Comparison of the Inter-ethnic Political Integration Models between Ukraine and Canada: a Perspective of Language Rights

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ABSTRACT

Language acts as the social roles such as the medium of cultural transmission and the sign of ethnic groups' identification. In the field of political science, language maps into the form of language rights directly, and derive the forms of language policies, laws and so on. The integration of inter-ethnic political relations through the relevant contents of language rights can be regarded as an effective way to deal with the ethnic issues. Whereas in the political practice of different countries, there are significant differences in the effectiveness of the inter-ethnic political integration models that based on language rights. This paper will compare the monolingual-unified integration model, promoted by Ukraine; and the multilingual-diversified integration model, explored by Canada. And analysis the effectiveness of these models through the aspects of national identity and social inclusion. The results are that in the modern society with increasingly diversified social culture, the multilingual-diversified integration model has a stronger integration effectiveness, which is more conducive to promoting the sustainable development of the society.

Keywords: *Language rights; inter-ethnic political integration; monolingual-unified integration model; multilingual-diversified integration model; Ukraine; Canada*

1. INTRODUCTION

After the collapse of the bipolar structure in 1990s, the ethnic issues, which were covered by the ideological conflicts previously, began to emerge again, and Central and Eastern Europe(CEE) was affected most directly. Compared with the early-developing countries, especially for those in the Western Europe and the North America, the late-developing countries in CEE are confronting the ethnic issues that are more complex. Since the ethnic issues have a distinctive color of politics, and the authorities are demanded to accumulate experiences and wisdom to get them handled properly. To some extent, the ethnic issues can be attributed to the relations between national identity and etic identity. The methods to explore the effective models of inter-ethic political integration, and consolidate national identity, are the tasks that must be faced in the construction of nation-state. According to Kofi Annan [1], the former Secretary General of the United Nations, who pointed out that the transition from "the culture of reaction" to "the culture of prevention" needed to be realized, which means in the process of handling ethnic issues, the authorities' passive responses are needed to be transformed into the active one. Since language acts as the carrier and the main feature of the ethnic culture, each political community needs to use the corresponding linking languages to enhance the effectiveness of the public management, and consolidate the legitimacy [2], consequently, it is quite a solution to take the regulation of language rights as one of the alternatives in the policy toolbox to integrate inter-ethnic political relations. Generally speaking, the policy models constructed on language rights can be roughly classified into two categories: monolingualism and multilingualism; and the models of inter-ethnic political integration can be basically divided into two kinds either: unified model and diversified model. Under the perspective of language rights, the models of inter-ethnic political integration evolve into two novel forms: monolingual-unified integration and multilingual-diversified integration. Before discussing these models, the concepts of language rights and inter-ethnic political integration must be defined.

2. LITERATURE RIVEW

For the definition of "language rights", Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson [3], had given an informal one. They believed that its contents are mainly associated with the identity of one or more mother tongues, obtaining the opportunities of education and public services, and they had conducted its theoretical discussions from the dimensions of individual and collectivity. Denis Réaume [4] pointed out that the scope of the language rights' application is mainly for those who use non-dominant languages, which enable them to use their own languages. Will Kymlicka and Alan Patten [5] believed that language rights are more concerned with the rules established by the authorities for the application of languages in different fields. There are several Chinese scholars who have also tried to define the concept of language rights. Hongying Liu [6] tend to defined it as the right to choose which language to use as the objective support for the thoughts' expression. Youxu Guo [7] limited it to the rights to use mother tongue and other languages as well. Xiaochang Yang [8] classified it from the perspectives of individual and collectivity either. In general, the academic circles have not reached a consensus on its definition yet. Based on the viewpoints above, combined with the contents of the ethnic issues, we tend to define the language rights as "The rights for the ethnic minorities in the political community to use their mother tongue or other languages to obtain public services and participate in the social practice".

The conceptual definition and theoretical discussion of language rights are close to the bottleneck to a certain extent, whereas its political practice, such as language policies, have always been the focus of the research. Joshua A.Fisherman [9], who classified the methods of constructing language policies of developing countries into three types: A, B, and C. Type A occurred in the former colonial countries who lacked a recognized traditional culture; type B appeared in the country who chose a localized language related to its recognized tradition culture; and type C arose in a country where the traditional culture is complex and the languages are dotted. Richard D.Lambert [10] divided countries into three categories, which based on the overall status of the country's social languages: monolingual countries, bilingual or trilingual countries, and multilingual countries. Bernard Spolsky summarized these two classification[11], proposed by Fisherman and Lambert, and integrated them, that is, countries in type A adopt monolingual policies, while type B and type C adopt bilingual, trilingual or multilingual policies. To some extents, the academic circles have basically reached agreement on the classification of monolingualism and multilingualism. We tend to distinguish the construction models of language policies into monolingualism and multilingualism, based on the authority's attitudes towards ethnic minorities' language rights, suppressing or supporting. The bilingualism and trilingualism can be included in the scope of multilingualism at the macro level, thus this paper will not discuss them specifically.

As for the discussion of the political integration, it mainly focused on two aspects: domestic politics and international politics. In the former one, it mainly concerned about the social and political integration issues, what the developing countries are facing in the process of modernization. Claude Ake [12] pointed out that political integration is concerned with shifting the group's loyalties from tradition to bureaucracy in order to build its legitimacy, and charismatic leaders would exploit this to build recognition of state authority. In the latter one, the academic circles are mainly concerned with the political integration of nation-states in the specific regions, especially in Europe. Ernst B.Hass [13] pointed out in the integration of Europe that political integration is the establishment of a new institution by a number of political actors with different backgrounds. Meanwhile, we need to grasp the contents of ethnic integration. Tomas Erisksen [14] believed that it means the ethnic minorities should be able to participate in the common social system while maintaining the ethnic identity and boundaries. Qing Yan [15] indicated that it is a policy measure applied by the multi-ethnic countries under the perspective of structural functionalism, which can be regarded as the ethnic governance function implemented by the national system.

As a new field, the meaning of inter-ethnic political integration is not a simple mixture between political integration and ethnic integration, but needs to be redefined on the basis of the overall grasp of their connotation. Ping Zhou, a Chinese scholar, the first one to define the concepts of inter-ethnic political integration. He believed that the inter-ethnic political integration is a political process in a multi-ethnic country [16], who uses the state's power to combine and maintain a unified political community of all ethnic groups. Zhou distinguished the model of inter-ethnic political integration from two orientations, assimilationism and multiculturalism. Then he pointed out that the value orientation of the West has undergone a transformation from the former to the latter [17], and we tend to stick with the concepts proposed by Zhou. Although the academic circles have not discussed the models of inter-ethnic political integration directly before, it had already included the relevant ideas in the discussion of inter-ethnic relations. Edmund Leach [18] divided the models for dealing with the ethnic relations into three: total integration, federal association, separate coexistence. And Terrence E.Cook [19] considered that the policy models of the ethnic relations adjustment can be divided into separation, assimilation, accommodation; the standard of selection is whether the ethnic majorities and minorities support it or not. As the separatism and assimilation have declined in the globalization, multiculturalism has become one of the main models of

argumentation in western theorists at present, its practical process has been promoted actively.

On the basis of the viewpoints above, we proposed two models of the inter-ethnic integration: unified integration and diversified integration. The former basically inherits the points of assimilation, mainly to suppress the interests of the ethnic minorities; while the latter takes multiculturalism as its core and pays attention to the demands of the ethnic minorities. Under the perspective of language rights, that is, they evolved into monolingual-unified integration model and multilingual-diversified integration model. This article will briefly discuss these new models. Firstly, we will clarify the theoretical framework and its inner logistic; Secondly, we will take Ukraine and Canada as the actual cases to analyze the general operation and impact of these models; Finally, we will use relevant data to compare and analyze the specific integration effectiveness of these models, and draw a conclusion from the comparaison.

3. METHODS

As shown in Figure 1, the formation of monolingual-unified integration model and monolingual-diversified integration model are created by the interactions between monolingualism and assimilationism, as well as multilingualism and multiculturalism. The monolingual-unified integration model represents the traditional method to deal with the ethnic issues, especially for the society with high homogeneity; whereas the multilingual-diversified integration model symbolizes the modern method to adapt to a culturally diversified situation, suitable for the society with high heterogeneity. We tend to use the methods of historical analysis and comparative analysis to roughly sort out the emergence and evolution of these two models, take Ukraine and Canada as cases to further analyze the similarities and differences between them. It turned out that the model of multilingual-diversified integration is more sustainable for the construction of nation-state and the development of the society than the model of monolingual-unified integration, whereas both of them are facing the threaten from the separatism.

Judging from the results of the general permutation, there should be two other models, namely the monolingual-diversified integration model and the multilingual-unified integration model. Nevertheless, these combinations seem to exist endogenous contradictions that are difficult to reconcile, which cannot be effectively demonstrated from the theoretical level, and are more difficult to be tested in practice, thus we are not inclined to discuss these two models
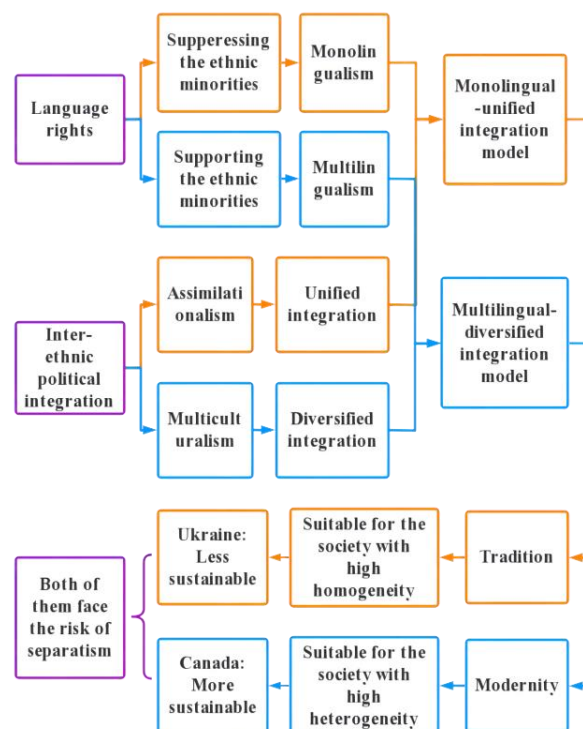

Figure 1 Framework of the research.

4. ANALYSIS

4.1 The internal relationships between monolingualism and the model of unified integration

The relationships between monolingualism and the unified inter-ethnic political integration can be roughly grasped by combing the context of its development. Its initial form was the nationalism principle, "One country, One race, One language", carried out by the earliest nation-states established in Western Europe around the 15th century. Its emergence was based on the strategic needs to keep the ethnic groups united. From the 18th to the 19th century, most of the nation-states in Western Europe practiced the monolingualism through their unified political system and cultural communication. Benedict Anderson [20] pointed out that language evolved into specialization under the joint action of scholars, writers, and political power became the catalyst for language unification in this era. The national language acted as the ballast stone of cultural for the construction of nation-state. And the developmental form of their relationships was shown by the linguistic antiforeignism in CEE. While the wave of industrial revolution extended from the Western Europe to the whole continent, the monolingualism and unified integration model were transplanted to CEE either. In short, the nationalism and language policy construction model in CEE were basically a continuation of Western's [21]. The outbreak of World War I accelerated the spread of this nationalism in these regions, and it gradually evolved into the form of linguistic antiforeignism. Politicians in these regions

often targeted the distribution of ethnic groups by languages and then delimited the national borders, Elie Kedourie [22] concerned that this demarcation of ethnic groups and boundaries only depended on academic definition, many obstacles were likely to be encountered. And it turned out that the ethnic issues in these regions became rather complicated.

After the foundation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic(USSR), the nationalism in CEE entered a trough. On account of the number of ethnic groups and languages in USSR's region were extremely complex, Lenin pointed out in 1914 that all ethnic minorities should be unconditionally protected [23], and the language rights of ethnic minorities should be defended, which were employed to eliminate suspicion, alienation among the ethnic groups. Since then, the USSR established a multilingual model to integrate the complex national systems within its borders. After the establishment of the pro-Soviet regimes in the CEE, they had basically followed these policies. While in the process of these countries' transition to the democratic regimes in 1990s, the back wave of nationalism caused ethnic issues to break out again. These newly established countries set the languages of the ethnic majorities in their territories as the official languages, which meant the monolingualism was resuscitating, and so did the unified integration model. On the contrary, the countries in the Western Europe who implemented monolingualism before were gradually transformed into the system that respected the ethnic minorities in the mean time. Whereas those who implemented multilingualism in the era of USSR were anxiously returning to monolingualism [24]. Since the language rights of the ethnic minorities have not been respected under the monolingualism and unified integration, they chose measures ranging from peaceful protests to demonstrations, even violent conflicts to protect their rights, which made the ethnic issues troublesome.

It is not difficult to detect that both monolingualism and unified integration are the derivatives of assimilationism. As a traditional method that had been implemented for centuries, the authority used the monolingualism to consolidate the dominant position of the ethnic majorities, and then used the unified inter-ethnic political integration to construct a favorable social and cultural environment. Nevertheless, the ethnic minorities' language rights are ignored under this model, which may hid dangers that are difficult to eradicate for the long-term stability. From the perspective of sustainable development, the interests of the ethnic minorities are generally in a state of damage, which will be detrimental to their national identity for the nation-state in the long run, even evolve into the regional separatism. For the countries in CEE, many of the ethnic issues they facing, are caused by the conflicts between the ethnic majorities and minorities under this integration model, Ukraine is the one that suffered the most. The

ethnic conflicts between Russia and Ukraine eventually led to the division of the country, the following case analysis will explain that.

4.2 The interactive mechanism between multilingualism and the model of diversified integration

This interactive mechanism was born out of the monolingualism and unified integration model, took multiculturalism as its core and did not emerged until the mid to late 20th century. It mainly originated from the colonial countries established by the first group of nation-states in the Western Europe, which are basically coincided with the nation-state established during the first wave of democratization under the influence of the American and French revolutions [25], Canada in North America, New Zealand and Australia in Oceania, for instance. In view of the nation-states' construction outside of the Europe naturally took the first batch of nation-states as its reference formats[26], therefore, those colonial countries initially pursued the monolingualism and unified integration model that derived from the proposition of their suzerain. However, this kind of "exotics" seemed lost its original effectiveness in the regions where aborigines, immigrants, and colonists were mixed. As the main content of multilingualism is to support the ethnic minorities' language rights, consequently, its development process can be analyzed roughly from the evolution of language rights itself. Kangas divided language rights [27], that is, the development of multilingualism, into five periods: before the establishment of the Vienna system, after the establishment of Vienna system to World War I, between the two world wars, after the World War II to the 1970s, and after the 1970s.

Before the establishment of the Vienna system [28], those countries in Western Europe were generally chose monolingualism and unified integration model, while the Vienna Conference Resolution promulgated in 1815 proposed for the first time that the interests of ethnic minorities should be safeguarded. It indirectly provided guarantees for the ethnic minorities in the carved up areas of Poland to use Polish to participate in social practice, which marked the sprout of multilingualism. Between the two world wars, the League of Nations, based on the consideration of quelling the wave of nationalism, presided over the signing of many treaties to protect the language rights of ethnic minorities, the framework of multilingualism and diversified integration model were constructed under its guidance. After World War II, the United Nations began to promote international human rights' legislation, including language human rights, promulgated the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* and so forth, which consolidated the tone of multilingualism. After the 1970s, multiculturalism began

to rise. Countries such as Canada began to adopt multiculturalism policies to increase tolerance and acceptance of minority languages. European countries who previously adopted monolingualism were also affected by multiculturalism during this period, which marked that the multilingualism has gradually matured.

While the multilingualism was booming, the diversified model began to flourish either. After 1960s, nation-states became the main form of the international community. The traditional nationalist policies were obviously unbefitting to those who sought identities from the ethnic minorities in the movement of national liberation and decolonization. Since Australia, Canada, and the US initially followed the monolingualism and unified integration model from the UK, thus they forced aboriginals and immigrants to abandoned their original culture, the specific manifestation was to suppress the other languages except English. As the number of immigrants increased gradually, and aboriginals began to fight for its political and cultural rights, the existing homogenization results by the implementation of monolingual-unified integration model were diluted. To integrate the inter-ethnic political relations in this situation, it is necessary to construct an interactive mechanism between the protection of ethnic minorities' rights and the facts of cultural diversity. In the beginning of 1970s, Canada begun to implement the multilingualism and diversified integration model to ease the tension among the aboriginals, immigrants and the ethnic majorities. This new model is a timely adjustment made by the ruling authorities based on the intensification of the dispersal of social interests in modern society, it also represents the adjustment of the model of inter-ethnic political integration from the traditional to the modern.

After the multilingual-diversified integration model emerged and functioned, scholars had noticed the flaws of this model either. For multi-ethnic countries, it is not easy to achieve a two-force balance with the centripetal force generated by the integration of inter-ethnic politics, which means multiculturalism has a potentially divisive effect. Canada was the first to implement the multiculturalism, and this phenomenon was also the most obvious, which is mainly concentrated in a series of issues brought by the ethnic conflicts between British Canadians and French Canadians.

5. CASE STUDIES

5.1 Ukraine and the model of monolingual-unified integration

In the mid-17th century, the Cossacks in Ukraine started an uprising against the rule of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. After the rebels were suppressed, the Russia Empire received asylum applications from the Cossacks, and took advantage of

the trend to include the eastern region of Ukraine into its territory, since then Ukraine entered the period of Russian-Ukrainian merger. After several wars in the 18th century, Russia had rapidly expanded its territory, at the same time, many other ethnic groups had been absorbed into it, which weakened the homogeneity of its ethnic composition. In order to strengthen the political integration of various ethnic groups, the Russian Empire enforced the monolingual-unified integration model in the entire 19th century, prohibited ethnic minorities from using their native languages, and tried to integrate the ethnic minorities into a unified Russian Nation. Until the early 1920s, the USSR chose to abolish this model in order to gather the strength of domestic workers and peasants, and pursued the nationalization policies, which resulted in a short-lived revival of Ukrainian language and culture. After the drastic changes of CEE in 1990s, the emerging countries after independence were faced with more difficult social transformation issues. In order to maintain the country's independent development and deal with historical issues, these countries have implemented de-Russification policies to varying degrees in the mean time. As for Ukraine, it has been vigorously promoting Ukrainian traditional language and culture in terms of education and cultural policies. Based on the demand of building an independent modern nation-state, the authorities reactivated the monolingual-unified integration model, which was centered on the Ukrainian ethnic group.

In 1989, the first language law established Ukrainian as the official language, and the same provisions were made in the *Constitution of Ukraine* in 1996 promulgated after independence. Almost all subsequent governments have revised the language law enacted in 1989, and promulgated dozens of policies to promote the Ukrainian language and restricted the use of Russian, mainly involving education, public services and many other aspects. Whereas in the centuries of the Russian-Ukrainian merger, and the monolingual-unified integration model of Russian, Ukraine could not escape the influence of Russia. Its eastern and southern regions are regarded as Russia's traditional spheres of influence, and people who take Russian as their mother tongue constitute the main part of the local population, their identity to Russia is stronger than the Ukraine, while the situation in the west of the Dnieper River to the Carpathians is the opposite. This has led to the formation of a dualistic pattern of identity in the east and west of Ukraine [29], namely pro-Russian and pro-European, and can be distinguished basically by the language they use. In 2011, World Values Survey(WVS) [30] randomly investigated the ethnic composition and language usage of 1,500 people in Ukraine, the results showed that the Russians accounted for 14.9%, the Ukrainians accounted for 81.8%; in terms of language use, 49.8% of people chose Russian, Ukrainian accounted for 48.4%. It is apparent that the Ukraine's social basis for the

implementation of monolingualism is quite worrisome, no matter whether it implements the Russian-style or the Ukrainian-style monolingual-unified integration, both of them may not fit the social reality. In 2012, the Basic Law of National Language Policy of Ukraine was signed by the pro-Russian President Viktor Yanukovych. It supported and protected 18 languages' using in Ukraine [31], including Russian, and listed Russian as the official language of 13 states in the eastern and the southern of Ukraine. To a certain extent, this can be seen as a counter-current in the wave of Ukraine's "westward advancement". Also belonging to this counter-current was the Ukrainian government's abandonment of signing relevant agreements with the European Union(EU) in 2013, while the latter caused a strong dissatisfaction from the pro-European forces, then the anti-government demonstrations broke out, as well as a series of violent conflicts, even the political shocks. Yanukovych was eventually forced to step down. In February 2014, the Basic Law of National Language Policy was abolished by the Ukrainian Parliament, deprived Russian's official status in those states, which causing further escalation of language and ethnic conflicts, and Crimea was the most intense. After this, the Crimean pro-Russian groups hoisted the Russian flag on the official institutions; in March 2014, it launched a series of measures such as inviting Russian troops and started a referendum to join Russia. Since then, Donetsk, Kharkov, and the other states had declared their independence and also tried to join Russia in the form of a referendum.

Figure 2 shows the results of Gfk Ukraine's findings of a survey about 2000 respondents aged 14 to 29 in Ukraine on their language use out the family in 2017 [32]. The usage of Ukrainian and Russian shown the opposite trend from the west to the east, and the tendency to extreme was more serious, while the change of bilingual speakers was relatively moderate. In general, the proportion of Ukrainian speakers was relatively larger than that of Russian speakers, but the proportion of Ukrainian speakers did not have an absolute advantage. They indirectly shows that the East-West binary identity based on language usage still exists.
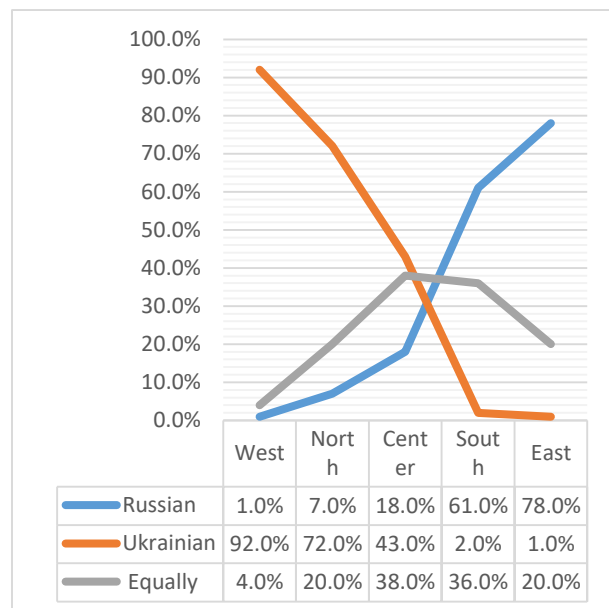

	West	North	Center	South	East
Russian	1.0%	7.0%	18.0%	61.0%	78.0%
Ukrainian	92.0%	72.0%	43.0%	2.0%	1.0%
Equally	4.0%	20.0%	38.0%	36.0%	20.0%

Figure 2 Responses to the question"Which language do you speak outside your family?"

5.2 Canada and the model of multilingual-diversified integration

Canada is located in North America. At first, only the footprints of Indians were all over here. For a long time, no foreign nations and cultures had influenced this land. In the 16th century, colonial teams from Europe began to set foot in the Canadian region, and the French were the group to make the first step and established the "New France" centered on Quebec. In the later one and a half centuries, the French tradition and the North American environment had gradually formed a new cultural form rooted in the St. Lawrence River Basin. During this period, the British colonial power in North America continued to expand, which eventually led to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), and Quebec was captured in 1759. After the war, the UK forced France to sign the *Treaty of Paris* and ceded the Canada to the UK. After becoming the ethnic majorities of Canada, the British community began to pursue the monolingual-unified integration model promoted by the UK, set English as the official language, and carried out long-term political repression and cultural exclusion against ethnic minorities such as French and the aboriginals. French Quebecers finally set off two independence movements at the end of the 20th century, triggered the crisis of national identity in Canada.

In the 1960s, the Quebec Liberal Party(QLP) set up a series of language policies to against the English-style monolingual-unified integration model and maintain the dominance of French in Quebec, mainly including *Bill 63* promulgated in 1969, *Bill 22* in 1974, *Bill 101* in 1977 and so on, all of them had gradually established the French solipsism in Quebec. The most noteworthy was the regulations in *Bill 101* [33], such as taking French as

the language of legislation and family, government departments can only be called in French. And people have the right to use French to participate in social and commercial activities. This exclusivity in language reflected the strong sense of self-consciousness of French descendants to survive in the English cultural circle. In 1976 and 1994, Parti Québécois won the regional election, and the French community not only took full control of the Quebec cabinet, but also launched the practice of separatism, which promoted the two independence referendums in 1980 and 1995, and the strength of supporting Quebec's presence in Canada were weakening. Whereas the authority chose to face the challenges directly rather than avoid them. In order to integrate multiple ethnic identities, the authority chose to implement the Multiculturalism Policy, and so as the multilingual-diversified integration model.

Before 1971, the language assimilation strategy had been used in the process of the governance in Canada, but the evaluation results of its implementation were not satisfactory, which forced the authority to change their strategies. After Pierre Trudeau came to power, he decided to replace the previous policy of assimilation with a policy of multiculturalism. According to what he said in his speech in October 1971, even if Canada was about to implement two official languages, all citizens and groups should be treated equally, and no culture or race should be treated discriminatorily. After that, Canada has been implementing the policy of multiculturalism, and so did the model of multicultural-diversified integration. Therefore, since 1972, the federal government established a special agency to implement multiculturalism, the government annually allocated special funds to cultural organizations to support relevant activities. Since then, the multilingual-diversified integration model began to increase in strength and breadth. *The Constitution Act of 1982* defined both English and French as the official languages in Canada [34], emphasized the maintenance of multicultural heritage, opposing cultural rivalry and contradictory regulations as the measure to promote multiculturalism. The multiculturalism act, promulgated in 1988, was the first act in the world to mention multiculturalism, which was famous for putting forward three principles: firstly, Canadian citizenship is characterized by multiculturalism; secondly, it is the right of every Canadian to freely choose, enjoy, promote and carry forward their own culture; thirdly, the federal government has the responsibility to ensure the smooth implementation of multiculturalism through the implementation of various government affairs [35].

Figure 3 shows the survey results of the opinions of different language speakers in Quebec on the problems of nationalism in the region. It was conducted by the Association for Canadian Studies(ACS) in 2019 [36]. It can be seen that almost 80% of French speakers had a positive attitude towards nationalism issues, and less than

25% of English speakers hold the similar attitudes. In general, since the multilingual-diversified integration model adopted the tactics of "retreat for advancement", it promotes multiculturalism at the level of the political community to maintain the language rights of ethnic minorities. To enable them to obtain corresponding social support to cope with the cultural invasion from ethnic majorities, strengthen ethnic identity and gradually integrate into national identity, and strengthen the legitimacy of the authorities. Although the separatism in Quebec has not been completely eliminated under the multilingual-diversified integration model, the interest demands of the French descendants and other ethnic minorities have been responded to, and the identity of the Canadian nation-state has been improved to a certain extent. However, it should be pointed out that the multilingual-diversified integration model must coordinate the balance between differentiation and integration, to deal with the potential threat posed by separatism.
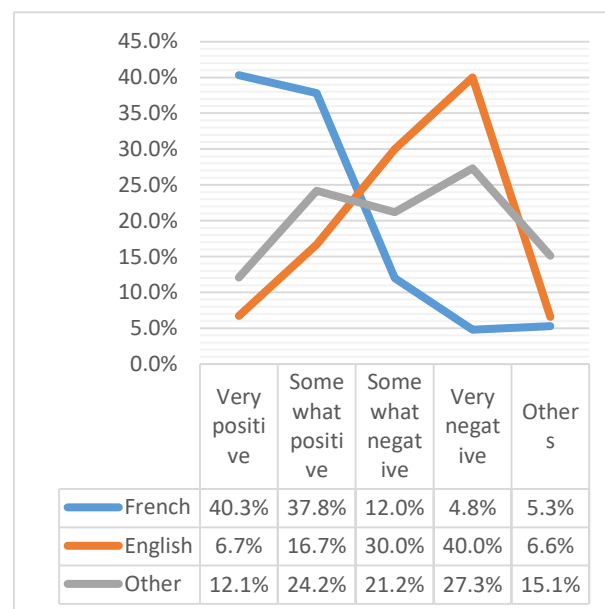

	Very positive	Some what positive	Some what negative	Very negative	Others
French	40.3%	37.8%	12.0%	4.8%	5.3%
English	6.7%	16.7%	30.0%	40.0%	6.6%
Other	12.1%	24.2%	21.2%	27.3%	15.1%

Figure 3 Attitudes of different language speakers towards Quebec nationalism.

5.3 Comparision and results

Based on the data released by the WVS in 2020, we compared the national identity and social tolerance of Ukraine [37] and Canada [38]. In the part of national identity, the variables selected are the trust of the surveyed groups to the government, the parliament, the courts, the civil service; as well as the national pride and the willingness to fight for the country. In terms of social inclusion, the variables selected are whether the respondents are willing to be neighbors with a different race, religion, language; immigrants; homosexuals; and people who have AIDS. The total number of samples in Ukraine is 1,289, while that in Canada is 4,018, both of them are basically representative.

As shown in Figure 4, the Ukrainians' proportions of trusting in the government, the parliament, the courts and the civil services are significantly lower than Canada, although the Canadians' is not very high, no more than 60%. However, in terms of national pride, both of them are above 80% and the gap has narrowed significantly; in terms of willingness to fight for the country, Ukraine has surpassed. This is not difficult to understand, since the monolingual-unified integration model has a significant nationalist color, and the domestic and international political situation in Ukraine at the present stage is more severe and complex than Canada, the monolingual-unified integration can stimulate and agglomerate the national strength in the initial period of the construction of nation-state, which means this situation is under expected. The results shown in Figure 5 are that Canada is more socially inclusive than Ukraine. Under the model of multilingual-diversified integration, Canada is more tolerant of the different races, religions, languages, immigrants, homosexuals, and people who have AIDS than Ukraine. Compared with the national identity, the performance of Ukrainian social inclusion is relatively great, the acceptance of the groups of different religions, and so on is more than 50%, which may be a side effect in the process of de-Russification and the "westward movement"; whereas the acceptance of the homosexuals is relatively lower, it may be influenced by the religions, and there are similarities in other regions in CEE.
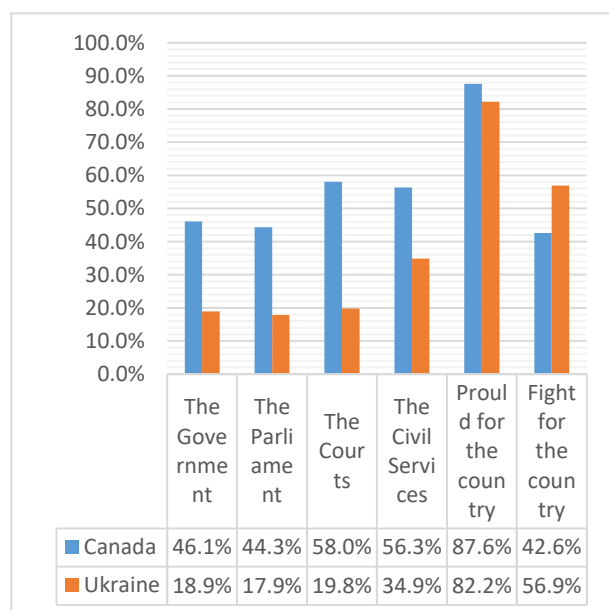

	Different race	Different religion	Different language	Immigrants	Homosexuals	People who have AIDS
Canada	95.5%	94.1%	92.2%	91.2%	89.8%	80.1%
Ukraine	68.5%	68.3%	65.8%	63.7%	45.7%	55.1%

Figure 5 Answers to the questions "Would you like to take a different race, religion, language; immigrants; homosexuals; people who have AIDS as neighbors?"

6. CONCLUSIONS

Through the case analysis of the monolingual-unified integration model and the multilingual-diversified integration model above, it is apparent that the multilingual-diversified integration model is obviously more suitable for the modern social state of cultural diversity. The monolingual-unified integration model, the one belongs to traditional, is effective in the initial time for the construction of nation-state, the long-term neglect of the rights of ethnic minorities will still become a threat to social stability; while the multilingual-diversified integration model is even more powerful. It is in line with modern society, but still has a negative impact on social development when it places too much emphasis on individual rights.

At this present, the situation in Ukraine is still worrisome; and the separatism in Canada still poses a threat to the state's development. Each of them needs to adjust its model accordingly. In the predictable stage of the development of human society, the form of state will still exist for a long time as a tool and model of governance, while the nation-state is the dominant formation in the world at the present stage. The process of the construction of the nation-state is the dual construction of the state and the nation. For the vast number of late-developing countries, they always have to face the contradiction between the diversified status quo of culture and ethnic groups and the practical needs of political integration in the process of nation-state's construction to a certain extent, the transformation from the monolingual-unified integration model to the multilingual-diversified integration model is in line with the law of the evolution of things from simple to complex,

	The Government	The Parliament	The Courts	The Civil Services	Proud for the country	Fight for the country
Canada	46.1%	44.3%	58.0%	56.3%	87.6%	42.6%
Ukraine	18.9%	17.9%	19.8%	34.9%	82.2%	56.9%

Figure 4 Answers to the questions "How much confidence you have in the government, the parliament, the courts, the civil services & How proud are you to be of nationality of this country & Would you be willing to fight for your country?"
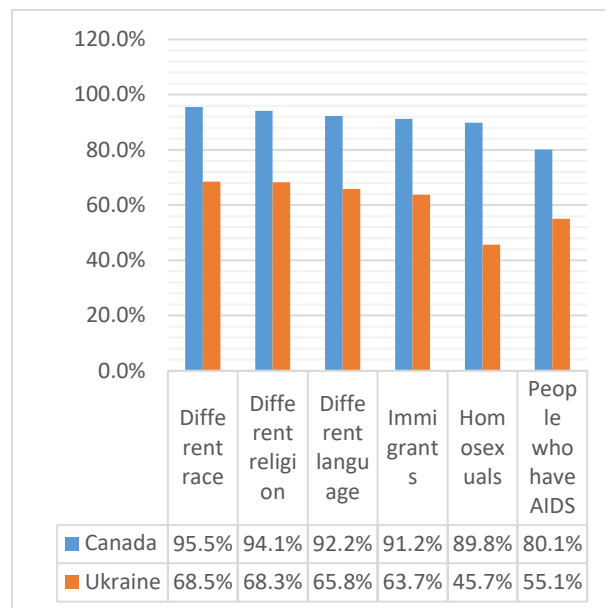
from low-level to high-level. The political community needs to build the identity of the relevant groups to the linguistic and cultural model, strengthen the ethnic identity, then integrate it into the identity of the nation-state, and re-transmit the positive feedback flow to the cultural level. When the political community is unable to send relevant signals in line with the reality to the cultural level in this cycle model, the balance of nutrient transportation between the "vessel" and "sieve tube" of the "tree of the state" will be destroyed, and it will face the danger of withering. In order to effectively avoid such a situation, it is necessary to strengthen the frequency of interaction between the "roots" of culture and the "branches" of the state.

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