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O. V. KOSTENKO

Postgraduate Student at the Department of Pedagogy,

H. S. Skovoroda Kharkiv National Pedagogical University, Kharkiv, Ukraine

E-mail: kostenko_o_v@outlook.com

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0354-8875>

BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS, INCLUDING INTERPRETATIONS OF LABOR, AND THEIR TRANSMISSION THROUGH THE *PEDAGOGY OF READING*

This article analyzes behavioral patterns of workers and peasants of the late 19th – early 20th century in the Kharkiv province on the reading materials of the private Sunday school of Khristina Danilovna Alchevskaya. Separately, the concept of labor is considered and the historical experience of using reading as a tool for transmitting patterns of behavior is revealed. This teaching method is referred to in this article as the *pedagogy of reading* (or reading pedagogy).

The study of the behavioral patterns took place within the framework of the interpretative paradigm. The sample included all the materials of the «Book of Adults» [«Книга взрослых»], two volumes of the collection «What should be read by the people?» [«Что читать народу?»] as well as school teachers' notes used in the Kharkiv private Sunday school of Khristina Alchevskaya. For the analysis of the empirical data, qualitative content analysis and GTM-coding were applied.

The results of the study showed that the main behavioral patterns were based on the Christian New Testament ethics and included belief in higher justice, self-sacrifice, relativity of wealth and happiness, as well as condemnation of human vices, such as for example laziness and bragging. Labor was also interpreted within the Christian context and as an integral part of every human life. The teaching method of the pedagogy of reading consisted in the selection of reading materials, their common analysis and group interpretation. The materials were compiled with the appropriate level of complexity, taking into account needs and interests of the target audience.

In terms of practical application of the results of this study, the experience of the pedagogy of reading can be applied in modern pedagogy as, for example, for teaching social groups with integration difficulties, e. g. migrants or individuals with deviant behavior.

The article may be useful to those interested in history of pedagogy, private Sunday schools, education of the illiterate population, the pedagogy of reading, the development of the concept of labor in the late 19th – early 20th century in the Kharkiv province.

Key words: behavioral patterns, reading pedagogy, qualitative content analysis, GTM-coding, Kharkiv province, Khristina Danilovna Alchevskaya.

Introduction. The abolition of serfdom in the Russian Empire led to the emergence of large masses of former forced laborers who needed to adapt their social habitus to the new economic realities. Technological progress with changes in the modes of production and trade, along with new trends in the cultural sphere, fertilized the soil, making possible further changes, in particular in the field of education. Schools for the people began to appear in the Russian Empire. In the case of adolescents and adults, who often had to work six days a week, schools were established that worked only on Sundays (hence the name 'Sunday schools').

At the origins of this phenomenon stood the enlightened local *intelligentsia* that understood

the importance of education, wished to invest their efforts in public education and, more importantly, possessed the material and social capital necessary for that. The initial task of Sunday schools was to teach the basics of literacy, coupled with the transfer of basic knowledge about the world around. Reading texts became the educational goal and at the same time a way of personality shaping.

Nowadays, our society, being in constant motion, creates social challenges, for the answer to which the historical experience presented by the Sunday schools could be useful. Due to migration processes and educational imbalances between certain social groups, there is already a need to adapt curricula, quickly teach the basics of a new language

and contribute to the integration of such groups into the society. This explains the research interest and the relevance of this study which consists in analyzing the historical experience of the reading pedagogy and the behavioral patterns of that time.

In spite of practical interest, historical experience and specific of the pedagogy of reading has not been studied enough. Only some aspects of it have been analyzed. For example, education of illiterate population in the Russian Empire in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century and the subsequent development of an original culture of reading was studied by the Kharkov historian S. K. Bondarenko [Bondarenko]. Y. Y. Nikitina, A. S. Dvornichenko, and V. Shafranovskiy have been engaged in the research of Sunday schools in general [Nikitina; Dvornichenko; Shafranovskiy]. L. Khmelnytska has analyzed the innovations of Khristina Danilovna Alchevskaya within the people's education [Khmelnytska].

Based on the analysis of the archival materials, the author gives answers to the questions of what patterns of behavior and how were passed on to students, and what interpretation of labor was laid down in the educational materials.

To ensure the most complete understanding of the research issues, the historical background of Sunday schools in the Kharkiv province will be presented at the beginning, followed by the research interest and the research questions. After that, the methodological base and the research methods will be argued. The main section will consist of the answers to the research questions and include a small discussion about the significance of the obtained results for modern pedagogical practice.

Sunday schools in the Kharkiv province in the late 19th – early 20th century. A retrospective look.

According to the testimonies of the contemporary V. I. Nedrigailov and the memories of Kh. D. Alchevskaya [Anniversary: 9–11], in 1859, a group of local intelligentsia in the Kharkiv province turned to the assistant trustee of the Kharkiv Educational District with a request to open a Sunday school in the city. They offered themselves as teachers, were willing to make financial donations for the benefit of the school. For political reasons (accusations

of political unreliability were brought against some applicants), the opening of the first male Sunday school in the Kharkiv province took place only on September 18, 1860. After that, another men school was opened, and only then the first Sunday school for women was organized. Nothing was required to study at that school, and it was open to everyone. There was no special curriculum either. Each teacher was free to choose how and what to teach. However, the existence of the school was short-lived. Already on June 10, 1862, a decree was issued to close all Sunday schools in the Russian Empire until they were reformed according to the new instructions.

Despite the unfavorable external conditions, it was from this moment that the history of the Sunday schools of Khristina Danilovna Alchevskaya began.



Kh. D. Alchevskaya, 1892 [Anniversary: 24–25]

The wife of a merchant who had just arrived in Kharkiv, an activist who loved her small homeland and wanted to teach in her native language, Khristina Danilovna Alchevskaya first came to the newly created women's Sunday school on May 13, 1862, to work there as a teacher on a voluntary basis. After the decision to close the schools, Alchevskaya, with a small number of like-minded women, contrary to possible sanctions, continued the activities of the school in her own house, as far as material conditions allowed. Even after the official permission for Sunday schools, which followed in 1864, Khristina Danilovna continued to teach at home, since, according to the new regulations, schools had to operate with significant restrictions.

As of 1869, 10 teachers taught and 50 students studied at the home Sunday school of Alchevskaya [Anniversary: 13].



**Senior Group of the Sunday school participants
[Anniversary: between 18 & 19]**

Over time, Khristina Danilovna achieved the official opening of her school. It took place on March 22, 1870. However, due to external reasons, Alchevskaya could only take a place of a simple teacher there. E. I. Tsvetkova was appointed the main administrator, A. P. Vernadskaya became the trustee [Anniversary: 14]. Only at the very beginning the school was supported by joint donations. Then the financing fell entirely on the shoulders of the Alchevsky family, that built a special house for the school in 1896. It made possible to have two libraries in addition to convenient classrooms, one for students, the other for teachers, as well as a museum of visual aids. Khristina Danilovna became manager, performer and teacher at the same time. Gradually, the number of students at the school reached more than 700, mainly peasant and bourgeois women – artisans, factory workers and servants. Among them were teenagers from 13 to 15 years old and adult women, including 30- and 40-year-olds and older. [Anniversary: 18–19] Later, on the initiative of Alchevskaya, other Sunday schools were opened [Anniversary: 25]. Khristina Danilovna Alchevskaya promoted the activities of her school at the Paris, Chicago and Antwerp exhibitions in 1889 and 1900 [Anniversary: 22–23].

Based on the developments of the school, Kh. D. Alchevskaya and M. N. Saltykova (Koneva) decided to create a collection of materials for reading in Sunday schools. The work lasted six years.

About 80 people participated in it. Among them, in addition to Sunday school teachers, were professors, doctors, and well-known personalities of that time, such as N. N. Beketov, V. Ya. Danilevsky, D. I. Bagaliy, A. N. Krasnov. The «Book of Adults» [«Книга взрослых»] was first published in 1900 and consisted of 500 articles, placed in three sections. It was republished 13 times, and brought twenty-seven and a half thousand rubles in profit. [Anniversary: 20] The book was supposed to be used in class by the second half of the year, when the entire alphabet had already been covered [Annual report: 6]. The book was recommended by the Department of the Scientific Committee of the Ministry of People's Industry for technical and vocational education at Sunday and evening classes for adult workers; approved for libraries of lower technical- and all types of vocational schools; approved for use in teachers' libraries and in free folk reading rooms and libraries; and allowed by the school council under the Holy Synod for the libraries of parochial school [Book].

Another significant work born of the teaching aspiration of Khristina Danilovna and her colleagues was the three volumes of the book «What should be read by the people?» [«Что читать народу?»], which were published in the period from 1884 to 1906 and provided the reader with descriptions of several thousands of books, including materials developed intentionally for public reading as well as the best examples of world and domestic literature of that time. As in the case of the «Book of Adults», in creating of «What should be read by the people?» were involved not only the Sunday school teachers, but also well-known professors, scientists, and writers. Alchevskaya herself wrote 1150 articles [Anniversary: 21].

The first volume (1888) consisted of seven parts – spiritual and moral, literary, natural science, historical, biographical, geographical and national economy ones. To the second volume (1889) were added articles on medicine and social organization. The books contained all the comments and thoughts of the school participants in order to understand «the worldview of the listeners and their attitude to the book». [What should be read 1889: Preface]

Research interest and research questions

Thus, the Sunday schools of the late 19th – early 20th century in the Kharkiv province were a kind

of conglomerate of teaching reading and writing skills, instilling certain patterns of behavior and analyzing the development of students' thoughts under the influence of the texts they read. Later, one could speak of the creation of a characteristic culture of reading, which took its origins from the Sunday schools of that period [Bondarenko].

Scientific interest in the subject of Sunday schools in the field of pedagogy can be divided into the study of the educational process itself, the study of educational materials, as well as the study of the pedagogical approaches of that time and pedagogy of reading as a key one. Pedagogy aimed at shaping the personality of students through reading materials (primarily texts) will be considered in this work as the pedagogy of reading. The author is primarily interested in the basics of behavior and moral imperatives that were brought up in Sunday school students and draws attention to the materials deliberately selected for reading. Wishing to reconstruct the ultimate goal of the pedagogy of reading and being interested in the concept of labor of that time, the author dwells on the following research questions: What were the leitmotifs of the Sunday school discourse? What behavioral ideal was pursued for the workers and peasants? What was the understanding of labor, and what was its place within this behavioral ideal? To answer the questions posed, a special research design was developed with a correspondent theoretical and methodological perspective.

Theoretical and methodological basis of the research. Research methods.

The author's task was to choose such a methodological perspective that would fully serve the most complete disclosure of the research questions posed. The features of the empirical data also influenced the theoretical and methodological choice.

The analysis of the available archival materials showed that all primary sources could be divided into three main categories: 1) the texts of the «Book of Adults» [«Книга взрослых»] used for reading in the Kharkiv private Sunday school of Khristina Danilovna Alchevskaya; 2) two volumes of the collection «What should be read by the people?» [«Что читать народу?»], about eight hundred and nine hundred pages each, which has

a descriptive, interpretive and recommendatory character; and 3) related literature describing the learning process, such as teachers' notes.

The second and third categories of materials contained entries from the diaries of teachers, including verbatim reproduction of the stories by students, their interpretations, as well as questions asked by teachers and expected answers. The collection «What should be read by the people?» represented in fact a practically ready-made material of interpretive patterns of that time. The research task was simplified by the fact that the collection was intended for a general audience and did not contain any allegory or hidden meaning. All this made possible a reconstructive analysis.

Based on the features of the empirical material and on the research questions, it was decided to analyze the volumes of «What should be read by people?» with the help of qualitative content analysis with inductive category building [Mayring 2005, 2002], adapting it to the objectives of this study [Jensen: 265–270; Selvi; Marvasti; Renz et al.]. The implemented analysis tool consisted of three main forms of interpretation [Mayring 2002: 115–118]: «summary», «explication» and «structuring». As the first step, the texts were carefully read and blocks of content were determined. After that, the passages in the text that formed a basis for categories were extracted. The selected text passages (basis for a category) were marked in color and read again. Meaningful expressions were marked in bold and formed a basis for future anchor examples, i.e. concrete passages from the text that could be considered representative of a category and were understood as its prototypes (they were later used to illustrate the categories). The text passages were summarized and finally given a category name. A category was drafted when a passage was found that matched the category definition. A phrase or term from this passage which wording was closest to the data was used to designate the category. Then, all other text passages, that fit the correspondent category, were assigned to it (Mayring calls this procedure «subsumption») [Mayring 2002: 116].

A new inductive category was formulated when another passage in the text was found that did not match the already developed categories, but corresponded to the general category definition. No categories were assigned to the data from the first

block, which had a warm-up function and did not contain any information relevant to later sampling. This was also done with all the irrelevant text passages. However, all text passages that had even a minimal reference to the sampling were put into the inductive categorization.

When no more new categories could emerge, a category system was compiled in a table for each text and then revised by checking for redundancies, logic and the level of abstraction. By necessity, the category system was revised again. As a result, a set of categories was created and afterwards interpreted in relation to the research questions [Ibid.].

Then, based on the results obtained from the content analysis of the first part of the materials, the texts and illustrations from the «Book of adults» were coded according to the Grounded Theory. The goal was to gain a more sensitive understanding of the material as it allows breaking and opening the data step by step. The coding process was not only aimed at discovering key categories, but was also based on constant comparison. It strived for the conceptual compactness of inductively generated codes, which ultimately lead to the integration of the entire analysis [Strauss; Mey/Mruck: 25; Berg/Milmeister: 319; Charmaz: 51; Böhm: 477].

The coding process involved three main phases: open coding; axial coding and selective coding [Strauss: 60]. At first, the texts were simply accurately read. Then the open coding started. Small segments of the data, parts of sentences or sometimes single words were taken as units of analysis. After that, questions were asked to the data as proposed by Andreas Böhm and Kathy Charmaz, in order to avoid simple paraphrasing [Böhm: 477; Charmaz: 51]. Particular attention was paid to the in vivo codes [Strauss: 60, 64–65; Böhm: 478].

After the data had been openly coded, axial coding took place [Strauss: 61; Böhm: 478–481; Berg/Milmeister: 321–324]: Individual categories were placed at the center and it was looked what spatial, cause-effect, means-end, motive and argumentation connections could be worked out around them [Böhm 2008: 479]. Questions were asked again, but this time with the focus on the contexts mentioned: «Who? When? What? Where? Why?.. With what? What if...? What if not...?» [Berg/Milmeister: 322].

Finally, when the categories were ‘clothed’ with the relationship networks, the next level started, namely selective coding [Strauss: 61–62; Böhm: 482–483; Berg/Milmeister: 324–326]. The core categories and the categories related to them were defined by asking questions, comparing and developing hypotheses [Böhm: 483; Berg/Milmeister: 325].

Research results

General characteristics of the reading materials

A large layer, displayed in the first section of the Sunday school reading materials, was made up of revised stories from the Bible. Their presentation form was simplified and cognitively adapted to the target audience, preserving the general chronology and the main content of the New Testament. As a rule, Bible stories were well known to students from previous life experience, and did not require additional mental and emotional efforts connected with the processing of unfamiliar material.

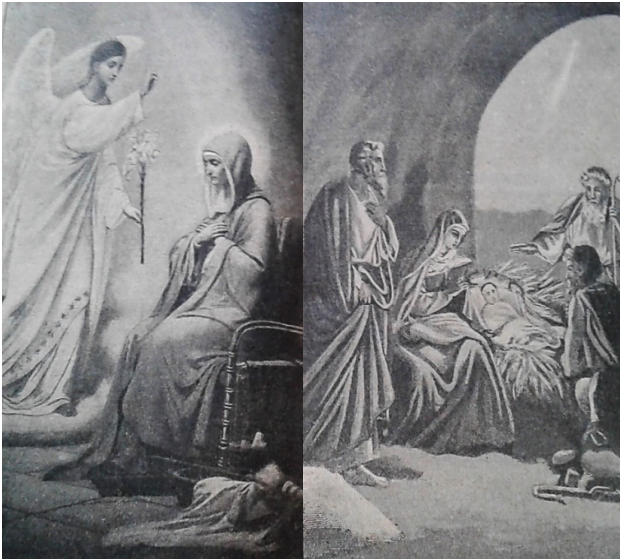
The lexical and grammatical presentation of materials, although distinguished by apparent simplicity and accessibility, did not go beyond literary speech samples.

Information was presented in the form of complete semantic blocks, highlighted by separate titles and united by a common storyline. The sequence of presentation of the earthly life of Jesus Christ and his family clearly reflected the main stages of human life, from birth to death. The Bible part ended with stories about the Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ. The illustrations, made in the form of drawings by an unknown author, emphasized the style of presentation, added figurativeness and complemented, but not distracted from the reading process.

Further reading material also consisted of short stories, but without a common plot connection. Four main genres were almost equally used: (1) parables, fables, and semi-fairy tales; (2) scientific factual, and local lore stories; (3) stories about real events, incidents, originated from the contemporary or historical life of peasants and workers; (4) elements of folk art in the form of proverbs and sayings.

The first cluster of works included allegorical stories with an explicit or implicit moralizing conclusion. Among them were both samples

of the universal cultural heritage in the form of parables, as well as similar domestic examples of famous authors – the «fables» of Krylov and Dmitriev – and folklore in the retelling of Sunday school teachers. Moral was often present in the whole story, which represented a positive or negative model of behavior, an example for imitation or censure.



**Annunciation and the Nativity of Jesus Christ
[Book: 8–9]**

So, in the story «Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi brothers», the story of the wife of Tiberius Gracchus was described, who, above all earthly blessings, put motherly love for children and their upbringing in the spirit of helping the needy and disadvantaged. [Book: 121] In the fable «The Fly» by Dmitriev, boasting and the desire to pass off the merits of another person as his own are ridiculed in poetic form: «A bull with a plow to rest trudged through his labors, And a fly sat on his horns, And they met another fly on the way. «Where are you going from, sister?» was the question of the second fly. And the first one, raising her nose, said in response: «Where are we going from? We plowed!» [Book: 36].

The absence of a direct moralizing conclusion left an opportunity for a joint discussion, and the small volume of the text made it possible to distribute time resources more freely during the lesson.

The second important component of reading materials were popular scientific stories filled with real cognitive facts, depictions of life and way

of life of the peoples from different countries and continents, natural and climatic conditions, flora and fauna. For example, in the story about the northern lights, a detailed description of this natural phenomenon is given in a simple, understandable language: «The radiance sparkles in different colors and changes its appearance every minute: brilliant arcs in the sky wave and twist; the ends of the arcs, which at first seem to rest against the ground, then rise up; sheaves of colored rays gild the tops of the sky.» [Book: 41] These stories, like the biblical ones, were accompanied by black and white illustrations.



Ribbon Polar Lights [Book: 41]

The third part of the stories was united by a direct connection with the real life of the peasants and workers. Some of these stories deal with the burning issues of that time, combining indirect advice and role models. For example, in the story without author, «A Good Custom,» an example was given of peasant women who, after finishing their part of the work in the field, always went to help their neighbors. [Book : 49] Other stories either do not have a clear time frame, or refer to «tales» («epics») about folk heroes of antiquity from different countries and peoples. So, in the story «The Daughter» it was told about a little Chinese girl who suggested that the emperor cut off her hands instead of her father's, who was guilty of theft. The emperor, having ascertained the sincerity of the intentions and the tenacity of the child, canceled the sentence and pardoned her father. The story described the selfless love of a child for her parents, the wisdom of the emperor and the victory of love over cruelty [Book: 73–74].

The last component of reading materials was represented by a special kind of folk art: sayings and proverbs. All of them were carriers of folk wisdom accumulated over centuries. Their content, as in the case of the Bible stories, was also already familiar to the addressees. That simplified the process of perception, made it possible to concentrate more on developing reading skills, and enjoy the opportunity to independently read the well-known wisdom: «It is bad for everyone who does no good to anyone.» «Many a little makes a mickle.» [Book: 49]. «Better bread and water than a pie with trouble.» [Book: 100]. «Trust in God, but don't make a mistake yourself. Do not be afraid of anger, do not rush to affection. Do not hurry with your tongue, but hurry with your deeds.» [Book: 77].

Fundamentals of moral education. New Testament ethics

The forms, in which the reading materials were presented, most effectively conveyed the semantic load and the main message of the texts. Their meaning can be divided into the following main areas: (1) the motive of faith in higher justice; (2) the motive of Christian self-sacrifice; (3) the motive of the relativity of wealth and happiness; (4) the motive of condemning human vices.

Belief in higher justice is coupled with faith in the New Testament truths, which permeate virtually all reading material. In view of the difficult socio-economic situation of the workers and peasants of that era, faith in God is often seen as the only consolation that alleviates suffering, explains the frailty of the material world and the finiteness of earthly existence, erasing the fear of death.

The symbol of such a worldview can be a generalized hero of stories – an old man who has a long life behind him, full of losses and hardships, that taught him the philosophy of humility, forgiveness, indifference to material wealth: «Bald, with a white beard, a Grandfather is sitting, a Cup of bread and water stands before him. ... Everything has passed, power has disappeared, The look has dulled; Death laid the Children and grandchildren in the grave. ... The old man needs a little: Bast shoes to weave and to sell – That's all. His only joy is to go to the God's church...» [Nikitin in: Book: 45] «In front of a dilapidated hut, an old

man sits gray-haired ... 'I toiled for a long time; I endured a lot of grief on my shoulders; The road was not easy, but the Lord helped. He is good ...'» [Pleshcheev in: Book: 65]. The same old man, only in the form of a bishop, for example, in the stories «The Bishop and the Thief» or «Christ is Risen» [Book: 59–61, 67], personifies forgiveness and love for others, despite all the crimes they have committed before. This love is effective and is expressed not only in moral, but also in material unselfish help, trust, support of all those in need. Coming from a pure heart, it gives strength and peace to those who carry it: «He goes straight from the church to prison; He christens with each prisoner and gives each one for a holiday from his meager means. And what a face he had! Clear, quiet, calm!» [Book: 67].

The motive of Christian self-sacrifice is intertwined with faith in higher justice. Most often it is expressed in neglect of oneself for the benefit of close relatives, family or strangers. At the same time, modesty and the need to do good deeds without expecting fame or reward are indirectly praised, as, for example, in the story «The Magnanimous Stranger», in which an unknown man, despite mortal danger, saves an entire family. When the witnesses of the incident wanted to find the stranger and thank him, they could not find him anywhere [Book: 55].

Anyone can become such a hero-deliverer. In the story «The Fire», an eight-year-old boy warns his grandmother and then alone saves his three-year-old sister and one and a half year old brother from a burning hut. [Book: 44–45] In the story «A Sparrow», the bird of the same name becomes a fearless savior, protecting its chick: «He rushed to save, he shielded his offspring with himself ... but his whole small body trembled with horror, his voice became wild and hoarse, he froze, he sacrificed himself!» [Turgenev in: Book: 88].

There are examples of self-sacrifice or the risk of a person's own life in favor of saving animals. In Pushkin's story «Compassion in the Fire», the blacksmith, not afraid to get burned himself, saves a cat from a blazing roof, shaming the boys who were watching with a laugh: «What are you laughing at, you little imps? ... You are not afraid of God; God's creation is perishing, and you are foolishly rejoicing!» [Pushkin in : Book: 65].

The theme of fire appears repeatedly in the reading materials and can be seen as the personification of the motif of the frailty of human wealth and happiness on earth. The relativity of wealth is verbalized in proverbs and sayings, as well as in epics and stories, where various examples simultaneously reveal the power and impotence of material wealth: «Do not desire a big house, you are not going to live with it, but with a person. Do not desire wealth; you are not going to live with it, but with light.» [Book: 74].

In the story «The Beggar» the ugliness of poverty is described: «Inflamed teary eyes, blue lips, rough rags, unclean wounds.» On the other hand, an understanding is given that this beggar is spiritually rich enough and can himself give spiritual alms to the author, who is morally ready to accept this gift: «Lost, embarrassed, I firmly shook this dirty, trembling hand... – Do not beg, brother; I have nothing, brother. ... – Well, brother, – he whispered, – and thank you for that. That’s also an alms, brother. I realized that I also received alms from my brother.» [Turgenev in: Book: 132].

As if completing and supplementing the main three motives of Christian ethics, one should pay attention to the theme of condemnation of human vices, which is clearly visible and constantly declares itself in stories, fables, novels and proverbs. Laziness, idleness, bragging, foul language, greed, lack of patience, anger, hypocrisy, lack of education, etc are equally condemned. For example, in the fable «The Monkey and the Glasses», ignorance and unwillingness to correctly understand the advice given by others are allegorically ridiculed [Krylov in: Book: 68]. In the fable «The Mirror and the Monkey» criticism of the shortcomings of others is condemned, despite one’s own [Krylov in: Book: 100–101].

Understanding of labor

The motive of labor is inseparably linked with the motives of Christian self-sacrifice and faith in higher justice. Like these two, it seems to be an integral part of all human life. But, unlike self-sacrifice and faith, labor is not verbalized on purpose, it is not emphasized or extolled. Information about it is given indirectly, in the context of other motives. However, the idea of labor permeates almost every story, fable or fairy tale.

In almost every popular science story about foreign countries and nationalities, one can find descriptions of how or with the help of what local residents work. For example, the story about Australians gives an example of cooking [Book: 70], the story «Coffee» gives a detailed description of picking berries on a plantation [Book: 81], and the story «Fire and Cooking» reveals ways to obtain and maintain fire [Book: 115]. Labor, as a rule, is commensurate with human life, reflects the social structure and can be divided accordingly into intra-family or proprietary, hired or lord / factory, as well as collective and solitary labor. For peasants, work is close to nature, normalized by the seasons and daylight hours. The family works together, everyone has their own task: «Working time has stopped. The peasants carried sheaves, And Daria dug potatoes From neighboring lanes by the river. Her mother-in-law right there, Worked; on a full bag A Beautiful Masha, frolic, Sat with a carrot in her hand [Nekrasov in: Book: 70].

The work schedule depends on the type of activity and the nature of the enterprise. Domestic work, especially women’s work, often has no time frame. The working way of life of women is presented in the works «A Hut» [Book: 55] and «A Husband and a Wife» [Nikitin in: Book: 143–144], etc.

The theme of labor is connected with the themes of friendship, mutual support, mercy, humanity and hope for a better future. Labor is perceived as something self-evident, immanent to earthly existence. It is usually associated with a noble end goal. Thus, in the story «Dr. Jenner» it is described how an English doctor worked tirelessly for thirty years to develop a remedy for smallpox [Book: 155]. However, if labor, one’s own and others’, is used for one’s own enrichment, then it is not meet with approval in stories. On the contrary, labor is welcomed in accordance with the New Testament worldview, that is, labor aimed at satisfying one’s own primary needs and obligatory assistance to those who, for reasons beyond their control, are not able to work on their own: «Together they quickly put the squeeze on, and both move on to the third, then, already three of them, – to the fourth, to the fifth. The last ailing woman, who is the furthest behind, is going to have the whole ‘help’.» [Book: 49].

Conclusions and significance of the pedagogy of reading of Alchevskaya's Sunday schools for modern practical pedagogy

Thus, the phenomenon of Sunday schools in the late 19th – early 20th century in the Kharkiv province arose for the education of the illiterate population of the lower classes. They existed mainly on the initiative and with the support of the local educated intelligentsia, who wanted to help the people. The main feature of such schools was that classes took place once a week, on Sundays (hence their name – ‘Sunday schools’). Their main task was to teach everyone the basics of literacy. For this reason, through the work of the private Sunday school of Khristina Danilovna Alchevskaya, special reading materials were collected. They consisted of small texts, different in subject matter and genre, which can be divided into four categories: (1) parables, fables, semi-fairy tales; (2) scientific factual, local lore stories; (3) stories from the contemporary or historical (‘epic’) life of peasants and workers; (4) proverbs and sayings.

The analysis of the reading materials showed that they contained certain behavioral patterns, which were actively discussed among teachers, librarians and all students. The visitors of the school learned not only the basic skills of reading and writing, but also acquired certain value judgments regarding the reality around them. An ideal of behavior was brought up, consonant with Christian New Testament norms. Self-sacrifice, up to death, for the benefit of surrounding living beings was positively characterized. Idleness, unwillingness to honestly engage in one's own business, laziness, bragging, and other human vices were condemned. The Christian faith was often thematicized in the context of the frailty of earthly goods and the relativity of earthly happiness.

As a result, as detailed descriptions in the work «What should be read by the people?» prove, the students formed a peculiar system of coordinates of behavior in society, which included certain social requirements and expectations. The basis was made up of Christian motifs, already well known to school visitors from church services. Now they took on a living form, flowing in stories to peasant and working life. These stories not only touched on topical issues in people's lives, but also gave recipes for solving difficult life situations. The task of the teachers was to achieve a common

understanding of the moral message contained in the stories.

The New Testament moral ideal of behavior included the theme of labor, which constantly accompanied every person. Labor in the broad sense was consonant with life itself, therefore, it was taken for granted. Work, as a narrower understanding of labor, was also frequently thematicized. It was seen as the systematic performance of the same labor tasks in order to make a profit in the form of monetary rewards. Such an understanding reflected the economic changes that were taking place in society, and, at the same time, weaved the New Testament behavioral ideal into students' perception. Regardless of age and condition, each member of society had to do their job and, if necessary, help another person.

Thus, the task of the pedagogy of reading was, first of all, by teaching the basics of literacy, to form in students personal qualities and values necessary for a successful existence in the society of that time. Based on a strict selection of texts, this method included, in addition to the mandatory reading, retelling and discussion of the material. The originality of the pedagogy of reading consisted in its easiness and corresponded to the target audience. However, the direct goal was not to influence the worldview of students for their own purposes, but to shape it in accordance with the moral ideal existing at that time, formally valid for everyone, including the educated classes.

Taking into account modern challenges, expressed in globalization, migration processes, climate change and related transformations of an economic, political and social nature, new requirements may arise for pedagogy. The historical experience of the pedagogy of reading described in this article can be used as a basis and supplemented with necessary modifications in working e. g. with interstate migrants of different ages, whose cultural capital differs from that of the recipient country. In this case, reading materials should be selected based on a clear analysis of the target group, be directly related to the daily life of migrants, based on familiar topics, have an appropriate level of complexity and include new information in an accessible way.

It is also possible to use the elements of the method of reading pedagogy in working

with children from disadvantaged families, with pronounced deviant behavior, who are unable to learn the behavioral patterns necessary for successful existence in society in their immediate social environment. As in the case of migrants, it is also extremely important to correctly assess the prerequisites and identify the final goal. Depending on this, it is necessary to select texts and plan educational discussions.

The possible fields of application of the pedagogy of reading is not exhausted by the given examples and is rather a pedagogical idea, the forms of implementation of which will vary depending on the conditions and purposes of use.

The task of further research may include a separate study of the lesson plans of Sunday schools in order to determine additional features of use of the pedagogy of reading.

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О. В. КОСТЕНКО

аспірант кафедри освітології та інноваційної педагогіки,

Харківський національний педагогічний університет імені Г. С. Сковороди, м. Харків, Україна

Електронна пошта: kostenko_o_v@outlook.com

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0354-8875>

**ПОВЕДІНКОВІ ЗРАЗКИ, ВКЛЮЧАЮЧИ РОЗУМІННЯ ПРАЦІ,
ТА ДОСВІД ЇХ ПЕРЕДАЧІ ШЛЯХОМ ПЕДАГОГІКИ ЧИТАННЯ**

У даній статті аналізуються приклади поведінкових паттернів робітників та селян кінця 19 – початку 20 століття у Харківській губернії на матеріалах для читання приватної недільної школи Христини Данилівни Алчевської. Окремо розглядається тогочасний концепт праці та розкривається історичний досвід використання читання в якості інструменту для передачі поведінкових зразків цільовій аудиторії. Описаний історичний метод іменується у статті *педагогікою читання*.

Вивчення поведінкових зразків проходило в рамках інтерпретативної парадигми. До вибірки увійшли усі матеріали «Книги дорослих» [«Книга взрослых»], два томи збірки «Що читати народу?» [«Что читать народу?»] та записки вчительок, що були задіяні у приватній недільній школі Христини Данилівни Алчевської. Для аналізу матеріалів був використаний метод якісного контент-аналізу та GTM-кодування.

Результати дослідження показали, що до основних поведінкових паттернів відносилися віра у вищу справедливість, самопожертва, відносність багатства та щастя, засудження людських пороків, таких як лінощі чи хвастощі. Всі поведінкові зразки мали у своїй основі християнську новозавітну етику. Праця також розглядалася у християнському контексті як невід’ємна життєва складова кожної людини. Навчальний метод педагогіки читання полягав у підборі матеріалів для читання, їх спільному аналізі та інтерпретації у групі. При виборі матеріалів зверталася увага, в першу чергу, на належний рівень складності, а також на потреби та інтереси цільової аудиторії.

З точки зору практичного застосування результатів цього дослідження, досвід педагогіки читання може бути використаний в сучасній педагогіці, наприклад, для навчання соціальних груп із інтеграційними труднощами, як-от мігрантів або осіб з девіантною поведінкою.

Стаття може бути корисною для студентів, аспірантів, науковців та всіх тих, хто цікавиться історією педагогіки, приватних недільних шкіл, особливостями виховання неписьменного населення, педагогікою читання, розвитком концепції праці наприкінці 19 – початку 20 століття в Харківській губернії.

Ключові слова: поведінкові паттерни, педагогіка читання, якісний контент аналіз, GTM-кодування, Харківська губернія, Христина Данилівна Алчевська.