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**PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE ACTIVITIES  
OF EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF CANADIAN UKRAINIANS  
(late 1960s – early 1980s)**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to identify the main areas of the Ukrainian Canadian educational organisations' activities, evaluate their contribution to the preservation of the national identity, and clarify the achievements and challenges associated with these activities. The methodology of the research is based on the interdisciplinary approach (history, political science, sociology, pedagogy) as well as both general scientific and specialised methods, primarily retrospection and historical analysis. The scientific novelty of the research consists in the analysis of the Ukrainian diaspora educational organisations' activities based on the documents of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, while the use of the archival materials from the Sectoral State Archive of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine allows for an evaluation of their accomplishments and the challenges related to the preservation of the national identity. The obtained*

data provide a deeper understanding of the mechanisms for maintaining the national identity within the Ukrainian diaspora, particularly the role of the educational institutions in this process. It also allows for evaluation of their activities effectiveness, identification of key difficulties and success factors, and a better comprehension of both historical experience and its relevance to contemporary conditions. **The Conclusions.** The Ukrainian Canadians attributed significant importance to the educational organizations (the Coordinating Educational Council of Canada, the Regional Centre of Ukrainian School Boards, the Association of the Ukrainian Teachers of Canada), whose activities were aimed at fostering the younger generation in the Ukrainian national spirit and deepening knowledge of the Ukrainian language, history, and culture. Major achievements of these organizations during the period under study included the establishment of an extensive network of Saturday and Sunday schools, the implementation of a systematic teacher training, the creation of textbooks on the Ukrainian studies, and the preparation and conduct of cultural educational events.

Since 1971, the educational organisations' activities in Canada took place within the framework of multiculturalism policies, which opened new opportunities for the development but also presented challenges related to assimilation processes. The Ukrainian community faced several difficulties, including generational shifts, a decline in the Ukrainian language proficiency, and limited financial resources to support educational initiatives. The impact of multiculturalism policies was ambivalent: on the one hand, they created opportunities for the development of the ethnocultural initiatives; on the other, they promoted integration, which often led to a weakening of ethnic distinctiveness. The consequences of these processes included a gradual decline in the Ukrainian language proficiency among the youth, reduced engagement in community institutions, and the transformation of the national identity toward a more universal "Canadian" form. Despite these challenges, educational organizations managed to adapt their activities to new conditions, combining traditional approaches with new forms of work largely, thereby preserving the fundamental elements of the Ukrainian national identity in the Canadian society.

**Key words:** education, upbringing, national identity, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Coordinating Educational Council of Canada, assimilation.

## ЗБЕРЕЖЕННЯ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ У ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ОСВІТНІХ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЙ КАНАДСЬКИХ УКРАЇНЦІВ (кінець 1960-х – початок 1980-х рр.)

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – визначення основних напрямів діяльності освітніх організацій українців Канади, їхнього внеску у збереженні національної ідентичності, з'ясування досягнень та труднощів у цій роботі. **Методологія дослідження** визначається міждисциплінарним підходом (історія, політологія, соціологія, педагогіка) і базується на загальнонаукових та спеціальнонаукових методах, передусім, ретроспекції та історичного аналізу. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, що на основі документів Комітету українців Канади та Світового Конгресу Вільних Українців осмислено діяльність освітніх організацій української діаспори, а залучення архівних надавалів Галузевого державного архіву Служби зовнішньої розвідки України дає змогу оцінити їхні досягнення та проблеми, пов'язані зі збереженням національної ідентичності. Набута інформація дає можливість глибше зрозуміти механізми збереження національної ідентичності в середовищі української діаспори, зокрема, роль освітніх інституцій у цьому процесі. Вона також уможливує оцінити ефективність їхньої діяльності, виявити ключові труднощі та чинники успіху, а відтак – краще осмислити як історичний досвід, так і його значення для сучасних умов. **Висновки.** Вагоме значення у збереженні національної ідентичності українська громада Канади надавала освітнім організаціям (Координаційна Виховно-Освітня Рада Канади, Крайовий центр українських шкільних рад, Об'єднання українських педагогів Канади), діяльність яких спрямовувалася на виховання молодого покоління в українському національному дусі, поглиблення знань з української мови, історії та культури. До основних досягнень освітніх організацій канадських українців у досліджуваній час належало формування розгалуженої мережі суботніх і недільних шкіл, запровадження системної підготовки педагогічних кадрів, написання підручників з українознавства, проведення культурно-освітніх заходів.

Починаючи від 1971 р., діяльність освітніх організацій в Канаді відбувалася в умовах реалізації політики багатокультурності, яка відкрила нові можливості для розвитку, але

водночас породила виклики, пов'язані з асиміляційними процесами. Українська громада зіткнулася з низкою труднощів, серед яких міжпоколінні зміни, зниження рівня володіння українською мовою та обмеженість фінансових ресурсів на підтримку освітніх ініціатив. Уплив державної політики багатокультурності був неоднозначний: з одного боку, вона створювала можливості для розвитку етнокультурних ініціатив, а з іншого – сприяла інтеграції, що нерідко супроводжувалася послабленням етнічної окремишності. Наслідками цих процесів стали поступове зниження рівня володіння українською мовою серед молоді, зменшення залученості до діяльності громадських інституцій та трансформація національної ідентичності в бік універсальної “канадської” форми. Попри ці виклики, освітні організації здебільшого зуміли адаптувати свою діяльність до нових умов, поєднуючи традиційні підходи з новими формами роботи, що дало можливість зберегти базові елементи української національної ідентичності в канадському суспільстві.

**Ключові слова:** освіта, виховання, національна ідентичність, Комітет українців Канади, Координаційна виховно-освітня рада Канади, асиміляція.

**Problem Statement.** The issue regarding preserving the national identity became a defining one in the Ukrainians educational organisations’ activities of in Canada during the post-war period. It became particularly relevant in the context of the profound demographic and socio-cultural changes caused by a new wave of the Ukrainian emigration (which was distinguished by its high level of education (Bilan, 2023, p. 170) and the phenomenon of the post-war “baby boom”, which expanded the youth segment of the community. Due to the need to combine the preservation of the national identity with the adaptation to the Canadian multi-ethnic and multicultural environment, it was essential to modernize the education system and coordinate educational activities (Kondrashevsk, 2017, p. 65). The above-mentioned gave a spur to search for new approaches to the content of education, organisational forms and educational practices that would meet the challenges of the time. The educational space appeared not only as a tool for transferring knowledge under these circumstances, but also as a key mechanism for preserving the national identity. Father Vasyl Kushnir, the first president of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC), outlined the goals of schooling in the context of new realities: “The young generation of the Canadian Ukrainians must emerge strong and even-tempered, full of faith, work, sacrifice and justified hopes... We are educating our Ukrainian people in Canada to become conscious and active citizenship, not only with duties, but also with the rights, not only with privileges, but also with responsibility...” (Persnyi Vse-Kanadiiskyi Kongres, 1943, p. 8).

**Review of Sources and Recent Research.** There were covered certain aspects of the issue in the article, which could be found in historical studies on the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada. First of all, there should be noted the scientific study by Yuriy Neduzhko, in which he considered the educational aspects of the Ukrainian diaspora’s activities in the context of the struggle for the Ukrainian statehood restoration (Neduzhko, 2007). The scholar Maria Bilan covered the issue on the Ukrainian refugees’ integration into the Canadian society by means of education (Bilan, 2023). Inna Mashkova (Mashkova, 2015) and Svitlana Romaniuk (Romaniuk, 2014) studied the historical and pedagogical analysis regarding the Ukrainian-language education development in Canada. The study conducted by Yuliia Kondrashevsk (Kondrashevsk, 2017) is significant, in which the issue on preserving the diaspora’s national identity was analyzed. Some aspects of the issue on preserving the national identity of the Canadian Ukrainians were the subject of our study (Siromskyi, 2009; Siromskyi, 2010).

This study is based on the documents of the Ukrainian diaspora organizations (the reports of the educational commissions, councils) and informational notes about the life of the

Ukrainian community in Canada from the Branch State Archive of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine in Kyiv (Sectoral State Archive of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine, Kyiv – далі SSAFISU).

**The purpose of the research** is to determine the main areas of the Ukrainian Canadian educational organisations' activities, evaluate their contribution to the preservation of the national identity, and clarify the achievements and challenges associated with this activity.

**Research Results.** According to many experts, the system of education and upbringing in the Ukrainian diaspora was not very efficient and outdated in the first half of the 20th century. Antin Hlinka, the Canadian politician, public figure of the Ukrainian origin emphasized back in 1943 the following: "Due to the constant disasters of our economic system, under which our people lived in the past, our modern schooling has deviated from its true purpose. It cannot be denied that we pay more attention to things that earn us a living than to things that make life worthwhile... We were guilty of counting on the science that a person's success should be measured by the sum of money in the bank that a person has accumulated... Our assessments of values in the school sphere must be drastically changed... We need an educated and cultured nation, therefore, a smart and more modern educational school system must emerge from our post-war reconstruction" (Persnyi Vse-Kanadiiskyi Kongres, 1943, p. 87).

There were discussed educational changes on various public platforms of the Canadian Ukrainians, in particular within the framework of the Ukrainian Community, which were necessarily included supporting and affirming a high level of the national self-awareness of the young people in emigration (Krukovskiy, 2025, p. 99), involving them in the active life of the diaspora, as well as fostering a willingness to uphold democratic values and fight for the preservation of the national identity (Kondrashevska, 2017, p. 66). Taking into consideration the drastic need to coordinate the activities of the Ukrainian preschool institutions and schools in Canada, there was a need for the centralized coordination of their work, the development of specialized educational programs and teaching materials, as well as testing the feasibility and effectiveness of their application in pedagogical practice (Neduzhko, 2007, pp. 419–420).

There was held the World Educational Session (WES) within the framework of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU) in New York in November of 1967. The result of the WES activities was the approval of the "Ukrainian Educational System" (UES), the "Educational Ideal of a Foreign Ukrainian", as well as the establishment of the World Coordinating Educational Council (WCEC). The newly created body was to play the role of a central coordination centre in the field of education and upbringing, uniting a network of regional and local councils. Hence, there emerged the structural units of the WEC almost immediately in the USA and Canada (Neduzhko, 2007, p. 425).

The Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada was established in accordance with the decision of the Educational Conference on October 12–13, 1968, at the 9th Congress of the CUC. The first plenum of the CEC was held a little more than a month later, on November 22, 1968. It was attended by representatives of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Catholic Church (Mykola Plaviuk), the National Executive of the Ukrainian National Union (Yevhen Mastykash and Vasyl Veryha), the League of Ukrainian Catholic Women, the Association of Ukrainian Educators of Canada (Kekyliya Paliiv); the Organization of Ukrainian Women of Canada named after O. Basarab (O. Maksymiv), Plast (Antonina (Tonia) Horokhovych), the Council of the Ukrainian School of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Natalia Kohuska), and the Union of Fine Artists of Canada (Halyna Novakivska). At the same time, the first presidium of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of

Canada was elected, headed by Zenon Zelenyi (Toronto), N. Kohuska became the first deputy, and K. Paliiv became the secretary (after her death in 1969, Dr. Bohdan Stebelskyi) (Bazarko, 1986, pp. 132–133).

In general, the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada consisted of the National Center of Ukrainian School Boards, the Association of Ukrainian Teachers of Canada, the Ukrainian Scientific Council at the CUC, the Youth of the Ukrainian National Association, the Association of Democratic Ukrainian Youth, Plast, the Union of Ukrainian Youth of Canada, the Union of Ukrainian Students of Canada, the Ukrainian Catholic Youth, the League of Ukrainian Catholic Women, the Women's Association of the Liberation League of Ukraine, the Association of Ukrainian Women of Canada, the Union of Ukrainian Women of Canada, the Association of Ukrainian Artists of Canada, the Association of Children's Literature Workers, the Union of Ukrainian Youth (SSAFISU, f. 1, c. 15708, vol. 10, p. 47). Taking into consideration the list of organizations, which became the part of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada, it could be stated that there was demonstrated the high activity by the Ukrainian diaspora and a wide range of its educational and cultural activities. The Committee consisted of both school and pedagogical associations, as well as the youth, cultural and women's organizations, which allowed it to cover different age and social groups of the community, and to direct efforts to preserve the language, culture and national identity. At the same time, diverse structures a priori complicated coordination, caused duplication of the functions and uneven influence on different provinces, and limited resources created additional difficulties in ensuring stable and effective activities.

It is worth highlighting the Association of Ukrainian Teachers of Canada (AUPC) with a center in Toronto among the listed organizations that were part of the the Coordinating Educational Council of Canada. First of all, because its participants were personalities, who played a prominent role in the activities of the Coordinating Educational Council of Canada, in particular Ivan Kuziv, Ivanna Kachor and Tonia Horokhovych (SSAFISU, f. 1, c. 15708, vol. 10, p. 61). The views of the latter on the development of education deserve special focus, since she emphasized the need for a systematic approach in this area constantly: "The task of parents is to bring up children in such a way that the child is subject only to benign influences from the environment and is protected from everything that is harmful in the environment outside the home. There is needed the whole system of organizations, a collective effort of the community in order to create such conditions. The system is a lot of thoughtful and coordinated measures, with the help of which an idea – a plan is brought to life" (Horokhovych, 1990, p. 65). In other words, the national identity and moral formation of a younger generation must be maintained through the collective efforts of the community, not just through home education.

There was established the National Center of Ukrainian School Councils (NCUCS), which was headed by Omelian Kalitsynskyi, at the Educational Conference within the framework of the 9th Congress of the CUC on October 12–13, 1968, simultaneously with the establishment of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada. The Center's goal was to coordinate the Ukrainian schooling in Canada (Biuletyn, 1975, January-March, p. 6). Its members included: the Ukrainian School Council of the UGCC, the School Curatorship of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolis, the School Reference Office of the UNO, the School Reference Office of the Union of Ukrainian Youth, and the Association of Ukrainian Teachers of Canada (Bazarko, 1986, p. 133). The duplication of certain functions of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada and the NCUCS complicated the already difficult coordination and created a feeling of dispersion of the efforts.

The first members of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada were mainly engaged in the organizational matters, initiated the development of the educational and methodological materials on the Ukrainian language, history and culture for children, held teacher seminars, pedagogical conferences in larger centers of the Ukrainian settlement (Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Saskatoon) (Bazarko, 1986, p. 132). Starting in 1969, in agreement with the National Center of the Ukrainian Education Council and with the financial support of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Educational Commission, the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada initiated a systematic inspection of the Ukrainian schools in Canada, which was headed by the educational inspector Ivan Bodnarchuk. At that time, they also began publishing the teachers' magazine "The Ukrainian School" (an editor I. Bondarchuk) – first as a bulletin of the National Center of the Ukrainian Education Council, and later on, as a bulletin of the the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada (Bazarko, 1986, p. 134). There was raised the issue regarding revising the current school curricula at the meeting of the Presidium of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada on July 3, 1969. There was established a curriculum commission, which revised the curricula for primary grades of the Ukrainian schools. The new edition of the curriculum was published in 1970 in a print run of 1,000 copies. It was instructed to develop curricula for courses in Ukrainian studies, at the meeting of the Presidium of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada on December 19, 1970, which was implemented in March of the following year successfully. In 1971 the Presidium of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada issued and published school magazines and notebooks for primary grades and courses in the Ukrainian studies based on the project of Father Tymofii Minenko, and also based on the recommendations of the Teachers' Conference in Toronto on September 15, 1970 (Bazarko, 1986, p. 133). This example demonstrates the systematic and organized approach of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada to the modernization of Ukrainian education in Canada. It demonstrates that the Council responded to the need to update curricula, introduce new materials, and ensure their publication for wide use. It also shows the desire to ensure the quality and consistency of the educational materials, and, therefore, to strengthen the educational and cultural educational function of schools and courses in the Ukrainian studies, which was of direct importance for the preservation of the national identity among the younger generation (Kondrashevska, 2017, 67).

There was supported the idea, which was brought in by the Ukrainian schools principals, to introduce a unified approach to education in the primary grades of all schools at the meeting of the Presidium of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada on April 14, 1970. It was decided to switch from six to seven years of education, and to set the duration of training in the Ukrainian studies courses for five years. In addition, a unified system of education in the Ukrainian studies courses was introduced and its coordination with the curricula of "Ridna Shkola" ("Native School"). At the same meeting of the Presidium of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada, a network of coordination school centers was approved – in Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Montreal, Vancouver (Bazarko, 1986, p. 134).

There was held the next plenary session of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada with the participation of delegates from all educational organizations on December 24–25, 1971. The report of the Presidium of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada was made and approved, and the plan for the next period was adopted. A new Presidium of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada was elected, which consisted of an

Honorary Chairman – Zenon Zelenyi (Toronto), a Chairman – Fr. Tymofiy Minenko (Grimsby), a Deputy Chairmen: Vasyl Veryha (Toronto), Natalia Kohuska (Winnipeg), Bohdan Stebelskyi (Toronto), Omelian Kalitsynsky (Winnipeg); Secretaries: Yaroslava Zorych (Toronto), Ivan Kuziv (Toronto), a Treasurer – Kateryna Maletska (Toronto). Yevhen Mastykash (Toronto) was elected a Chairman of the Control Commission (Bazarko, 1986, p. 132).

The new composition of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada expanded its activities, in particular in the field of coordination of educational work, initiation of pedagogical courses, publication of an information bulletin, holding conferences of teachers and educators, preparation of new school textbooks. In contrast to the traditional grammatical, analytical synthetic method of compiling textbooks in the diaspora, the use of visual auditory, conversational and auditory conversational teaching methods became a feature (Mashkova, 2015, p. 191).

Preschool education was mainly dealt with by women's organizations. There was held a meeting of the representatives of women's organization with the Presidium of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada in order to coordinate this important area of work on March 16, 1970. As a result, there was established the commission for the development of preschool education. The main task of the commission was to promote the establishment of kindergartens, preschool classes and nurseries. There was established the National Council of Preschool Education of Canada at the initiative of the Presidium of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada and with the participation of the head of the World Council of Preschool Education I. Pelenska on October 28, 1972. Its work was carried out in two directions: organizational and methodological. There were taken measures to clarify the state of kindergartens in the country in the organizational area; there was no exact data on their number, but it was determined that there were about forty of them (this, to some extent, is additional evidence of the insufficient centralization and fragmentation of the preschool education system in the Ukrainian diaspora of Canada). The curriculum and methodological department organized the preparation of a coursebook on preschool education and a textbook for working with children in kindergartens; the first part of the textbook was completed at the end of 1973 (Bazarko, 1986, p. 135).

In the Canadian provinces, there functioned various associations and societies of the Ukrainian language teachers in public schools. There was founded the Association of Ukrainian Language Teachers in particular, in Manitoba, which participated in the organization of summer courses in the Ukrainian studies for students (SSAFISU, f. 1, c. 15708, vol. 10, p. 26). In this western province, the school law was supplemented by the right to use a language other than English and French "as the language of instruction for no more than 50% of school hours for trial classes determined by the Minister of Education" (Biuleten, 1978, July-September, p. 4). The experience of Manitoba was scaled up in Canada. The Ukrainian language teachers from schools in Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Ontario established the Canadian Association of Ukrainian Language Teachers in Public Schools in Winnipeg. The organization's declared goal was to expand the Ukrainian schooling in the country, address professional issues (methodology, teaching system), and coordinate the activities of provincial Ukrainian language teachers in public schools (the Canadian education system in multicultural conditions also provided for teaching the Ukrainian language (Romaniuk, 2014, p. 306)). In the association's board there were included the following people: Boryslav Bilash, Yuriy Dzhuravets (the author of school coursebooks, headed the Committee of Ukrainian Teachers in the province of Ontario), Mykola Fliak (a Chairman of the UCC school board), Liuba Fedorkiv (a representative of the

Winnipeg District School Board), Omelian Kalitsynskyi (a teacher from Winnipeg), and the others (SSAFISU, f. 1, c. 15708, vol. 10, p. 40).

Despite the visible activity in the field of education and upbringing, the II Congress of the Ukrainian Educational System (UES) in 1973 stated that “The Ukrainian Educational System (UES), adopted and approved at the Ist SKE, specifies certain general educational norms, statements, means, organization and implementation. However, the heterogeneity of working conditions in different countries of our settlement does not always and not everywhere make it possible to fully implement it in practice. Its greatest inefficiency is noted in the insufficient coordination of educational actions” (Bazarko, 1986, p. 137). Were these the only problems? Obviously not, because the Ukrainian community was faced with assimilation processes, and not only assimilation under pressure from “stronger cultures” looked threatening, but also “conscious assimilation” (Siromskyi, 2009, p. 287). The level of motivation to attend the Ukrainian schools decreased, as attending them (mainly on Saturdays) meant an additional burden on children. As a result, there was a reduction in the network of such schools or a low occupancy of existing classes. Another issue was the difficulty of adapting the Ukrainian content aimed at preserving the national identity to the Canadian realities (Siromskyi, 2010, p. 396). The shortage of qualified teachers was another apparent issue. There was a shortage of qualified teachers, most of whom taught in the Ukrainian schools on a voluntary basis (schools were maintained by the local communities and their funding was often minimal).

According to the Canadian census, the number of people, who considered the Ukrainian as their native language decreased from 361,496 in 1961 to 309,855 in 1971 and 285,115 – in 1981 (Ukrainian Canadians and the 1981 Canada Census). Such kind of dynamics indicates a gradual decline in the number of the Ukrainians, who retained their native language, as well as irreversible processes of linguistic assimilation in the English-speaking and French-speaking (mainly Quebec) environment. The decline in the number of the Ukrainian speakers reflects not only demographic changes and a limited influx of new immigrants, but also the gradual integration of the young people into Canada’s multicultural society. Although the Ukrainian schools and cultural communities tried to support the native language and national identity, their efforts were limited, and a significant part of the younger generation preferred English or French, which weakened the role of the Ukrainian language in everyday life and the family environment gradually (Ukrainian Canadians and the 1981 Canada Census).

The organizational dispersion, even after the establishment of the Coordinating Educational Council (CEC) of Canada and its more than ten-year activity, created additional difficulties – from communication to the development of uniform “rules of the game”. For example, the 14th Congress of the CUC, which took place in 1983, emphasized in its resolution: “Because the preservation of the Ukrainian young generation for the Ukrainianness should be the focus of our attention, the 14th Congress instructs all Component Organizations to create and restore various forms of education, starting from kindergartens, by “Ridna Shkola” (Native School), the youth organizations and up to the time of maturity. To assist systematically and practically the youth in the formation of a conscious Ukrainian and an honest citizen” (SSAFISU, f. 1, c. 16310, vol. 6, p. 55). It was instructed to establish one All-Canadian School Board at the above-mentioned Congress, to which all other school boards at the Central CUC would be subordinate, which was tasked with “supervising all Ukrainian schooling in Canada” (SSAFISU, f. 1, c. 16310, vol. 6, p. 56). In fact, similar resolutions were adopted in the first post-war years. A school inspector Ivan Bodnarchuk noted in his report for 1980 – 1983 the following: “During the reporting period between the 10th and 13th Congresses, I concentrated my work at schools of the province of Ontario...

My general impressions: from year to year the number of students in “Ridna Shkola” (Native School) is decreasing; children of the younger generations come to school with less knowledge of the Ukrainian language, or even without any knowledge of the Ukrainian language... How the decline of our schools could be explained: a) the foreign environment in which our children grow up; b) weaker language among the parents of the younger generation and their lack of the national consciousness; c) mixed marriages, declining birth rates; d) lack of ideological and well-qualified teachers; e) irrational approach to organizing our schools; f) lack of proper coordination in both the methodological and organizational educational systems; g) decline in the prestige of our language among the younger intelligentsia” (SSAFISU, f. 1, c. 16310, vol. 6, p. 65).

In fact, these challenges were also confirmed by the Soviet special services, which monitored the situation in the Ukrainian community in Canada (Siromskyi, & Kachmar, 2022, p. 210). Hence, it was stated the following in a note from the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Ottawa dated January 9, 1985 (style preserved): “The practical achievements of the Ukrainian-Canadian community in the field of preserving the “hereditary” language during the first decade of multiculturalism look quite modest. In 1981, there were 94,5 thousand children of the Ukrainian origin of school age in Canada. 15 thousand children studied the Ukrainian language in the so-called public schools with a number of subjects taught in Ukrainian or in the Ukrainian nationalist school network, 6 thousand children used this language as a language of home communication. Thus, only one in six students in the Ukrainian community studied a “heritage” language in 1981, compared to one in two in the Jewish community” (SSAFISU, f. 1, c. 15708, vol. 11, p. 33).

In the same report there was also analyzed teaching. “The level of teaching the Ukrainian language in the so-called “Sunday” church and “native” nationalist schools is extremely low, and the costs of the Ukrainian-Canadian community to maintain these schools are maximum. In general, the costs of financing the Ukrainian schools in the country per Ukrainian in 1981 amounted to \$1,78, per Jew – \$69,87 per year”. The report further referred to the Ukrainian newspaper “Oko” (Montreal) “this is explained by the fact that only the relatives of the children who are studying pay for the education of the Ukrainian children, and the Ukrainian community in general only declares its patriotism and its Ukrainianness at every step, but does not want to actively help the Ukrainian school cause” (SSAFISU, f. 1, c. 15708, vol. 11, p. 33).

**Conclusions.** Thus, the educational organizations of the Ukrainians in Canada during the period under study were called upon to work to preserve the national identity of the younger generation. Due to the functioning of a network of the Ukrainian schools, cultural and educational centers and coordination structures (such as the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center of Canada), the work was carried out to transfer linguistic, cultural and historical knowledge to the younger generation. At the same time, the effectiveness of this activity was limited by a number of the objective factors. First of all, we mean the intensification of assimilation processes in the Canadian society, changes in the identification orientations of the young people, as well as organizational, personnel and financial difficulties that accompanied the development of the Ukrainian schooling. Despite the above-mentioned challenges, institutionalized educational activities became one of the key mechanisms for supporting the Ukrainian identity in the diaspora, even under conditions of gradual integration and assimilation.

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