to the four western provinces and all Canadians.

Canada West Foundation is a registered Canadian charitable organization incorporated under federal charter (#11882 8698 RR 0001).

In 1970, the One Prairie Province Conference was held in Lethbridge, Alberta. Sponsored by the University of Lethbridge and the Lethbridge Herald, the conference received considerable attention from concerned citizens and community leaders. The consensus at the time was that research on the West (including BC and the Canadian North) should be expanded by a new organization. To fill this need, Canada West Foundation was created under letters patent on December 31, 1970. Since that time, Canada West Foundation has established itself as one of Canada's premier research institutes. Non-partisan, accessible research and active citizen engagement are hallmarks of the Foundation's past, present and future endeavours. These efforts are rooted in the belief that a strong West makes for a strong Canada.

More information can be found at [www.cwf.ca](http://www.cwf.ca).

**CanadaWest**  
F O U N D A T I O N

---

**Head Office:**  
#900, 1202 Centre Street SE  
Calgary, AB T2G 5A5  
Telephone: 403.264.9535

[www.cwf.ca](http://www.cwf.ca)

**British Columbia Office:**  
#810, 1050 W. Pender Street  
Vancouver, BC V6E 3S7  
Telephone: 604.646.4625

**Saskatchewan Office:**  
256, 3 Avenue South  
Saskatoon, SK S7K 1L9  
Telephone: 306.966.1251

**Manitoba Office:**  
#400, 161 Portage Avenue East  
Winnipeg, MB R3B 0Y4  
Telephone: 204.947.3958