



EU-Canada Research Publications Guide: English Language Publications (1980-2010)

Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue

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Editor: Joan DeBardeleben

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Introduction

This document is part of a series of reference guides to research publications that deal, in some manner, with relations between the Europe and Canada, or that, on a comparative basis, address the manner in which policy issues are dealt with Europe and Canada. The rationale for this guide is based in a view that, as advanced liberal democracies, Canada and Europe face many common challenges and share many common interests. This compilation represents an effort to highlight research achievements that address both the interaction between Canada and Europe as well as the manner in which common policy problems are addressed in both contexts.

This guide provides information on publications through 2010. The guide is organized around five themes, which reflect the thematic research groups that have served as the organizing principle for the Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue, which is an extensive research network involving Canadian and European experts organized over 2008-2017 with support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Within each thematic listing, publications are listed alphabetically by author.

This research guide is the first of three parts. The other two parts are:

EU-Canada Research Publications Guide: English Language Publications (2010-2017), Joan DeBardeleben, Editor, Centre for European Studies, Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue, Carleton University, June 2018.

EU-Canada Research Publications Guide: Part II French Language Publications, Joan DeBardeleben, Editor, Centre for European Studies, Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue, Carleton University, August 2017.

About *The Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue (CETD)*

CETD is organized around five major thematic areas:

Theme 1: The EU and Canada and Global Actors: International Conflict Management and Security

(led by Frédéric Mérand and Ruben Zaiotti)

Theme 2: Economic Cooperation, Competition, and International Law

(led by Armand de Mestral and Kurt Hübner)

Theme 3: Democratic Deficits and Policy Coordination in Multilevel Governance Systems

(led by Joan DeBardeleben and Amy Verdun)

Theme 4: Environment and Sustainable Development

(led by Joan DeBardeleben and Inger Weibust)

Theme 5: Immigration and Social Policy

(led by Jane Jenson and Oliver Schmidtke)

Theme 1: The EU and Canada as Global Actors; General Canada-EU Comparisons

1. Alegre, Susie, “The EU’s External Cooperation in Criminal Justice and Counter-terrorism: An Assessment of the Human Rights Implications with a particular focus on Cooperation with Canada”, *Centre For European Studies (CEPS)*, CEPS Special Report/September 2008, <http://aei.pitt.edu/11746/>

Abstract: “This paper examines the increasing importance of EU external cooperation in the field of criminal justice and counter-terrorism and its impact on the interplay between justice and home affairs and common foreign and security policy. It goes on to look at the effect of counter-terrorism policy on the listing of terrorist organisations, and the effect that moves to combat the financing of terrorism in this field has on NGOs. It studies the ways in which such cooperation can be used to promote human rights. Finally, it highlights the problem of accountability for human rights abuses in international cooperation on counter-terrorism and in rule of law missions, particularly as the EU is not a signatory to the ECHR and the EU Charter is not yet binding. All of these issues are addressed broadly and with a specific focus on EU-Canada cooperation.” (Alegre, 2008, p. 1, available at: <http://aei.pitt.edu/11746/1/1705.pdf>, accessed on May 17, 2017)

2. Barry, Donald. “Towards a Canada-EU Partnership?” In *Crossing the Atlantic: Comparing the European Union and Canada*, edited by Patrick Crowley, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004, pp. 35-60.

Excerpt: “The chapter concentrates on the political element in this comparison, and concludes that two particular strategies dominate the others. Chapter 2 by Donald Barry looks at the transatlantic relationship between the EU and Canada. In one sense the commonalities between the two entities should encourage certain types of linkages, but in fact, as Barry explores, these have been limited to a degree by the importance to both of the political and economic relationship with the United States. One of the issues common to both is the development of some kind of transatlantic free trade agreement, and this is explored in some depth in the chapter” (Crowley, 2004, p. 6 in Chpt. 1, “Apples and Oranges: The Habilitation of Continental Comparativism,” of the above volume)

3. Bernard-Meunier, Marie. “Did you Say Europe? How Canada Ignores Europe and Why That is Wrong.” In *Canada Among Nations 2006*, edited by Andrew Cooper and Dane Rowlands, Montreal: McGill University Press, 2006.

Abstract: “Argues for a view of Canadian interests that encompasses more than solely trade & that includes Europe. Reasons why Canada has forgotten about Europe include the latter’s integration & expansion under the European Union, negative assumptions about the future of Europe, lack of an organized pro-Europe lobby in Canada, & the fact that the reverse is true: Canada is not on Europe’s radar screen either. Why Canada & Europe ought to be engaged is then considered, noting that Canada’s political culture, institutions, & official

languages are European; Canadian views on domestic & foreign policy are closer to European views than US views; the same may be true of their respective worldviews more generally; there are opportunities for Canadian investment in Europe as well as technological cooperation; & there are opportunities for foreign policy cooperation, including in the realm of the international security agenda. Attention is then given to what European integration can teach Canada regarding its own continental integration process; whether there is a distinct & viable European economic model worth considering; & what Canada might offer Europe in terms of solutions for budget deficits, immigration policy, & federalism.” (D. Edelman, 2007, *Worldwide Political Science Abstracts*)

4. Boardman, Robert. “Canadian Resources and the Contractual Link: the Case of Uranium.” *Journal of European Integration* 4, no. 3 (1981): 299-325.

Abstract¹: “Uranium has always been a subject of high politics, and Canada was a central actor in international nuclear politics during the 1970s and 1980s. Due to concerns over safeguards over the uses to which nuclear fuel, material and equipment could be put, the Canadian government imposed an embargo on uranium exports from the beginning of 1977. This occurred after the signing of the ‘contractual link’ with Europe, causing European protests. This paper examines the intersection of these two problems, and investigates the ways in which Canada-EU relations since 1976 have been affected by connected developments in the nuclear field. It looks first at the evolution of Canadian uranium policies and the tighter export controls imposed in 1974; then at the place of uranium and nuclear evaluations in the approaches to the 1976 framework agreement, and at attempts to renegotiate the 1959 Canada-Euratom nuclear cooperation and supply agreement.” (Boardman 1981, 299)

5. Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel. “Security and Border Security Policies: Perimeter or Smart Border? A Comparison of the European Union and Canadian-American Border Security Regimes.” *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 21, no. 1. (2006): 3-21.

Abstract: “Did the traumatic act of September 11, 2001, lead European and North American governments to reconsider their security regimes and their border security policies in particular? Canada and the United States brokered the Smart Border Agreement while the European Union member-states elected to work together to build an area of freedom, security and justice. As both of these free trade regimes increasingly integrated, security costs also increased. The European Union abolished borders between member-states in order to concentrate resources on external borders and co-operate on security issues. In North America, each state reinvested in border security and increased co-operation. Functionalists and neo-functionalists would suggest that supranational institutions permit states to establish an effective border security perimeter strategy. However, issues of sovereignty may frustrate such views, and realist or multilevel governance approaches might predict more accurately how states reorganize their border security regimes. In this paper, the argument is made that neo-functionalist views best explain the European strategy, whereas the multilevel governance approach best explains

¹ Abstracts belong to the author of the publication or the indicated source, unless otherwise indicated.

the Canada-U.S. strategies. Ultimately, however, this paper documents that sovereignty has a cost.” (Brunet-Jailly 2006, 3)

6. Croci Osvaldo and Livianna Tossutti. “The External Image of the European Union: Report from Canada.” In *Research Report: the External Image of the European Union*, edited by Sonia Lucarelli, GARNET Working Paper No. 17/07. Forum on the Problems of Peace and War & GARNET - Jointly Executed Research Project 5.2.1, Florence. 2007. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Sonia_Lucarelli/publication/228396379_The_External_Image_of_the_European_Union/links/54d3733e0cf2501791821fdc/The-External-Image-of-the-European-Union.pdf

Summary²: This article analyses Canadian perceptions of the European Union (EU). The first part gives an historical review of the evolution of the relationship between Canada and the EU from the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) to today. The second part looks at Canadian governmental perceptions through an analysis of parliamentary debates, reports of House of Commons and Senate Committees, official papers released by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) and the most recent election platforms of five federal political parties. It also includes findings from a recent survey of parliamentary and bureaucratic elites about their evaluations of EU importance in addressing various security threats. The third part examines the perceptions of the non-governmental sector, including national newspapers, commercial and academic public opinion polls, documents and press releases from Canada’s principal business and labour organisations, and the research archives of non-partisan think tanks.

7. Croci, Osvaldo and Amy Verdun. “Searching for a Counterweight-Canada and the European Union.” *Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series* 4, no. 12 (2004): 1-11. <http://www6.miami.edu/eucenter/crociverdunfinal.pdf>

Abstract: “This chapter outlines, in a rather synthetic fashion, three periods in the history of relations between Canada and the European Union: the phase of indifference, that of advances, and finally that of tensions. Canada’s initiatives towards the European Union are best understood when seen within the context of its evolving relations with its giant neighbour to the south, the United States. The only exception among the events analyzed here is the fishery dispute.” (Osvaldo and Verdun 2004, 1)

8. Croci, Osvaldo and Amy Verdun, eds. *The Transatlantic Divide: Foreign and security policies in the Atlantic Alliance from Kosovo to Iraq*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, Palgrave and UBC, 2006.

Publisher’s Description: “This books (sic), available in paperback for the first time, examines the period between the military intervention against Serbia by NATO and the one in Iraq by the US. It has been a particularly turbulent one for transatlantic security relations. Is the malaise currently affecting the Transatlantic Alliance more serious than ever before and if so why? Will differences in the assessment of how to provide order and stability in the international system as well as in the evaluation of threats and how to respond to them

² Summaries written by *Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue* (CETD) scholar, unless indicated otherwise.

mark the end of the Transatlantic Alliance? Or will the US, NATO, the EU, and EU member states work together, using different instruments and accepting a degree of division of labour, to pacify, stabilise and rebuild troublesome areas as they have done in South-Eastern Europe? This book, with contributions from leading American, Canadian and European scholars, analyses the reasons behind the latest crisis of the Transatlantic Alliance and dissects its manifestations.” (Description available on the Publisher’s website: <http://www.manchesteruniversitypress.co.uk/9780719065071/>, accessed September 11, 2017)

9. Croci, Osvaldo and Amy Verdun. “Security challenges in the 21st century: EU, USA, and Canadian approaches.” Policy workshop, The Transatlantic Security Triangle: Where Does Canada Fit? Ottawa, June 12, 2006. <https://carleton.ca/canadaeurope/wp-content/uploads/Croci-Verdun19-June2006.pdf>

Abstract: “This paper argues that talks about the likely demise of the transatlantic alliance might have been premature. Transatlantic differences over Iraq have been exaggerated especially if one considers that intra-European differences were just as important. Even if the end of the bipolar system has weakened the transatlantic security tie, the feeling of transatlantic solidarity based on the existence of a community of values and the notion of a shared fate remains. The Americans and Europeans might indeed interpret their shared political values and principles in a different manner but this has not led to the adoption of consistently and dramatically different security policies. Differences concern primarily the time at which soft power should be set aside in favour of hard power. In a unipolar system the continuation of the transatlantic alliance will depend primarily on the belief that 'international governance' is possible and lasting only if the Allies continue their partnership. National security considerations remain, however, important for all partners since neither Canada nor the EU has the capability to meet all threats on their own. For the transatlantic partnership to continue the US must not let its 'assertive leadership', which is needed, degenerate or even appear to degenerate into 'arrogant unilateralism'. European governments must remember that constructive engagement' especially in the case of 'modern' and 'pre-modern states' can only work when coupled with deterrence and compellence, and that policy disagreement need not be expressed publicly and virulently. They should also accept that the further the problems are from their immediate neighbourhood and the more threatening they appear to the US, the less significant their political voice and ability to influence outcomes is likely to be. Canadians, for their part, when the atmosphere across the Atlantic becomes heated, should not retreat into a corner but should be actively engaged in toning down the exchanges. Such a task would be facilitated by the development of more permanent bilateral security forums with the EU.” (Osvaldo and Verdun, 2006, 1)

10. David, Charles-Phillipe and Elizabeth Vallet. “Assessing the Transatlantic Divide: Europe’s Soft Power and American Hegemony.” Conference Paper at the International Studies Association, San Diego, California, March 22, 2006.

Abstract: “While facing the US hyperpower, the weaker EU is forced to rethink its role in the context of the declining military and strategic importance of the European Continent.

This paper addresses the following question: Can the EU rely on its Soft power to counter US Hegemony? In that sense, the EU could learn from the Canadian and the American public diplomacy skills and develop more strongly and more broadly its own soft power policies. Soft power could prove very useful for emerging European diplomacy to perfect the tools and means of a distinct European public diplomacy towards the US which at the present time is insufficiently developed. As long as divisions prevail, as is the case now, the EU has to improve on coherence of purpose and mechanisms to find new ways to promote its own views and values, increasingly challenged within the transatlantic divide. The new European Constitution is the cornerstone of a renewed and enlarged Europe, in need of a unique voice. Therefore, this Constitution is the potential key to a real and unique European Soft Power. As a member state, France is a good case study, and this paper deals with France's reasons and motives to see how this reflects on Europe." (Abstract taken from: http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p99489_index.html, accessed September 11, 2017)

11. DeBardeleben, Joan and Patrick Leblond, "The other transatlantic relationship: Canada, the EU, and 21st-century challenges", *International Journal*, Volume 66, Issue 1 (December 2010): 1-7.

Abstract: "Canada was the first country with which the European Union signed a cooperation agreement in 1976. Since then, Canada and the EU have gradually extended their cooperation in a number of social and economic areas, though not as much as originally intended. More recently, they have decided to launch negotiations for an extensive economic partnership agreement that aims at the creation of a wider transatlantic partnership, which would include the United States and Mexico. In addition to such bilateral cooperation efforts, Canada and its European counterparts have been actively working together in various international organizations and forums to address numerous international security and economic challenges. Finally, Canada and the EU, which both possess federal-like structures, have tried to learn from each other's experiences when devising domestic policies and governance mechanisms to manage these policies. In sum, the relationship between Canada and the EU, though often in the shadow of the EU-US affiliation, is a deep and important one." (DeBardeleben and Leblond, 2010, pp. 1-2).

12. Fenton Cooper, Andrew. "Canada-EC Relations in Comparative Perspective: Promise, Problems and Prospects." In *The European Community, Canada and 1992*, edited by Gretchen MacMillan, Calgary: The University of Calgary Press, 1994.

Summary: This chapter attempts to place Canada-European Community relations in a wider perspective. It does so in a manner intended to provide some snapshots of this relationship through a historical and comparative lens. The first of these snapshots contrasts the hard realities of the Canada-European relationship in the 1990s, set against the background of the Single Integrated Market phenomenon, with the promise of the 1970s, vis a vis the contractual link. Secondly, an explanation for the erosion of the relationship is provided, which pays attention not only to structural impediments, but also to the shift in the approach of Canadian economic diplomacy within the multilateral framework. Thirdly, and finally, an attempt is made to compare and contrast the Canada-EC relationship with

Canada's relationship with the Asia-Pacific region- the other key element of the so-called Third Option of the 1970s and early 1980s.

13. Fossum, John Erik. "Conceptualizing the European Union Through Four Strategies of Comparison." *Comparative European Politics* 4, no. 1 (2006): 94–123.

Abstract: "In this article, I examine the oft-cited claim to the effect that the EU is an entity sui generis, that is, a distinct and unique polity is compared. This entails that it represents a departure from the nation-state model. Those debating the EU's uniqueness are not always clear on this. Neither is their agreement on the EU's uniqueness. Some talk of the EU as a departure from the nation-state; others as part of a more general state withering or transnationalization; others couch it as a case of nation-state transformation; others see it as a subset of the Member State; and others again as a fledgling state. The debate is implicitly comparative but lacking a systematic assessment of comparison's possible contribution to establishing the distinctive character of the EU. This article proposes a comparative framework with four strategies of comparison, so as to yield a more systematic assessment. The application of this framework to the EU produces several new and un-explored venues, as well as provides us with a clearer sense of the merits of comparison and of ways of comparing. The article concludes with suggestions for how the four comparative strategies can best be combined so as to clarify the EU's uniqueness as polity."(Fossum, 2006, 94)

14. Haglund, D. *The North Atlantic Triangle Revisited: Canadian Grand Strategy at Century's End*. Toronto: Irwin. 2000.

Summary: This book focuses on Canadian foreign and defence policy, with the three points on the triangle as Canada, the United States and Britain/Europe. The author concludes that Europe still matters to the Canadian grand strategy. The book begins by examining the contemporary debate about 'regionalism' in the Canadian grand strategy, and then moves on to ask whether the employment of the metaphor advances our understanding of the strategy. Parts two and three develop the argument by demonstrating what has changed about Canadian Atlanticism.

15. Haglund, David G. and Frederic Merand. "Transatlantic relations in the new strategic landscape: implications for Canada." *International Journal* 66, no. 1 (2010): 23-38.

Abstract: "Security policy is the area in which Canada's growing estrangement from Europe is the most visible. While political and cultural affinities between the former Franco-British colony and the old continent remain strong, and while trade relations are again high on the agenda with the negotiation of an economic agreement, Canada's status has changed, in fewer than 20 years, from European power--with several thousand troops stationed in Europe between 1952 and 1994--to friendly but distant cousin. In part, this is due to demographic and political shifts in Canada as well as in Europe. While Canadians increasingly came to accept their dependence on the US and began to pay more attention to Asia, Europeans were fixated on eastern enlargement for the greater part of the 1995-2010

period. But, as we argue in this article, Canada-Europe security relations have been mostly affected by the evolution of the strategic landscape, an evolution in which Washington inevitably played the main part and European capitals assumed a wide cast of supporting characters. Unable and unwilling to find a role suitable to its middle-power ambitions, Ottawa simply left the centre of the transatlantic stage.” (Haglund and Merand, 2010, pp. 23-24)

16. Halstead, John. “The Security Aspects of European Integration: a Canadian View.” *Journal of European Integration* 9, no. 2-3 (1986): 177-192.

Introduction³: “Canada’s transatlantic connections have given it an enduring stake in European security. In two world wars, Canada responded from the first days to the call to bring the new world in to redress the security balance of the old. And it was as a direct result of those painful experiences that Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent made the first public reference in 1948 to the need for a collective security arrangement to supplement the UN. The Canadian view was that this should be an arrangement which provided for the defense of both Western Europe and North America and which recognized the interrelation between defense, political stability, democratic values and economic well-being. More than a military alliance, therefore, it should establish a framework for broader transatlantic cooperation and look to the development of a more closely knit Atlantic community.” (Halstead 1986, 177)

17. Halstead, John. “Trudeau and Europe: Reflections of a Foreign Policy Advisor.” *Journal of European Integration* 12, no. 1 (1988): 37-50.

Summary: The author outlines Trudeau’s approach to foreign and defence policy in the context of past governments and in relation to his personal interest in domestic issues. The author concludes that Canada was not particularly successful in deepening relations with the European Community during Trudeau’s time as Prime Minister. Although the ‘contractual link’ agreement was signed in 1976, the framework agreement remained without any real substance. In Canada, there was dissension within the bureaucracy over the means and objective. There was a lack of an industrial strategy. On the European side, the Community was reluctant to lower its barriers to traditional Canadian exports. On both sides there was a failure to work out a strategy and a failure to use discretionary power in the procurement field.

18. Laursen, Finn. “EU-Canada Relations: Case of Mutual Neglect?” In *The Foreign Policy of the European Union: Assessing Europe's Role in the World*, edited by Federiga Bindi, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2009.

Summary: Relations between the EU and Canada go back to the beginning of European Integration, when the creation of the European Community’s (EC) Customs Union affected trade between the EC and Canada. Similarly the development of common policies within

³ In the event that a publication Abstract could not be located, an excerpt from the publication has been selected by CETD staff to give the reader a sense of the publication’s content.

the EC had external effects, especially the EC's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). These economic relations had to be fitted into the international regime of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), but in parallel with GATT mechanisms the EC and Canada developed mechanisms to solve conflicts – or irritants as they tend to be called – bilaterally. There are now regular joint meetings at various levels including summit meetings. Since the creation of the European Union (EU) with the Maastricht Treaty (1993) the regular contacts between the EU and Canada have also included a dialogue on foreign policy issues. Canada and most EU Member States are partners within NATO. Current dialogues also include important issues on the global agenda like climate change, energy policy and the fight against terrorism. The two sides share important values but neither side has put high priority on mutual relations. It is fair to say that the United States is a more important actor for both Canada and the EU. A recurrent proposal for a Free Trade Area (FTA) between the EU and Canada remains unrealized, despite economic analyses suggesting that both sides could benefit from such FTA.

19. Lindley-French, Julian. "Reconnecting Canada to the World (via Europe)." *International Journal* 60, no. 3 (2005): 651-665.

Introduction: "The effective absence of Europe from Canada's international policy statement is particularly strange when one considers that the EU contains four of the world's leading G8 economies. Moreover, in Britain and France, Europe possesses the world's second and third most effective military powers and remains the centre of gravity in NATO affairs. Indeed, the US is a member of NATO but not really part of it. The role that Canada has played in the defense of Europe and the role Europe has played in shaping Canada is clear, as is the very "European" nature of Canada's security presence and, of course, the fact that Canada shares its head of state with Europe's most dynamic power, Great Britain. Canada may indeed look south for much of its prosperity and security. It may also increasingly look west for its new prosperity. However, much of Canada's prosperity, security, and identity remains tied to Europe." (Lindley-French 2005, 652)

20. Long, David. "Transatlantic Relations and Canadian Foreign Policy." *International Journal* 58, no.4 (2003): 591-614.

Excerpt: "In this article I will argue that Canadian foreign policy needs to be refocused to pay more attention to the EU as a partner in transatlantic relations.... I will argue that the main conundrum for Canadian foreign policy in the transatlantic context relates to the familiar concept, multilateralism.... I consider the current state of Canada-Europe relations, and note that this is generally driven by what is going on in Europe. I consider the broader sweep of these various developments Finally, I draw out some implications of my analysis and make a few recommendations for Canadian foreign policy." (Long, 2003, p. 594)

21. Mahant, Edelgard. "Canada and the European Community: the First Twenty Years." *Journal of European Integration* 4, no. 3 (1981): 263-279.

Summary: This article analyses Canadian policy towards the European Economic Community from the time of the Spaak Report (1956) to that of the negotiation in 1976 of

the *Framework Agreement for Commercial and Economic Cooperation between Canada and the European Communities* and its early implementation. The author considers the Canadian domestic inputs, including mass opinion, journalistic opinion, economic interest groups and members of parliament. It outlines the impact of the Trudeau foreign policy review in 1968, which highlighted the stake Canada has in the ECC in political, economic and cultural terms. The author concludes that the most significant Canadian driver of closer Canada- EU relations was the idea of a counterweight to the US, and the desire of the Canadian government to associate Canada's own future with that of a new Europe.

22. Potter, Evan. *Transatlantic Partners: Canadian Approaches to the European Union*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1999.

From the Publisher's Description: "The study concentrates on changes in Canada's approach to European integration after the watershed of 1989, examining the 1990 EC-Canada Transatlantic Declaration and the emergence of a Single European Market in 1993. Finally, it outlines the choices available to Canadian policy makers in the late 1990s as they sought to widen relations with the EU by proposing a trans-Atlantic free trade zone. This book details important stages in the evolution of Canada-EU economic, political, and security relations, a bilateral relationship that is destined to grow closer in the years ahead." (Available at: http://www.mqup.ca/trans-atlantic-partners-products-9780886293468.php?page_id=73&, accessed on September 11, 2017)

23. Rempel, Roy. *Counterweights: the Failure of Canada's German and European Policy, 1955-1995*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1996.

Summary: Focusing on Canadian-German defence relations from 1955 to 1995, Rempel examines the evolution of Canada's bilateral relationship with Germany in the context of the broader goals and objectives of Canadian foreign policy. In addition to a focus on Germany, the book considers the differing and coinciding dimensions and approaches taken by the two countries on the broader question of security in Europe.

24. Salter, Mark B. *Mapping Transatlantic Security Relations: The EU, Canada and the War on Terror*, New York: Routledge, 2010.

Publisher's Description: "This book examines how legal, political, and rights discourses, security policies and practices migrate and translate across the North Atlantic. The complex relationship between liberty and security has been fundamentally recast and contested in liberal democracies since the start of the 'global war on terror'. In addition to recognizing new agencies, political pressures, and new sensitivities to difference, it is important that not to over-state the novelty of the post-9/11 era: the war on terror simply made possible the intensification, expansion, or strengthening of policies already in existence, or simply enabled the shutting down of debate. Working from a common theoretical frame, if different disciplines, these chapters present policy-oriented analyses of the actual practices of security, policing, and law in the European Union and Canada. They focus on questions of risk and exception, state sovereignty and governance, liberty and rights, law and transparency, policing and security. In particular, the essays are concerned with charting

how policies, practices, and ideas migrate between Canada, the EU and its member states.” (Available at: <https://www.routledge.com/Mapping-Transatlantic-Security-Relations-The-EU-Canada-and-the-War-on/Salter/p/book/9781138873681>)

25. Simeon, Richard. “The Evolution of Canada and the European Union.” In *Canada and the European Union- a Relationship in Focus*, selected proceedings from the conference, edited by R.B. Christensen, Proceedings from the conference Canada and the European Union, Toronto, October 28-29, 1994.

Summary: The paper focuses on the political, institutional and constitutional evolution of the Canadian federation and the European Union. The author compares many of the following dimensions: community, democratic values and participation, institutional capacity, institutional design and reform, the division of powers, subsidiarity, intergovernmental relations, decentralization, asymmetry, and governing institutions. He concludes that although there are many similarities, we should be aware of facile comparisons between Canada and the European Union. Nevertheless, there are important parallels in the underlying debates taking place in Canada and the EU, and there may be valuable lessons to be learned in comparing how they are played out in the two settings. Observing how others think through common concerns can help clarify our own thinking through of alternatives.

26. Wood, Donna E. and Amy Verdun. “Canada-European Union Relations: A review of the literature from 1982 to 2010,” *International Journal* 66 (1), (Winter 2010/2011): 9-21.

Introduction: “Europe matters to Canada. Not only is the European Union Canada’s second-largest trading and investment partner, but the two political systems also share similar political, economic, and cultural values—all played out in a more-or-less similar system of multilevel governance. Canada and the European Union also share many common problems and policy challenges. These include, for instance, governing diverse communities in the context of a loose federal system, integrating widely diverse immigrant populations, finding viable strategies to address environmental issues and climate change, reducing barriers to trade, countering declines in citizen participation in politics, and balancing new security concerns with human rights. In all of these areas and more, there are opportunities for Canada and the European Union to learn from each other.” (Wood and Verdun, Winter 2010-11, p. 9)

27. Zyla, Benjamin. “Years of Free-Riding? Canada, the new NATO, and collective crisis management in Europe, 1989-2001,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 40 (1), 22-39, 2010.

Abstract: “Most discussions about the impact of Afghanistan on the future of NATO focus on transatlantic relations between the United States and the European Union. But for Canada, which is one of the few NATO allies that voluntarily deployed into the south, facing heavy resistance and fighting from Taliban insurgents, the Afghanistan operations have become the most salient dimension of its continued involvement in the Atlantic Alliance.

While this may seem surprising, given the cutbacks in Canadian defense spending in the 1990s and the withdrawal of Canada's standing forces from Germany, it should not. For during that so-called dark decade, Canada continued to make major contributions to NATO and European security. This essay argues that Ottawa's multi-faceted military and political support of the “new” NATO of the post–Cold War era continued when the alliance undertook its involvement in Afghanistan. Indeed, in its efforts in support of NATO's mission in Afghanistan, Canada has demonstrated a dedication to the alliance that seems stronger than NATO's collective commitment to itself.” (Zyla, 2010, p. 22)

Theme 2: Economic Cooperation and Competition

1. Aggarwal, Vinod K. and Edward A. Fogarty. "The Limits of Interregionalism: The EU and North America." *Journal of European Integration* 27, no. 3 (2005): 327-346.

Abstract⁴: "The EU has been pursuing interregionalism as a key element in its commercial policy. This strategy has been manifested in agreements with Mercosur, East Asia and the Southern Mediterranean, among others. In the case of North America, however, the EU has developed a series of bilateral relationships with Canada, Mexico and the United States — rather than a region-to-region link. This article focuses on the role of sectoral interests, economic security competition, and identity formation to examine why the EU has not developed an interregional relationship with North America. The evidence suggests that, of these factors, economic security competition appears to be the strongest factor preventing the formalisation of an EU-North American link. Moreover, the article demonstrates the importance of internal dynamics within counterpart regions as a key element in the analysis of interregional accords." (Aggarwal and Fogarty 2005, 327)

2. Barry, Donald. "The Canada-European Community Long Term Fisheries Agreement: Internal Politics and Fisheries Diplomacy." *Journal of European Integration* 9, no.1 (1985): 5-28.

Summary: This essay examines the role of internal politics in the development of the Canada-European Community long term fisheries arrangement. Its focuses on the way that competing preferences in Canada and in the Community affected each party's approach to the negotiation of the long term fisheries accord, and their effects on the agreement and its operation.

3. Bowles, Paul, Osvaldo Croci and Brian K. MacLean. "The Uses and Abuses of the Euro in the Canadian Currency Debate." *Crossing the Atlantic: Comparing the European Union and Canada*, edited by Patrick Crowley. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004, pp. 135-152.

Summary: This chapter demonstrate how characterizations of the European experience with the development and implementation of the euro was, and was not, used in the Canadian debate about the merits of establishing a common North American currency. The chapter highlights the economic and political contexts in which the euro was successfully implemented, and why the Canadian debate on a potential North American currency was only tangentially informed by the EU experience. It also provides an overview of the Canadian/US monetary, economic, and political contexts in which this debate took place and highlights issues salient for ongoing or future discussions of a North American, or at least a Canada-US currency.

4. Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel. "Comparing local cross-border relations under the EU and NAFTA." *Canadian-American Public Policy*, no. 58 (2004): 1-52.

⁴ All abstracts belong to the author of the publication, unless otherwise noted.

Summary: This paper examines the large number of cross-border projects in Europe and North America, and examines functional interdependence across borders, and relations of cooperation or harmony.

5. Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel, Payan Tony and Gary Sawchuk. "The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions Along the Mexican-US Border and in Europe: Lessons for Canada." Policy Research Initiative Working Paper Series, PRI Project, 2008.

Abstract: "The study of the emergence of cross-border regions along the Mexico-US border and in Europe provide additional perspectives and insights on the phenomenon of cross-border regional relationships, and their comparison to the Canada-US context. Lessons from these different international circumstances can shed light on the diverse ways that the advantages of cross-border regional relationships can be promoted or exercised. The findings suggest that cross-border regional relationships are likely a key feature of bi-national and international integration, the world over. Consequently, cross-border regions provide useful units of analysis – especially for exploring regional issues that transcend national borders. This may simply reflect the fact that shared interests are often strong in borderlands, for instance concerning such cross-cutting issues as economic development, transport and corridor development, and environmental/ecological matters." (Brunnet-Jailly, Payan and Sawchuk, 2008,p. 3)

6. Cai, Wenguo and Daniel Lemaire. "Lost Over the Atlantic? The Canada–EU Trade and Investment Relationship," *The Conference Board of Canada*, Report, May 16, 2006.

Excerpt: "This report investigates the current condition of Canada's trade and investment relationship with the European Union (EU). While Canada-EU political bonds are close, this report finds that the trade and investment relationship is underdeveloped.... Barriers to trade and investment, some of which can be very subtle, continue to impede economic cooperation between the two sides" (Wenguo Cai, Daniel Lemaire, 2006, p. i.) (Available at: <http://www.conferenceboard.ca/documents.aspx?DID=1673>)

7. Clarkson, Stephen. "Apples and Oranges: Prospects for the Comparative Analysis of the EU and NAFTA as Continental Systems." Working Paper, University of Toronto, 2003.

Abstract: "The signature by Mexico, Canada and the United States of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1993 established an institutionalized, continent-wide economic region roughly equivalent in size and population to the European Union. By its very creation, NAFTA opened up the possibility for scholars of European integration to add a comparative dimension to their research. Starting with the question of whether the differences between North America and Europe are so great as to preclude their meaningful comparison (as implied by the expression, "apples and oranges"), this paper argues that there are enough commonalities between the two continental systems for the comparison of their differences to be analytically and intellectually fruitful. It goes on to propose many areas which Euroscholars might consider for future comparative study and offers as an example a case study by Jean Cushen of the differential impacts of the EU and NAFTA on Ireland's and Canada's labour markets." (Clarkson, 2003, p. 2) (Available at:

<http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~clarkson/publications/Apples%20and%20Oranges%20-%20Prospects%20for%20the%20Comparative%20Analysis%20of%20the%20EU%20and%20NAFTA%20as%20Continental%20Systems.pdf>)

8. Crowley, Patrick and J.C. Robin Rowley. "Possible Arrangements for Exchange Rates in a Modified, Extended or Replaced NAFTA." In *Crossing the Atlantic: Comparing the European Union and Canada*, edited by Patrick Crowley. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004, pp. 153-178.

Summary: This chapter examines possible exchange rate regimes in the North American (Canada-US) context. The EU example is instructive given the European experience with a variety of exchange rate mechanisms over the years, notwithstanding significant differences between the two settings in terms of history, unit size and number, and economic structures. The chapter demonstrates the utility of the comparative approach in informing policy debates in diverse settings.

9. de Mestral, Armand and Jan Winter. "Dispute Settlement under NAFTA and the Treaty of European Union." *Journal of European Integration* 17, no.2-3 (1994): 235-266.

Introduction: "This article is devoted to a comparison of the dispute settlement processes which exist under the Treaty of European Union (EU) and under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). This is a matter of considerable interest and the very considerable differences which exist are not always understood. The two agreements are very different in scope and character. One is a full-fledged supranational agreement by which the parties have agreed to submit to rules and institutions which, over the years, have come to assume an autonomy of their own, capable of development, and which are fully enforceable in the territory of each of the parties as if they were the rules of domestic law. The other, NAFTA, is an agreement of a very different character. It is an international and interstate agreement, by which the parties have agreed to remove barriers to trade between themselves." (Demestral and Winter 1994, 235)

10. de Mestral, Armand. "Canadian-EU Bilateral Air Service Agreements." Working paper no. 05/05, Faculty of Law, McGill University, Montreal. 2005.

Introduction: "This chapter will examine current Canadian air service agreements with the EU and the possible strategies that Canada might adopt in response to new developments in international air transport regulation and especially to pressures from the EU. Many important questions will be need to asked and resolved. For example, should Canada try to reach an agreement with the U.S. for further liberalisation before agreeing to open EU-U.S. negotiations? On the other hand, should Canada seek negotiations with the EU, or its members individually, before Canada-U.S. negotiations go much further? Moreover, should Canada seek to revive the concept of a North Atlantic Aviation Area with the EU?" (de Mestral, 2005, 2) (Available at: http://www.iee.umontreal.ca/publicationseng_fichiers/DIVERS/accord-bilatéral.pdf)

11. Duina, Francesco. "Varieties of Regional Integration: The EU, NAFTA and Mercosur." *Journal of European Integration* 28, no.3 (2006): 247-275.

Abstract: "The closing of the twentieth century witnessed the proliferation of regional trade areas: a reinvigorated EU became one of almost 170 integration efforts. The first comparative analyses have suggested that these RTAs, despite sharing broadly similar objectives, are remarkably different projects. This article contributes to these works by examining two under-explored dimensions of variation: the laws of RTAs and how organizations - in particular interest groups, businesses and national administrations - have adjusted to their new legal environments. The article then suggests that the observable variation is likely to endure: the legal systems of RTAs reflect institutional realities in the member states, especially local legal traditions and power arrangements. The analysis focuses on the EU, NAFTA and Mercosur, using evidence from three realms: working women, dairy products and labour rights. The article concludes with some reflections on cross-RTA trade and the possibility of future convergence, competitiveness and the function of regulation in RTAs." (Duina, 2006, 247)

12. Easson, Alex. "Introduction: The Free Movement of Goods, Persons, Services and Capital in Canada and in the European Community: A Comparison Between Federalism and Supranational Integration." *Journal of European Integration* 3, no. 3 (1980): 263-266.

Summary: This edition of the journal focused exclusively on comparing economic integration within Canada and the EC. There are 9 articles, none of which appear to be explicitly comparative, and four of which are in French. The journal was released at a time when both the EU and Canada were undergoing constitutional change. The various authors sought to see if ECC experience with the economic union might have lessons for Canada. The introduction draws out the differences between economic and political union and identifies that political union cannot survive without economic union. Although Canada has a common citizenship and currency, there are barriers to the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital which are incompatible with true economic union. These four freedoms are the cornerstone of the European Economic Community. The author suggests that understanding these principles and their application in Europe can provide lessons for Canada.

13. Galbraith, William. "Eureka: What Implications for Canada-EC Technology Relations?" *Journal of European Integration* 11, no. 2-3 (1988): 141-161.

Summary: Although the Canadian government is not a participant in the European Research Cooperation Agency (known as Eureka), it is actively encouraging Canadian companies to take part in some of the many high technology projects included in the program. This has implications for Canada-EC relations in the field of research & technology. This article examines this wider consequence, especially in view of the fact that Canada's commitment to R & D over the past decade has been relatively low compared with other industrialized countries. As a result government and business must look abroad for international linkages, including participation in the Eureka program. The first section of the article describes the association between the EC and Eureka. The second looks at

Canada's relationship with Eureka. The third examines existing linkages between Canada and the EC regarding research cooperation. The final section assesses whether, and in what form, Canada-EC relations might benefit from a common interest in a program such as Eureka.

14. Halstead John, Michelmann Hans and Panayotis Soldatos, eds. *Doing Business with Europe: Canadian Trade with the European Community in a Changing World Economy*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press Inc, 1988.

Summary: This book is a result of a symposium held in 1987. It examines the current international trading environment, the general impact of the Canada-US trade agreement on Canada's relations with the European Community, the trade and investment dimensions of doing business with Europe, and next steps. There are 15 contributors.

15. Harris, Stephen L., "Financial Sector Reform in Canada: Interests and the Policy Process." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 37, no. 1 (2004): 161-184.

Abstract: "This article examines the policy process surrounding the Canadian government's 2001 reforms of its financial industry legislation. In 1994, while a government Task Force on the Future of Canadian Financial Services Sector was assessing the 1992 financial sector reforms, the banks lobbied for a broadening of their eligible activities in order to sell life, property and casualty insurance directly in their branches and to lease automobiles the same way - this would allow them to mirror the activities of banks in Europe and the United States. Their argument in the case of life insurance products was that the insurance companies were already selling savings type products that competed directly with those offered by the banks. Also, the banks' share of the automobile financing market was being eroded by the leasing subsidiaries of the big three North American automobile manufacturers." (Harris 2004, 161)

16. Kresl, Peter. "Sub-national Governments and Regional Trade Liberalization in Europe and North America." *Journal of European Integration* 17, no. 2-3. (1994): 309-335.

Summary: This article examines the impact of the Single European Act and the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement on sub-national governments (SNGs) in Europe and North America, including states, provinces, Lander, European regions, as well as cities. The author concludes that the constitutional positions occupied by states, provinces, regions etc. are too dissimilar on the two continents for an exchange of experience to be beneficial. However, cities share many common experiences and could learn from each other.

17. Laidler, David. *One Market, One Money, European Lessons for Canada*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute. 1991.

Summary: This piece examines the context for discussion and possible adoption of a common currency within the European community and considers its relevance to Canada. The author concludes that that conditions in the European community, including its existing institutional base, make a common currency a viable option. However, conditions differ

North America, so that the continued existence of separate currencies that are linked by stable (but not fixed) exchange rates seems to be preferable.

18. Lemaire, Daniel. "Enlargement of the European Union: Its Impact on the Canada–EU Trade and Investment Relationship." Briefing for *The Conference Board of Canada*, June 2004. <http://www.conferenceboard.ca/documents.aspx?DID=747>

Abstract: "This briefing provides an overview of the issues of European Union (EU) enlargement, describes the advantages for the 10 new member states and outlines how enlargement will impact the Canada–EU trade and investment relationship. The most recent expansion of the European Union (EU) has provided advantages and constraints for the 10 newest EU countries as well as for Canada. One of the most beneficial economic opportunities resulting from enlargement for Canadian businesses is the EU's common trade policy. The main risk to future Canadian exports is increased competition from countries within and outside the EU. At the Canada–EU Summit in March 2004, a new framework for the Trade and Investment Enhancement Agreement was established to further stimulate the economic relationship. New members have adopted all aspects of the EU Common Commercial Policy, EU customs legislation, and will also adopt the EU's higher regulatory standards. They received financial support from the EU to reduce inequalities among regions and social groups. Enlargement has stimulated wide-ranging economic reforms, improved stability in the region, and made travel easier around central and eastern Europe." (Lemaire, 2004, <http://www.conferenceboard.ca/e-library/abstract.aspx?did=747>)

19. Levy, Brigitte. "The European Union and NAFTA: Two Regional Economic Blocs in Complex Globalized and Interdependent International Economy." *Journal of European Integration* 17, no. 2-3. (1994): 211-233.

Summary: This article focuses on regional trading arrangements in Europe and North America. It first surveys the theory of customs unions and presents a classification of the different levels of economic integration. It examines and compares the processes of European and North American integration over the past forty years. Europe has gone from a customs union to an economic union, whereas regional integration in North America has remained as a free trade area. Finally it discusses the effects of European and North American integration on other countries of the world- particularly those in the Pacific region- and on the GATT system.

20. MacLaren, Roy. "Canada-EU Free Trade: A Building Block for Renewed Multilateralism." CERT (Canada-Europe Roundtable for Business) Policy Paper, University of Calgary, School of Policy Studies, 2008. <http://canada-europe.org/en/pdf/RMC%20Paper%20U%20of%20Calgary%20Policy%20Studies%20-%20October%2015,%202008.pdf>

Abstract: "Canada has long been interested in enhancing trade and investment links with the European Union, but the EU has resisted the idea of free trade with Canada, preferring to support the multilateral system. Now, with the suspension of the Doha Round of WTO trade talks, Brussels is reconsidering its stance, and preparations for EU-Canada trade

negotiations are expected to follow. Such negotiations could present considerable challenges, including the need to remove non tariff to trade, especially in services and agriculture. However, an EU-Canada agreement, in addition to obvious bilateral benefits, would also demonstrate the North Atlantic community's united front in future multilateral negotiations." (Maclaren 2008, 0)

21. Papadopoulos, N.G. *Canada and the European Community: an Uncomfortable Partnership?* Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1986.

Foreword: "This study by Nicolas Papadopoulos examines in detail Canada's neglected partnership with the European Community; it reviews recent developments in Canada – European Community economic relationships in the broader context of the changing patterns of their economic ties with other countries and areas; and it provides a provocative analysis of the reasons for the erosion of Canada's links across the Atlantic. The study concludes that Canada can no longer afford to neglect its partnership with the European Economic Community, the largest trading block in the world, with whose member countries we have so many strong historical, economic, cultural and political ties. Professor Papadopoulos offers a variety of challenging proposals as to ways in which Canada's economic relationship with the Community could be strengthened, without weakening Canada's important economic and trade relationship with the United States, countries of the Pacific Rim area, or other countries." (A.R. Dobell, in Papadopoulos, N.G. *Canada and the European Community: an Uncomfortable Partnership?*, 1986, xi)

22. Princen, Sebastiaan. "Trading up in the Transatlantic Relationship." *Journal of Public Policy* 24, no. 1 (2004): 127-144.

Abstract: "This article analyses the conditions under which a race to the top or California effect is likely to take place. To that end, it examines two cases in which the EU restricted or threatened to restrict imports from the United States and Canada because of differences in regulatory standards. In one case, the European data protection directive, a California effect occurred. In the other case, the EU ban on hormone-treated beef, no California effect occurred. An analysis of these two cases leads to two additions to existing explanations of the California effect. The analysis also has a number of implications for the debate on the race to the bottom thesis." (Princen 2004, 127)

23. Roberge, Ian. "Middle-Sized Power in Global Finance." *Policy Studies* 27, no. 3 (2006): 253-270.

Abstract: "This article evaluates the impact of the market regulatory internationalisation of finance on domestic financial services sector policy-making in Canada and France. It argues that internationalisation has had three main effects on the way policy in the financial services sector is elaborated. Firstly, the policy discourse is adjusted to take account of new international considerations. Secondly, policy options increasingly reflect the desire by decision-makers to render their national sector more competitive. Thirdly, the scope and influence of policy networks has increased in recent years leading to greater consultation between public and private sector actors in policy development. The article concludes that while new institutional parameters are influencing domestic policy-making processes,

medium sized powers like Canada and France whose financial service sectors are closely associated with the United States and Europe respectively, are not constrained by internationalisation. Rather financial service policies are janus-faced reflecting both international and domestic considerations.” (Roberge 2006, 253)

24. Skinner, Brett. “Generic Drugopoly: Why Non Patented Prescription Drugs Cost more in Canada than in the United States and Europe.” *Fraser Institute*, no. 82 (2004): 1-36. https://www.fraserinstitute.org/sites/default/files/Generic_Drugopoly.pdf

Executive Summary: “Studies comparing international prices of prescription pharmaceuticals have found that Canadian prices are close to the international median price for patented drugs but higher for non-patented single-source (usually brand-name) drugs, and also higher for non-patented multiple-source (mostly generic) drugs. Furthermore, in studies comparing Canadian to American drug prices, it has been found that Canadian prices are significantly lower overall for patented drugs, but are usually higher than American prices for generic drugs. Given that Canadian incomes are lower than incomes in most of the countries used for drug price comparisons by the PMPRB (and much lower than incomes in the United States), economic theory would predict that in a free market the prices for drugs would also be lower in Canada, a price-to-income relationship that has also been observed for many non-pharmaceutical products. Therefore, the observation that Canadian prices for non-patented drugs are higher than the international median and those Canadian prices for generic drugs are higher than American prices, is counter-intuitive and merits investigation into the reasons for this irregular pricing pattern.” (Skinner 2004, 3)

25. Uribe, Esteban. *Consumer Protection in Canada and the European Union: A Comparison*. Ottawa: Public Interest Advocacy Centre, 2010.

Excerpt: “This study uses the document, ‘Ten Basic Principles of Consumer Protection’ ... and attempts to compare the content and effect of those provisions with parallel provisions existing in Canadian federal and provincial jurisdictions. The process of study and comparison shows that there are key differences in the policy approaches and levels of guarantees that EU and Canadian jurisdictions have agreed to provide their constituents to avoid market anomalies or failure whenever industry actors and producers fail to deliver quality standards, or engage in unfair practices toward consumers” (Esteban, 2010, p. 5, https://www.piac.ca/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/piac_report_consumer_protection_in_canada_and_the_european_union_a_comparison.pdf Accessed on August 23, 2017)

26. Verdun, Amy, ed. *Britain and Canada and their Large Neighbouring Monetary Unions*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2006.

Publisher’s Description: “A traveler who has visited both Britain and Canada will no doubt have noted that both Britain and Canada share the same head of state on their banknotes and coins: Queen Elizabeth II. Of course, though the Queen is an important symbolic figure to the United Kingdom (UK), the Queen plays a less prominent role in the Canadian national identity. Yet one should not underestimate her importance. Besides this observation there

are a number of more substantial similarities that these two countries share. They are both located next door to a neighbouring monetary union that has a leading currency that has been adopted by other countries in an attempt to increase their economic prosperity. Britain is confronted with the European Union (EU) and its Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) or the 'eurozone' an area of twelve EU Member States in which the Euro is the single currency. Canada's neighbour to the south is the United States of America (US) that has the world's leading currency which has been adopted by other states in the region and beyond. One can differ in opinion over whether the US is a monetary union in the conventional sense, but there is no doubt that the US is a currency union, one of its many features as a federal state. Furthermore, there have been talks about creating an actual North American Monetary Union (NAMU) which would expand the use of the dollar into Canada and Mexico. At a time in which the discussion revolves around the future of (smaller) national currencies, this special issue looks at the question of monetary integration for the cases of Britain and Canada. This book adopts a comparative, multi- and interdisciplinary perspective on these matters.”(Available at: https://www.novapublishers.com/catalog/product_info.php?products_id=4308&osCsid=68d8b7a2fbd23abab6dab5b0691953e1, accessed on September 13, 2017)

27. Wiktorowicz, Mary E. “Emergent Patterns in the Regulation of Pharmaceuticals: Institutions and Interests in the United States, Canada, Britain, and France.” *Journal of Health Politics Policy and Law* 28, no. 4 (2003): 615-658.

Abstract: “Although industrialized nations regulate pharmaceuticals to ensure their safety and efficacy, they balance these concerns with those related to the timeliness of the approval process and the burdens involved in meeting regulatory criteria. The United States, Canada, Britain, and France have adopted different approaches to the regulation of pharmaceuticals that place varying emphases on these competing goals and involve the participation of private interests to different extents. The regulatory approval processes and the government-industry relationships inherent within them are compared in the United States, Canada, Britain, and France by analyzing five features that distinguish the U.S. pluralist from the European corporatist approaches to policy development: representation (internal versus external), process (closed versus open), stance (informal, accommodative versus formal, adversarial), institutional power (fragmented versus centralized), and resources. An institutional framework further characterizes these approaches as based on models of managerial discretion and adjudication (United States), consultation (Canada), and bargaining (Britain, France) to clarify the patterns that emerge. While the approach that most effectively supports product safety involves managerial discretion as occurs in the United States, formal mechanisms for negotiation might be incorporated rather than a reliance on the judicial process. In an era of globalization and regulatory harmonization such divergence has significant implications. First, where harmonization in Europe involves the mutual recognition of one country's product licensing decision by the others, differences in evaluative processes remain important. Second, as harmonization leads to a common set of regulatory criteria, the criteria adopted tend to be those of nations with the least stringent regulatory standards, making evident the need for more responsive systems of post-market surveillance to protect the public interest.” (Wiktorowicz 2003, 615)

28. Wolinetz, Steven B. "Comparing Canada, the European Union, and NAFTA: Comparative Capers and Constitutional Conundrums" *Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series* 3, no. 4 (2003): 1-15. <http://www6.miami.edu/EUCenter/wolinetzfinal.pdf>

Summary: "The paper examines Canada, the European Union, and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)," (Wolinetz, 2003, p. 1) and encourages comparative work. It begins by comparing the EU and NAFTA, highlighting differences and similarities, and then develops the more complex, but in many ways more tantalizing, Canada-EU comparison. The author highlights key similarities between Canada and the EU: both are multilevel systems of governance, both are weakly integrated, there are key questions of identity in both, in both the fabric of intergovernmental relations is important and executive dominated. The authors argue that comparisons are "particularly relevant at a time, when the European Union's constitution, like Canada's, is in discussion" (Wolinetz, p. 2).

Theme 3: Democratic Deficit and Policy Coordination and Competition

1. Baier, Gerald. "The EU's Constitutional Treaty: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations - Lessons from Canada." *Regional and Federal Studies* 15, no. 2, (2005): 205 – 223.

Abstract: "As the European Union has sought to develop a political and cultural personality beyond mere trade and regulatory harmonization, the modern federal model has an obvious appeal. Federalism's advantages for diverse or widely dispersed populations have always included the notion of legitimate shared rule as well as scope for local autonomy. Intergovernmental relations like those in Canada can emerge when governments enjoy relative autonomy yet are obliged by the complexities of modern governing to consult and collaborate in order to be more effective within their own spheres of jurisdiction. This article examines a number of the provisions in the EU's Constitutional Treaty and measures them against traditional notions of federalism and federal constitutionalism. On the basis of these criteria, many of the provisions of the Constitutional Treaty are found wanting. An examination of the practice and experience of Canadian federalism further demonstrates the problems to which these provisions might lead." (Baier 2005, 205)

2. Blatter, Joachim. "Beyond Hierarchies and Networks: Institutional Logics and Change in Transboundary Spaces." *Governance* 16, no. 4 (2003): 503-526.

Abstract: "In almost all subfields of political science in the last third of the twentieth century, it was claimed that we are witnessing a transformation of political order from hierarchies to networks. This paper traces institutional change during the twentieth century by examining structures and modes of interaction in transboundary regions in Europe and North America. First, it challenges functionalist explanations of institution-building and institutional change. Instead, the impact of general discourses and ideas is highlighted. Second, it takes a closer look at the hierarchies-to-networks transformation thesis. Whereas this thesis can be confirmed if we define hierarchies and networks as patterns of interaction, if we define hierarchies and networks in terms of modes of interaction this is less certain. De jure, institutional elements implying a "hierarchical order" have been supplanted in newer institutions by provisions allowing for "majority voting." De facto, nothing has changed, since these modes of interaction have never actually been used. In practice, the only way to achieve joint action has always been and still is through "agreement" or "consent." What has changed over the years, though, is the institutionalized approach to reaching "agreement." The older approach uses a technocratic-deductive logic. In recent years, we have been able to observe various new approaches in cross-border regions: a symbolic-inductive logic in Western Europe, a utilitarian-evolutionary logic along the U.S.-Mexican border, and a normative-constructivist logic along the U.S.-Canadian border. Based on the empirical findings, the author concludes that institutional theory

should pay more attention to the fact that many political institutions provide orientation, shape identities, and mobilize activities through emotional symbols.” (Blatter 2003, 503)

3. Blatter, Joachim. “From 'spaces of place' to 'spaces of flows'? Territorial and functional governance in cross-border regions in Europe and North America.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 28, no. 3 (2004): 530 - 548.

Abstract: “To what extent are we experiencing a transformation from 'spaces of place' to a 'space of flows' as proposed by Manuel Castells? Applying his thesis to the political system leads to the following implications. Socio-economic processes of 'glocalization' are undermining the gate-keeper position of national governments. Furthermore, governance is becoming 'deterritorialized', an aspect which is characterized by Elkins as an 'unbundling' of identities and jurisdictions. But does this process of unbundling lead to a federal system of multi-level governance where the national level is complemented by supranational and sub national levels of governance; or does it imply an even more radical transformation towards an architecture of governance which is characterized by a proliferation of single-purpose governments with variable and flexible spatial scales? A final implication is the transformation from 'government to governance'— which means a broader array of actors and changing modes of interaction. This article traces these theses by analysing institutions of governance in four cross-border regions in Europe and North America. In all regions the author observes that cross-border networks and institutions are undermining the national gate-keeper position. He concludes that cross-border regional governance in Europe still follows the logic of 'spaces of place', whereas in North America quite different 'spaces of flows' are emerging as complementary logics of community and institution building.” (Blatter 2004, 502)

4. Cameron, David, ed. *Regionalism and Supranationalism Challenges and Alternatives to the Nation State in Canada and Europe*. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public. 1981.

Summary: This is an introduction and conclusion to a conference organized by IRPP and the European Centre for Political Studies in 1980 to increase knowledge of federalism, regionalism and supranationalism in the context of Canada and Europe.

5. Crowley, Patrick M.. *Crossing the Atlantic: Comparing the European Union and Canada*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing. 2004.

Seller’s description: “Given the legal, political, economic and social similarities that exist, comparisons between the European Union (EU) and Canada can prove instructive. This volume introduces the rationale for comparing Canada and the EU and reviews the political initiatives that have been undertaken to forge links between the two. Taking the political and economic structure used by the EU, it compares this structure to the Canadian model, at both the federal/supranational level and the local government level. Using various disciplinary approaches and case studies, specific policy areas are used to illustrate these comparisons, and several of the papers in the collection extend these comparisons to the NAFTA level.” (Amazon website summary, <https://www.amazon.ca/Crossing-Atlantic-Comparing-European-Canada/dp/0754642461>)

6. Dardanelli, Paolo. "Conclusions: Comparative Federalism and the Constitutional Treaty." *Regional and Federal Studies* 15, no. 2 (2005): 259-269.

Abstract: "This volume has drawn on the experience of some prominent federal and confederal systems in order to shed light on the transformations of the EU that may be brought about by the Constitutional Treaty signed in October 2004. This concluding article will focus on some key points that emerge from the case studies and offer some comparative reflections applied to the European Union. Four broad issues appear to have a particularly strong bearing on the evolution of the EU. The first is naturally the significance of the Constitutional Treaty itself, and the impact it is likely to have on the nature of the EU's political system. Secondly, there are questions of how the division of policy-making competences is likely to evolve and whether a dual or a cooperative form of con/federalism is taking root. Here the evolving role of subsidiarity may be important, as several of the authors in this volume have suggested. Thirdly, how will dispute resolution between the two main levels of the EU system be managed and, in particular, is the balance between the judicial and the political elements likely to be altered? Lastly, how will the changing nature of the EU affect the practice of democracy in, and popular identification with, the Union, and what role will be played by the evolution of collective identification with the individual European nations and with Europe as a whole?" (Dardanelli 2005, 259)

7. DeBardleben, Joan and Jon H. Pammett, eds. *Activating the Citizen: Dilemmas of Participation in Europe and Canada*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Summary: Based on a comparison of Canadian, European, and EU material, this book examines reasons for declining citizen participation in politics, particularly relating to electoral turnout and political party activism. Based on a wide range of empirical data as well as case studies, the volume devotes particular attention to explanations for similarities and differences in relation to electoral turnout and political party activism. The volume also examines innovative approaches to try to 'activate' citizens such as referendums, citizen assemblies, youth engagement, and new forms of civic education. In addition to the editors, authors include leading experts from Canada and Europe, including Luciano Bardi, André Blais, Jørgen Elklit, William Cross, Lawrence LeDuc, and Paul Whitely.

8. Delaney, Erin and Julie Smith. "Introduction: Europe's Constitutional Future- Federal Lessons for the European Union." in *Regional and Federal Studies* 15, no. 2 (2005): 131-143.

Summary: This article provides a frame of reference for a journal volume dedicated to providing a comparative perspective on issues related to multi-level governance and federalism using examples from Switzerland, Belgium, Canada, the US and Germany.

9. Doern, Bruce. *Europe Uniting, the EC Model and Canada's Constitutional Debate*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute. 1991.

Summary: The author provides a clear and systematic outline of Europe's integration process and considers its usefulness in understanding the process of constitutional reform in Canada. The author draws out important differences between the two cases, also taking account of viewpoints from Quebec as well as possible influences from European context on the Canadian debate. Lessons are drawn for Canada from the European experience. Evans, Gordon. "Exporting Governance: Lithuania Adapts a Canadian Policy Management Model." *Canadian Public Administration* 48, no. 1 (2005): 4-34.

10. Evans, Gordon. "Exporting Governance: Lithuania Adapts a Canadian Policy Management Model." *Canadian Public Administration* 48, no. 1 (2005): 4-34.

Abstract: "Lithuania's efforts to join the European Union were faltering in the late 1990s. A moribund policy management system offered scant hope for quick reversal. To break the impasse, Lithuania's prime minister negotiated a unique, CIDA-funded project to modernize their decision-making system by partnering with the Ontario Public Service and the Institute of Public Administration of Canada. Although slow to gain traction, inspired leadership by a new Lithuanian prime minister, his chancellor and government secretary re-energized efforts to adapt an Ontario policy management model, which endures today. The results, in terms of pace and scope of reform, were impressive. But did they make a difference? In the absence of useful public benchmarks from OECD governments, the project collaborated with the World Bank to develop its own set of indicators for each stage of the policy process. Two surveys, conducted in 2000 and 2002, revealed a dramatic turnaround, underscoring how major change can be quickly implemented when supported by determined leadership. This article reviews the project, the survey methodology and results. Given the centrality of Ontario to Lithuania's reform, the article concludes with a cursory exploration of whether the province applies its own best practices. The answer, not surprisingly, is that it does so, sometimes." (Evans 2005, 4)

11. Fossum, John Erik. "Executive Influence in the EU and Canada - A Brief Comparative Assessment", In *Informal Empire? Cultural Relations Between Canada, The United States and Europe*, edited by Peter Easingwood, Konrad Gross and Hartmut Lutz, 339-370. Kiel: I & F Verlag, 1998.

Summary: The focus of this paper is on executive influence (including elected leaders and high-level bureaucrats) and democratic legitimation in Canada and the EU, with an emphasis on times of constitutional change in each system.

12. Fossum, John Erik. "Charters and Constitution-making - Comparing the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the European Charter of Fundamental Rights." In *Insiders and Outsiders: Alan Cairns and the Reshaping of Canadian Citizenship*, edited by Philip Resnick and Gerald P. Kernerman, 148-162. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004.

Summary: This article considers the charter-induced transformation of political communities. In Canada, constitution making through charter insertion generated a comprehensive, lengthy and quite acrimonious debate on the fundamentals of the polity. In

order to determine whether this was a particular Canadian trait, the author compares Canada's odyssey with that of the European Union. Both have modern, relatively contemporary (2000 vs. 1982) charters with similar purposes, intending to found their constitutions on a rights-based constitutional patriotism. His analysis provides an extensive overview of the substance of each charter, and compares their similarities and differences. He also examines the process used in each political system to develop and implement the charters. He concludes that the Canadian charter exhibits more explicit diversity awareness and is more oriented towards cultural protection and accommodation than the European charter, which is more greatly oriented toward social solidarity and social protection.

13. Fossum, John Erik. "Constitutional patriotism: Canada and the European Union." RECON Online Working Paper 2007/04, July 2007.

Summary: This paper discusses the question of allegiance in complex multinational and poly-ethnic entities, with specific focus on the EU and Canada. The author considers what might be understood as the minimum requirements for this form of allegiance to serve the basis of community integration as well as to accommodate diversity. The author tries to discern an appropriate mix of exit, voice, and loyalty, and the relationship to nationalism in EU and Canada.

14. Fossum, John Erik. "Why Compare Canada and the European Union- and How?" In *Crossing the Atlantic: Comparing the European Union and Canada*, edited by Patrick Crowley. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004, pp. 11-34.

Summary: This chapter asks why a comparison of Canada and the EU is worth doing and how, conceptually and theoretically, one might set out to do so. The author makes the case that there are good reasons to focus on Canada rather than always on the United States in making comparisons to the EU: the nature of their societies, their tradition of welfare state policies, their less confrontational approach to conflict resolution, the similarity of their challenges in forging a sense of political identity and their search for finding a base for political legitimacy. The author goes on to discuss the search for legitimacy in both polities, as well as their approaches to constitution building and change.

15. Fossum, John Erik. "The transformation of the nation-state - the EU and Canada compared." ARENA Report forthcoming in *The Constitutional Challenge: People, Power and Politics in Europe and America*, edited by M. Maduro and D. Halberstam, 1-45, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2004. <http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/projekte/typo3/site/fileadmin/mid-term/fossum/CanEU38.pdf>

Abstract: "The European Union (EU) is often depicted as a novel type of entity. It is both multinational and poly-ethnic. It is committed to democratic principles, but pursues these within a complex supranational structure that is neither a state nor a nation. But how unique is the EU? There are many ways of exploring this. One obvious approach is through comparison. The general inclination among students of the EU has been to compare it with the U.S., and this is also what the rest of the chapters in this book do. In this chapter the author proposes instead to compare the EU with Canada, which is also a highly complex multinational and poly-ethnic entity, which never succeeded in becoming one nation. The

EU can be seen as a case of forging a new type of entity out of existing nation states, whereas Canada has never fitted the one-nation mould. Both contain elements that deviate from the nation-state mould but neither makes up an outright departure from this. They are both better thought of as cases of transformation. These processes might have democratic potential. This could stem from a greater degree of inclusivity and reflexivity than is possible within the nation-state framework. The author claims that these two entities converge in their greater inclusivity and reflexivity.” (Fossum 2004, 1)

16. Fossum, John Erik. “Constitutional Processes in Canada and the EU Compared.” ARENA Report Series 8/2005, University of Oslo, 2005.

Summary: This report draws into comparison the federal or multinational dynamics of Canada and the EU. The anthology of texts, edited by John Erik Fossum, portrays the challenges of maintaining *e pluribus unum* in modern societies of heterogeneous nature. Among the contributors are Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Ben Crum and Agustín José Menéndez on the EU side while Alan Cairns, David Laycock, Mary Dawson et al. lay out the Canadian perspective. According to Fossum, the EU-Canada parallel is more pertinent than is often assumed, the issue for the EU today being "not simply that of coming together but *holding together*". The difficult ratification of the EU's Constitutional Treaty has highlighted this aspect; in Canada, similarly, the centrifugal forces as seen in Quebec draw the *contested* nature of the federation to the forefront. Institutional innovation and the search for a proper balance between a Union of citizens and a Union of states are other parallels between the two projects of integration. The chapters of the book draw on insights from various conferences, dealing with issues such as the EU's cosmopolitan nature (Eriksen), Canada's experience with a Charter of Rights (Cairns), ratification of the EU Constitutional Treaty (Jo Shaw) and new Canadian approaches to popular sovereignty (Laycock).

17. Fossum, John Erik. “On Democratizing European Constitution Making: Possible Lessons from Canada’s Experience.” *Supreme Court Law Review* 37, S.C.L.R. (2d) (2007): 343-381.

Abstract: “This article focuses on the challenge of democratizing the process of constitution making in the European Union, and seeks to discern relevant lessons for Europe from Canada’s constitutional experience. The focus is on political and democratic challenges and opportunities associated with the attempt to replace a closed and executive-style approach with a more open and inclusive deliberative democratic mode of constitution making. Despite the EU’s unique traits as a polity, being neither a state nor a nation, there are other polities, with similar challenges, that have sought to democratize their executive-style approach to constitution making. Canadians will recognize a certain parallel in terms of process dynamics: in Canada there was an opening up of the process during the patriation (which produced the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and the *Constitution Act, 1982*), before a subsequent reversal to classical intergovernmental diplomacy during the Meech Lake Accord (1987) process. If the Canadian example is anything to go by, the Europeans are in for another failure, driven by popular resistance to perceived undemocratic elites. How the new round of treaty reform will unfold is a matter of conjecture and is not dealt with in the article. Its purpose is to derive theoretical and

practical lessons from Canada and examine the applicability of these lessons to the EU. Canada has been selected as the most relevant entity to compare with the EU in terms of constitutional process, through a specially devised “diagnostic comparative approach”. This approach consists of (a) identifying the main challenge facing a given entity; (b) looking for entities that have dealt with that or a similar challenge; (c) examining how they have handled this challenge; (d) establishing that the entities share enough in common to warrant comparing them in the first place; and (e) searching for lessons. With regard to relevance for the EU, the greater the similarity between (a), (b), (c) and (d), the more credible will be the lessons.” (Fossum 2007, 343-344)

18. Fossum, John Erik and D. Haglund. “Is there a Norway in Quebec’s Future? 1905 and All That.” *Quebec Studies* 45, no. 2, (2008): 167-189.

Summary: These authors answer the question implied in the article’s title in the affirmative: they do hold there to be symbolic utility for Québec-Canada relations in the experience of Norway with the EU. In the authors’ opinion, “an EU style arrangement with the rest of Canada could be just as constraining on it as the current federal Canadian arrangement, and possibly even more constraining.”

19. Fossum, John Erik. “Europe’s ‘American Dream.’” *European Journal of Social Theory* 12, no. 4, (2009): 483-504.

Abstract: “Recent years (pre-Obama) of transatlantic rifts should not deceive us into ignoring the great attraction that the United States has exerted, and continues to exert, on Europeans. This article, first, seeks to uncover the normative assumptions that underpin the US as an exemplar or polity model for the EU, as seen *from a European perspective*. Second, it briefly considers whether the traits that Europeans find attractive about the US as a polity model have much real bearing on the EU, not in terms of how Europeans would want the EU to be but in terms of how the EU presently *is*. The point is to get a sense of the *empirical* distance that Europeans would have to travel if they were to transpose what they find attractive about the US to the EU. Are the features Europeans hold up as attractive about the US also available in Europe? These two undertakings set the stage for the third and most original, endeavour, which is to consider whether there are entities that are more compatible with what we currently find in Europe. The case singled out here is *another American* state, namely Canada. A clarification and critical assessment of what is referred to here as ‘Europe’s American Dream’ are intended to serve as a kind of mirror for Europeans to consider whether the European project is: (a) one of emulating the US; (b) a unique experiment; or (c) an EU that is closer to Canada than the US. If the reality of Canada is more proximate to the reality of the EU, should then Canada instead serve as Europe’s American Dream?” (Fossum 2009, 483)

20. Gibbons, Roger. “Europe’s Impact on the Canadian Constitutional Debate.” In *The European Community, Canada and 1992*, edited by Gretchen Macmillan, University of Calgary: Faculty of Social Sciences, 1994.

Summary: This article was written just before the 1995 Quebec referendum and asks whether, as often espoused by the Parti Quebecois, the European model and experience would assist in resolving Canada's constitutional dilemma. The author concludes that European experiences have not been used constructively, and have confused the debate by appearing to offer an attractive but unobtainable compromise. Using the analogies of marriage, friendship and divorce, he outlines that it is easier for Europeans to move from friendship to living together (the EC) and perhaps even to marriage (a federal union), than it will be for Canada and Quebec to move from marriage to living together (sovereignty association) and then to the friendship of independent states, as any movement away from the marriage state can be extremely acrimonious. The EC model is not appropriate for Canadian federal conditions- however, it may provide useful guidance for a restructured relationship should Quebec leave Canada.

21. Goodman, Nicole, Jon H. Pammett and Joan DeBardeleben, with research assistance by Jane Freeland. "A Comparative Assessment of Electronic Voting." Prepared for Elections Canada by the Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue, Ottawa, February 2010 http://elections.ca/res/rec/tech/ivote/comp/ivote_e.pdf

Summary: This paper, written for Elections Canada by scholars associated with the Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue, examines the experience of European countries and Canadian municipalities in using Internet voting in elections. European experience is drawn from Estonia, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom; in Estonia Internet voting has been used at all levels, including elections to the European Parliament. The volume considers rationales for the implementation of Internet voting, and various features and models of its application. Issues considered include the security of Internet voting, the impact on voter turnout and electoral campaigns, and public acceptance. The authors provide a balanced assessment of the advantages and disadvantages, taking into account experience both in Europe and in Canada.

22. Hueglin, Thomas. "Working Around the American Model: Canadian Federalism and the European Union." In *The Comparative Turn in Canadian Political Science*, edited by Linda A. White, Richard Simeon, Robert Vipond and Jennifer Wallner, 140-157. Vancouver: UBC Press. 2008.

Summary: Affinities between the European model and Canadian federalism have not gone unnoticed and it is possible that Canada, a successful federation of more than one hundred years, provides the more cogent comparative lessons. He suggests the constitutional amending formula, the notwithstanding clause, federal-provincial non-constitutional agreements, and the Clarity Act are innovative approaches to the problems of governance in a federation without a strong sense of general will and suggest these may be lessons for the European Union. Canada might learn from the EU approach to the principle of 'subsidiarity' and a how more confederal regime of governance operates.

23. Hülsemeyer, Axel and André Lecours. "The European Union and Sovereignist Politics in Quebec: Who Forgot Their Glasses?" *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 36, no.2 (2006): 263-282.

Abstract: "In this paper, we contrast the claims and aspirations of the PQ with the institutional and policy realities of the European Union. We question that the latter would be satisfactory from the vantage point of the PQ by comparing the workings of the E.U. to the discourse of the PQ on the need for sovereignty. The epigraph purports former Prime Minister Jean Chretien's perspective on the eve of the narrowly defeated 1995 referendum. In analogy, we will argue that sovereignists have a rather blurred reading of the European Union. The paper is divided into four sections. The first one delineates the explicit references of sovereignists to the European Union, while the second section compares PQ ideas about sovereign statehood, both in its internal and external dimensions, to the situation of E.U. member states. The third section examines how the partnership elements of the Union taken up by the PQ (single market, monetary union, and institutions) work in Europe, and what the position of a sovereign Quebec would be with similar arrangements within Canada. The fourth section concludes by assessing whether or not Quebec sovereignty based on the E.U. model would have any implications for Canada-US relations." (Hülsemeyer & Lecours, 2006, 263-264)

24. Kopstein, Jeffery. "EU, American, and Canadian Approaches to Democracy Promotion: Are They Compatible?" Policy workshop: The Transatlantic Security Triangle: Where Does Canada Fit?, Ottawa, Ontario, June 2006. <http://labs.carleton.ca/canadaeurope/wp-content/uploads/sites/9/KopsteinEU-US-Canada-DemocracyPromotion.pdf>

Abstract: "Canadians tend to be wary of democracy promotion. It smacks of telling others how they should govern themselves. The central message of this memo, however, is that democracy promotion is here to stay. Surveys suggest that Europeans support democracy promotion just as strongly as Americans do. It is a recurrent theme in the foreign policy of most strong liberal democratic states. Rather than pretending it does not exist, Canadians need to think about what their distinctive approach should be to democracy promotion. In doing so, it will be helpful to consider the different transatlantic models. American thinking on democracy promotion tends to favour "civil society" and be "bottom-up." Europeans approach the matter more from the standpoint of "governance" and the "state"; it therefore appears to more "top-down." These differences have roots in very different perceptions of past democracy promotion projects. The authors feel that Canada does not need to choose between the two approaches. In fact, they are complementary. Canada could contribute to strengthening the transatlantic relationship by picking and choosing the best parts of both approaches and establishing them within the framework of an international institution." (Kopstein, 2006, 1)

25. Laursen, Finn, (ed). *The EU and Federalism: Politics and Policies Compared*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Publisher's description: "Tracing the evolution of federalist theory and the European Union (EU), an international line up of distinguished experts debate the pros and cons of treating the EU in a comparative context and ask whether a constitutional equilibrium has been reached in the EU. They examine policymaking or modes of governance in the areas of employment, health, environment, security and migration, comparing the EU's policies with policies of both international organizations like NATO, OECD and federal states such as Canada, Japan and South Africa." (Available at: <https://www.routledge.com/The-EU-and-Federalism-Polities-and-Policies-Compared/Laursen/p/book/9781409412168>, accessed on April 26, 2017)

26. Leslie, Peter M. *The European Community, A Political Model for Canada?* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada. 1991.

Summary: This paper was commissioned by the federal-provincial relations office to provide detailed background on the relevance of the European Community as a political model for Canada, as the European Community had so often been cited in discussions about appropriate arrangements for Canada's future. The study particularly examines the EU in light of a Canadian decentralist agenda. The study concludes that EC experience indicates that the wholesale decentralization would render the governmental system ineffectual in meeting the essential needs or goals of Canadians. On the other hand, the EC institutions and processes might assist in blocking out an institutional reform agenda for Canada. Where the Canadian system emphasizes the separateness of governmental responsibilities (and the assumption is often made that the division of powers should be revised in order to achieve a neater or fuller separation of functions), the EC operates on the basis of co-responsibility. In this respect, the EC may be a positive model that Canada might try to emulate.

27. Leslie, Peter M. *The Maastricht Model: a Canadian Perspective on the European Union*, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Research Report No. 33, Kingston: Queen's University. 1996.

Summary: This work divides itself into two parts. The first part explores the historical context and the form of the European Union (EU) institutions, while the second turns to those two perennial concerns of Canadian politics: sovereignty and Quebec. The twist is that it is the sovereignty of European states that is discussed, with occasional comparisons to NAFTA and Canada, and the discussion of Quebec revolves around the claim that the EU might be used as a template for a new Quebec-Canada relationship. This last point speaks to a Canadian debate about the value of an EU-style association for Canada in the wake of Quebec independence. Leslie's aim is, therefore, to refute the argument made by a number of pro-secessionist Québécois academics that an independent Quebec could form a customs union with the Rest of Canada (RoC). Leslie's goal is to argue that this would be a near impossible task.

28. MacMillan, Gretchen. "Canadian Executive Federalism and European Community Summitry." In *The European Community, Canada and 1992*, edited by G.M. Macmillan, Calgary: University of Calgary. 1994.

Summary: In both Canada and the EU the executive and executive institutions play the dominant role in integration through intergovernmentalism. The policy making process in each is federalist, with two distinct levels of government. In Canada dislocation is caused by Quebec and in the EU by Britain. There are similar prominent institutional structures including the European Council and First Ministers' conferences. While both developed for similar reasons, the results in terms of integration and political union have been quite different. In Canada First Ministers' conferences have failed to bring Canada together but instead have driven the communities further apart (i.e. failure of Meech Lake Accord). In Europe, although the process was not without complications and fear of failure, results were more positive and the Maastrich agreement resulted.

29. McAllister, Ian. *Regional Development and the European Community--A Canadian Perspective*. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy. 1982.

Abstract: This paper uses European examples as a comparative context for exploring Canada's regional development approach. The paper examines European instruments such as the European Investment Bank, the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Common Agricultural Policy. The author suggests that the European experience should be monitored for relevant insights and notes some important similarities, such as the difficulties in reaching consensus, the importance of transfer payments, and the role of differing regional priorities in shaping regional disparities.

30. McKay, David. *Designing Europe: Comparative Lessons from the Federal Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2001

Summary: The aim of this book is to draw lessons for the European Union from the experiences of five mature federations, Australia, Canada, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States. Using a comparative framework, the author believes that there is nothing *sui generis* about the European Union; it is just another confederation on its journey toward a federation. This process of consolidation is an experience many contemporary federations like Canada, Switzerland, and the United States have gone through, and the author seeks to highlight what the European Union can learn from these cases in a quest to maintain integrity in the face of diversity. One core point is that constitutions do not always accurately reflect the practice of federalism. There is a clear emphasis on fiscal federalism and the role of political parties. The book provides a systematic cross-national analysis for a field that has largely ignored the relevance of federal experiences elsewhere, and broadens the horizons of students of European integration by highlighting the similarities between mature federations and the European experiment. In the author's view, comparative federalism has more to offer to Europe than the field of international relations, which, until recently, monopolized European integration studies.

31. Montpetit, Eric. "Governance and Policy Learning in the European Union: A Comparison with North America." *Journal of European Public Policy* 16, no. 8 (2009): 1185-1203.

Abstract: "Several scholars argue that policy-making in the EU occurs in horizontal networks more frequently than in nation states. They add that EU networks, unlike networks in nation states, are not subordinated to any formal structure of authority. Moreover, EU networks seek consensus as their actors are concerned about the EU's democratic deficit. Consequently, learning features prominently as a method to make policy decisions in EU governance. This article tests this proposal. The test rests on a comparative survey yielding 666 completed questionnaires from actors involved in biotechnology policy development in Europe and North America. The survey was conducted twice, once in 2006 and once in 2008, and provides information on policy learning intensity, on consensus formation and on policy transfers. The survey fails to provide evidence that policy actors involved in EU governance learn more than those involved exclusively in European and North American nation states." (Montpetit, 2009, 1185)

32. Saint-Martin, Denis. "Coordinating Interdependence: Governance and Social Policy Redesign in Britain, the European Union and Canada." Research Report No. F/41, Social Architecture Series, Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2004. http://rcrpp.org/documents/29040_en.pdf

Executive Summary: "This research report documents and compares recent changes in the institutions and practices of governance and social policy in the European Union, Britain and Canada. The analysis uses a framework that focuses on two dimensions: whether management of social policy is based on tightly versus loosely coupled systems, and the level of coercion built into governance instruments. Based on this distinction, the author concludes that the European Union's open method of coordination (OMC) is a case of *communicative governance* intended to foster a common social policy vision. New Labour's modernization agenda in Britain is characterized as a case of *holistic governance* designed to promote an integrated approach to social policy development and delivery. Canada's Social Union Framework Agreement (SUFA) constitutes an instance of *collaborative governance*, focused on joint planning and work." (Saint-Martin, 2004, v)

33. Saint-Martin, Denis and Fred Thompson, eds. *Public Ethics and Governance: Standards and Practices in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford-Elsevier Press. 2006.

Abstract: "This volume looks at conflicts of interest, codes of ethics, and the regulation of corruption in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, and the European Community. It finds that there is less corruption than ever before, but the gap between public expectations and perceptions has nevertheless widened. Moreover, it questions the dominant academic approach to applied ethics, with its emphasis on training, standards and procedures, and, ultimately, regulation. In contrast, the authors argue that governance is a social process. Ethical governing means attending to the relational aftermath of complex decisions - the ways in which decisions and their execution affect and sustain social relationships. Moreover, applied ethical reasoning in this context must not only confront certain stock issues, it must also lead to widespread participation in decision-making

processes. Viewed in this way, ethical governing means a respectful discourse involving widespread participation of legitimate viewpoints. Consequently, the authors suggest that the nearly universal dissatisfaction with the state of public ethics is a manifestation of something deeper and more profound. As one author explains, public perceptions won't look up so long as politics remains a spectator sport, dominated by "sleaze ball tactics and shrinking sound bites." (Abstract available at: <http://archives.cerium.ca/Public-Ethics-and-Governance>, accessed September 18, 2017)

34. Sutcliffe, John. "Intergovernmental Relations in the European Union and Canada: the Place of Local Government." In *Crossing the Atlantic: Comparing the European Union and Canada*, edited by Patrick Crowley. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing. 2004, pp. 85-108.

Summary: This chapter compares relations between municipal government in Canada and the Canadian federal government, on the one hand, with that between UK local governments and the EU on the other. The author demonstrates that municipal governments in both settings, though strongly affected by the policies at the national (Canada) and supranational (EU) level, do not have the leverage to effectively represent their interests there, in part because both of them, in seeking to do so, must work through, respectively, their provincial and national governments.

35. Taylor, Robert. "The Evolution of the Canadian Federation and the European Union." Proceedings from Canada and the European Union - a Relationship in Focus Conference, Toronto, October 1994.

Summary: The paper provides a summary of the conference. There are evident similarities in relationships within Canada and within the European Union. The fundamental issues both in Canada and the EU boil down to identity and a sense of belonging. Can we learn from each other? Probably not on fundamentals because of the specific nature of the two situations and because their starting and finishing points are so different. But some issues, like bringing public opinion and ordinary citizens into the process are important to all of us. The quality of the debate, the amount of consultation, the amount of explanation given to ordinary citizens, is clearly inadequate on both sides of the Atlantic.

36. Wood, Donna. "Ties that Bind: Comparing Modes of Governance in Employment Policy in Canada and the European Union." In *The EU and Federalism: Politics and Policies Compared*, edited by Finn Laursen, 133-154. UK: Ashgate. 2010.

Abstract: "This paper compares modes of governance in employment policy in Canada and the European Union (EU), and assesses the changes that have occurred over the past decade in the institutional setting where policies are made, the constellation of actors who are involved, and the mechanisms used to manage their interaction and collective behavior. Using a conceptual framework classifying modes of governance in different policy areas as hierarchy, negotiation, cooperation and competition, the paper concludes that negotiation as a mode of governance plays a dominant role in both Canada and the EU, due to executive dominance of intergovernmental relations in each system. The Open Method of Coordination in the EU has facilitated the increased use of cooperative and competitive modes of governance, allowing hierarchy to be minimized. In Canada hierarchy is the

dominant mode of governance, due primarily to the use of the federal spending power. Competition is rarely used and cooperation as a mode of governance focuses predominately on bilateral, as opposed multilateral relations. The analysis demonstrates the usefulness of a common analytical framework developed for comparing modes of governance in different policy areas in the European Union to a broader comparison of policies between Canada and the EU.” (Wood, 2009, available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228712604_Ties_that_bind_Comparing_modes_of_governance_in_employment_policy_in_Canada_and_the_European_Union, accessed on September 18, 2017)

Theme 4: Environment and Sustainable Development

1. Boardman, Robert. "Environmental Policy in the EU and Canada." In *The EU and Federalism: Politics and Policies Compared*, edited by Finn Laursen, 81-100. UK: Ashgate. 2010.

Summary: The chapter situates the discussion of EU and Canadian environmental policy processes in the context of the comparative federalism literature. After discussing similarities and differences between the two polities, it argues that both the EU and Canada can be profitably accommodated within the analytical frameworks that have been devised to study federal systems. The main body of the chapter compares policy processes on the environment in the EU and Canada. It examines (1) the federal contexts, by way of a discussion of constitutional constraints in the two systems, the roles of central or federal government institutions, and the respective powers of the Canadian provinces and EU states; (2) environmental policy dynamics in the EU and Canada, particularly through the concept of multilevel governance, for example the influence of municipal level governments and of non-governmental organizations; and (3) downstream comparisons, for example in the choices of policy instruments and their effectiveness.

2. Carson, Marcus. "Oceans Apart? Policy Reversals, Transatlantic Politics, and the EU Asbestos Ban". In Miranda A. Schreurs, Henrik Selin, and Stacy D. VanDeveer (eds), *Transatlantic Environment and Energy Politics* (Burlington: Ashgate), 2009.

Introduction: "This Chapter focuses on the development of the 2005 EU ban and the roles of the US and Canada. The Chapter shows how the eventual banning of asbestos in the EU was first and foremost a battle over issue conceptualization and fundamental priorities – commercial trade vs. public health – and over the related issues of burden of proof and the nature of the standards by which that charge could be met...And while specific interests were clearly a significant basis for the decisions made by all actors, Canada was the leading lobbyist in high-level asbestos diplomacy. The targets for its combination of political hardball and skillful persuasion included national governments and supranational governance, and even international organizations concerned with science." (Carson, 2009, p. 75).

3. Chircop, Aldo and Koivurova, Timo and Franckx, Erik and Molenaar, Erik J. and VanderZwaag, David, *Understanding and Strengthening European Union-Canada Relations in Law of the Sea and Ocean Governance*, The Northern Institute for Environmental and Minority Law, Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, March 2009.

Abstract: "The recent history of international ocean relations between Canada and the European Union (EU) merits particular scholarly attention. The headlines in the media have tended to focus on differences rather than commonalities, and in particular those few differences that led to confrontation, probably not without some assistance from the media. The 'Turbot War' in the 1990s is by now a classic case of confrontation on the high seas

motivated by conflicting fisheries and related conservation interests.” (Abstract from: SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2757135>)

4. Dolata - Kreutzkamp, Petra. “Canada-Germany-EU: Energy Security and Climate Change.” *International Journal*, Volume 63, Issue 3 (July 2008): 665 - 681

Introduction: “During the German EU and G8 presidencies, energy security and climate change were prominent issues on Berlin’s summit agenda. This was also reflected in the thematic emphasis of the Canada-EU high-level meeting in early June 2007 in Berlin. The concluding joint statement specifically declared “energy and climate security” to be one of the three main areas for future cooperation.¹ No doubt energy security and climate change are topics that are very much in vogue these days. However, as this article will argue, there are even larger tectonic shifts at work that will affect German and EU foreign policy in the long run and thus potentially impinge on future Germany-Canada relations. One irreversible change has been the emergence of energy security as an integral part of foreign policy. This applies to national as well as EU levels.” (Dolata-Kreutzkamp, 2008, pp. 665-666)

5. Eberlein, Burkard and G. Bruce Doern (Eds.), *Governing the Energy Challenge: Canada and Germany in a Multilevel Regional and Global Context*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010

Publisher’s Description: “As energy prices continue to soar, there is an equally growing interest in how better to manage and regulate energy sources and their production. *Governing the Energy Challenge* is a comparative study between Canada and Germany that features essays by leading energy and public policy specialists from both countries. It identifies numerous strategies to produce more efficient and sustainable energy by revealing the ways in which Germany, as a member of the European Union, is more advanced in dealing with multi-level governmental tensions and sustainability constraints than Canada has as a member of NAFTA. Paying particular attention to the relationship between environmental study, climate change issues, and economic market reforms, this volume analyses the influence that the energy sector and multi-level institutional arrangements have on energy governance. The contributors provide valuable information on the formation of energy policy, offering insights into the growing differences between countries who are members of NAFTA and the European Union.” (Available at: <http://www.utppublishing.com/Governing-the-Energy-Challenge-Canada-and-Germany-in-a-Multilevel-Regional-and-Global-Context.html>, accessed on May 17 2017)

6. Gruere, Guillaume P, Carter, Colin A, Farzin, Y. Hossein. “What Labelling Policy for Consumer Choice? The case of Genetically Modified Food in Canada and Europe” *Canadian Journal of Economics* 41, no. 4, (2008): 1472-1497.

Abstract: “Faced with divergent opinions among consumers on the use of genetically modified (GM) foods, Canada has adopted a voluntary labelling approach for non-GM foods, whereas the European Union has a mandatory labelling policy for GM foods. Both labelling systems have resulted in very little, if any, additional consumer choice. Using an

analytical model, the authors show that the coexistence of GM and non-GM products at the retail level depends on the labelling policy, consumer perceptions, and the type of product. Although voluntary labelling tends to favour the use of GM products, it is more likely to provide consumer choice.” (Gruere, Carter and Farzin, 2008, 1472)

7. Himanen Veli, Lee-Gosselin Martin, Perrels Adriaan. “Impact of Transport on Sustainability: Towards an Integrated Transatlantic Evidence Base.” *Transport Reviews* 24, no. 6 (2004): 691-705.

Abstract: “Despite a large body of literature on the negative impacts and externalities of transport systems, it is difficult for policy-makers to infer a coherent message about whether intervention should be considered, and if so, how to weigh the relative importance of multiple domains of impact. This paper examines the extent to which the results of research on the impacts of transport in the European Union (EU), the USA and Canada have been translated into improved public policy on sustainable development. Over 3 years, approximately 100 researchers contributed to a review that focused primarily on the environment, safety, public health, land use and congestion. There were findings on four main issues. First, the understanding of impacts is uneven and, with some notable exceptions, poorly integrated: in particular, where there is no real commitment to internalizing costs, there is little incentive to develop assessment frameworks that support decisions about tradeoffs between costs (and benefits) in multiple domains. Second, the sustainability of transport is often viewed from the policy side as something that has to be 'set off' against affordability, equity and acceptability in a calculus that often treats transport in isolation: a broader view of sustainability might better help identify ways that transport can contribute to a decoupling of economic growth from a growth in impacts. Third, some important gaps in the research base were identified. Broad in nature, they concerned longer-term trajectories, societal learning, increased attention to freight and policy implementation. Finally, activities are suggested to improve the organization of a transatlantic evidence base that benefits from appropriately scaled comparisons between regions of Europe and North America, and which respects the complexity of impact domains and their interactions. The highest priority was given to cross-national analyses of transport and land-use policies relevant to sustainability, and to holistic evaluations of actual implementations of ‘wise’ policy packages in urban regions.” (Himanen, Lee-Gosselin and Perrels, 2004, 691)

8. Howlett, Michael and Jeremy Rayner. “Globalization and Governance Capacity: Explaining Divergence in National Forest Programs as Instances of "Next-generation" Regulation in Canada and Europe.” *Governance- an International Journal of Policy and Administration* 19, no. 2 (2006): 251-275.

Abstract: “New policy initiatives are increasingly embedded in novel governance strategies. These new modes of governance differ from existing policy mixes in that they are specifically designed to reduce the number of instances of counterproductive policy instrument use; to function effectively and meet public policy goals in an era of decreased national state capacity and autonomy; and rely much more heavily than existing instrument mixes have done on the involvement of private actors in both policy formulation and

implementation. These instances of contemporary policy design require careful analysis in order to understand where and when such designs may be adopted and, more importantly, prove effective. This article examines efforts made in Europe and Canada to develop "next-generation" forest policy strategies and finds considerable divergence in the new regulatory processes put into place in different countries. Following Knill and Lehmkuhl, this divergence is attributed to changing patterns of domestic actor capacities in the face of weak international regimes." (Howlett & Rayner, 2006, 251)

9. Ilgen, Thomas L. "Between Europe and America, Ottawa and the Provinces: Regulating Toxic Substances in Canada." *Canadian Public Policy* 11, no. 3 (1985): 578-590.

Abstract: "The Canadian approach to the regulation of toxic chemicals is compared with those found in Europe and the United States. Three regulatory arenas are examined: pesticides, occupational health and safety, and pre-market notification schemes for industrial chemicals. Canadian regulation is found to resemble more the European preference for informal and consensual relations among affected parties although recent changes have pushed it in the direction of the procedurally formal and highly contentious approach common in the United States. An effort is made to account for the features of the Canadian process and for the recent changes observed." (Ilgen, 1985, 578)

10. Jhappan C.R. "Animal Rights versus Aboriginal Rights: Canada's Aboriginal Peoples and the European Community." In *The European Community, Canada and 1992*, edited by Gretchen MacMillan, Calgary: The University of Calgary Press, 1994.

Summary: The paper traces the politics of the European Community's involvement in issues of significance to Canada's aboriginal peoples, especially EC action with regard to banning seal pup pelts and the use of the leg hold trap. The European Parliament also censured Canada on moral grounds for its treatment of aboriginal peoples. The author concludes that although the EC may make sympathetic noises about aboriginal rights, it does not extend to protecting those rights in terms of the fur trade, upon which many aboriginal people depend. It would seem unwise for Canada's aboriginal people to rely on the support of EU institutions for the furtherance of their economic and political claims within Canada.

11. Kelemen, Daniel. "Regulatory Federalism: EU Environmental Regulation in Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Public Policy* 20, no. 2 (2000): 133-167.

Abstract: "This article analyzes the development of environmental regulation in the European Union from the perspective of comparative federalism. It presents a theory of regulatory federalism that explains how the basic institutional structures of federal-type polities shape the development of regulatory policy. The article assesses the theory by systematically comparing the development of environmental regulation in the EU, the US, Canada and Australia. The analysis suggests that the EU's institutional structure encourages the development of a US-style pattern of regulation, characterized by detailed, non-discretionary rules and a litigious approach to enforcement." (Kelemen, 2000, 133)

12. Kerr, W.A. and J.E. Hobbs. "A New Era of Corn Laws: Agricultural Trade with the European Community - 1992 and Beyond." In *The European Community, Canada and 1992*, edited by Gretchen MacMillan, 91-102. Calgary: The University of Calgary Press, 1994.

Summary: Europeans are not willing to place their trust in market solutions in relation to agricultural matters. Potential exporters- including Alberta in Canada- would be better to channel their energies into understanding the forces shaping the post-1992 Community and finding ways to take advantage of trade opportunities that arise. The authors argue that if one waits for a reasonable system to evolve for EC agriculture, one is sure to be disappointed and miss many export opportunities. They conclude that exporters such as Alberta should direct attention away from the normal products that Alberta would export to the EC, and focus instead on growth industries such as food safety, the environment and rural recreation.

13. Krzyzanowski, M, Vandenberg J., and D Stieb. "Perspectives on Air Quality Policy Issues in Europe and North America." *Journal of Toxicology and Environmental Health* 68, no. 13-14, (2005): 1057-1061.

Abstract: "This article presents an overview of progress and future directions in air quality management in Europe, the United States, and Canada. The article describes the role of the European Commission, the Clean Air for Europe program, and the World Health Organization (WHO) in devising policies to reduce health risks due to air pollution in Europe. U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) standards for particulate matter (PM), air quality monitoring programs, and research efforts to support air quality management strategies are discussed. The unique aspects of air quality management in Canada are identified, including the need for a better understanding of the true burden of health effects and improved communication strategies to inform the public and stakeholders." (Krzyzanowski, Vandenberg and Stieb, 2005, 1057)

14. Rayner, Jeremy and Howlett, Michael. "The National Forest Strategy in Comparative Perspective." *Forestry Chronicle* 83, no. 5, (2007): 651-657.

Abstract: "This paper evaluates the ability of the National Forest Strategy to meet the challenges of a newly internationalized forest policy environment while preserving the strengths of a decentralized national system of forest policy formulation and implementation. It outlines the challenges to forest governance in Canada in the 21(st) century, notably the globalized marketplace and the consolidation, increasing sophistication and international linkages of new actors in forest policy-making. Canada's NFS is compared with the development of National Forest Programs in Europe in order to assess Canada's progress in these areas compared to that of other jurisdictions." (Rayner & Howlett, 2007, 651)

15. Robinson, Guy M. "Canada's Environmental Farm Plans: Transatlantic Perspectives on Agri-environmental Schemes." *Geographical Journal* 172, no.3 (2006): 206-218.

Abstract: “Evaluation of Ontario's Environmental Farm Plan (EFP) scheme, launched in 1993, provides an opportunity for comparisons with agri-environmental measures instituted in the European Union and other parts of North America. The EFP has a strong 'bottom-up' dimension in that it is farmers' organizations that have been central both to the scheme's instigation and to its ongoing management. This has affected the nature of the actions taken by individual farmers participating in the scheme. These actions are reviewed, especially in terms of the participants' attitudes towards stewardship of the land, environmental outcomes, cross-compliance measures, barriers to participation and the role of statutory regulation. Some contrasts are drawn with the greater 'top-down' controls exerted in several EU agri-environment schemes, with the latter's promotion of extensification and the changing role of farmers as 'producers of countryside' in a multi-functional agricultural system. The diffusion of EFP schemes throughout Canada is noted and is cited as confirming the maintenance of fundamentally different attitudes to the development of farm-based environmental actions compared with those adopted in the EU.” (Robinson, 2006, 206)

16. Tilleman, William A. “Public Participation in the Environmental-impact Assessment Process- a Comparative Study of Impact Assessment in Canada, the United States and the European Community.” *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law* 33, no. 2, (1995): 337-439.

Abstract: “In 1969, the United States passed the National Environmental Policy Act. Canada ratified the same principles in 1973 by establishing the Federal Environmental Assessment and Review Process and the Ontario Environmental Act. Similarly, the European Community issued the Environmental Impact Assessment Directive in 1985. These laws, policies, and directives are aimed at proper environmental planning to control development through careful environmental impact analysis. This article compares the role of public participation in the environmental assessment process in the U.S., Canada, and the European Community. The author argues that public participation deserves attention because the degree of participation affects the quality of the environmental impact analysis process, which, in turn, affects the quality of the decision about a project. Broader participation creates more information and alternatives to be presented to decision makers, enhancing the opportunity to mesh public values and government policy.” (Tilleman, 1995, 337)

17. Van den Hoven, A and Froschauer K. “Limiting Regional Electricity Sector Integration and Market Reform - The Cases of France in the EU and Canada in the NAFTA region.” *Comparative Political Studies* 37, no. 9 (2004): 1079-1103.

Abstract: “Recent decades have witnessed liberal reforms in electricity policy in Western countries and an emerging literature with prominent perspectives on how to analyze such reforms. Some analysts view Western countries as replicating the policy models of Britain and the United States, the first nations to adopt liberal reforms; others see European Union and North American Free Trade Agreement countries as subjected to regional electricity sector integration by supranational regional agreements. The authors challenge those views, arguing that national interests have limited domestic electricity market reforms in France and Canada despite their participation in regional electricity market integration

projects. By examining surplus-producing acceleration in building nuclear and hydroelectric plants, initiatives to secure export access as part of regional market integration, and the ability to limit the effects of market access reciprocity domestically, this comparative analysis of France and Canada demonstrates that national interests can prevail in the intergovernmental formulation and domestic implementation of electricity policy.” (Van den Hoven & Froschauer, 2004, 1079)

18. Weibust, Inger. *Green Leviathan: The Case for a Federal Role in Environmental Policy*. Farnham UK, Burlington VT: Ashgate. 2009.

Publisher’s Description: “The US, Switzerland and Canada are wealthy democracies that should be conducive to effective decentralized or cooperative environmental policy-making. However, a closer examination of their environmental policy over many decades finds no evidence that these approaches have worked. So does it matter which level of government makes policy? Can cooperation between sub-national governments protect the environment? Building on comparative case studies on air and water pollution and making use of extensive historical material, Inger Weibust questions how governance structure affects environmental policy performance in the US, Switzerland, Canada and the European Union. The research breaks new ground by studying formal and informal environmental cooperation. It analyzes whether federal systems with more centralized policy-making produce stricter environmental policies and debates whether devolution and the establishment of subsidiaries will lead to less environmental protection. An essential insight into the complexities of policy-making and governance structures, this book is an important contribution to the growing debates surrounding comparative federalism and multi-level governance.” (Available at: <https://www.routledge.com/Green-Leviathan-The-Case-for-a-Federal-Role-in-Environmental-Policy/Weibust/p/book/9780754677291>, accessed on September 18, 2017)

Theme 5: Immigration and Social Policy

1. Broadhead, Robert S, Kerr, Thomas H, Grund Jean-Paul C, Altice Frederick. "Safer Injections Facilities in North America: their Place in Public Policy and Health Initiatives." *Journal of Drug Issues* 32, no. 1, (2002): 329-355.

Abstract: "The continuing threat posed by HIV, HCV, drug overdose, and other injection-related health problems in both the United States and Canada indicates the need for further development of innovative interventions for drug injectors, for reducing disease and mortality rates, and for enrolling injectors into drug treatment and other health care programs. Governmentally sanctioned "safer injection facilities" (SIFs) are a service that many countries around the world have added to the array of public health programs they offer injectors. In addition to needle exchange programs, street-outreach and other services, SIFs are clearly additions to much larger comprehensive public health initiatives that municipalities pursue in many countries. A survey of the existing research literature, plus the authors' ethnographic observations of 18 SIFs operating in western Europe and one SIF that was recently opened in Sydney, Australia, suggest that SIFs target several problems that needle exchange, street-outreach, and other conventional services fall short in addressing: (1) reducing rates of drug injection and related-risks in public spaces; (2) placing injectors in more direct and timely contact with medical care, drug treatment, counselling, and other social services; (3) reducing the volume of injectors' discarded litter in, and expropriation of, public spaces. In light of the evidence, the authors conclude that the time has come for more municipalities within North America to begin considering the place of SIFs in public policy and health initiatives, and to provide support for controlled field trials and demonstration projects of SIFs operating in injection drug-using communities." (Broadhead, Kerr Grund and Altice, 2002, 329)

2. de Mestral, Armand and Jan Winter. "Mobility Rights in the European Union and in Canada" *McGill Law Journal* 46, no.4 (2001): 980-1009.

Summary: "Both Canada and the EU have been vitally concerned with the promotion and maintenance of personal mobility since inception. For a unitary state, mobility is virtually axiomatic, except under totalitarian conditions, but for a federation the matter is much more complex and will depend greatly upon the division of legislative powers. In Canada personal mobility has been seen as an incident of citizenship, but provincial jurisdiction over business and professional activities has often posed problems for citizens wishing to move physically from one province to another and to pursue economic activities. Within the EEC, then the EC, and now the EU, it has always been necessary to promote and define the exercise of the mobility rights of workers, persons, and services, as well as the rights of establishment. The process of definition has been long and complex and is certainly not yet complete. There is thus a common concern for mobility at different levels, including physical mobility, mobility as an economic value, mobility as an incident of citizenship, and finally, mobility as a human right". de Mestral & Winter, 2001)

3. Deven, Fred and Peter Moss. "Leave Arrangements for Parents: Overview and Future Outlook." *Community, Work & Family* 5, no. 3, (2002): 237-255.

Abstract: "This article provides an overview of statutory leave arrangements in the European Union (EU), Central European countries, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, & the US. It concludes with a brief review of recent parental leave research, & by considering future directions for policy & research. Paid maternity leave & paid or unpaid parental leave are now available throughout Europe - Western, Central, & Eastern. Paternity leave has an increasing presence, but so far exists in only a minority of European countries. Except for Canada, leave policy in the four non-European countries lags behind Europe. Recent policy developments in the EU have been mainly in paternity & parental leave, with an emphasis on fathers. Nearly all countries remain far behind Sweden, which has the most effective leave policy for parents. The authors conclude that, looking ahead, there is a need to adopt a holistic approach both in research & policy, e.g., understanding decision making as a complex process involving many influences & relationships & locating leave arrangements within a 'total policy package.' Future policy needs to move beyond a narrow focus on early parenthood to adopt a broader, life-course approach to increasing management of the use of time." (Deven and Moss, 2002, 237)

4. Fierlbeck, Katherine. "The Dialectics of Law and Politics: Federal Health Policy in the EU and Canada." In *The EU and Federalism: Politics and Policies Compared*, edited by Finn Laursen, 155-177. UK: Ashgate. 2010.

Excerpt: The paper argues that "the juxtaposition of the federal health care systems of the EU and Canada is useful in a number of ways." It suggests that "judicial influence on health policy has become notably pronounced in both the EU and in Canada. ... [I]n both cases, courts returned decisions on specific cases that had far-reaching effects on wider health policy, and in both cases courts did so seemingly with little regard for the policy consequences of their decisions. In both cases, courts reinforced negative rights over positive rights; and, in both cases, the actions of the courts spurred governments to take political action to strengthen the solidaristic character of national health care systems. What both of these cases show, too, is that this concerted action can arise through the increased use of the mechanisms of 'new governance'.... Canada's experience with Charter interpretation is as good warning for the EU not to put much faith that its new EU Charter will be an effective means of protecting solidaristic health care systems" (Fierlbeck, p. 24)"

5. Finbow, Robert. "The Evolving Labour Relations Dimension of the European Regional System: A Model for North America." In *Comparative Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*, edited by Finn Laursen, 101-130. UK: Ashgate Publishing.

Summary: This chapter looks at the evolution of labour relations in the EU, comparing these to the situation with NAFTA. Labour market policy- often referred to as social policy in EU- has been on the agenda of European integration since the beginning of integration in the 1950s. Efforts to make it a stronger part of the internal market ran into problems in the 1980s because of resistance from Margaret Thatcher's government in the UK. The

social charter adopted in 1988 was therefore a non-binding document. The issue was one of the most difficult ones delegates faced in the Maastricht Treaty negotiations in 1991. In the end it was decided to include social policy in a protocol binding on all member states except the UK, which got an opt-out. In the early years labour market policy was mostly based on ‘hard law’- i.e. legislation- especially in the form of directives that member states had to implement. Later ‘soft law’ approaches- involving the labour market parties in a so-called social dialogue- have since played a more prominent role. Observers disagree in their evaluations of the achievements of social policy in the EU, but there is no doubt that the EU has achieved much more than NAFTA in this area. The possibility of so-called submissions under the North American Agreement on Labour Cooperation has not had much success.

6. Fossum, John Erik and Johanne Poirier. *The Ties that Bind: Accommodating Diversity in Canada and the European Union*. P.I.E. Peter Lang: Brussels. 2009.

Summary: This book originated in a conference held in Brussels in November 2005 which brought together scholars from Canada and Europe to discuss the increasing challenges of accommodating diversity in Canada and Europe, including race, ethnicity, language and religion. Through 15 separate articles it examines the elements that keep the complex “post-national” political entities that are Canada and the EU together. The volume starts with an assessment of why Canada and the European Union should be compared, including the key similarities and differences. The book is organized into two parts. The first presents the “diagnostic of diversity” and the identification of the challenges Canada and the EU face. The second part deals with the “handling of diversity” and what are the “ties that bind” that keep these entities together and to what degree these are democratically viable.

7. Gidengil, Elisabeth, Matthew Hennigar, André Blais and Neil Nevitte (2005), ‘Explaining The Gender Gap in Support for the New Right: The Case of Canada’, *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 10, 1171-1195.

Abstract: “This article uses data from the 2000 *Canadian Election Study* to examine a variety of possible explanations for the gender gap in support for the new right. The authors find structural and situational explanations to be of little help in accounting for the gap. What matters are values and beliefs. The gender gap in support for Canada's new right party reflects differences in views about the appropriate role of the state, law and order, and traditional moral values. It also appears to reflect differences in the salience of politics in men's and women's lives. When all of these attitudinal factors are taken into account, the gender gap ceases to be significant. The implications of the findings are considered in light of comparative analyses of gender gaps in vote choice and support for radical right-wing populist political parties in Western Europe.” (Gidengil, Hennigar Blais and Nevitte, 2005, 1171)

8. Hulse, Kath and Stone, Wendy (2007), ‘Social Cohesion, Social Capital and Social Exclusion’, *Policy Studies*, June 2007, Vol. 28 Issue 2, 109-128.

Abstract: “Interest in the concept of social cohesion has waxed and waned since Durkheim's foundation studies at the end of the 19th century, with the greatest interest being in times of fundamental economic, social and political change. The term is used in at least two different ways: firstly, in a policy context, to indicate the aims of, and rationale for, certain public policy actions; and secondly, as an analytical construct to explain social, political and sometimes economic changes. This article focuses on the first of these and traces the recent usage of social cohesion, spanning its take-up and influence within the Canadian policy environment, through to its usage (or otherwise) across liberal welfare regimes such as the UK, the US, Australia and New Zealand, and contrasts these experiences with its application in European institutions. The differential usage across these geopolitical settings is highlighted. Drawing upon Esping-Andersen's welfare state typology, and an explicit acknowledgement of national differences in relation to ethnic and cultural diversity, various explanations for these differences are discussed and their policy consequences explored.” (Hulse and Stone, 2007, 109)

9. Jenson, Jane. “Canada's New Social Risks: Directions for a New Social Architecture.” Research Report F|43, Canadian Policy Research Networks Social Architecture Papers, September 2004.

Summary: This is a final report in a series of papers by Canadian and international scholars that set the stage for a contemporary blueprint for social policy reform in Canada. In this synthesis report, Jenson sets out five visioning principles to guide decision-making in Canada and recommends that the country now pursue four new directions for public policy. The report also addresses the failures in governance that are blocking progress. Lessons from Europe are considered in this section of the report.

10. Kelemen R. Daniel and Lisa Vanhala. “The Shift to the Rights Model of Disability in the EU and Canada.” *Regional and Federal Studies* 20, no. 1 (2010): 1 - 18.

Abstract: “Approaches to disability policy have undergone a radical re-orientation across Europe and North America in the last twenty-five years. They have shifted away from a welfare-based model towards a rights model, which emphasizes the equality rights of persons with disabilities. This relatively rapid, cross-national paradigm shift, in the face of institutionalized mechanisms that one would expect to resist radical change, poses a puzzle. We argue, using the cases of Canada and the European Union, that the federal and supranational governments played a key role in encouraging the spread of the rights model of disability in their respective federal political systems and that this is crucial in explaining the timing of the shift. We find that reframing disability issues as a question of rights helped to expand the authority and the legitimacy of centralized governance.” (Kelemen and Vanhala, 2010, 1)

11. Lammert, Christian, Sarkowsky, Katja (Eds.), *Travelling Concepts: Negotiating Diversity in Canada and Europe*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010.

Publisher's Description: “‘Diversity’, understood in terms of culture, ethnicity, and of social stratification, is obviously a topic central to both the social sciences and cultural

studies. In this context, Canada increasingly serves as a model to be critically assessed for an understanding of multinational and multicultural Europe. Taking the different debates in Canada and Europe and disciplinary discussions as a starting point, this volume brings together European and Canadian scholars from sociology, cultural studies, political sciences, philosophy, and literary studies to implement a productive dialogue about concepts of diversity and the way in which they ‘travel’ across the Atlantic and across the disciplines.” (Available at: <http://www.springer.com/gb/book/9783531168920>, accessed on May 12, 2017).

12. Larocque, Florence. “Canadian Social Policy in Comparative Perspective with the Baltic and Nordic Countries: How have Elephants Developed their Social Policies.” In *Promotion of Social Policies- An Investment in the Future, Canada-European Union, Baltic States and Nordic Countries*, edited by Muravska, Tatjana, Alexandre Berlin and Eduard Laval, 30-51. Canada: Capilano University. 2009.

Summary: Canada and the Baltic States have both developed their social policies in the shadow of a great power, namely the United States and Russia. The will to distinguish themselves from the latter brought them to, respectively, develop some universal measures and liberalize their social policies. This paper compares their respective social policies (with some insights from the Scandinavian countries) in order to underline some strengths of the Canadian model (like its universal health care coverage, and its success to fight senior poverty), some of its weaknesses (like restricted unemployment benefits and parental leaves and daycare systems outside of Quebec), and possible initiatives to be looked at (like birth grants).

13. Leibfried Stephan. “Spins of (dis)integration: What Might "Reformers" in Canada Learn from the "Social Dimension" of the European Union?” *Social Policy and Administration* 32, no. 4 (1988): 365-388.

Abstract: “Viewed superficially, Canada and the European Union are both multi-tiered systems with a social identity problem, albeit one arrived at via different routes. This paper examines the extent to which Canada and Canadians might or might not be able to profit from the experience of the EU in respect of social policy development. First, the paper offers an outline review of where the "social dimension and social policy are at" in the EU. This it does with reference to the workings of three distinct processes: attempts at (a) positive activist social reform; (b) negative reform arising from the European Court of Justice's imposition of market compatibility requirements; (c) indirect, de facto pressures towards integration resulting from the demands of adapting to a single market and single currency area. The paper then goes on to review the two main schools of proposals for restructuring Canada politically-"reversing the founding process" (a Quebecois/separatist perspective), as against replacing Canada's federal system with a "pure interstate compact"-in the light of this EU experience. In neither set of cases, as it turns out, does the experience and example of the EU offer promising pointers of relevance to Canada.” (Leibfried, 1988, 365)

14. Ley, David. "Multiculturalism: A Canadian Defence." *Vancouver Centre of Excellence, Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis, Working Paper Series No. 07-04* (2007). <http://mbc.metropolis.net/assets/uploads/files/wp/2007/WP07-04.pdf>

Abstract: "This paper offers a defence of multiculturalism as currently set out in Canadian policy documents. It notes a range of academic and increasingly popular criticisms of multiculturalism, in Europe as well as Australia and Canada. In the past five years particular anxiety has arisen in the media about the emerging segregation of immigrant and minority groups in major gateway cities. Multiculturalism is commonly held responsible both for segregation, and even for the emergence of subversive political cells among the second generation. These specific challenges are addressed. The key argument is that multiculturalism sustains a philosophy for engaging difference and a policy for cultural integration. Both are urgently required in the apparent cultural pluralism of immigrant gateway cities in Canada and elsewhere." (Ley, 2007, p. 2)

15. Mahant, Edelgard. "National Identity: European Union and Canadian Policies in Comparative Perspective." In *Crossing the Atlantic: Comparing the European Union and Canada*, edited by Patrick Crowley. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004, pp.179-202.

Summary: This chapter builds on a discussion of cultural policy in three national settings, Canada, Ireland, and Luxembourg, and draws some conclusions about the prospects or even need for EU policies to protect and advance a common culture in the quest to strengthen a sense of European identity and political community. The author provides clear and concise overviews of the three countries' experiences with cultural policies in accommodating the multiple identities found in countries with diverse cultural and/or linguistic communities.

16. Muravska, Tatjana, Alexandre Berlin and Eduard Lavalle, eds. *Promotion of Social Policies- An Investment in the Future, Canada-European Union, Baltic States and Nordic Countries*. Canada: Capilano University. 2009. https://www.lu.lv/fileadmin/user_upload/lu_portal/apgads/PDF/Social-Policies-book-2009.pdf

Summary: This volume represents presentations, discussions and research papers presented at a forum in Riga at the University of Latvia November 6-8, 2008. The purpose of the forum was discuss social policy in Canada, the EU, the Baltic States and Nordic countries in order to pool information and share best practices, as well as explore how to balance economic growth with labour market needs, priorities in social protection and the effectiveness of delivery models. Social policy was scoped to include family support, health insurance coverage, pension coverage and unemployment coverage. The text contains the actual papers presented as well as an overview of the official addresses. Most of these focus on one country or another; the only comparative piece is by Florence Larocque, noted elsewhere in this bibliography. Publication of the volume received support from the Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue.

17. Nazare, Albuquerque Abell. "Safe Country Provisions in Canada and in the European Union: A Critical Assessment." *International Migration Review* 31, no. 3 (1997): 569-590.

Abstract⁵: “This article analyzes the international legal framework that surrounds the issue of safe third country (STC) in the European Union and in Canada. It argues that Canada is not immune to the developments in the European Union and that Canada's immigration policies towards refugees have changed accordingly. The Canadian model respects the legal constraints which govern the acceptability of mechanisms to apportion responsibility to examine a claim to refugee status, in particular the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. By testing the international legal viability of both the European and the Canadian system of safe third country against Articles 31 and 33 of the Geneva Convention and Executive Committee Conclusion No. 58 and Conclusion No. 15, and by addressing the draft Memorandum of Understanding between Canada and the United States and comparing it with some of the readmission agreements between the European Union and some third states, the article concludes that the Canadian STC model is preferable to that in Europe from both a legal and a humane point of view.” Nazare, 1997, 569)

18. Raboy, Marc. “The Role of Public Broadcasting Policy-making and Regulation- Lessons for Europe from Canada.” *European Journal of Communication* 9, no. 1 (1994): 5-23.

Abstract: “Broadcasting can be conceptualized as a complex activity taking place in the public sphere and involving actors situated in the state, the economy and civil society. The strategies and interests of each of these intersect in the sphere of broadcasting policy development and execution, particularly with respect to the question of regulation. In Canada, various mechanisms have been set in place over the years to provide for articulation of the public interest in broadcasting policy-making and regulation. The operation of such mechanisms is particularly important in the present context of a restructuring of national broadcasting systems and the emergence of a global media environment. In this respect, the Canadian example may be pertinent for grappling with broadcasting policy issues in Europe.” (Raboy, 1994, 5)

19. Saint-Martin, Denis. “Quebec’s Social Model: A case of Europeanization outside Europe?” Policy Brief, Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue, March 2009. <https://carleton.ca/canadaeurope/2009/policy-brief-quebecs-social-model-a-case-of-europeanization-outside-europe-by-denis-saint-martin/>

Abstract: “To say that Quebec represents the twenty-eighth member of the European Union (EU) would no doubt be an exaggeration and a rather fantastic notion bearing little relation to actual laws and institutions. It is more likely Quebec cannot join the EU because it is not a sovereign state, rather than because of its geographical location. As the debate surrounding the accession of Turkey shows, the EU is an “imagined community”, defined more by economic interests and policies than simply territorial space. After all, it is largely politics which has defined geographic borders.” (Saint-Martin, 2009, p. 1)

20. Salter, Mark. “Passports, Mobility, and Security: How Smart can the Border be?” *International Studies Perspective* 5, no. 1 (2004): 71-91.

⁵ All abstracts belong to the author of the publication.

Abstract: “After September 11, 2001, a great deal of public and policy attention has been devoted to border security, passports, and the global mobility regime. This article examines the context of the global regulation of movement of individuals and the evolution of the passport, in particular. It then examines the current American border security architecture. The creation of the Homeland Security Department reflects a sea-change in the view of the border, and these new policies are evaluated in regard to three cases: the US/Canada border, the document/examination policies at the American borders, and the European Schengen mobility regime.” (Salter, 2004, 71)

21. Triadafilopoulos, Triadafilos. “A model for Europe? A critical appraisal of Canadian integration policies.” In *Politische steuerung von iIntegrationsprozessen: intentionen und wirkungen*, edited by K. Schönwälder, S. Baringhorst and U. Hunger. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. 2006.

Summary: The author argues that the Canadian model of immigrant integration has been influential in European discussions. “Proponents of the ‘Canadian model’ cite its ability to promote social peace and liberal-democratic values, while also recognizing the identities and rights of ethnic minorities through a policy of official multiculturalism” (Triadafilopoulos, 2006, p. 79). The author goes on to argue that nonetheless “there are problems with the Canadian model, especially with respect to successful integration of well-educated, highly skilled workers and professionals” (p. 79). He concludes that “European states may be able to avoid Canada’s mistakes by taking advantage of existing corporatist networks to craft measures for easing immigrants entry into otherwise highly regulated national labour markets” (p. 80).