

Історико-політичні проблеми сучасного світу:
Збірник наукових статей. – Чернівці:
Чернівецький національний університет,
2019. – Т. 39. – С. 122-127
DOI: 10.31861/mhpi2019.39.122-127

Modern Historical and Political Issues:
Journal in Historical & Political Sciences. – Chernivtsi:
Chernivtsi National University,
2019. – Volume. 39. – pp. 122-127
DOI: 10.31861/mhpi2019.39.122-127

UDC: 323.1:323](73+71)

© Oleh Kozachuk¹

National Question in the U.S. and Canada's Domestic Politics: Conclusions from the Comparative Analysis

The conclusions of the research «National Question in the U.S. and Canada's Domestic Politics: Comparative Analysis» are proposed for consideration here. For the first time in Ukrainian political science, a cross-national comparison of the USA and Canada in the context of the analysis of the national question was carried out. Namely, its essence was clarified, the peculiarities of multicultural practices in the USA and Canada (cultural pluralism and multiculturalism) were analyzed, and an analysis of ethno-racial discrimination and ethnic mobilization was conducted. The research methodologically conceptualized and developed a comparative political study of interethnic interactions with the use of a research strategy for comparing most similar systems (for example, the USA and Canada). The case study method has been substantiated and applied, involving the method of structural and focused comparison as a tool of cross-national research (for example, the USA and Canada), and also proved that the method can be effective in comparative political science. In the research, the indexation of immigration policy was conceptualized, and a scientific apparatus (a logical sequence of conceptualization, measurement and aggregation) for further cross-national studies in which the object is the national question in general and the migration policy in particular was developed.

The theoretical results of the research can be used for the further design of models of binary implicit comparison of similar states. The case study method has not yet been properly applied in Ukrainian political science; therefore, the method proposed by the author for a structured and focused comparison of cases can be useful for both scholars and practitioners when comparing phenomena and processes. The author proposed the concept and design of a study of the already forgotten issues of the national question, which has been proven not to be outdated even in such advanced polyethnic states as the USA and Canada. The scientific results obtained by the author can be used by subjects of internal policy, first of all in the practice of public authorities. The proposed method of indexing immigration policy can serve scholars, legislators, government officials, and employees of the executive authorities to carry out cross-national and/or cross-temporal comparisons.

Key words: national question, new institutionalism, case study, structural and focused comparison, immigration, ethno-racial discrimination.

Національне питання у внутрішній політиці США та Канади: висновки порівняльного аналізу

Пропонуються висновки з дослідження «Національне питання у внутрішній політиці США та Канади: порівняльний аналіз», зокрема методологічні його засади. Вперше в українській політичній науці здійснено крос-національне порівняння США та Канади в контексті аналізу національного питання, а саме: з'ясовано його сутність, досліджено особливості багатокультурних практик у США та Канаді (культурного плюралізму та політики багатокультурності), здійснено аналіз характеру етнорасової дискримінації та етнічної мобілізації. Методологічно концептуалізовано та розроблено порівняльне дослідження проблем міжетнічної взаємодії із застосуванням дослідницької стратегії порівняння найбільш подібних систем (на прикладі США та Канади). Змістовно обґрунтовано та застосовано метод кейс-стаді із залученням способу структурно-фокусного порівняння як інструменту крос-національного дослідження (на прикладі США та Канади), а також доведено, що метод може бути ефективним у порівняльній політоло-

¹PhD, Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations, Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine. E-mail: o.kozachuk@chnu.edu.ua, <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2828-6517>.

гії. Концептуалізовано індексацію імміграційної політики, вироблено науковий апарат (логічну послідовність концептуалізації, вимірювання та агрегації) для подальших крос-національних досліджень, в яких об'єктом виступає національне питання загалом та міграційна політика зокрема.

Теоретичні результати дослідження можуть бути використані для подальшого конструювання моделей бінарного імпліцитного порівняння подібних держав. Метод кейс-стаді ще не отримав належного застосування у вітчизняній політичній науці, тому запропонований автором спосіб структурно-фокусного порівняння кейсів може стати в пригоді як науковцям, так і практикуючим політикам під час здійснення порівняння феноменів і процесів. Автором запропоновано концепцію та дизайн дослідження з уже призабутої проблематики національного питання, яке, як доведено, не втратило своєї актуальності навіть у таких розвинених поліетнічних державах, як США та Канади. Наукові результати, отримані автором, можуть бути використані суб'єктами внутрішньої політики, насамперед – у практичній діяльності органів державної влади. Запропонований метод індексації імміграційної політики може прислужитися науковцям, законодавцям, урядовцям, працівникам органів виконавчої влади для здійснення крос-національного або/та крос-темпорального порівняння.

Ключові слова: національне питання, неоінституціоналізм, кейс-стаді, структурно-фокусне порівняння, імміграція, етнорасова дискримінація.

Introduction. This paper is the result of the research «National Question in the U.S. and Canada's Domestic Politics: Comparative Analysis»². The monograph with the same title was published in 2018 and thesis for the scientific degree of Doctor of Science in Political Science in specialty 23.00.02 «Political Institutes and Processes» (052 – Political Science) was defended in April 2019. Here are some conclusions from the research and ideas for future discussion on the concept of national question.

Methodology. Taking into account the nature of the relationships between subjects of domestic political life in the USA and Canada, their struggle to achieve their own goals, and the role and place of the state in these processes, it was decided to focus on new institutionalism and instrumentalism as the main scientific school approaches. It is precisely new institutionalism that gives the most comprehensive interpretation of the political processes which are being investigated. Rational choice forms the basis of the behavior of actors, but only where a certain point, institutions affect the choice of the individual due to the fact that they structure the situation in which the individual is, which creates his ideas about the possible (rational) behavior of other actors. That is, institutions act as instrumental constructs that actors use. That is why instrumentalism is another cornerstone of this study, which was carried out using the method of analysis of a representative case (case study), in particular, using the tool of structural and focused comparison. Structural and focused comparisons are advantageously distinguished by their high potential for use in further comparative studies of the national question in the United States and Canada.

In this research, for the first time in Ukrainian political science, a cross-national comparison of the USA and Canada in the context of the analysis of the national question was carried out. Namely, its essence was clarified, the peculiarities of multicultural practices in the USA and Canada (cultural pluralism and multiculturalism) were analyzed, and an analysis of ethno-racial discrimination and ethnic mobilization was conducted. The research methodologically conceptualized and developed a comparative political study of interethnic interactions with the use of a research strategy for comparing most similar systems (for example, the USA and Canada)³. The case study method⁴ has been substantiated and applied, involving the method of structural and focused comparison as a tool of cross-national research (for example, the USA and Canada), and also proved that the method can be effective in com-

²Kozachuk, O. (2018), *Natsionalne pytannia u vnutrishnii politytsi SShA ta Kanady: porivnialnyi analiz* (National Question in the U.S. and Canada's Domestic Politics: Comparative Analysis), Tekhnodruk, Chernivtsi.

³Dogan, M. and Pélassy, D. (1990), *How to Compare Nations: Strategies in Comparative Politics*, Chatham-House, Chatham, N.J.; Lijphart, A. (1971), «Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method», *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 65 No. 03, Pp. 682–693; Munck, G. L. and Verkuilen, J. (2002), «Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices», *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Pp. 5–34; Peters, B.G. (1998), *Comparative Politics: Theory and Methods*, New York University Press, New York; Przeworski, A. and Teune, H. (1982), *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*, R.E. Krieger Pub. Co, Malabar.

⁴Yin, R.K. (2009), *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Sage Publications, Los Angeles, 4th ed.

parative political science. In the research, the indexation of immigration policy was conceptualized, and a scientific apparatus (a logical sequence of conceptualization, measurement and aggregation) for further cross-national studies in which the object is the national question in general and the migration policy in particular was developed.

Research and Discussion. The research analyzed the practice of applying multicultural practices in the United States and Canada, in particular the role of the state in implementing the policy of cultural pluralism in the United States and the policies of multiculturalism in Canada⁵.

In the course of this study, it has been proven that the United States' immigration policy has become a kind of hostage to the state mechanism, the decision-making process, and the bipartisan system. Since significant changes in immigration law were formally expressed in the legislative acts of the bicameral parliament, and the US president subsequently carried out his promulgation, taking into account the different affiliations between the representatives in the House of Representatives, the Senate and the party affiliation of the President of the United States, reaching a compromise on some problematic issues (immigration reform, health care, taxation or foreign policy) has become extremely difficult. This has led to the effects of uncertainty and status quo.

Instead, Canada, like every sovereign state defending its national interests, used immigration to maximize the development of the Canadian economy, infrastructure, and financial power. This Canadian experience needs to be taken into account when implementing the immigration policy of Ukraine. Our state should learn to formulate and defend our national interests, including in relation to the rules and procedures for the entry of foreigners.

Unlike the United States, Canada is more «mobile» in adopting and implementing immigration policy decisions. The Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, representing the majority government, can independently formulate immigration policies (powerful enough as for the state of the British Commonwealth's regulatory instruments - Orders in Council), which prevail over legislative acts passed by Parliament. The President of the United States also has similar acts in executive agencies, but their action is substantially restricted by the reaction of representatives of the judiciary who can easily abolish the above-mentioned secondary legislation (President Trump was convinced of this when his executive orders concerning the immigration process in 2017 and 2018 were blocked by federal judges).

Given the analysis of the transformation of US and Canadian immigration policies over the past half-century (especially in the last 20-25 years), we can observe systematic but qualitative neo-liberal changes in Canadian immigration policy and stagnation in US immigration policy, which has become a consequence of domestic political struggle and the result of the peculiarities of the political process in this state.

A structural and focused comparison of the immigration policies of the United States and Canada with regard to highly skilled labor can provide useful information necessary for effective instrumentalization of immigration policies by political actors. The experience of these countries must be taken into account by Ukraine. For the purpose and objectives of this paper, it is important that in Canada, with its focus on the point-based system and the attraction of its highly skilled workforce, the issue of the ethnic and racial membership of the immigrant is of secondary importance as long as they meet the criteria, since they may potentially come from both Europe and Africa or Asia. After registering for a personal cabinet online and downloading files through the Express Entry system (implemented in Canada in 2015), a potential immigrant's ethnic or racial profile is «masked» under a set of educational and professional characteristics. However, given its large population and their relatively high level of education and language proficiency, Asia will remain in the future donor region of immigrants to Canada.

Unlike Canada, the United States is constantly in need of high-skilled personnel, but due to the long-term immigration policy linked to the principle of family reunification, and due to the peculiarities of decision-making in the United States political system mentioned above, they are deprived of the possibility of quick institutional changes of the «rules of the game» (for example, in Canada, the reallocation of points can be changed relatively easily). Therefore, Hispanics/Latinos will continue to play a significant role in the United States in terms of the ethnic characteristics of newly arrived individu-

⁵Koopmans, R. (2013), «Multiculturalism and Immigration: A Contested Field in Cross-National Comparison», *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 39 No. 1, Pp. 147–169.

als. It forms a powerful factor in interethnic interaction in the United States, potentially creating opportunities for ethnic mobilization.

So we can conclude on the fundamental influence of the Canadian point-based system in immigration policy. The United States is a state of status quo regarding the existing immigration standards, which allows us to verify the dynamism, variability and greater effectiveness of Canadian immigration policy vis-à-vis the United States.

The situation regarding the difficulty of implementing Canadian experience in implementing multicultural practices in Central and Eastern Europe, in particular, in Ukraine, was studied. It was shown that the policy of multiculturalism in Ukraine (in the case of its introduction in the present day) does not seem to be effective, and will only contribute to the disintegration of unconsolidated Ukrainian society.

The understanding of racism as a problem of ethno-racial interaction in the United States and Canada was explored, deepening the conceptualization of the phenomenon of racism in the theoretical dimension, and artificiality and instrumentality of racism as a social construct were substantiated.

Systemic racial discrimination is particularly traceable in American society. In this aspect, we can agree with the supporters of the critical race theory: Despite the deconstruction and abolition of racial discrimination and practices after WWII, de facto ethno-racial inequality in North America (especially in the United States) has survived. Obviously, the election of Donald Trump and his views on immigration will not immediately bring serious changes to the ethno-racial agenda in the United States. However, it is obvious that hopes for a post-racial society in the United States should be postponed for the future. In Canada, ethnic and racial issues emphasize discrimination against indigenous peoples. Compared with the US, the Canadian state is far from solving all the problems of this aspect of the national question.

Additionally, summing up the conceptualization of the definitions of «race», «ethno-racial», «racism», and their correlation with the definition of «ethnicity» and application of the tools of domestic and foreign science, we argue about the greater prospect of using the definition of «ethnicity». Nevertheless, even in light of certain engagement with the negative, there are no reasons to speak about its removal from circulation in public discourse. Despite the successful deconstruction of the racial categorization of individuals in the biological sense, the social construct of «race» continues to exist. Without the coverage of the problems of racism and racial discrimination against the national question, its analysis in the US and Canada will be incomplete.

For a long time, domestic political science has not paid enough attention to the study of the principles of this policy, but in the United States, the problem of the political and legal status of indigenous peoples (Indians, Metis, indigenous peoples of Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands) is quite present in the internal political discourse of the state, the institutional mechanisms of interaction of the state, the local authorities on indigenous peoples, and the principles of self-organization of the latter. This experience (as well as the Canadian policy of indigenous peoples) may be useful for Ukraine in the process of further elaboration on the Concept of State Ethnic Policy and the Principles of Crimea's Reintegration.

Canada is a polyethnic state, where interethnic and interracial interaction is characterized by a high level of tolerance. However, in Canada there is ethno-racial discrimination. This is partly due to the history of Canadian statehood, and partly due to the nature of immigration in Canada (the domination of so-called visible minorities, which gradually change the ethnopolitical map of this state). A structured and focused comparison of ethno-racial discrimination in the US and Canada allowed us to identify the common and distinctive features that characterize the ethnopolitical realities of the studied states. We consider the citizens of both countries to be similar in their current perception of ethno-racial minorities, where manifestations of pure racism are marginal, and the social distance between racial minorities and other groups gradually disappears. Despite the well known image of the country's tolerant image, we must abandon the idea that Canada has such an effective policy that it does not have ethno-racial discrimination, and that Canada is a post-racial society based on the positive practice of multiculturalism.

In the research, migration and the synthetic theory of migration, in particular, were conceptualized, and it was emphasized that the most important feature of immigration policy is that qualitative changes in the process of its formation, as a rule, come after events that are not directly related to the phenomenon of migration. These events gradually, but unceasingly, transform formal and informal insti-

tutions, and are external determinants of change in the field of migration and immigration policy. The research has improved the understanding of the process of institutionalization of the ethnic mobilization of French Canadians. It was shown that in Quebec during «The Quiet Revolution» there was a high level of institutionalization of the protest movement, the interaction between the authorities and French Canadians, and the ethnic mobilization of the latter. This led to the evolutionary and relatively peaceful nature of the transformation of relations between the province of Quebec and the federal government, which determined the dynamics of Quebec separatism.

In the research, the position of the conceptualization of the phenomenon of ethnic mobilization has been further developed⁶. The inadequacy of the theoretical elaboration of the phenomenon of ethnic mobilization (mobilization of ethnicity) has led to the analysis of the problematic operation of the terms «ethnic mobilization», «ethnopolitical mobilization», «mobilization of ethnicity», etc., and their interchangeability. We consider it expedient and methodologically correct to use the inherent term «ethnic mobilization» in Western political science. The use of the term «race» and its derivatives in the study of a national question in the United States and Canada has been substantiated. It has been shown that even in the context of a certain neglect of the term «race» in the American and Canadian scientific and public discourses, the information space, concept and, accordingly, the definition of «race», is present, then we have no reason to remove the definition from turn usage, and to avoid its articulation.

We analyzed and structured a number of hypotheses regarding the emergence of ethnic mobilization, each of which could be subjected to intellectual criticism. One of the main conclusions that can be drawn is the lack of a clear matrix and mechanism for predicting the course of ethnic mobilization. Like the scientists who developed the above hypotheses, and researchers who only want to start scientific research on the issues of ethnic mobilization, we face a number of methodological problems. For the most part, the study of the phenomenon of ethnic mobilization has narrow territorial and / or chronological boundaries.

The mobilization of ethnicity in the context of new institutionalism as an approach in our study allows us to speak about the significant scientific and practical relevance of this study. After all, the analysis of the processes of mobilizing the ethnicity of the investigated states may lead to a search for answers to the difficult questions and ways of solving socio-political problems and the ethnopolitical future of Ukraine.

During the study of such federal states as the United States, the processes of mobilizing ethnicity become apparent in the second half of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. In spite of the developed political system and established representative democracy, the United States has faced domestic issues in its politics. The unresolved issues of indigenous peoples, African Americans, and Hispanics/Latinos create the potential for the ethnic mobilization of these groups.

Taking into account the peculiarities of the emergence of the United States on the political map of the world, their federal structure and the high level of decentralization, the processes of the influence of state-building on ethnic, racial groups and indigenous peoples do not appear to be apparent until the middle of the 19th century. However, with the development of state institutions, the penetration and control of the state in relation to the above-mentioned groups appeared more and more obvious. The state as an effective manager institutionalized the processes of ethnic mobilization of American Indians, African Americans, and certain groups of immigrants. If necessary, the state initiated the processes of ethnic demobilization.

The greatest effects of the processes of state-building in the USA were experienced by the indigenous peoples of the USA and African Americans. However, after WWII, ethno-racial groups intercepted the initiative by exerting pressure on the state in the form of the struggle for civil rights.

Conclusion. The theoretical results of the research can be used for the further design of models of binary implicit comparison of similar states. The case study method has not yet been properly applied in Ukrainian political science; therefore, the method proposed by the author for a structured and fo-

⁶Maksić, A. (2017), *Ethnic Mobilization, Violence, and the Politics of Affect*, Springer International Publishing, Cham, doi:10.1007/978-3-319-48293-4; Nagel, J. and Olzak, S. (1982), «Ethnic mobilization in new and old states: An extension of the competition model», *Social Problems*, Vol. 30, No. 2, Pp. 127–143; Olzak, S. (1983), «Contemporary Ethnic Mobilization», *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 9, Pp. 355–374; Schertzer, R. (2018), «Mapping institutional mechanisms of ethno-national representation: towards a better measurement approach», *Nations and Nationalism*, Pp. 1–30.

cused comparison of cases can be useful for both scholars and practitioners when comparing phenomena and processes. The author proposed the concept and design of a study of the already forgotten issues of the national question, which has been proven not to be outdated even in such advanced poly-ethnic states as the USA and Canada. The scientific results obtained by the author can be used by subjects of internal policy, first of all in the practice of public authorities. The proposed method of indexing immigration policy can serve scholars, legislators, government officials, and employees of the executive authorities to carry out cross-national and/or cross-temporal comparisons.

However, the following results may also be of scientific interest to Ukrainian legislators: the experience of the United States and Canada in the implementation of multicultural practices, the fight against ethno-racial discrimination and xenophobia, the formulation of goals and the implementation of the immigration policy of our country. Obviously, Russia's aggression towards Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea affects the political process of our state, but the results of this research can help to better understand the problem of the indigenous peoples of Ukraine, and stimulate the development of solutions in the context of formulating and implementing Ukraine's national interests in the field of ethno-national policy. The results of this research can be used in the educational process, in particular, in teaching political science, comparative political science, ethnic politics, comparative ethnic politics, in the development of teaching and methodological curricula, and in special courses.

References

1. Dogan, M. And Pélassy, D. (1990), *How to Compare Nations: Strategies in Comparative Politics*, Chatham House, Chatham, N.J.
2. Koopmans, R. (2013), «Multiculturalism and Immigration: A Contested Field in Cross-National Comparison», *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 39 No. 1, Pp. 147–169.
3. Kozachuk, O. (2018), *Natsionalne pytannia u vnurishnii politytsi SShA ta Kanady: porivnalnyi analiz (National Question in the U.S. and Canada's Domestic Politics: Comparative Analysis)*, Tekhnodruk, Chernivtsi.
4. Lijphart, A. (1971), «Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method», *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 65 No. 03, Pp. 682–693.
5. Maksić, A. (2017), *Ethnic Mobilization, Violence, and the Politics of Affect*, Springer Interatioonal Publishing, Cham, doi:10.1007/978-3-319-48293-4.
6. Munck, G.L. and Verkuilen, J. (2002), «Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices», *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Pp. 5–34.
7. Nagel, J. And Olzak, S. (1982), «Ethnic mobilization in new and old states: An extension of the competition model», *Social Problems*, Vol. 30, No. 2, Pp. 127–143.
8. Olzak, S. (1983), «Contemporary Ethnic Mobilization», *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 9, Pp. 355–374.
9. Peters, B.G. (1998), *Comparative Politics: Theory and Methods*, New York University Press, New York.
10. Przeworski, A. And Teune, H. (1982), *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*, R.E. Krieger Pub. Co, Malabar.
11. Schertzer, R. (2018), «Mapping institutional mechanisms of ethno-national representation: towards a better measurement approach», *Nations and Nationalism*, Pp. 1–30.
12. Yin, R.K. (2009), *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Sage Publications, Los Angeles, 4th ed.