Negotiating Difference: Steiner Education as an Alternative Tradition within the Australian Education Landscape

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Institute for Sustainable Industries and Liveable Cities

Victoria University, Melbourne

Geert (Tao) Bak

2021

Abstract

Steiner education, also known as Waldorf education, has represented a form of education "against the grain" in the Australian education landscape since its introduction as a practice in Sydney in 1957. Now with sixty schools or programs nationally, and an accredited Australian Steiner Curriculum Framework, Steiner education has shown that educational roots can be sunk into a different educational soil and can prosper. Contributing to the history of education in Australia, as well as to the contemporary understanding of educational alternatives in the Australian context, this study examines the localised development of Steiner education between the years spanning approximately 1970-2010, predominantly in Victoria. Three periods are covered, comprising a founding school phase (1970s), a second-generation Steiner school phase (1980s) and a publicly funded Steiner "streams" phase (approx. 1990 – 2010). Interviews with forty Steiner educators are drawn on, in addition to documentary sources such as school newsletters and newspaper articles, to examine the creation of six Steiner schools or programs. The thesis by publication comprises five papers – four already published and one under review – and an exegesis. Three of the papers are historical, one explores the ethical and methodological considerations stemming from the insider-outsider positioning of the researcher, and one examines the place of Steiner education in the contemporary education landscape in Australia.

The orientations of each paper draw on different elements of the methodology, including: practice theory, Gee's D/d discourse analysis, oral history, biographical sociology, and auto-ethnography. The basis of Steiner education in an epistemology of movement, representing a foundational interest in dynamic performative discourse and concepts, in contrast to representational, static ones, represents a further red thread throughout this study. The exegesis places these papers in a broader context of debates on education and Steiner education more broadly, pulling together some of the literature and the methodological orientation as a whole. The focus for this study is firstly on the local circumstances of the creation of the schools and programs being examined, from the perspective primarily of Steiner educators involved, and secondly on the evolving external socio-political and bureaucratic contexts for these initiatives. The significance of this study lies in how it shows that while policies such as 'choice' may afford

important opportunities for the creation of new Steiner schools and programs, they also constrain the conceptualisation of Steiner education. Secondly, it demonstrates that neoliberal approaches to education has narrowed conceptions of epistemological diversity within schooling, contributing to a glossing over of philosophical alternatives in contemporary scholarship on alternative education. Thirdly, the value of examining alternative education to highlight ideological and philosophical tensions and fault lines is shown, particularly in relation to the challenges of philosophical educational change. And finally, the case is made that contemplative inquiry, as well as philosophical and theoretical developments emphasising dynamic concepts of enactment and performance, such as socio-materialism, present helpful new framings for the notion of applied inner-life activity as recognised within Steiner education.

Signed Declaration of Authenticity

I, Geert (Tao) Bak, declare that the PhD thesis by Publication entitled *Negotiating Difference: Steiner Education as an Alternative Tradition in the Australian Education Landscape* is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.

Signature:  Date: 22/11/2020

List of incorporated papers

Appendix	Paper Title	Publication Status	Publication Title and Details
A	Insider/outsider research on Steiner education in Australia: One researcher's struggles with positioning.	Published 2015	in K. Trimmer, A. Black & S. Riddle (Eds.), *Mainstreams, Margins and the Spaces In-between: New Possibilities for Education Research* (pp. 94-111). London: Routledge.
B	'Embodied knowing': exploring the founding of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School in 1970s Victoria, Australia	Published 2018	*History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society*, vol 47(2). doi:10.1080/0046760X.2017.1420248 Impact factor. 0.482.
C	Each from their Own Soil: An Exploration of the Creation of Two Steiner Schools in 1980s Victoria, Australia	Published (online, July 20), 2020	*Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*. https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2020.1762676 Impact factor. 0.402
D	Stepping into the mainstream: exploring Steiner streams in publicly funded schools in Australia, 1990-2011.	Under review Submitted Oct 5, 2020	*Educational Review*
E	Where does Steiner fit? A contemporary framing of Steiner education within the shifting education landscape in Australia.	Published 2014	T. Stehlik & L. Burrows (Eds) *Teaching with Spirit: New Perspectives on Steiner Education in Australia* (pp. 213-223). Murwillumbah, NSW: IB Publications Pty Ltd.

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge the guidance of my supervisors, Marie Brennan, Kitty te Riele and Mark Selkrig. Marie seemed to get what I wanted to say from the start and I simply cannot thank her enough for helping me find ways to say it. Kitty gave the project shape in the early stages and Mark provided thoughtful guidance during the second half of the journey. I am deeply grateful and indebted to each of them.

Of colleagues and friends, I'd like to thank Matthew Klugman for the conversations and guidance, and his ability to appreciate this project from all angles; Pauline O'Maley for her fabulous humour, sounding-board skills, and comments on countless drafts; Juanita Custance and Miguel Gil, for comments on drafts, and John Hamilton, Elaine-Speight Burton, Eileen Hanrahan, Tom Petsinis, Caroline Wright-Neville and Terrie Fraser, among too many others to mention, for the lively and inspiring conversations that not only made a difference to my thinking but made the process so enjoyable.

Anne Taib encouraged me to embark on this PhD in the first place. Fiona Henderson arranged various supports along the way, including for my field trip to the UK as well as NZ. Dr. Jo Van Son encouraged me to spend more time on it when the opportunity came, and Corinna Ridley and Vittoria Grossi provided invaluable support in the completion stages. Catherine Manathunga provided helpful guidance at stages, as did many conference attendees. A trip to present at the HES/ANZHES conference in the UK in 2016 was enabled by a Secomb Conference and Travel Fund Grant through Victoria University, for which I am grateful.

Pauline Ward planted the initial seed for this study, and I'd like to thank her along with all of the participants for sharing their time and experiences. I'd also like to thank the staff at the Steiner schools I visited in Australia, New Zealand and the UK for making me feel welcome, and in each instance expanding my picture of Steiner education.

A special thank you to my wife, Yasmin, who has supported me throughout this project, and my two daughters Shiori and Anneke – for whom this project has seemed like it would last forever. My sister, Tineke and brother Michael have also shared in the journey, through conversations and other forms of support, which was always appreciated.

Finally, a particular thank you to my father, Henk Bak, for the many conversations, guidance and support, and from whom I inherited the want to keep studying, learning and looking for answers!

Table of Contents

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

1. Introduction

This study examines Steiner education in Australia, where it largely remains a marginal practice and under recognised as a serious educational approach. Representing an international education movement that began in Germany in 1919, Steiner or Waldorf schools in Germany are known colloquially as the schools where students learn to "dance their name" (Saggau, 2018). While this evocative image may not convey the educational ideas of Austrian philosopher and social theorist Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) in any depth, it does carry recognisable elements of both poetic and literal truth. Poetically it points to the dynamic emphasis in Steiner education on helping students grow into their true selves. In a more practical sense, however, it references a form of artistic movement taught in Steiner schools called eurythmy that involves particular gestures for the sounds of vowels and consonants – allowing the students, among other things, to dance their name (Saggau, 2018; Ver Eecke, 2017). In Australia, by contrast, Steiner education remains relatively unknown, both within the popular domain and the professional field of education – except for perhaps a vague notion that it represents an "artsy" alternative of some kind. Having first gained attention in Australia in the 1920s, the first Steiner school in Australia – the Glenaeon Rudolf Steiner School – was established in the northern suburbs of Sydney in 1957. The early 1970s saw two further Steiner schools opened in the form of the Lorien Novalis School for Rudolf Steiner Education in north western Sydney in 1971 and the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School in the outer eastern suburbs of Melbourne in 1972. Two further schools, the Mt Barker Waldorf School, in the Adelaide Hills, and Linuwel Steiner School in East Maitland, in country New South Wales, were established in 1979. The 1980s saw the number of Steiner schools in Australia expand to 31 by the end of the decade. The first Steiner "stream program" in a publicly funded state school was introduced in 1990 at Moorabbin Heights (now East Bentleigh) Primary School in suburban Melbourne. In 2020 there are 60 schools or programs in operation in Australian, including eleven Steiner streams as well as three Steiner teacher education programs (Steiner Education Australia, 2020). A national representative body for Steiner schools, the Rudolf Steiner Schools Association of Australia (RSSA) was formed in 1979 (Whitehead, 2001) and was renamed Steiner Education Australia in 2010 (V. Moller, personal communication, November 17, 2020). The Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting

Authority (ACARA) formally accredited the Australian Steiner Curriculum Framework (ASCF) in 2011, the only Steiner curriculum to be accredited by a national body in the world at time of writing (Stehlik, 2019). In 2017 a Graduate Certificate in Steiner Education was introduced at the University of the Sunshine Coast, in Queensland, in partnership with Steiner Education Australia (Haralambous, 2018). Over recent years a small body of scholarship has also emerged, helping to increase academic engagement with Steiner education and beginning the ongoing process of etching out a theoretical and critical understanding of this durable practice within the Australian setting (eg. Stehlik, 2002, 2008; Mowday, 2004; Nielsen, 2004; Gidley, 2007; Moller, 2014; Haralambous, 2016; Marques, 2020).

The aim of this study is firstly to contribute to the understanding of Steiner education as an evolving alternative practice within the Australian context, and through this to provide a more tangible narrative of Steiner schooling in the Australian setting. The second aim of this study is to interrogate the evolving conceptualisation and understanding of alternative education in the Australian context, and the implications of these for Steiner education itself, and for contemporary scholarship on alternative education more widely. The past decade has seen increased interest in alternative education. This has been evident in government policy facilitating state funding of flexible programs and schools, and in academic scholarship that focuses on alternative education in practice (McCluskey & Mills, 2018; Waters, 2017), this interest has rarely extended to examinations of Steiner education specifically. In Australia, the work of te Riele (2007, 2012, 2014), Plows (2017), Mills and McGregor (2014, 2018), Riddle and Cleaver (2017), and Waters (2017), among numerous others, has contributed to understandings of alternative education in the contemporary context as well as making alternative education options more visible and accessible. Much of this scholarship has noted the implications of the neoliberal policy environment that has in recent years contributed to an increased need for alternative education options. In Australia this is reflected most prominently in the introduction of a national literacy and numeracy curriculum, with a national testing system (NAPLAN), as well as the My School website, which has created a framework for competition among schools. As a consequence, students who appear to threaten to lower the outcomes for a particular school are more likely to be discouraged from attending or asked to leave (Mills & McGregor, 2018). An increase in second chance and flexible schools and programs is

therefore seen as vital in addressing the needs of the increasing numbers of students marginalised within the mainstream setting. Such schools are likewise seen as problematic, however, if they function as "holding pens" or "dumping grounds" for students alienated or rejected from mainstream schooling (Mills & McGregor, 2018, p. 80). Key themes in the literature related to addressing issues of educational change therefore include the potential these schools hold as "incubators of change" (te Riele, 2008) and the function they perform as symbols of possibility for a wider scale re-visioning of education along more democratic and socially just lines (Fielding & Moss, 2011; Mills & McGregor, 2014, 2018; Waters, 2017). As suggested above, however, the predominant focus in this recent literature has been on second chance schools and flexible program options, with attention rarely extended to philosophical alternatives.

For the purposes of this study Steiner education is defined as a philosophical alternative, understood here as referring to an educational practice that engages overtly with questions relating to the human experience (Nagata, 2007). In the case of Steiner education, alignment with a particular philosophy and knowledge tradition not only accounts for the "counter-orientation" (Plows, 2017): it represents, as a practice, the epistemology that informs this orientation in terms of its underlying philosophy. It contributes, in other words, not only to diversity within the educational landscape – or "edu-diversity" as described by Waters (2017) – in terms of variety in classroom arrangements, but also through diversity in epistemological depth. There is a distinction to be made between innovation to find better ways and forms for learning, on the one hand, and practices that work out of knowledge traditions underpinned by extensively articulated philosophies – including those that engage with existential questions of the human experience – on the other. This is not to say that one or other approach may be more appropriate or effective in any given setting, nor that they are necessarily mutually exclusive. Instead I argue simply that the distinction is available and, either overtly or implicitly, contributes to the contours of the alternative education landscape and, by extension, the broader educational landscape. Indeed, the study of alternatives in education is founded, at least in part, on the acknowledgment that such alternative practices are being enacted – a sheer fact that in itself helps combat the "dictatorship of no alternatives" too often felt to exist (Fielding & Moss, 2011). Firstly, what has been constructed as "mainstream" and "alternative" is not a natural or necessary binary, as will be discussed further in chapter two. And secondly, the scholarship on alternative

education itself reflects an implied opposition, I argue, between addressing questions of social justice through recognition of the manner in which schools are structurally implicated, and practices animated by questions of deeper meanings and understandings. The former reflects consideration of the reproduction of class inequalities (Reay, 2010) for example, from which alternatives accessed by the middle class may understandably be exempted, despite the fact that they too may hold answers for addressing the alienation experienced within mainstream school settings. A key premise of this study is that structural approaches that seek socially just outcomes ought not exclude approaches interested in the epistemologies of connection and pedagogical presence rooted in deeper knowledge traditions, such as are evident in Steiner, Montessori and Reggio Emilia education for example. As noted above, this is not to imply that questions of equality and structural distributions of power are not vital, nor the needs of marginalised youth not urgent. But rather it is to suggest that, as studies such as Lambert's (2015) examination of Steiner education as a living expression of Freire's pedagogy of freedom have shown, such approaches stand to contribute to a widened conversation and understanding of the possibilities that contemporary alternative education stands to offer.

1.1 Overview of the study

This study examined the establishment of Steiner schools or programs, mainly in the state of Victoria, during the approximate period of 1970 to 2010. Based on semi-structured interviews with 40 Steiner educators involved in these programs, the aim was to document the lived experience of these educators. The term Steiner educator is defined broadly in this study to include advocates or parents who also became involved in either teaching or managing the schools that were the part of the study. Interview prompts centred on the circumstances of each participants involvement with the initiatives, the practical circumstances of the initiatives itself, and the experience of working with the educational ideas of Rudolf Steiner in these places and times - including how these ideas were conceived as alternative. Documentary data, such as newspaper articles and school newsletters were accessed where relevant to supplement the oral accounts. Throughout each account the broader context that shaped and helped constitute these experiences is touched on. Drawing on Sagarin's (2011) notion of "generations" as applied to the history of Waldorf education in the United States, as

well as Mazzone's (1995) account of the "founding years" and an "expansionary phase" for Steiner education in the history of Steiner education in Australia, three broad periods are identified in my thesis. These cover a founding school period (1970s), a second-generation school period (1980s) and a Steiner stream period involving the move of Steiner education into publicly funded school settings (1990-2010). Six school sites or programs were examined. Filling a gap in historical literature on Steiner schools in Victoria, most of the schools examined were in Victoria, although some interviews with participants from South Australia, New South Wales and Western Australia and the Australian Capital Territory were undertaken, and the national context is referenced throughout. Findings and outcomes of the study have been presented in the four refereed papers (two book chapters, two history of education journals) and one article under review for an education journal (Appendix (D) which accompany this exegesis.

1.2 Overview of the exegesis

The purpose of this exegesis is to provide framing and linking material that account for the incorporated papers as a coherent body of work. Included is a further contextualisation of the research problem, justification of the theoretical framework adopted, a review of the relevant literature, and an account in detail of the research design, showing how the individual papers link to the broader research problem. This exegesis also presents conclusions on the contribution to knowledge of the study as a whole along with a consideration of the limitations of the study and indications for future directions. Counter to tradition, the methodological section is presented here first – in the following chapter – because it provides an overview of the individual papers in some detail and a justification for the overall approach taken. While the three historical papers in the suite of five papers all touch on the evolving context both for Steiner education and for alternative and mainstream education, the separated treatments of these are brought together in the focus on the literature presented in Chapter 3. Similarly, the examination of the mainstream education context presented in the two contextualising papers is drawn together and extended chapter 3 also. The picture that emerges is of a changing backdrop for Steiner education in Australia that is initially animated by the possibility of educational change and social transformation in the first half of the 1970s, as symbolised by the election of the federal Whitlam Labor Government on the back of the "It's time" slogan, and the formation of the Australia

Education Commission. As this optimism stymied in the face of economic downturn later in the decade, it was steadily overtaken by a neoliberal, market-oriented orientation for education that formed its replacement (W.F. Connell, 1993). While the initial alternative education initiatives that came to the fore in the 1970s were still coupled with the wider impetus for humanistic social change and transformation (Smith & Crossley, 1975; Potts, 2007; Blackburn, 2015), alternative education itself became increasingly associated with second-chance and flexible learning options, as opposed to beacons of wider change and possibility (McLeod, 2014; Mills & McGregor, 2018). The evolving local connotations of the terms "progressive" and "alternative" in are discussed in more detail in Chapter three, including in context of the introduction of federal and state government funding for alternative and innovative initiatives in Australia from the 1960s onwards. The point is made here, however, that Steiner education itself both preceded the transformative impetus of the early 1970s, and outlasted it – at the most, surfing the wave of "opening up" that occurred at this time. As one participant in my study put it, Steiner educators saw Steiner education happening "alongside" the broader changes in the 1970s. However, as emphasised in Paper 2 of this study, the founders of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School (for example) were aware that Steiner education had been in operation for half a century in Germany by the time the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School was established, and so was neither innovative nor experimental in the manner in which a lot of alternative initiatives were thought of at the time (Bak, 2018; Middleton, 1980).

In addition to the historical development over time, the themes developed in the published articles are brought together in this exegesis in a manner not possible in the individual papers themselves. This is reflected in the three chapters below that position the papers in the methodology, the literature, and the potential for further study. Among these are the importance of the biographical backstories of the Steiner educators involved with starting these schools and programs and their engagement with the ideas of Rudolf Steiner often over significant periods of time. The three historical papers bring together not only the various threads of influence as can be traced back to the

pioneering anthroposophists in Victoria,[1] such as Anne Macky, Ernesti Genoni, Ileen and Peggy Macpherson and, most prominently of all, Alex Podolinsky, but the varied local circumstances that led to the establishment of each of the schools and programs examined. Considered together, these threads highlight the building of shared platforms of understanding that formed the foundation for the success most of these schools and programs enjoyed.

The methodological approach that informed the articles was drawn from biographical sociology in conjunction with oral history to conduct a form of history of the present informed by Foucault's notion of genealogy. Outlined in detail in chapter two, biographical sociology as developed by Bertaux and Delcroix (2000) and others allows examinations of social structure, including questions of discourse, marginalisation and power, while taking the historical circumstances of individuals, groups, and the broader context into account. Specifically, it acknowledges that human action and experience is socially constituted, but recognises the agency individuals and collective groups have to also shape the wider contexts they find themselves in. Oral history adds an interest in documenting the experiences of particular persons, as they happened, with verification in identifiable sources (Ritchie, 2011), allowing for acknowledgment of actions and experiences as constitutive in shaping historical outcomes. Together these approaches enable a methodological frame that can both document individual moments of importance and place these within a wider context of discourses and socio-political conditions that shape what is possible in practice. This approach therefore enabled accounts of the creation of these initiatives, for example, that acknowledged the manner in which differences between individual Seiner schools occur not only as a result of their differing sites and circumstance, but out of the imperative the philosophy itself holds for each school to "grow from its own soil" – as emphasised in paper 3. The notion of *educational sensibility* is explored in Paper 4 that focuses on Steiner streams, but can equally be applied as a lens to view the experience and practice of the participants who were interviewed, as individuals and, importantly, as a likeminded collective. Similarly, Reid's (2008) notion of education as an aesthetic object as applied

[1] Anthroposophy as a philosophical approach to the human self as outlined by Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) will be explored further in this chapter, and again in chapter three.

to Steiner education in Paper 2 helps bring into focus the embodied, non-binary nature of educational experience as conceived by Steiner educators at each of the sites examined, and beyond. Applied to the experiences captured in the other papers, it allows a reading premised on the notion that the experience of an aesthetic object is in part its own explanation, and not reducible to an explanatory account of it.

1.3 Researcher positioning

While not directly acknowledged in all of the incorporated papers, my researcher positioning as an insider-outsider researcher on Steiner education is discussed at length in Paper 1. Drawing on critical ethnography methodology, and auto-ethnography as outlined by Ellis (2011) and others in particular, the reflexive position I adopted for this project is outlined, along with a set of "struggles' that arose from consideration of commencing this study. In this paper I recount my experience as a student at one of the schools that ended up becoming part of my study, the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School, and my position as the member of the broader community of this school – including as a parent, and partner of a teacher employed at the school. I also recognise in the paper, at the same time, that I have no affiliation with this school in a professional capacity, that I am not a Steiner educator in any formal sense, and that am a researcher undertaking this study in a university context with the primary aim of contributing to academic knowledge. The point being that the advantages and disadvantages of insider-positioning is discussed in terms of the trust that it can engender, the familiarity with terminology and common understandings that could be of assistance, but also the potential need to draw out more explicit explanations and answers that otherwise might be left assumed or implicitly understood. These understandings informed all of the papers, even where there was no space to acknowledge them within the individual papers themselves.

Expanding on that paper here, the imperative that my own experience of Steiner education provided for this study is multiple. First, it rested in the simple recognition that it was timely to capture the history and accounts of pioneering and ageing Steiner educators while they were still able to provide these. As it turned out, three of the participants of this study: Alex Podolinsky, Pam Martin, and John Davidson passed away during its completion, reinforcing this point. A regret I have is that I did not take the opportunity to interview a fourth, Peggy MacPherson, who passed away in 2015 at

the age of 105 (Lovegrove, 2015). A second motivation for undertaking this study stemmed from my continued pursuit of making sense of my own experience of growing up in a community within which a certain type of rich intelligence was at play: one that, like a shell taken away from its natural surroundings of the beach, did not seem to roll over willingly into the logic of the broader surroundings (or what I now understand to be the wider "discourse") of the general community – including the academic community. Taken out of its context, it seemed lost and out of place, and the ideas somehow less vibrant. Yet, few experiences in the wider community, including the academic community, reflected quite the same sparkling crystalline displays of intellect that I now understand as heart thinking (George, 2007) and that Steiner referred to as Living Thinking. This concept is explored by Haralambous (2016) in the context of postmodern and post-structural theory, and that features in Sharmer's (2009) Theory U that focuses on "presencing", and that he refers to as the "intelligence of the heart" (2009, p. 26). The diagram in figure 1 by Haralambous (2016, p. 109), should make it clear, that by "thinking with the heart" I do not mean when someone has a big heart, and acts generously, as such a phrase might mean in general discourse – as precious and welcome as this might be – but something else.

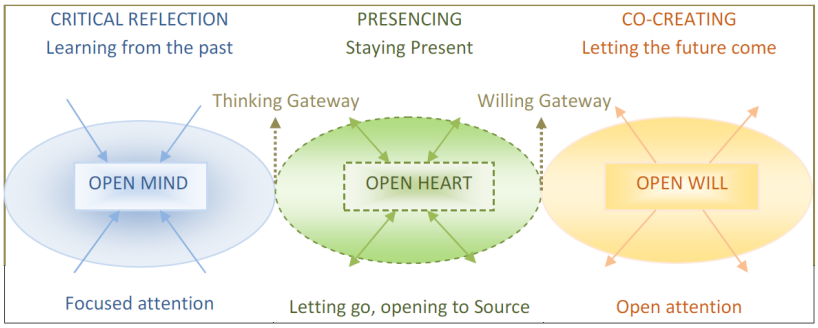


Figure 1. 1: Critical reflexivity, Presenting & Co-Creating (Haralambous, 2016, p. 109)

A third imperative for this study stemmed from my frustrated attempts to account for and reconcile the misunderstandings and dismissals of Steiner education that dominate public and even scholarly accounts. A good portion of these I now see as stemming from the simple fact of being an alternative within a context where, as emphasised in Paper 1, "even a description of an alternative can be taken as a critique of the mainstream". That is, alternatives tend to be positioned in opposition to each other, rather than contributing to an enrichened field of diversity. A further consequence for

alternatives which are based in different ways of knowing is the implicit subjugation of the terms set by mainstream conceptions and discourses. Even in striving to *hear* that "heart thinking" is not intended to designate more heartfelt attitudes and emotion-filled thinking, it can be difficult to escape stereotyping or entering into another discourse. The words of themselves do not convey the concept but, as Gee (2014) argues in his account of how discourses work, rely on context, built up through history over time. In the case of Steiner education, the potential for this type of misunderstanding is heightened by the sheer volume of concepts and ideas that fall outside of the common domain, but that nevertheless rely on being conveyed through the words available within it.

A further difficulty mitigating against an understanding of Steiner education that underpinned my experience can be found in the historical context of the enlightenment project, the scientific revolution, and modernity as an enterprise, that has sought to sort the wheat from the chaff through the mechanism of science: put crudely, materially identifiable "facts" are in, and mystical ideas are out. As Hanegraaff (2012) details, in his work *Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture,* the investment in a certain version of science has been systematic, forming a key blind spot within the contemporary academy. Under the enlightenment, Hanegraaff suggests, experiences that smack of the mystical are:

> delegated to the categories of "prejudice", "superstition", foolishness", or "stupidity". In that process of exclusion – and this point is particularly important to emphasise – they are tacitly divested of their traditional status as players in the field of history, and transformed into non-historical universals of human thinking and behaviour. In other words one no longer needs to discuss them as traditions, such as "Platonism", "hermeticism", or even "paganism", but can dismiss them as synonymous with irrationality as such. (2012, pp. 149-150)

And as a result, he argues:

> Enlightenment ideology eventually trumped historical criticism, leading to endless cases of historians showing deep embarrassment about the fact that their objects of research so often failed to live up to modern standards of rationality.

> Such embarrassment is clearly based on anachronistic projections, and does nothing to help us understand the historical realities under scrutiny. Indeed, if one of the most lasting achievements of the Enlightenment has been its insistence that "prejudice" in any form should be subjected to critical investigation, then there is no good reason to make an exception for the anti-"pagan,", anti-"mystical" and even anti-"religious" prejudice ingrained in the Enlightenment itself, partly from its Protestant roots, or to refrain from questioning the long term effects it has had on the practice of academic historiography. (2012, p. 151)

To the extent to which the philosophy of Rudolf Steiner, or more specifically Anthroposophy as the body of knowledge outlined by Steiner in his philosophical and other works, is connected to the gnostic or esoteric tradition referenced above, in other words, it is routinely subject to the type of a-priori dismissal described above. In terms of personal experience, this is the least easy to accept when the critic has made no attempt to demonstrate that they understand the concept being dismissed prior to doing so. With few if any exceptions, the participants of this study all experienced some level of the above phenomenon in the course of their professional, and also personal, lives. Some were not bothered by this personally, while others found it vexing, and even extremely challenging.

Given that this project was undertaken over a number of years, my relationship with the topic naturally evolved as the project proceeded. Discussed in more detail in both the following chapter and the conclusion, I emerge from this project with a clearer appreciation that for Steiner educators it is generally the inner life component of their professional practice that sets what they do apart and that recognition of this has largely been absent within the field but recently begun to be recognised through the contemporary contemplative turn in education (Ergas, 2019b). My discovery of-first-person, interior, research methodology (Sarath, 2016) as a similarly emerging methodology has also given me a clearer sense of where Steiner influenced practice might fit in the evolving field of contemporary research on education. Taken together these developments leave me optimistic that my aim of exploring the phenomena of Steiner education in a manner that helps sensemaking for both insider and outsiders to Steiner education is strongly placed. Having initially maintained an arms-length

relationship with Steiner based organisations, in the latter year or two of this project I have become more confident of my positioning as a professional in both the wider academic and within the field of Steiner related practice and study.

1.4 Steiner education in international context

Globally there are currently over 1,180 Waldorf schools and 1900 Waldorf kindergartens in over 70 countries around the globe (European Council for Steiner Waldorf Education, 2020). The original Steiner school, the Freie Waldorfschule, opened in Stuttgart, Germany in 1919, at a site purchased by the part owner of the Waldorf Astoria Cigarette Factory, Emil Molt. The school served the children of the factory workers initially, and was set up and guided by Steiner in light of the insights offered by Anthroposophy, the body of knowledge, at the heart of which lies the applied epistemology of the self, that Steiner set out – hence the term anthroposophy, or knowledge of the human being. The Steiner-Waldorf schools Fellowship of the UK and Ireland (2020) maintains that Steiner education:

- Works for all children irrespective of academic ability, class, ethnicity or religion;
- Takes account of the needs of the whole child – academic, physical, emotional and spiritual;
- Is based on an understanding of the relevance of the different phases of child development;
- Develops a love of learning and an enthusiasm for school;
- Sees artistic activity and the development of the imagination as integral to learning;

The International Forum for Steiner/Waldorf Education [Hague Circle] in 2016 outlined eight characteristics of Steiner schools, summarised as follows:

1) each school is unique in terms of its identity, reflecting its location and region
2) the curriculum is integrated and reflects an “inherent mirroring and composition across subjects in connected arcs spanning several years

3) learning occurs within a trust-based relationship of the child with the teachers and the surrounding space
4) an artistic approach fosters education of life and not abstract knowledge
5) structures and forms include stability and classes arranged by age not by standardised streams (among other things) for the children, and responsibility for the school as a whole, and the maintenance of an "inner and outer connection" through regular joint meetings for the teacher
6) an emphasis on entrepreneurial health is reflected through the gradual establishment of one class after another, where possible, and acknowledging that "every school initiative develops and grows"
7) the school is formed in a community and "parents, teachers, pupils and staff getting along together as people"; and
8) school governance is founded on teachers and parents being jointly responsible for the school.

The last two characteristics identified above are of the most relevance to this study, the key focus of which is on the felt experience of Steiner educators, broadly defined, in the context of their working a collective group to establish new Steiner schools or programs. The question of school governance is central to the experience of these educators but is not explored in any detail in this study.

1.5 The aim of the study

This study presents a consideration of Steiner education at three levels of focus, that are subsequently woven together across the individual historical accounts. The first focus is that Steiner education has represented an educational practice "against the grain" in a broad sense, in most if not all the environments in which it has found itself. Where it has been practised, Steiner education has represented a "counter-orientation" (Plows, 2017) to mainstream educational practice, enacting pedagogies of place (Boland 2016) connection and presence (Haralambous, 2016) which expresses an education that, in the words of Hougham (2012, p. 8) constitutes "a different kind of different". The second is that individual Steiner schools and programs themselves are a distributed phenomenon, in terms of concentration at any one locality, meaning Steiner schools and programs have constituted pockets of pedagogical difference in the educational landscapes they

have inhabited. They have also both been shaped by these environments, and, at times, helped shape them. The third strand lies in the experience of individuals and groups of Steiner educators themselves, firstly in creating a space for, and then in finding suitable localised expressions for, the educational ideas upon with Steiner education is based. From this perspective, I suggest, Steiner education is constituted through a consistent (counter) orientation, that is expressed in various ways at specific sites, and mediated through the experience and agency of specific individuals and groups. Taken together these strands are not monolithic, but involve different schools and programs, different localities and sites, and various groups and individuals, each evolving over time, both shaped by and to some extent shaping the wider landscapes and contexts within which they are enacted.

1.6 The research question

The formal research question for this study is:

What has been the story and experience of Steiner education as an educational alternative within the Australian education landscape?

Followed by the sub questions:

1. have Steiner educators conceived of themselves as striving for an alternative, and if so, how have they negotiated the positioning of themselves as 'other'? And how has this changed over time in Victoria? and,

2. has the practice of Steiner education been constrained by the social, educational or political discourses of the periods in question, and if so, in what ways have these shaped the experiences of Steiner education in Australia? And how has this changed over time?

These questions are discussed in more detail in Chapter two.

1.7 Arrangement of the study

There are three further chapters in the exegesis. The next chapter provides an extended account of the methodology and method used in the papers, considering them as a set of work. Chapter three then positions the papers in the literature, including the history of education, Steiner education, and contemporary scholarship on alternative education. The conclusion outlines the significance of the contribution of the papers individually, and as a set of work, and presents suggestions for future directions. Appendices A-E then present copies of the incorporated Papers 1-5 (the last of which is under review and the rest of which are published). Appendix F outlines a presentation on Steiner education seen through the lens of Slow education presented at the Australian Association for Education Research (AARE) Conference in Canberra, 2017. Appendix G includes an article on Steiner Education published in *The Conversation*, June 26, 2014. Appendix H provides details of the ethics application and approval for this study and Appendix I details the other conference papers given during the course of this project.

2. Locating the papers in the methodology

This thesis presents a recent history of Steiner education in Australia, with a predominant focus on Victoria, during the years spanning approximately 1970 -2010. In doing so, the aim is first to contribute to the broader understanding of the development of Steiner education as an alternative educational practice within the Australian context and, second, to examine the evolving socio-political and bureaucratic contexts that have provided the conditions for it. In relation to the first aim, the focus is on localised developments, with an emphasis on the lived experience of Steiner educators directly involved. In relation to the second aim, the often, although not always, constraining effects of neoliberal policies for philosophical alternatives such as Steiner education are highlighted in relation to the conditions for a deeper epistemological diversity within education. For the purposes of this study, philosophical alternatives are defined as educational practices or approaches which engage directly with existential questions of the human experience and that generally sit in contrast to the flexible learning and

second-chance alternative programs that have become more familiar over the last quarter of a century or so (Nagata, 2007; Stehlik, 2019). For both of the above mentioned foci, change over time is emphasised, with Steiner schools expanding from one school nationally in 1970 to approximately 60 schools or programs in 2010, and socio-political and bureaucratic context changing from an emphasis on departmental expertise and ownership, to a predominantly market based orientation, and with centralised administration being replaced by neoliberally informed policies of choice on the one hand and mechanisms of accountability on the other. The centrepiece of this study resides in the examination of the creation of six Steiner schools or programs, across three broadly defined time periods and phases. As is discussed in more detail below, the study sits in the "history of the present" tradition represented by Foucault's genealogy (Foucault, 1991; Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998), and draws on practice theory, Gee's D/d discourse analysis, oral history, biographical sociology, and auto-ethnography, in addition to educational historiography. The interest of the study lies not so much in either attempting to determine origins or charting institutional history as it does in making sense of, and beginning the process of accounting for, the localised experiences of the participants. In blending practice-based and historical approaches to trace the collective experiences of a particular educational community, the primary research methodology drawn on was Biographical Sociology, along with Oral History. Together these allowed me to capture the lived experience of Steiner educators at particular times and specific places, and to explore the manner in which these experiences are situated in the local, national, and to some extent international historical contexts. In addition to the theories mentioned above, these two approaches will be examined in further detail in the following section, followed by a detailed account of the method through which they were deployed. Firstly, however, a brief overview will be given of the five papers that constitute the core of this thesis by-publication, from the perspective of methodology: that is, what did these papers set out to do, and how did the approach taken in each case fulfil this task?

2.1 Overview of published papers

A brief overview of the published papers is provided below, beginning with the three historical papers. In these papers the experiences of particular Steiner educators involved with starting and teaching in, as well as managing, six particular schools or

programs are examined through analysis of semi-structured interview accounts of the circumstances of their involvement, as well as the practical challenges faced in the creation of each school. Following the historical papers, a brief overview of my paper on researcher positioning, as well as the overview locating Steiner education is presented. The order of the papers as they appear in Appendices A-E, it is worth noting, is slightly different, running instead from a focus on myself as researcher followed by a chronology running from the 1970s to the present – with the last presenting the exploration of Steiner education in the contemporary education landscape in Australia (despite being published first).

2.1.1 Historical Paper 1: 1960s-1970s

In the first of these papers (Paper 2, Appendix B), biographical sociology is drawn on to trace the circumstances of the establishment of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School (MRSS) in Melbourne's outer eastern suburbs in the early 1970s. The MRSS experience is placed in a broader context for understanding the development of Steiner education in Australia by being framed as a 'founding' school (Mazzone, 1995), in line with it being the first such school in Victoria, and the third nationally. The felt experience of those involved is foregrounded, along with the context for educational change and innovation in 1970s Victoria. The extent to which themselves to be part of the educational "opening up" that was occurring at the time is examined, and the suggestion made that while these educators did see their practice as representing change, they did not see what they were doing as innovative. Instead, the manner in which these educators sought to find a localised expression for an educational tradition that had been practiced for half a century in Europe, and particularly Germany, is emphasised. In attempting to provide an account that captures something of the terms in which those involved saw it, without necessarily delving into Steiner philosophical discourse itself, therefore, L.A. Reid's notion of artistic endeavours as representing a form of 'embodied knowing', is drawn, with the suggestion that

> an examination of the experience of Steiner education thus conceptualised enables a foregrounding of the quality of those experiences for those involved, and for bringing this into focus as 'the-thing-in-itself'. (Bak, 2018, p. 287)

Both the multiple and durable nature of Steiner education as an educational practice tradition is emphasised in the account, as well as the manner in which for many of those involved, engagement with Steiner education often proved profoundly transformative on both a personal and professional level. In relation to this, the not uncommon experience for this generation of Steiner educators of a sense of "homecoming" upon discovering the ideas of Rudolf Steiner is emphasised, along with the "journey into a different way of knowing" that engagement with these ideas represented for the majority, if not all those involved, often over significant periods of time.

2.1.2 Historical Paper 2: 1980s

The second historical paper (Paper 3; Appendix C) explores the creation of two Steiner schools in Victoria in the 1980s. The account frames the experience of the Little Yarra Steiner School, located thirty minutes east of Melbourne, and Sophia Mundi Steiner School, located in Melbourne's inner-city, as "second-generation" Steiner schools. Among the themes explored are the relationship of both of these schools to the local founding school, the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner, and the impetus for Steiner Schools, which are not centrally administered, to each find their own expression for the educational and philosophical ideas they are working with, responsive to time and place, and captured in the notion "each from their own soil". As with the first historical paper, the aim was to explore the felt experience of the Steiner educators involved, as well as to examine the socio-political and bureaucratic context within which these experiences took place. To this end, the impact of the federal New Schools Policy implemented in stages from 1985 onward (Dudley & Vidovich, 1995, p. 90) is examined, as well as the sense of possibility for alternative educational approaches in these places, at these times. In this paper biographical sociology enables an emphasis on the back-stories of the educators involved, bringing into focus the "platforms of shared understanding", built over considerable periods of time, that represent a not otherwise obvious contribution to the success of these two schools. This recognition was tied to the observation that inner-life work, as an applied professional concern, was for these educators a key marker of differentiation from both other alternative and mainstream approaches. Importantly, the supplementation of biographical sociology with an Oral History approach allowed, in this case, for the contribution of a single individual to make this distinction relevant to the entire group. Tied to this was the realisation by

many of those involved that, in establishing a new Steiner school, the "work" has to be done each time anew, and that the challenge of maintaining a shared vision for each school as it grew beyond its initial pioneering years was, at times, significant. In discussing the latter, the particular conception of "vision" as understood within the philosophy of Rudolf Steiner is foregrounded, as pertaining to inner work in combination with outer application.

2.1.3 Historical Paper 3: 1990-2010 (approx.)

In the third historical paper (Appendix D) biographical sociology enables an account of three Steiner stream programs that were introduced into publicly funded State schools in Victoria between 1990 and approximately 2010. It explores the ideological and political tensions that accompanied this move, in part, through the prism of educational sensibility of the practitioners involved. Defined, following Mills (1970), as that which lies between values and practice, *sensibility* is used to foreground the process of finding accommodation within this new context. In the case of the case of the first two programs – Moorabbin Heights Primary School (later East Bentleigh Primary School) and Collingwood College – this accommodation ultimately found success, while in the case of the third – at Footscray City Primary School – it proved unsuccessful in the longer term. The latter case underscores the precariousness of such initiatives and gives an opportunity to explore the nature of the ideological and political tensions and uncertainties at play, particularly as they manifest in the realm of practice. Biographical sociology enables a rich descriptive account here that explores the manner in which misunderstandings and ideological concerns are amplified, and the type of work called for to ensure such tensions are managed successfully. The move of Steiner education into the publicly funded school context in Australia is at the same time placed into the broader international context, with similar challenges and tensions, and at times polarised public debate, occurring in the UK, the USA and New Zealand and parts of Europe during this period.

2.1.4 Auto-ethnographic paper: Insider-Outsider researcher position.

In the first paper (Appendix A), auto-ethnography, and through this a biographical sociology applied to myself, is employed to explore my own insider-outsider researcher positioning in relation to this project, and to examine a "set of struggles" that emerge

from this particular project and the issue of exploring an alternative practice. Issues such as the implicit subjugation of alternatives to the terms characterised by mainstream conceptions and discourse are explored, and question of to what extent the contemporary context provides the conditions for the acceptance of a multiplicity of educational practice – or diverse ecology of practice – as opposed to the tendency to position alternatives in opposition, via a dominant discourse built on binaries. The manner in which this is reflected in the broader context of neoliberalism, NAPLAN testing and the *MySchool* website (https://www.myschool.edu.au/) is interrogated, in an attempt to bring together these broader structural issues and the localised "troubles" that stem from them.

2.1.5 Contextualising paper: Steiner in the contemporary Australian landscape

In the final paper (Appendix E), these issues are further explored in relation to Steiner education in the contemporary Australian context, extending the framing of this project as historical, but with an over-riding interest in the formation and implications of the conditions of the present. The conditions stemming from neoliberal policies in constraining, as well as offering affordances for Steiner education, are explored in some detail. While this paper does not foreground biography, it sets the context for Steiner education within the contemporary education landscape with a view to foregrounding structural conditions of possibility for Steiner education as a philosophical alternative within the context of a dominant discourse within which education is often posited in terms largely antithetical to the ideals and values that underpin Steiner education. The clash between the ideal of secular education with State education in Australia is contrasted with the acknowledgment of the spiritual dimension of the human experience that forms part of the underlying philosophy articulated by Rudolf Steiner, although not the practicalities of the educational practice itself. This is identified as a key source of tension in public debates and controversy regarding the ultimate closure of the Steiner Stream program at Footscray City Primary School, in Melbourne's inner West, in 2011. Explored in further detail in Paper 3, biographical sociology enables a foregrounding of these tensions and challenges as the lived experience of the participants interviewed.

The next section will outline in more detail the methodological approaches taken up in this study, how they are used, and their relevance to the purposes of this study when

considered together. I begin with biographical sociology before moving on to practice based theory, oral history and finally discourse analysis.

2.2 Biographical sociology

The primary methodology adopted in this study is biographical sociology, in conjunction with oral history.

2.2.1 What is biographical sociology, and where does it come from?

For most of the past century the prescriptive emphasis on generalisation and abstraction within social science has been accompanied by a lack of sympathy with methods focusing on particularities and idiosyncrasy (Rustin, 2000; Shantz, 2009). Following the linguistic and cultural turn within social science, as well as the increasing admittance of variety in scientific methods from the 1960s onwards, however, the door has been re-opened, at least partially, to the particular within social science. Most notably this has occurred at the level of acknowledgment of the individual; and from the 1990s onwards, the individual with agency (Rustin, 2000; Shantz 2009). This increasing acceptance of biographical methods within social science reflects an expanding recognition that the accumulation of facts "is no less limited where the facts in question are those of subjective experience, life stories, or oral histories", as Rustin (2000, p. 42) has put it. As an approach, therefore, biographical sociology can be seen as helping to resolve of an enduring tension in social science between the tendency toward the general, as derived from the empirical tradition within the natural sciences, and a tendency toward the particular, as have generally been relegated to sub-domains within social science such as phenomenology and psychoanalysis.

While they have not always been prominent, biographical approaches have nevertheless provided "a sophisticated stock of interpretive procedures for relating the personal and the social" (Chamberlayne, et al., 2000, p. 2). Indeed, within biographical sociology generally "personal and social meanings, as basis of action, gain greater prominence" as Chamberlayne et al. have put it (2000, p. 1). In assessing the possibilities of a biographical turn in the social sciences, Rustin (2000) has noted therefore that biographical sociology extends "the usual sociological practice by which individual

lives are shown to have meaning by their framing within previously established sociological categories" to include an ontological assumption "that biographies make society and are not merely made by it" (Rustin, 2000, p.46). In surveying biographical sociology as an emergent field in the social sciences, Shantz likewise concludes, in relation to the question of tying together the personal and social, that it represents "a unique approach to understanding individual-society relations [that moves] beyond stale structure-agency debates, to allow for a situated analysis of agency-in-structure, of the reflective individual engaging society (2009, p. 117).

Despite foregrounding the individual through the notion of biography, biographical sociology lends itself well to the examination of groups or social formations of people who are marginalised, or who live somehow apart. In part this is because in picking up on the resources provided by the cultural turn for "reflecting on emergent differences of world view" (Rustin, 2000, p. 41), biographical sociology enables engagement with traditions or practices from an epistemological base outside of the centre. Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1981) used this approach, for example, in their study of the French artisanal bakery, in order to examine why these practices were able to resist the industrialising processes that had taken over bread production in other parts of Europe. Why, they asked, was France, among all the industrial countries in Europe "the only one which still retains a large sector of small, 'pre-capitalist' family production", and why was it that "the peasantry, the small shopkeepers, and the artisans together" still amounted to "about 20 per cent of the active population"? (Bertaux & Bertaux-Wiame, 1981, p. 155). In describing the approach in relation to case histories of families, Bertaux and Delcroix (2000, p.71) further suggest that they see the approach as an extension of the "life stories" (Bertaux & Kohli, 1984) approach adding that:

> One of the properties of case histories of families is indeed to function as small mirrors of general cultural and social patterns, of societal dynamics and change; and the idea is, by multiplying them, to grasp these patterns and their dynamics of reproduction and historical transformation. We see, therefore, this method as a natural extension of the 'life stories approach' which we have used in research projects to study various social worlds (the artisanal bakery, immigrants in working-class suburbs) or various social situations (mixed marriages, divorced fathers losing contact with their children).

In applying the approach to the formation of a family, in one case for example, the following is identified:

> a stabilised system of interconnected actors, a small organisation complete with goals, a stable division of labour, roles, norms and sanctions, with strategies turned either outwards or inwards, experiences being passed on, exchanged, imitated, rejected; with conflicts over values, beliefs, styles of conducts; with, therefore, internal dynamics (Bertaux & Delcroix, 2000, p. 74).

While it takes into account the individual, the focus is here on the experience and circumstances of a group, or social formation, wherein the members are "embedded in nets of strong, reciprocal commitments and feelings", and where "their actions, life decisions, life paths interact with each other" Bertaux and Delcroix (2000, p. 73).

Where this approach is applied to groups on the margins (Trimmer, et al., 2015) it seeks to not just understand the group, but to reveal "the social logics up against which [these] people live their lives", as Brandt (2014, p. 8) has emphasised. In doing so, importantly, recognition is given to the capacity of members of marginalised communities to produce insights into the mechanisms that produce and sustain their marginalisation (Shantz, 2014, p. 121).

2.2.2 What does biographical sociology enable in this study?

Biographical sociology aligns with the interest in processes of formation of what becomes enacted common sense that is evident in Foucault's genealogy (Foucault, 1994; Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998; Garland, 2014). Genealogy focuses on "the unconscious operation of historically specific epistemological structures that function as the unthought conditions of possibility of specific ways of thinking and of generating statements" (Garland, 2014, pp. 369-70). Its intention is to use historical research to "disturb contemporary conceptions and help bring about change" (Garland, 2014, 371). As Garland has put it:

> Genealogical analysis traces how contemporary practices and institutions emerged out of specific struggles, conflicts, alliances, and exercises of power, many of which are nowadays forgotten. It thereby enables the genealogist to suggest – not by means of normative argument but instead by presenting a series of troublesome associations and lineages – that institutions and practices we value and take for granted today are actually more problematic or more ‘‘dangerous’’ than they otherwise appear. (Garland, 2014, p. 372)

The aim is not to trace origins but rather to examine how conditions of possibility came about for what has become taken for granted, and unconsciously accepted, and enacted. In keeping with this focus on the present, biographical sociology is closely attentive to the manner in which sense making occurs, and reoccurs, as an in-the-moment process within interviews with participants, and how participants do this in the form of narration to a particular interviewer, is given explicit attention (Shantz, 2009; Brandt, 2014). The manner in which this relates to and differs from Oral History will be examined in further detail in a subsequent section. Suffice to say that, in looking at Steiner education in specific sites at specific times, this study is as much interested in a generating a critical genealogical account that “disturbs what was previously thought immobile: … fragments what was thought unified:… [and] shows the heterogeneity of what was imagined consistent with itself’’ (Foucault, 1991, p. 82), as it is in documenting the experiences of a particular group of educators. As O’Neil and Harindath have emphasised in relation to biographical sociology as a critical approach, it “can provide alternative narratives and praxis (purposeful knowledge) that may feed into public policy and ultimately help shift the dominant knowledge/power axis embedded in current governance” (2006, p. 50, cited in Shantz, 2009, p. 125).

A second reason why biographical sociology is useful for the purposes of this study is that while an interest in social formations, processes and structures is retained, it allows for the generation of understanding in terms of stories and narrative as much as itemised, or atomised, findings or outcomes. Shantz suggests that (2009, p. 113) biographical sociology is an approach used by researchers to produce “relational and institutional stories affected by history, culture, and social structures”. To the extent that it enables the exploration of situated meaning through “stories” of institutions or groups, biographical sociology enables an approach that allows me to directly address

my research question of "what has been the story of Steiner education as an educational alternative within the Australian education landscape?" For the critical purposes of this project, indeed, it was the observed lack of either public or professional narrative in relation to Steiner education in the Australian context, both within the popular and professional educational domains, that constituted the "felt concern" that formed a key prompt for this study.

Biographical sociology acknowledges, further, that the stories it produces are also affected by the researcher (Shantz, 2009, p. 113), enabling a reflexive approach through which my insider-outsider relationship to the Steiner education community in Australia could not only be acknowledged, but harnessed as an asset, as long as it was carefully handled (Labaree, 2002; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). As Trinh Minh-ha has argued, self-reflexive critique situates a study personally and political, "interrogates the realities it represents" and "invokes the teller's story in the history that is told" (2013, p. 118, cited in Shantz, p. 123). As Spry has noted further, "self-reflexive critique upon one's positionality as a research inspires readers to reflect critically upon their own life experiences, their constructions of self, and interactions with others within socio-historical contests" (2001, p. 711, cited in Shantz, 2009, p. 124). Within this context, my own biography as a past Steiner education student, and member of the broader Steiner education community in Melbourne, Victoria, as well as my identity as an emerging member of the academic research community, formed the basis of an "insider" understanding that formed a valuable starting point for this project. The considerations that come with insider-outsider researcher positioning are necessarily complex, however, and are examined at some length in Paper 1 (Appendix A). Suffice to say here that the fact that from the point of view of a standard university ethics committee in Australia Steiner educators are considered "outsiders" in relation to the general educational community, is itself telling of the conditions for diversity of educational practice within the Australian context. That I am therefore considered an insider-outsider, for the purposes of this project, is likewise an important part of this story – requiring a methodology that can acknowledge this.

A fourth consideration relates to the interest in biographical sociology in what is referred to as the "felt", or "lived", experience of the participant. Both of these words contain both motion and point to emotion, pulling the attention of the researcher and the

reader into the realm of the particular in a manner that aligns with important recent developments in the social sciences. Most particularly these can be seen in theoretical and philosophical interest in affect and emotion, and in the interest in performance in the theoretical field of socio-materialism. Shantz (2009, p. 116) suggests, citing Ellis (1999, pp. 669-70) that in this work "actions, emotions, and ideas are featured as relational and institutional stories influenced by history and social structures that are themselves engaged in dialectical relations with actions, thoughts and feelings". The "turn to affect" as it has been termed (Clough & Halley, 2007), can be seen, Wetherell has suggested, in the outlook which accompanies it:

> [a]n interest in affect badges a particular theoretical attitude or standpoint supported particularly by the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze, but also the philosophies of Baruch Spinoza, Alfred North Whitehead and Henri Bergson. In the hands of these proponents, the turn to affect becomes a decisive shift away from the current conventions of critical theory, away from research based on discourse and disembodied talk and texts, towards more vitalist, 'post human' and process-based perspectives. (2013, p. 3)

The interest in liberating "static" notions can likewise be seen in theoretical domains such as socio materiality, in which, Barad suggests (2003, p. 802):

> The move toward performative alternatives to representationalism shifts the focus from questions of correspondence between descriptions and reality (e.g., do they mirror nature or culture?) to matters of practices/doings/actions. I would argue that these approaches also bring to the forefront important questions of ontology, materiality, and agency.

Replacing the geometrical optics of reflection common to social constructivist approaches, which is seen to involve a "representationalist trap", physical optics and the notion of defraction is instead drawn on. In this view:

> What often appears as separate entities (and separate sets of concerns) with sharp edges does not actually entail a relation of absolute exteriority at all. Like the diffraction patterns illuminating the indefinite nature of boundaries—

> displaying shadows in "light" regions and bright spots in "dark" regions—the relation of the social and the scientific is a relation of "exteriority within." This is not a static relationality but a doing—the enactment of boundaries—that always entails constitutive exclusions and therefore requisite questions of accountability. (Barad, 2003, p. 803)

2.2.3 Rudolf Steiner's epistemology of movement

This concern with the static trap of representationalism finds affinity with key aspects of Rudolf Steiner's philosophical thought, which can be seen to be based in an epistemology of movement. Evident in the constant referral in his work to forces, this epistemology is also evident in the drawings that were a feature of Steiner's lectures, with "their quickly executed lines", that embodied "traces of a living thought process" (Zundick, 2008, p.58). Much of the discourse common to Steiner educators has for a century or more reflected a language of becoming, and performativity. Terms such as "working with" are common among Steiner educators when talking about the evolving, ephemeral and inherently dynamic processes and forces involved in living, growing, children (Steiner, 1970). The processes of rhythm and breathing are likewise given central attention in Steiner education (Steiner, 1970; de Rijke, 2019). It is worth noting also the manner in which Rudolf Steiner's work consistently seeks to *characterise* rather than define, as an instantiation of avoiding the "trap" of "representationalism.

2.2.4 Rudolf Steiner's pedagogy of presence

The equal focus given in Steiner education to "head, heart and hands", corresponding to the faculties or capacities of thinking, feeling and willi, respectively, reflects an emphasis on affect and emotion (Dahlin, 2017; Stehlik, 2019). Steiner educators both acknowledge an inner life for themselves, and in the growing child. In the kindergarten years the teacher aims to address the will of the child through imitating/doing (hands). In the primary years the teacher addresses the feeling life (heart) of the child through stories and the imagination. In the high school the teacher addresses the intellect of the child. That is, upon reaching puberty the child moves on from gaining nourishment from the picture images of narrative to wanting to know now how this or that really works – how it really is. Truth matters for the child in a different way at this point. Suddenly thinking is not enough, it also matters that thinking is correct (Steiner, 1970).

At the same time, the teacher in Steiner education is encouraged to work to be aware of their own thinking, feeling and willing and to develop and utilise these in their educational work. This inner work is carried out partly through the saying of verses or meditative exercises, and partly through cultivation of a positive, constructive attitude – and through doing. It is the striving, however, that counts, more so than the achievement (Steiner, 1970). Key to these processes is an interest in the attempt to be consciously present for students, and for others. This effort might be taken for granted or understood in different terms in other contexts, but as touched on in Section 1.5, can be seen with Steiner education as a form of "presencing" that is consciously and intentionally applied (Haralambous, 2016). For some Steiner educators, joining in the "teacher's verse" that is communally spoken in the mornings within most Steiner schools is as far as this goes in a formal sense, while for others it is in the focused study, exploration, and development of Anthroposophy as a practice and specific set of possibilities that the effort lies (Hougham, 2012). To the extent that Anthroposophy represents a type of anthropology of the self, these efforts are often more practical than might be imagined. In foregrounding the felt experience of participants, biographical sociology, as with qualitative methods generally, enables acknowledgement of the inner life of the participant. This is particularly important in a project engaging with a knowledge tradition that not only acknowledges the inner life but is founded upon it in a direct and particular way.

While imagination plays a specific role in the epistemology of Rudolf Steiner (Steiner 1987; Nielsen, 2004), it also looms large within biographical sociology through the plea for quality in C.S. Mills' *The Sociological Imagination*. Mills maintained that "the sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society" (1970, p. 12). This capacity, he argued, "enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals (1970, p. 11). Delineating between the "personal troubles of milieu, and the public issues of social structure" (1970, p. 14), Mills maintained that it was the "social scientists' political and intellectual task… to make clear the elements of contemporary uneasiness and indifference (1970, p. 20). For Mills, then, data is to be found in the personal, inner experience, of individuals, of members of a milieu, and in the structural conditions that link personal troubles to

issues of social structure. For the purposes of this project, the challenge for myself is to expand my own imaginational frame to appreciate the conceptual framing for inner-life work within Steiner education, as a professional pedagogical consideration. As Spry has noted even though biographical sociology "can interrogate the politics that structure the personal, yet it must struggle within the language that represents dominant politics" (Spry, 2001, p. 722, cited in Shantz, p. 124). For my participants the notion of a contemplative practice professionally applied within education was rarely understood or appreciated as an educational idea outside of their own milieu as Steiner educators at the time they were starting new Steiner schools.

2.3 Practice and practice architectures

In turning attention more directly onto practice itself, it is worth noting that while the general slant within education research has been the establishment of effectiveness, studies within a sociological mode tend to foreground patterns of social distancing, power, and affordances and constraints. Critical variants of such approaches can seek, further, to foreground powerful patterns of – often unintended – exclusion, and to highlight the processes through which these occur. In part this has resulted from the increasing recognition from the 1960s onwards of the ways in which education not only emancipates but also functions to reproduce social privilege and exclusion (R.W. Connell, 1993). A subsequent interest in practice that is attentive to processes of power and exclusion – what is seen as natural and reasonable and what is excluded, and how – has become a prominent strand in sociological and philosophical studies related to education. In focusing of practice however, it has been pointed out that what precisely is meant by this term is not always as clear as it might be:

> [Practice] is a term that circulates incessantly, and seems constantly and sometimes even compulsively in use, without always meaning much at all. Rather, it seems to float across the surface of our conversations and our debates, never really thematised and indeed basically unproblematised, a "stop-word" par excellence. So it is important to be clear at the outset that practice is not simply the Other of terms and concepts such as 'theory' or 'policy', as conventional usage would have it, though it might be linked in interesting ways to them. (Green 2009, p. 2)

Contributing to greater clarity in relation to "practice" within an educational research context, Kemmis and others have introduced the notion of practice architectures. Practice, they suggest, are composed of "sayings, doings and relatings that hang together in the project of a practice" (Kemmis 2014, p. 55). These 'saying, doings and relatings', are made possible within a site through "cultural-discursive arrangements that support the sayings of a practice, material-economic arrangements that support the doings of a practice, and social-political arrangements that support the relatings of the practice. These distinctions relate closely to Gee's (2014) "saying, doing and being", and similarly acknowledge change over time – that is historical views – and practice traditions built up over time. As Kemmis et al. (2014, p. 52) point out, practice is always reflexive, and "shapes the consciousness and identities of participants". Importantly for the purposes of this study, in connecting to views that see practice as "shaped but not determined by the places where they happen" (Kemmis et al. 2014, p. 3), the theory of practice architecture is linked to Schatzki's notion of *site ontologies* (2002, 2005, 2010, as cited in Kemmis et al., 2014, p. 3) and is therefore capable of examining a community of practitioners within a tradition that is both localised and evolving in relation, and in connection to its broader environment.

Developed in the context of critical participatory action research within education, the theory of practice architectures offers the following definition of practice:

> A practice is a socially established cooperative human activity in which characteristic arrangements of actions and activities (doings) are comprehensible in terms of arrangements of relevant ideas in characteristic discourses (sayings), and when the people and objects involved are distributed in characteristic arrangements of relationships (relatings), and when this complex of sayings, doings and relatings 'hangs together' in a distinctive human social project. (Kemmis at al., 2014, p. 52)

As outlined earlier, Kemmis' sayings, doings and relatings are made possible by arrangements found or brought into particular sites in the form of cultural-discursive arrangements, material-economic arrangements, and social-political arrangements. Together, these form an inter-subjective space, it is argued, where cultural discursive

arrangements are shaped in shared semantic space – "where we encounter one another in shared language", where physical space-time arrangements are shaped by the space "in which we encounter one another in a shared material reality", and shared social space arrangements are shaped by the manner "in which we encounter one another amid pre-existing relationships of power and solidarity" (Kemmis et al., 2014, p. 77). The theory of practice architectures connects to practice *traditions*, acknowledging the manner in which practices are built and evolve over time.

As a researcher I am both a part of an academic research community and a member of the Steiner education tradition which I am researching. Some of the challenges involved in this insider-outsider researcher positioning are explored in Chapter 3 (Paper 1) below, drawing on auto ethnographic methodology, and literature on the complexities of negotiating insider-outsider research. The stance taken within my project, however, is no less critical than that outlined above, with irrationality, unsustainability and injustice representing a value-orientation that prompt important questions in relation to the experience of Steiner education in Australia, here seen from the perspective of the experience of Steiner educators themselves.

The material-economic, and social-political arrangements are touched on throughout the historical papers. This can be seen in relation to funding arrangements and registration and bureaucratic requirements in terms of the outside conditions and affordances for Steiner education over the various periods examined, as well as the internal arrangements such as the college of teachers' arrangement of distributed leadership that is common to Steiner schools, an emphasis on doing and integrated curricular activities for example. The historical papers have perhaps provided less opportunity, however, to overtly examine the cultural-discursive arrangements that are shaped in shared semantic space nor, where they do, little opportunity to conduct any form of discourse analysis of any specificity or depth. While the papers do not include mention of these theoretical approaches directly, they are included here because they informed important analytical choices. This is reflected in terminology employed – such as the term practice for example – as well the manner in which biographical sociological approach is utilised. Before moving on to examine discourse in further detail, it is important to consider what oral history adds and enables in this study.

2.4 Oral History

At the heart of oral history, Ritchie (2015, p. 1) has noted, is the "collection of memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews". With a multidisciplinary foundation, oral history is used by historians, sociologists, anthropologists, and ethnographers, as well as community historians, volunteer health workers, and a vast amount of others. While oral history represents a broad church, it is commonly agreed that it is based on a conception of research wherein meaning isn't "waiting out there" to be discovered, but where meaning rather is generated during the research process (Leavy, 2011, p. 7). Indeed, Portelli has argued, in contrast to historical documents, "oral sources are not *found*, but *co-created* by the historian (2005, p.1). The term oral history refers both to what historians hear, and what they say or write and Portelli (1998, p. 23) has also put it, "what the source and the historian do *together* at the moment of encounter in their interview (Portelli, 1998, p. 23). In this sense, according to Portelli (2005, p.1), oral history is "primarily a listening art", wherein the interviewer and participant – or the historian and the narrator – embark on a dialogic exchange, resulting in a mutually constructive encounter. Oral history as a complex sequence of

> verbal processes and constructs generated by cultural and personal encounters in the context of fieldwork between narrator(s) and historian derives from to a large extent from the rich heteroglossia resulting from a dialogic shaping of discourse. (Portelli, 1998, p. 23).

Personal testimony produced in the oral history interview, Abrams has noted, mediates between personal memory and the social world, with the interview representing an "entry point from the present into the culture of the past" (2016, p. 19). Depending on the field of enquiry, however, differences in conventions reflect differences in aims and orientations. While sociologists and anthropologists are interested most of all in identifying types, conditions and discernible patterns, anonymity and pseudonyms for the individuals and communities they study is commonplace. Historians by contrast are often interested in documenting the experiences of particular persons, as they happened, and "expect verification through identifiable sources" (Ritchie 2011, p. 11). The interest in this study in examining the lived experience of the Steiner educators in Australia

during this period, extends both to analysing the conditions and context that both shaped and provided the conditions for their individual agency, and to the details as to who did what, to what, effect, and when.

As noted above, oral history, like biographical sociology, revolves around the interview, but as guided by slightly different aims and orientation. Relevant to both however are questions relating to memory, as well as to the ways in which the interviewer affects the interview itself. In terms of the former, 'memory studies' is an area of relevance to anyone engaging in oral history interviews. As Ritchie (2011, p. 12) points out:

> Oral history relies on people's testimony to understand the past, while memory studies concentrate on the process of remembering and how that shapes people's understanding of the past. Memory studies are often more interested in how facts are remembered and in distortion of facts then in the facts themselves. But since oral historians deal so directly with long-term memory, they have incorporated memory studies into their own methodological discussions.

Insights from memory studies are extensive and include the acknowledgment of life stages. From as early as the 1960s it was recognised that "as people grow older, they go through a mental process of 'life review'. Long forgotten memories return and grow vivid as people sort through the successes and failures" (Ritchie, 2011, p. 12). For several decades, likewise, the role of the interviewer has been acknowledged. As Thomson (2011, p. 81) outlines:

> In an article published in the *Oral History Review* in 1997, Valerie Yow argued that from the late 1980s a new oral history paradigm permitted 'awareness and use of the interactive process or interviewer and content'. Oral historians were increasingly alert to the ways that they were affected by their interviews and how the interviewer, in turn, affected the interview relationship, the memories it generated, and the interpretative process and product.

As a consequence, Thomson (2001, p. 88) has argued:

> At its best, the interview is a dynamic, dialogic relationship that encourages active remembering and meaning making. The interviewee may start by performing fixed or rehearsed stories, but in the process of remembering, and with the careful encouragement and gentle probing of the interviewer, more complex and unexpected memories may emerge".

Likewise, in an interview, participants may make new sense of their memories and themselves, and:

> Memory stories create identity and, in turn, our identities shape remembering. Who we thing we are now and what we want to become affects what we think we have been. Our memory stories will be subtly changed by our current identities and aspirations. Memories are thus significant pasts that we compose to make a relatively coherent – though not necessarily comfortable or painless – sense of our life over time. (Thomson 2011, p. 90)

At the same time, oral history can prove challenging for the researcher:

> Universally, we encounter the tendency of oral history to confound rather than to confirm our assumptions, confronting us with conflicting viewpoints and encouraging us to examine events from multiple perspectives. Oral history's value derives not from resisting the unexpected, but relishing it". (Ritchie, 2015, p. xiv)

In the current project this played out in relation to question 5 of the interview prompts (see section on method below), which asked: *What and who did you feel yourself to be aligned with? And in what ways/what ways not? a) Counterculture? b) Progressive education? c) Other?* By and large this prompt generated polite but short responses, to the effect that while there was an awareness that other alternative educational schools and programs existed, some if not all of which had laudable gaols and intentions, there was very little affinity felt with them in any practical sense. The problem for my analysis here was not one of being confounded by multiple perspectives, but rather a common perspective that I had not anticipated, and for which I had not prepared to ask follow up questions about as to *why* there was not a feeling of shared enterprise with

these other initiatives. Perhaps Pam Martin, founding member of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School revealed how distinct Steiner educators feel when she responded to the question if there was a sense of camaraderie and connection to the progressive ERA school which was next door to the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School in the location where it first started, to which her response was: “No. No, our entire focus was a Steiner school. You know, anthroposophy” (Paper 2, Bak, 2018, p. 5). At the core of anthroposophy is a relationship to the self, systematically set out, which is not entirely unique, but unique of “differently different” enough for the participants for none of those interviewed to express a feeling of common values shared with other educational alternatives. For these educators both mainstream practice and other alternatives remained like classical or folk music in contrast to jazz – different not so much in material or medium, but in fundamental orientation. Indeed, the metaphor of improvisational jazz music reflecting an epistemological counter-orientation that mirrors the interest of Steiner education in unscripted creativity enabled through rigorous preparation is discussed in the following chapter. First however, the role of discourse analyse in my approach will be discussed.

2.5 Discourse analysis

While not discussed directly in the incorporated papers, this study has also been informed by discourse studies. While biographical sociology was the primary methodology used, an awareness of the discursive power to include or exclude informed how this approach was used. In recognising the role of language in the mediation of situated meaning and practice, the discursive turn has been underpinned by the recognition, as Usher has put it, that , “[s]ubjects and objects, people and world are co-constituted and mutually constituting” (Usher et al, 1997, p. 181). Discursive psychology, according to Strain, “acknowledges ‘difference’, the ‘de-centred’ subject and the centrality of language practices as media or instruments of power” (Strain, 1997, p. 370). The core analytical dimensions of such an approach are “knowledge, social relations and social identities”, while “the empirical ground on which investigation proceeds” can be found in power-laden linguistic transactions” (Strain, 1997, p. 370). The study of such transactions can be seen in the study of language in use, as Gee has put it, of discourse analysis. In expounding such an approach Gee maintains that “all language… gets its meaning from the games or practices within

which it is used, and further that "these games and practices are always ways of saying, doing or being" (2014, p. 5). In language, one is always either saying something, doing something, or being something. While the first if these may appear obvious, latter two, he suggests, can be more easily forgotten. When it comes to language, Gee contends, social goods "are always at stake" (2014, p. 8). In fact, language is a keyway, he argues, that "our world, our institutions, and our relationships" are made, "through how we deal with social goods." (2014, p. 10).

In Gee's view, Discourse analysis always has a point and is in this sense an inherently critical approach due to its capacity to reveal what was previously unclear in arrangements, and illuminating what is being either attempted, or actually done though language. In outlining his approach to discourse analysis Gee identifies seven things that can be built with language: (1) significance, (2) practices, (3) identities, (4) relationships, (5) politics – to build perspectives on the distribution of social good –, (6) connections, and (7) sign systems and knowledge (2014, pp. 32-33). Because of this role of language in "world building", he points out, any "proper theory of language" is in effect also "a theory of practice" (2014, p. 12). By practice, Gee means: "a socially recogni[s]ed and intuitionally or culturally supported endeavour that usually involves sequencing or combining actions in certain specified ways" (Gee, 2014, p. 33). Language and practices, he suggests further, "'boot strap' each other into existence in a reciprocal process through time. We cannot have one without the other" (2014, p. 33). In outlining discourse analysis as a theory, Gee introduces a broad and methodologically useful distinction between small "d" discourse and big "D" discourse. This distinction differentiates language in use, referred to as "little d" discourse, and language in combination with other social practices, reflecting behaviour, ways of thinking, values, perspectives, customs, and so on, in social groups, referred to as Big D Discourse. In regard to "Big 'D' Discourse", Gee maintains:

> When two people are engaged in discourse (language in interaction in context) they are communicating with each other via enacting and recognising socially significant identities. The identities are socially significant because various and different social groups construct, construe, use, negotiate, contest, and transform them in the world and in history. So when two people interact, so too do two (or more) Discourses. It is as if socially significant forms of life (identities), formed

> in history via social work, talk to each other – continue a long running conversation they have been having, by using different human bodies and minds at different times. (Gee, 2014, p. 25)

Big "D" discourse functions within communities, although individuals may belong to many different Discourse communities. Because of its emphasis on both the power inherent within discourse to include and exclude – make or break – and its emphasis on shared understandings, behaviours, values and perspectives – as well as the ability to compare Discourse communities that are unevenly matched in terms of power, Gee's approach is useful also in providing the grounding for examinations of alternative education practices such as Steiner education.

While there are numerous other varieties of Discourse analysis, such as that outlined by Fairclough (1989) for example, the direct and pragmatic nature of Gee's distinctions provide a useful layer of framing for the present study given that it is, at most, informed by a discourse analysis approach, rather than representing discourse analysis in any formal sense. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Fairclough's approach to discourse analysis, known as Critical Discourse Analysis (1989, 1995), or CDA, likewise enables analysis of texts, in the broadest sense, "as elements in social processes", and allows an oscillation between a focus on specific texts and a focus on the 'order of discourse' (Fairclough 2003, p.3). In this context, an order of discourse is defined as "a social structuring of semiotic difference – a particular social ordering of relationships amongst different ways of making meaning, i.e. different discourse and genres." And importantly, one aspect of this ordering is dominance: "some ways of making meaning are dominant or mainstream in a particular order of discourse, others are marginal or 'alternative'" (Fairclough 2001, p. 235). CDA provides a means, therefore, by which to examine how and why particular language and vocabulary is used, how particular rhetorical strategies are deployed, what the effect of those strategies may be (Bugg & Gurran, 2011, pp. 282-283), and how this reflects both broader social structures and power relationships. For the purposes of this study, the full CDA approach is not required, since I am concerned to generate the thick or rich description to enable the telling of the "history", in a narrative sense, of particular sites, communities, and the larger practice tradition. However, understanding the historical formation of particular Discourses and participation in them is an important element of understanding how

Steiner educators positions themselves and their work and are positioned at different times and places.

2.6 Method

The historical research involved in this study proceeded in stages, centring on the three periods identified: founding period (1960s), second-generation period (1980s) and a publicly funded Steiner stream period (1990 to 2010). Following a literature review, a plan was devised to examine one or two schools or programs within each period as a main point of focus. Eight to ten Steiner educators from each chosen school were invited to participate in a semi-structured interview about their experience in establishing the school, working with these educational ideas, and in what way they saw themselves as an alternative. In addition, one or two Steiner educators for one or two similar profile schools were also interviewed, to assist in making some generalisations, and identifying what might be more unique the particular school. 40 Steiner educators were interviewed in total, along with six in the UK as part of a field trip in 2017 to attend a History of Education conference. In the case of the first school, formal contact was made, with approval for the project obtained. For the subsequent schools and programs, due to the large number of staff no longer working or associated with the schools, and the cumulative contacts gathered in the process of the research for the initial site, the participants were contacted separately and invited to participate in the interviews. Ethics approval was obtained through Victoria University Ethics Committee HRE14-299 (see Appendix B for Plain Language Statement).

2.6.1 Research question and interview details

At each stage the research was guided by the following research question:

> *What has been the story and experience of Steiner education as an educational alternative within the Australian education landscape?*

and by the following sub questions:

1) have Steiner educators conceived of themselves as striving for an alternative, and if so, how have they negotiated the positioning of themselves as 'other'? And how has this changed over time in Victoria? and,
2) has the practice of Steiner education been constrained by the social, educational or political discourses of the periods in question, and if so, in

what ways have these shaped the experiences of Steiner education in Australia? And how has this changed over time?

The following set of interview prompts was developed to bring out core themes, with some minor adjustments or additions where a particular focus was relevant, for example interviews with participants involved in the Footscray City Primary School Steiner Stream included some questions about the controversies associated with the program.

1. What brought you to Steiner education personally?
2. What prompted the starting of a school? a) Who was involved? And b) what were the circumstances of the school as you recall them?
3. What challenges did you experience in setting up the school, in terms of a) Education Depts/ bureaucratic context, b) Political setting c), Local community response, d) Within the group itself?
4. Are there any incidents or key moments that you recall as being significant for the school, or for yourself personally at during this period?
5. What and who did you feel yourself to be aligned with? And in what ways/what ways not? a) Counterculture? b) Progressive education? c) Other?
6. What were the key challenges and/or impediments during the first decade of the school?
7. What were the key achievements and/or supports received by the school in its first decade?
8. What changes have you seen since that time, both in terms of successes and supports, but also in terms of new or different challenges?
9. How would you characterise the story of Steiner education in Australia, in relation to your experience with the [School/Program] over the years since its foundation?
10. Are there any other comments, in regards to what is a challenge, or key part of the story of Steiner education in Australia, or your experience, that you would like to make?

Six schools were selected for focus in detail. School were selected on the basis of being established in the phase or period in question, and for a prominent profile. The choice to focus on schools in Victoria was based on the identification that, unlike Sydney

(Mowday, 2004; Whitehead, 2001) and South Australia (Stehlik, 2002) no historical work had been undertaken on Steiner schools in Victoria to date. For the first two phases one or two participants from similar profile schools were also interviewed, to allow for some further generalisability. Similarity of profile was decided by similar establishment dates, and similar size. For Phase One this included a founding member of the Lorien Novalis Steiner School in Sydney and a founding teacher from Mt Barker Waldorf School in Adelaide. For Phase Two this included a teacher from Orana Steiner School in Canberra.

As the project developed, an application to present findings from the project at the joint ANZHES/UK History of Education Society Conference in Malvern, England, arose. The theme of the conference was Sight, Text and Sound in the History of Education, and the presentation title was “Journeys into an educational way of knowing”, subsequently developed and published as “‘Embodied knowing’: exploring the founding of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner school in 1970s Victoria, Australia” (Bak, 2018). In anticipation of travelling to the UK, visits were arranged with three Steiner schools and interviews undertaken with two or three Steiner educators from each. The schools were chosen for their diversity and included the first Steiner school established in the England, Michael Hall, in Forrest Row (established 1925), the first Publicly Funded ‘Steiner inspired’ Steiner school, the Hereford Steiner Academy (established in 2008), and a relatively young Steiner School, Calder Valley Steiner School in Hebden Bridge (established in in 2011). These visits and interviews provided valuable insight into the circumstances of Steiner education within a different international setting, providing greater clarity for examining the context for Steiner education in Australia (see Table 2.1).

Table 2. 1: Summary of study school and participant focus

Historical period	**Phase 1**		**Phase 2**		**Phase 3**	**UK**	**Totals**
Project study focus	**1970s-1980s Pioneer generation schools**		**1990s – integrated period (2nd generation schools)**		**2000s – Public funded context (Steiner streams)**	**Schools of diverse profile**	
Participant schools	Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School.	- Lorien Novalis Steiner School, Sydney. - Mt Barker Steiner School, Adelaide.	- Little Yarra Steiner School - Sophia Mundi Steiner School.	- Orana Steiner School, Canberra. - Gilgai Steiner School, Melbourne.	- Moorabbin Heights Primary School (later East Bentleigh Primary School). - Collingwood College – - Footscray City Primary School	- Michael Hall Steiner School, Forrest Row - Hereford Steiner Academy, Herefordshire - Calder valley Steiner School, Hebden Bridge.	
Participants numbers	10	2	16	2	8	7	**45 participants**
Target participants	Steiner 'educators' broadly defined to include those engaging with the philosophy and involved in starting and administering the school.						
Documentary data	- School Newsletters - School brochures, pamphlets or other publications - Local and state newspaper articles	NA	- School Newsletters - School brochures, pamphlets or other publications - Local and state newspaper articles	NA	- School Newsletters - School brochures, pamphlets or other publications - Local and state newspaper articles - Other Media coverage (radio shows etc).	NA	- School Newsletters - School brochures, pamphlets or other publications - Local and state newspaper articles - Other Media coverage (radio shows etc).

Table 2. 2: List of interviews

	Interviewee			
Date	**Project 1 (1970s)**	**Project 2 (1980-90s)**	**Project 3 (1990s-2010)**	**Project 4 - UK**
15/5/2015	Robert Martin			
15/5/2015	Paul Martin			
15/5/2015	Pauline Ward			
4/6/2015	Helen Cock			
11/9/2015	Jennifer West			
19/6/2015	Pam Martin			
5/7/2015	Norman Sievers			
19/1/2016	Alex Podolinski			
29/1/2016	Elsa Martin			
29/1/2016	Margaret Skerry			
9/4/2016	Adrian May			
3/9/2017		Alan Earl		
5/9/2017	Tim Coffey			
25/8/2017			Megan Young	
27/5/2017		John Alison		
20/6/2016		John Davidson		

14/11/2016				Jane Morris
15/11/2016				Nino Radoycin
17/11/2016				Silvie Sklan
17/6/2016				David Davidson
23/11/2016				Helen Corney
23/11/2016				Richard Bunzil
23/11/2016				Ingrid Lihon
16/2/2018		Wendy Duff		
24/2/2018		John Russell		
27/2/2018			Bob Hale	
28/2/2018		Caroline Schwab		
9/3/2018		Angelo Iezzi		
14/3/2018		Greg Burgess		
16/3/2018		Corinne Willowson		
27/3/2018		Johaness Schuster		
27/3/2018		Sue Schuster		
18/4/2018		Judy Abbott		
18/4/2018		Judy Weatherhead		
1/5/2018		Michael Nekvapil		
4/5/2018		Sandra Busch		
2/6/2018		Marcus Cox		
7/6/2018		Julia White		
21/2/2019			Sandra Zylberlicht	
21/2/2019			Thea McLean	
25/2/2019			John Goble	
25/2/2019			Joseph Kecskemeti	
27/2/2019			Wolfgang Maschek	
24/5/2019			Frank Stanley	

The Table 2.2 indicates the main school for which participants were interviewed. The majority of participants were involved with more than one school, and involvement with others was also touched on in their interviews. As result participants interviewed in relation to one school are occasionally quoted in relation to their experience with more than one school. Informed consent was obtained from each participant, in line with the Ethics Application approved by the Victoria University Human Research Education Committee HRE14-299 (see Appendix H). The unlikelihood of maintaining anonymity in light of the small size of the Steiner education community, at least in relation to Steiner education 'insiders' in Australia, was explained, and permission to use real names obtained. All interviews were conducted face to face, except one that was conducted over the telephone. Interviews were audio recorded except in the case of two or three who requested reliance on written notes instead. Interviews were subsequently transcribed either in full, or with partial transcriptions where analysis suggested the relevance was not high.

Access to the uncatalogued school archive was facilitated for the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School, but records were limited, and of little direct value to this particular study. For Sophia Mundi, the personal archive of newsletters of Judy Abbott were accessed, and for the Little Yarra Steiner School, the school newsletters, along with documentation such as pamphlets and photos were accessed in the school library during a school visit. A formal school visit to Sophia Mundi also took place, to gain a sense of the location and school grounds, in keeping with the importance of place within Steiner education and philosophy more broadly (Boland 2016). In keeping with reflexive research practice (Kemmis et al., 2014), a reflective journal was kept to record impressions, observations and thoughts that were later reviewed and occasionally drawn on for the analysis. The interview with Norman Sievers was conducted at Lorien Novalis Steiner School in Sydney and included a tour of the school. In addition to school visits, searches were conducted to identify material available online, mainly in local as well as state and national newspapers. Analysis for each school or program was conducted on the basis of reviewing and reflecting on the interviews in relation to developing themes, often through listening back to them to hear the inflection of the voices rather than reading the transcripts. This involved the type of cumulative process characterised as a by Kemmis et al. (2014, p. 177) as "a rolling, dialectical relationship between the new kinds of questions that arise as we analyse and interpret the answers—the evidence—that we have already collected".

2.6.2 Limitations

As with any project of this type, the study has limitations. The scope of this study is limited to six schools or programs, in the state of Victoria, during the first ten years or so of their existence. It covers only the establishment and first decade or so of the schools and programs examined and not the experience of maintaining a single Steiner school over the broad time period covered: 1970-2010. Defined broadly to include parents or founders that became involved in managing these schools as well as teaching in them, the focus has been limited to the experience of Steiner educators involved, and does not extend to the student experience, nor the parent experience. Where the educators interviewed are also parents of children at the school or program, interviews focus on their role as educators only. The studies of each site are exploratory and not intended to constitute institutional history, with participants limited to 8-10 for each

site. The focus on the experience of these participants is likewise exploratory, without aiming to produce more generalisable findings that interviews with a larger sample of participants might produce, although reflections on the tradition and local contextual issues help to raise wider considerations. For the three Steiner stream programs studied, participants are limited to educators within the Steiner program, with the scope not extending to the experience and views of mainstream teachers, managers of those schools, education department officials, teacher union representatives, or any other stakeholders. That said, the range of sites and three time periods allows for a consideration beyond any individual school and enables a foregrounding of questions of wider contextual features.

The focus in this study on the *creation* period of various schools and programs has meant that participants were likely to display a high level of engagement with Rudolf Steiner's philosophy. It is acknowledged that this is not always the case in Steiner schools as they mature, and a limitation of this study is that, due to a focus on "starts" of schools, the experience of being a teacher with little direct interest in the philosophy in an established Steiner school, is not included. A further consequence of the focus on the early years of a set of schools is that examination did not extend to the challenge for individual schools of maintaining a core group of educators with an active commitment to the philosophy over time, something which represents an ongoing quandary for many Steiner schools. Given biographical sociology and oral history were the main methodologies utilised in this study, it was outside of the scope of this study to engage institutional history, formal historiography in the form of transnationalism or other historical approaches that might otherwise have been relevant. Nor did potentially relevant theories of organisational development come into the design, although Chapter 3 and Paper 3 noted that Lievegoed's (2013) theory of organisational development that distinguishes a pioneering, differentiation and integration phase, each with their own characteristics) is often drawn on by Steiner practitioners to illuminate and anticipate the challenges faced by organisations as they move from their start-up years through to a more stable, but less flexible, existence as a mature entity.

In considering Steiner education as a philosophical alternative, it was outside the scope of this study to engage directly with other approaches that would be considered philosophical alternatives, such as Montessori education and the Reggio Emilia

approach, along with a number of Australian Indigenous knowledge based approaches likewise based in a deeper engagement with questions of human existence. Further, the focus on Steiner education as an alternative meant that consideration of issues relevant within the Steiner education literature itself, such as whether schools are applying the ideas of Steiner as they were intended (Oberman, 1998; Mowday, 2004), were only indirectly touched on. At least one participant expressed the opinion that Steiner "stream" programs had to make too many compromises to be able to still be considered Steiner education. Elsewhere this issue has been addressed by adoption of the term "Steiner-inspired" for publicly funded Steiner schools. Similarly, at least one participant was dismissive of approaches evident in other Steiner schools mentioned, particularly those in other states, in terms of their interpretation of Steiner's educational ideas. Such comments were rare, however, and as such did not become a focus of this study.

An additional reason they were not foregrounded was the recognition that a challenge that comes with being a minority practice is how internal disagreements can be framed by external detractors as damning, where similar disagreements on method or approach within the mainstream are treated as unremarkable. My insider positioning as a researcher was considered an advantage here, as participants could speak a bit more openly about such issues, without being concerned that I wouldn't see the bigger picture. Although such comments rarely came up, I was nevertheless conscious of paying careful attention in my attempts to discern the "more subtle truth" at play, and maintain a "delicate balance" of judgment, as outlined in Paper 1, in response to them.

A related limitation stems from the challenge of writing about an idealistic educational approach in such a way that the coherence of the ideas is conveyed, while acknowledging that those ideas are neither static nor always attainable in practice. Generally, the educators interviewed had a clear view of the compromises they were making, by necessity, and why. Capturing this in the written papers was less straightforward, however, due to the imperative to convey an overall picture first for readers not familiar with the approach. This was identified as one of the problems that face educational alternatives as a key portion of the word limit must by necessity be dedicated to outlining basic premises for readers. The limits of the scope of this study also determined that, with the exception of the Steiner stream program at Footscray City College, the schools and programs looked at were successful. What was not covered in

this study in other words was a look at the failures – quieter by comparison to the experience at Footscray – of the schools or stream programs such that as such as those at Caulfield Primary School and at Elwood College that also stopped at a similar time.

A further facet not explored in detail was the disappointments and sorrows that have been part of the experience of their involvement with these schools and programs for some Steiner educators. While not unique to Steiner education, the idealistic nature of the approach is often accompanied by an investment of time and energy into a project that does not always materialise as envisioned. This issue is briefly touched on in Paper 3 but is not covered in any depth. Where such feelings emerged, participants almost invariably also expressed pride nevertheless in what had been achieved, despite any lingering sense of personal or professional disappointment. For some this meant still needing to gather themselves in a certain way before entering the grounds of the school that they helped create, however, while others at the time of interviewing were only beginning to reconnect with the schools that they had helped establish, with one having just been reconnected with the school recently and invited to contribute almost as "an elder".

A limitation is also seen in what was not able to be included in terms of events, participants, or other key aspects of the story of these schools and programs. Among the most notable omissions is the influence on Steiner education in Australia of British Steiner educator and author, Francis Edmonds. Edmonds was a long-time teacher at the Michael Hall Steiner School in England, and the founder of Emerson College for the study of Steiner philosophy and teacher education, also in England. As West writes in an account of Steiner education in Australia written in 1994:

> He visited Australia on at least 4 occasions and on these visits he would give talks to both the public and parents associated with Steiner schools. These were often truly inspirational, and many people would come away fired with enthusiasm for this form of education and ready to work towards the establishment of a school." (p. 186)

The importance of Francis Edmonds for the establishment of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School was noted by the participants of this study particularly in his challenge to the group to set a starting date to put their ideas into action (Bak, 2018, p. 295). Finally, methodologically, the use of biographical sociology enabled a focus on the felt experience of participants that at times clashed with the oral history approach. An advantage of this was an approach centred on the question of the meaning of alternative in a way that allowed questions of power, discourse and positioning to be brought into play, but at some expense of a historiographical approach that might enable more focus on nuance and individualised dynamics and agency. The latter would not have enabled the more pointed contribution or critique of the scholarly literature on alternative education however, and it was a balance, or tension, that was acknowledged throughout.

Before moving on to situate this study in the literature, a next to final note on the methodology outlined in this chapter is that it has not been a common approach in research on Steiner education. It is an approach that helps to understand Steiner education as a tradition, not just a collection personal views or a set of principles. It ties the study of Steiner education in with contemporary methodological developments and is significant also in providing an approach applicable to the study of other traditions.

3. Locating the papers in the Literature

This chapter positions the issue of the recent history of recent Steiner education in a wider framework of scholarship than afforded by any one of the constituent papers. The two issues addressed are (1) how Steiner education is to be understood historically and contemporaneously, and (2) the fact that Steiner in Australia and elsewhere tends to be positioned as 'alternative' to the mainstream. In addressing this first issue, I point out that Steiner's educational ideas are not intended as a neat set of ideas, leading into discussion of anthroposophical traditions evolving in Australia. Next, the history of progressive education in Australia is touched on, before considering Australian Steiner scholarship. This work is then placed within a brief overview Steiner education scholarship internationally, with a particular focus on the USA and the UK. In addressing the second issue I introduce two guiding concepts or metaphors employed in this study to exploring the counter-orientations evident within the Steiner education approach – those of the rhizome and of improvisational jazz music. Following this I examine question of neoliberal policy environments in relation to alternative education in Australia, as well in the context of the USA and the UK.

3.1 Steiner education in historical and contemporary context

3.1.1 Historical context

While Rudolf Steiner articulated ideas relating to education as early as the 1880s, it was not until 1919 that the first school based on his ideas was opened, in Stuttgart, Germany. Steiner education was not unique at this time in finding an expression for humanist and natural values in education, in response to the recent tragedy of the great War. For a period following the Great War, in Europe and the Global North, an emphasis on a more humane and open approach, as associated with progressive education values, gained significant traction. The ideals of the New Education Fellowship (NEF) in particular presented a counter to what many saw as the corrosive effects of an education characterised by the cold efficiencies of conservative educational aims and practices (Brehony, 2004; Howlett, 2017), and the avoidable tragedy of the previous decade. Mazzone (1995) has speculated that, had Steiner not been German, he would likely have been invited to the first NEF Conference in Calais in 1921, and his approach gained wider recognition earlier. Paull (2011) has chronicled how Steiner's education lecture series in Oxford in 1922 performed to some extent the same function,

however, of spreading of his ideas, at least in Great Britain, if not the wider English-speaking world. As touched on in Paper 2, Melbourne Composer Anne Macky was present at these lectures, and was part of the study group that provided, from the late 1920s onwards, the beginnings of a platform for the eventual establishment of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School in Victoria in 1972. By August 1922, when Steiner presented his lectures at Oxford, the Stuttgart school had grown from its initial 150 student enrolments to 700 (Paull, 2011, p. 54). By 1930 there were over a dozen schools, in over six countries and by the 1970s almost 200 around the globe, with over forty in operation in Germany Europe. In the year of its centenary, 2019, Paull and Hennig, claiming that today it is "the world's leading alternative education system" (2020, p. 29) mapped 1,958 Steiner kindergartens, in 70 countries and 1,184 Steiner schools in 67 countries, for a total of 3,124 educational entities in 74 countries. This does not include teacher education programs and courses, nor Anthroposophically based universities, such as Rudolf Steiner University College in Oslo, Norway, or Alanus University of Arts and Social Science in Alfter, Germany, that since 2010 co-publish the Research on Steiner Education (ROSE) journal.

3.1.2 Not a neat system of ideas

As Dahlin has noted of Steiner education, "Rudolf Steiner's philosophy of knowledge and reality and its relation to so-called Waldorf or Steiner education is hardly known at all among educational thinkers" (Dahlin, 2013, p.69). He further pointed out, in examining the relevance of Steiner education to education today, that:

> To give a comprehensive view of Steiner's educational thought is not easy, considering that Steiner never summed up his ideas on education in a systematic way (hence, the many introductions to Waldorf education that have been written after Steiner's death). One reason why Steiner did not write such a book is probably lack of time. However, the main reason may have been that, as Steiner himself says, *Waldorf education is not intended to be a neat system of educational ideas and principles, but an impulse of awakening* [emphasis added]. To capture such an impulse and express it anew about a hundred years later requires more than intellectual orderliness. There is a certain conflict here between the norms of academic discourse, and the essence of the subject presented. (Dahlin, 2017, p. v, my italics)

In introducing the approach used in a Steiner school, Rudolf Steiner suggested that the method:

> cannot be formulated in abstract theories. One cannot say point one, point two, point three, but only that the science of spirit that makes us familiar with an evolving human being and comes to know what it is that looks out of the eyes of a child, and what speaks in its struggling legs. And, because he is familiar with the human being, his knowledge of anthroposophy not only lays hold of his intellect that can systematise, but the whole human being that feels and wills. The teacher approaches the child in such a way that his method takes on a living existence so that every young individuality, even in larger classes, he can adapt and change his method according to what the child needs. (Steiner, 1970, p. 24)

As Steiner's point of focus is guided by the concepts and distinctions developed in a body of work comprising 35 books and 6000 lectures, succinct summation is often difficult not only due to the expansive number of topics, but because context for the ideas engaged with is often central to their meaning. It is often the understandings he is speaking *out of* rather than any singular idea in isolation that carries the import of what is being said. Given that this study centres on the experiences of Steiner educators themselves, the experience of reading and engaging with these ideas is included within the broad view of the study. The manner in which Steiner's texts function as "performative" is touched on in Paper 2 (Bak, 2018, p. 292) and proved helpful for my own engagement with these texts during this study. The distinction offered by Sherman of Steiner's work as falling into three broad categories of "things I know, things I'm interested in, and things that I have no idea what to do with", proved useful also, along with the observation that Steiner's writing is demanding precisely because it asks personal participation" (Sherman, interview, 2013). In Sherman's estimation the continuing importance of Steiner's work can be seen in:

> [first] the place of the human being in Steiner's imaginative vision, [second] the cosmological aspects of Steiner's vision, in proving a much larger and more immediately resonant vision of what the cosmos involves, and the third would be Steiner's account of the evolution of consciousness and how that situates

> human life and activity today and gives a kind of way of looking back and understanding, imaginatively entering into an understanding of previous times and epochs.

In discussing Steiner's positioning of the human being, Sherman observes that:

> we discover ourselves in modernity suddenly cut off from various places of centrality that we used to have, and one likes to talk about the various decentrings of the human being with Copernicus and Darwin and Freud, and so forth. But Steiner provides a way of thinking through the human being's importance that doesn't undo any of those moments. Doesn't rely upon an illusory picture of ourselves that's been falsified by science, or something like that. But still thinks the role of the human as of fundamental cosmic and even theological importance… So the human being becomes a site in which the entirety of the cosmos is flowing into and being transfigured and flowing out of. And Steiner's word for this is often times Sophia, or wisdom. And I think this is part of the reason for the very name of Steiner's organisation Anthroposophy – its Sophia of the Anthropos. It's the wisdom of the human being as the site of this extraordinary cosmic cauldron of transfiguaration, moral responsibility, and creative activity.

Rather than attempt a summary, some excerpts from Steiner's writings on education are provided that both illustrate the practical focus of these texts, but also the types of consideration at play.

> Here I am touching on one of one of the most significant problems of knowledge. If a child is to develop his judgment too early, he takes in forces of death instead of forces of life. The only right course is that the authority of the teacher, by his words and his deeds, gives the child a natural faith. The teacher, who is the real representative of the world as far as the child is concerned, does not prepare him through the control of understanding or the capacity to form judgments, but through his own living person he prepares him to evolve further in his contact with the person as a living person himself. Life can only evolve with life. We make the child into a real citizen of the world by presenting him with a world in a living human being, and not by an abstract kind of observation, and abstract, intellectual concepts. This can all be characterised in a few sentences but it presupposes that we are able to follow in detail

how the forces of the child evolve from day to day. Then the way the teacher brings something through the door into the class will have the effect of the child striving towards its own life out of what he experiences in the teacher. We do not then have to subscribe to such an amateur viewpoint as: learning should bring joy to the child. As you know, many people say this today. We should only try and see how far such an abstract principle gets us! In many respects learning cannot bring joy to the child, but we should bring sufficient *life* into the work of the school that the children retain their curiosity for knowledge even if it does not give them joy, and the whole way in which the teacher teachers should be a preparation for what the children have to learn from him.

Table 3. 1: Steiner, 1970, pp. 44-45

In considering the above excerpt, it is important to note the age of the child is relevant, and also that what is referred to as forces of death and life are not used poetically here, as based on distinctions developed in detail in Steiner's writings.

Today we possess a magnificent science of language, from which education can certainly learn a very great deal. But it regards speech as something detached from the human being. Anyone schooled in the science of spirit does not look at speech as something outside himself that he has somehow to get hold of, but because the science of spirit always takes the whole human being into account and really knows how to apply its content to life, he learns how the vowel sounds of speech when used by the child combine with an inner warmth in his feeling life, whereas he learns with consonant sounds the will is stimulated.

Table 3. 2: Steiner, 1970, p. 28

The focus here is on the experience of Steiner educators in applying these ideas. The epistemological orientation towards warmth as an inner pedagogical consideration stands in contrast to the more generalised concept of warmth that attracted interest within alternative education more broadly in the 1970s, as noted for example by McLeod's history (2014). It is this further level of qualitative detail that lays the epistemological foundations for the platform for those involved with it which renders Steiner education qualitatively different from both mainstream and other alternative practices. It is this qualitative difference that Hougham (2012, p. 8) refers to when he notes that Steiner education is often experienced by those involved with it as "differently different" and that "radical astonishment", to borrow a term from Clough (2004, p. 372), is felt by those upon first encounter with these ideas, discerning in them

a more tangible hold on what aspects of life that they had previously only known vaguely.

For the reader not familiar with Steiner's work, the notion of "inner activity" in a practical sense, may not be immediately apparent yet, as Boland suggests, "any earnest study of the work of Steiner or of Steiner education leads quickly to the realisation that the most fundamental and possibly the least talked about task of the teacher is the development of their inner life" (Boland, 2019, p. 21). What this might entail is addressed throughout Steiner's work, and is the central mechanism upon which the body of knowledge he termed Anthroposophy is predicated. Although sometimes treated as such, this knowledge is not set *against* mainstream scientific insights and understandings – as I emphasise in outlining the metaphor of Jazz music later in this chapter. Rudolf Steiner was acutely aware that such an approach would be subject to the shorthand of ridicule – as opposed to rational argument – in the manner honed and weaponised by enlightenment thinkers over the past two centuries (Hanegraaf, 2012, pp. 163-4), and attempted to chart a course through this dilemma:

> These crazy anthroposophists one can naturally say: they assume that the human being not only has a physical body, which our physiology and biology studies, which as a corps is so carefully investigated by them, but he is also supposed to have an etheric body, an astral body – one is supposed to be able to recognise it if one energetically pursues particular exercises in the soul and strengthens one's thinking to the extent that the whole human being becomes a kind of supersensible organ – if I may use Goethe's expression – so that he is able to see more than one sees in ordinary life of the outer world and of human existence. One can make fun, as I have said, of the 'crazy anthroposophists' who speak about the supersensible being within the physical nature of man. But even without introducing these ideas into the school itself, ideas which are based upon conviction derived from sound knowledge, and not from weird ideas, those who are to teach and educate the child gain the possibility of looking at the evolving person in such a way that he can approach the innermost being of a child through what he has learned about as a being of body, soul and spirit. (Steiner, 1970, p. 24).

While there is not space here for any but the barest overviews, the human being in the account of Rudolf Steiner participates in three worlds:

> the physical, soul and spiritual worlds. We are rooted in the physical world through the material-physical body, ether body, and soul-body; we come to flower in the spiritual world through the spirit self, life spirit, and spirit body. But the stem, which roots at one end and flowers at the other, is the soul itself. (Steiner, 1994, p. 58).

In explaining the approach in the first Steiner school, Steiner refers to Anthroposophy as informing the approach for the teachers only, and reiterates that the distinctions offered are in no way "against present-day experimental psychology and educational methods":

> External experiments are carried out on the children to find out how the thinking, the memory, and even the will work. Rules and laws are then supposed to be worked out according to the various statistics that have been gained. It is true that an anthroposophical thinker and educator can make good use of such statistics, but if one sees in them the be-all and end-all of the entire foundation of educational method and practice, one only provides the proof that one has come nowhere near the real being of the child. Why is it necessary to experiment? It has to be done because the immediate and imponderable relationship which existed in earlier and – if I may use the expression – patriarchal times between the soul of the teacher and the soul of the child has disappeared under the influence of modern, materialistic education. The experiments result from the fact that there is no longer any real feeling for what happens in the child. And it is precisely the fact that these experiments are purely external ones that proves the inner, immediate relationship, has been lost, and now must again be sought with all the power that is available. (Steiner, 1970, p. 25)

It is this sort of distinction that Robert Martin had in mind when he said of education in 1970s that "there was no space to talk about what a child is", in citing motivation to start the first Steiner school in Victoria – as explored in Paper 2. It is a premise of the

current study that unless the reader gains a sense of the flavour of these ideas, as opposed to absorbing a mere catalogue of their features – important as these might be – then they will struggle to form a picture of the experience of Steiner educators which this study is attempting to capture.

3.1.3 Anthroposophical traditions in Melbourne and Sydney

Anthroposophical ideas attracted interest in Australia as early as the 1920s. These ideas were found relevant both to fostering inner understandings and outer application in various fields including biodynamic farming – the system of farming introduced by Rudolf Steiner – the arts, economics, medicine and architecture. In Sydney the suburb of Castlecrag was designed by Walter Burley and Marion Mahoney Griffin – also designers of Australia's capital city, Canberra – based on anthroposophical ideas, complete with outdoor theatre (Haven Ampitheatre) for the production of anthroposophical plays and performances in which they also participated (Watson, 1998; Paull, 2012). The Griffins encountered Anthroposophy while living in Sydney in the 1920s. Marion became a member of the Anthroposophic Society in Australia (ASA), also known as the St John's Group, in 1930, while Walter joined in 1931 (Mazzone, 1995). Like many early anthroposophists, they had initially been inspired by the Theosophical movement, but ultimately saw in Anthroposophy a more practical endeavour (Watson, 1998). The Australian section of the Anthroposophical society had been established in 1922, by Lute Drummond, Ruth Ainsworth, Lucy Badham, Ruth Beale, Edith and Robert Williams and Francis Hertzberg (Mowday, 2004). Edith Williams had met Steiner in Europe and brought her interest back to Australia with her, contributing to a thriving community based in the suburb of Castlecrag in particular. From a historical perspective, the legacy of the Anthroposophical work of the Griffins in Australia remains in the buildings they left behind and the landscape architecture they pioneered in Australia.

Included in the legacy of the work of these early anthroposophists as a whole, however, was the establishment of the first Steiner school in Australia, the Glenaeon Rudolf Steiner School, in Lane Cove, Sydney, in 1957. Key among the founders was architect Eric Nichols, who had been assistant to the Griffins' architectural office, initially in Melbourne, and later in Sydney, where he stayed permanently. As Mowday has noted in

her history of this school, the Glenaeon Rudolf Steiner School, however, "the development of Anthroposophy in Victoria took place independently of Sydney" (2004, p. 29). In addition to Nichols, and exception is evident also in Alice Crowther (1892-1967), who set up the first Speech and Eurythmy studio in Sydney in 1941, later replaced by the Harkness Studio (Harkness, 2016). Prior to moving to Sydney Crowther had a distinguished career as a performer and teacher in Melbourne (Bak, 1996) where she had taught speech at Anne Macky's Conservatorium for Music, and where through the influence of Anne Macky, she had been introduced to Anthroposophy (Mowday, 2004, p. 30). A pioneering music educator, Anne Macky (1887-1964) established the New Conservatorium for Music in Melbourne in 1917, which she ran from its commencement until 1932 (O'Brien, 2004; Bak, 1996). The objective of the institution was "to provide a high standard of music education and to encourage the study of the arts in a broader context, on the premise that study in other disciplines resulted in an improvement in one's own particular area of endeavour" (O'Brien, 2004, p. 73).

Having attended Rudolf Steiner's Oxford lecturers in 1922, Anne Macky found in anthroposophy not only a lifelong interest but a *raison d'être*, including for her teaching and her composition. In 1928 she commenced study group meetings with Italian artist and pioneer biodynamic farmer, Ernesto Genoni (1885-1975), who had trained as an artist at Milan's Brera Academy and first visited Australia in 1912. Genoni served as a medic for the Australian Imperial Forces in the Great War, including as a stretcher bearer at the Somme, before being conscripted 'back' by the Italian Army. Following the war, he spent several years in Europe where in 1920 he met Rudolf Steiner at his Goetheanum, designed to honour Goethe this was a centre for anthroposophical work in Dornach, Switzerland. Genoni spent some further time in Dornach studying painting with an Anthroposophical approach in 1924. Following Steiner's decline in health and subsequent death in 1925, however, he returned to Australia, where he took up running Dalmore Farm in Victoria. Genoni formally joined the Experimental Circle of Anthroposophical Farmers and Gardeners (ECAFG) – the founding body for biodynamic agriculture worldwide – in 1928, nominating Dalmore as the experimental site, and becoming the first Australian member and Australia's first biodynamic farmer (Paull, 2014, p. 62). This was the same year he met Anne Macky. In 1933 Genoni met Ileen Macpherson, who would become his life partner, and who joined him on his pioneering farming quest, along with her niece Constance (known as Peggy)

MacPherson (Paull, 2017). Both were active in the Anthroposophical society – also known as the Michael Group – "bringing speakers out to Australia, coordinating events and expanding the membership of the society" from which growth, it would be noted in Peggy's obituary in 2015, "the seeds were planted for the establishment of the first Steiner School in Victoria" (Lovegrove, 2015). Genoni became leader of the Michael Group in 1962 (Paull, 2014) eventually handing over leadership to Alex Podolinksy, who, as outlined in Paper 2, was instrumental in establishing the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School in 1972. Podolinsky's influence can be found in every Steiner school in Victoria today in some form, schools such as the Orana Steiner School in Canberra, as well as in Steiner education communities in South Africa and New Zealand. This is in addition to his pioneering work in biodynamic farming in Australia, and in later years also in Europe (Lee, 2019).

Macky's unique approach to music education – including offering courses comprising a wide range of subjects (O'Brien, 2004; Bak, 1996), along with pioneering work of McPherson and Genoni – helped build the platforms of shared understanding that made possible the establishment of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner school. Their work can be seen in relation to transnationalism in the history of education, and, in the case of the first two, of the transnational history of women educators (Whitehead, 2016), as noted below. It is outside the scope of this study to examine the relationship between Theosophy and Anthroposophy, other than to note that Theosophists who were leading educationalists were also often women, having a large hand in organising the early New Education Fellowship conferences, and the New Education movement more generally. While Jill Roe was not entirely incorrect in suggesting that the interest in Theosophy and its associated values fell away in the period immediately after WWII and that "no one thought of alternative spirituality as the way forward" (Roe, 1998, cited in Mowday, 2004, p. 29), centres such as the Theosophical bookstore in Melbourne nevertheless continued to act as thriving cultural centres, as touched on in Paper 2. The 60 Steiner schools and programs in operation in Australia today, along with the availability of biodynamic farming produce in most major food outlets nationally, are further testament to the continuing relevance of these practices, even if membership of the formal societies is no longer of high interest to many of those involved.

3.1.4 Progressive education in Australia

Mazzone (1995) has argued that Steiner education can be seen to fit into the progressive tradition within education in a broad sense. Despite noting the difficulty of providing a singular definition of it, Lawson and Peterson (1972, p. 1) nevertheless characterise progressive education as:

> an unorthodox kind of education concerned with the progress of the child and the progress of society. Such progress is helped by an emphasis on experience that is meaningful to the child, self-directed activity and freedom coupled with shared responsibility.

The ideals and values of progressive education can be traced at least back to Rousseau's novel Emile, published in 1762, which advocated following the way of nature and allowing the child to be left free, as well as the influence of Froebel (1783-1852) who introduced the kindergarten. In Australia, progressive ideas drawing on Thomas Arnold's Rugby model in England were taken up in elite private or corporate schools from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, as were ideas drawn from Cecil Reddie, who established Abbotsholme in England in 1889, from the 1990s onwards (Lawson & Petersen, 1972 Connell, 1995). The latter moved away from a focus on the classics to place focus on English, modern languages and science (Lawson & Peterson, 1972, pp. 3). While progressive ideas continued to slowly make their presence felt, the period during and following the Great War saw a significant further surge in interest.One educator of influence during this period was Lillian de Lissa, an early childhood educator from Adelaide. , De Lissa attended the second international course held by Maria Montessori in 1914 and was impressed with the emphasis on individual students evident in the approach, but felt that the methods of Froebel, which had been taken up in Australian kindergartens, were more flexible. Her amalgamation of the two approaches subsequently became standard in pre-school education in Australia (Connell, 1995, p. 161). De Lissa founded the Adelaide Kindergarten Training College in Australia (1907-1917) as well as the Gipsy Hill training College in London (1917-1947). Her influence also extended to the USA and other parts of the globe (Whitehead, 2016).

During the interwar years there was considerable interest in progressive education developments from the United States, including John Dewey's book from 1916, *Democracy and Education*, and the Dalton Plan, which involved projects and assignments catering for individualised learning. Influential also was the New Education, as mentioned above. The New Education Fellowship(NEF) Conference, that toured Brisbane, Sydney, Canberra, Melbourne, Hobart, Adelaide and Perth in 1937, representing a "watershed" in Australian education, following which cri, The NEF had been founded in Europe in the 1920s by a group led by Beatrice Ensor, who was a Theosophist. The group actively cautioned against over-prescriptive syllabuses and promoted approaches that included artistic activities and supported the physical health and development of students (Campbell & Proctor, 2014). Schools influenced by these approaches include Preshil, established in Melbourne in 1931, Koornung, which ran on the outskirts of Melbourne from 19391946 and Quest Haven which ran in Sydney from 1935-1940 (Lawson & Petersen, 1972). Although these new developments were largely halted during the war years, and under the conservative governments of the 1940s and 1950s,between 1965 and 1985 a renewed interest in educational experimentation took hold, and the period saw a flourishing of innovative and alternative schools and programs. In the 1970s the visits of Ivan Illich, advocate of deschooling, and Paolo Friere, known for his "pedagogy of the oppressed", garnered interest, along with a revival of interest in A.S. Neil's writings on his child-centred school in England. In addition to a wave of new alternative schools being formed, such as the School with No Walls in Canberra, and the ERA school in outer Eastern Melbourne, interest in alternative experimental approaches was also taken up within State education departments either in the setting up of small secondary "community" schools, or sometimes programs within larger secondary schools (Connell, 1995, p. 167). The approach often centred on community engagement, and usually featured participatory democracy arrangements, and innovative approaches in or outside of the classroom. From the 1960s onwards the federal government began to influence educational change through the provision of subsidies to States, and from 1973 with the election of the federal Whitlam Labor Government, funding was extended to independent schools – in response to the need to support Catholic schools – but also to encourage innovations in education. This period has been described as something of a "golden age" for independent schools in Australia (Campbell & Proctor, 2014, p. 227). As noted in Paper 2, Connell notes a Montessorian revival at this time, with almost 100 Montessori

schools in operation in Australia by the end of the 1980s, sixteen of which had primary level, and two with secondary level students (1995, p. 168). Connell adds simply that, "[a] few Steiner Schools were also developed". In fact, by the end of the 1980s there were 31 Steiner schools in operation nationally, all of which offered primary classes and 14 of which also offered secondary classes (Mazzone, 1995a, pp. 55-56). Connell's influential account of the *Reshaping of Australian Education 1960-1985* does not provide any more detail about Steiner education while in Proctor and Campbell's (2014) history of Australian Schooling, Steiner education is not mentioned.

In considering how progressive influences have played out in the Australian context Connell has characterised it as a series of "side eddies" to mainstream education, some of which bobbed about in the mainstream for some time before petering out. In some instances, however, they also stayed to become an integral part of the mainstream, albeit often in a somewhat changed form (Connell, 1995, p. 351). Although the principles of progressive education became a focal point for some schools and programs, it was nevertheless often individuals that took up these ideas. Indeed, Connell (1995, p.157) has identified four ways in which progressive education was taken up and made an impact in Australia. The first was through example schools, the second through the influence of teacher-educators, the third through the influence of parental and social networks, and fourth through sympathetic and dynamic administrators in Education Departments. Connell suggests further that these four ways loosely correlate to the periods spanning of the early twentieth century, the 1920s and 1930s, 1940 to 1965 and 1965 to 1985. The latter period is of most relevance to this study. The manner in which progressive education was overlain with the equally malleable, but nevertheless differently oriented nomenclature of "alternative" education from the 1960s onwards is discussed in more length in the second half of this chapter.

3.1.5 Historiography of Steiner education

In reviewing historical work on Steiner education internationally, Dhondt, Van de Vijver and Verstate note that historiography on progressive education tends to focus on "the years of foundation interwar period on the one hand and [on] current practices on the other, in that way largely neglecting the developments during the second half of the twentieth century" (2014, p. 640). They likewise note that apart from histories of some

of the larger schools, written mainly by "insiders, and of a rather celebratory kind" there exists an "almost complete lack of studies on the history of [Steiner's] achievements with regard to education" (p. 645). The two exceptions they note are the published doctoral dissertations of Ida Oberman (1998) and Stephen Sagarin (2011). Both examine the development of Steiner education in the United States, which is divided into three generations by Oberman, and to which a third is added by Sagarin, as detailed below. The first generation of "Europeans" spanned from 1928 to the Second Word War; they tried to hold as much to the original model Steiner had introduced in the first Waldorf School in Stuttgart. In the 1940s and 1950s a generation of "Americans" attempted to find more localised ways of giving expression to the approach. The third generation were represented by the "Alternatives" and reflected the broader counter-culture movement at the time, with a particular interest in wanting to open themselves up to spirituality. The fourth generation was termed by Sagarin the "social missionaries" and was characterised by a drive to make the benefit of the approach more widely available. This generation initiated the movement for Waldorf education in public schools (Dhondt et al., 2014, p. 646; Sagarin 2011). Dhondt et al. argue that what is missing from these accounts is any account of "how the transition of these ideas from the 1920s to the current day took place", and observe further that

> a helpful methodological approach here would have been Foucault's genealogy of the present, focusing not so much on the question 'what is Waldorf education?' but rather on issues like 'how did it develop?' and 'how these ideas have been re-interpreted by different generations?' (p. 646).

Although Dhondt et al., possibly overstate the lack of attention to development in both Oberman and Sagarin's accounts, this study uses a methodology that utilises a "history of the present" orientation through a biographical sociology approach, and in so doing seeks to contribute to the filling of this gap.

3.1.6 Historical work on Steiner education in Australia

In terms of the Australian context, the two historical works that have been undertaken on Steiner education to date are Mowday's (2004) Master's thesis, *Steiner Education in Australia: Maintaining an educational theory given the necessity of practice, Glenaeon*

Rudolf Steiner School, Sydney, 1957-2000, and Mazzone's (1995b) Master's thesis, the key findings of which are presented in a 1995 conference paper titled: *Waldorf (Rudolf Steiner) schools as schools in the progressive education tradition*. Like Oberman, Mowday examines the question of fidelity to the ideas of Steiner in practical application, with the difference that she focuses on a single school. Specifically she asks "[d]oes the history of Glenaeon reflect an adherence to, or dramatic departure from the original ideas propounded by Rudolf Steiner? and [if] there are differences between Steiner theory and its practice, why have these occurred? and [i]f they have occurred, what have been their educational consequences?" (Mowday, 2004, p. 1). Tracing the story of the school in careful detail, an extensive account of the development of Steiner education is given from the perspective of the first Steiner school in Australia up until the year 2000. The initial establishment of the school is examined, including the initial work required to work to gain acceptance and legitimacy in a locale in Northern Sydney – an achievement that paved the way for many of the Steiner schools that would follow, in New South Wales in particular, and in Australia to an extent. Glenaeon remains the only Steiner school in Australia where students wear uniforms, which is required from Grade 4 to Grade 10, and reflects an overt attempt to avoid associations of progressive permissiveness. The need to compromise with government expectations and requirements, as well as managing renewal in the face of generational turnover are all themes touched on, with the conclusion that the school has always been in a state of becoming and is as much "a product of Australian culture, of Sydney, of the North Shore, broad Australian educational traditions and of the bushland environment", as it is of the educational ideals it is attempting to live up to (Mowday, p. 109).

Mazzone, in contrast, presents a comprehensive overview of the wider development of Steiner schools in Australia from 1957 to the early 1990s (1995a, 1995b). This development is traced through a founding years phase, from the 1920s to the 1970s, and an expansionary phase from 1979 to 1992. Each of the three founding schools are examined in some detail – Glenaeon, Lorien Novalis and MRSS – in regard to the circumstances of their establishment, and the challenges experienced in their early years. The expansionary phase is then examined through tracking the growth of schools in the context of the school policy and funding context. Across these phases Mazzone identifies three ways in which new Steiner schools have been founded in Australia: first through the role of the anthroposophical society, in the case of the initial founding

schools; second, “in response to the success of a first school in an area, a group of teachers and/or parents from the first school started another school at a little distance from the first”; and third where parents who have wanted Waldorf education for their children, mainly in country areas, where they study “together while searching for a teacher, but the lack of trained teachers has often led to parents becoming teachers” (Mazzone, 1995b, p. 15).

The identification of the three periods outlined in the current study (founding period, second-generation period, public streams period) was informed both by Sagarin’s notion of generations, and Mazzone’s phases as outlined above. I did not draw heavily on Mazzone’s distinctions on how the schools were founded, however, as in each case there appeared to be a mixture of parents, teachers, and supportive Anthroposophists (either formal members of the society, or those who simply engaged extensively with Rudolf Steiner’s ideas), who worked together to establish each school. And indeed, the use of biographical sociology enabled a foregrounding of the networks, connections, and processes of building platforms of shared understanding, that became evident in the process of writing the papers. The limited number of schools looked at might have diminished the distinctions as outlined, however, and the current study is not intended to discount Mazzone’s delineations as outlined above. In relation to the expansion of Steiner schools in Australia in the 1980s, Mazzone notes the introduction of the New Schools Policy in 1983, which set out more stringent requirements for the starting of any new school, concluding that had the ‘New Schools Policy’ introduced these reductions in a phased manner, it is unlikely that of the new schools established “could have begun at all” (Mazzone, 1995a, p. 57) – in fact it was dubbed the “No New School Policy” by some participants of this study.

In addition to these historical studies, Tom Stehlik’s examination of the Mt Barker Waldorf School as a site for adult learning, titled *Each Parent Carries the Flame: Waldorf Schools as Sites for Promoting Lifelong Learning, Creating Community, and Educating for Social Renewal*, includes historical background not only on the Mount Barker school, but several others (Stehlik, 2002, p. 53-58). Mention is made of the challenge for Steiner education in “transplanting a social pedagogy which had developed in Central Europe in the 1920s and making it more relevant to the local context, drawing inspiration from our time and place in the southern hemisphere – as

touched on earlier in this chapter. This tension in the Australian Waldorf movement, Stehlik notes, was in part what led to the establishment of the Lorien Novalis school by a young group of parents and teachers in the 1970s, which subsequently became known as the "Lorien Stream" within Australia, in contrast to the schools that "remain committed to the original curriculum, variously known as the Stockmeyer Curriculum, the von Heydebrand Curriculum, or the Lherplan syllabus based on Steiner's lectures to the teachers of the first school" (Stehlik, 2002, p. 55). This distinction is noted also in an overview of Steiner education in Australia written for the 75th Anniversary of Steiner education worldwide (West, 1994), and is traced in detail in Alan Whitehead's *Memoirs of a Steiner teacher* (2001). As discussed in Paper 2, participants for the current study did not place a strong emphasis on this distinction when it was raised, with a few observing that it had receded as a strong division line within Steiner education over the past few decades. The Mt Barker school, Stehlik records, started in 1979 with 37 children across kindergarten and classes 1-3, and five teachers, but "began as an idea within the hearts and minds of a small group of parents – many of whom happened to be educators and became the founding faculty – who were looking for an alternative and meaningful education for their young children" (Stehlik, 2002, p. 55). The latter point is explored extensively within Stehlik's study, as he applies a community of practice (Wenger, 1998) orientation, situated within a broadly phenomenological approach, to examine the Mt Barker school as a site for adult and lifelong learning. This account is one of several that examine Steiner education from a more contemporary perspective in Australia. In 2019 Stehlik published *Waldorf schools and the history of Steiner education: an international view of 100 years*, which traces the growth of Steiner education internationally and in Australia, and positions Steiner education also in the contemporary education landscape. The book does not engage with historiography, but provides a useful overview, providing further details also of the history of Steiner education in Adelaide in particular. The book is framed around the "universal quality" of Steiner education in its practical application, and catalogues contemporary developments and challenges for Steiner education in this context, some of which are touched on with this study, but the majority of which there is not scope within this study to engage with. In concluding, Stehlik notes the development of Steiner stream programs in recent years, the move into the digital age, the ongoing challenge of the model of leadership adopted in Steiner schools. He also discusses some of the challenges of neoliberal policies as reflected in competition tables, standardised testing

and accountability regimes that have become the dominant context for education globally, a development that Steiner education, along with others, has had to negotiate. This latter is an important theme examined in the second half of this chapter.

3.1.7 Contemporary accounts of Steiner education.

Stehlik's account of the Mt Barker Steiner school as a site for adult learning is encapsulated in the notion that "each parent carries the flame", with his study concluding that the community around the school nurtures this flame through practical activities, provision of a context for personal meaning making, legitimising parenting as a vocation, and inspiring individuals to explore their own destiny learning. The concept of a community of practice is applied to foreground the characteristics of a Steiner school community, and as a lens through which to examine some of the practical distinctions inherent in Steiner's work, or the work that was developed on the basis of it. In summary, Stehlik shows how the community works to sustain and promote lifelong learning for adults, in ways that are picked up partially in my own study. Unlike my study, Stehlik covers a vast array of the contemporary angles and interpretation of Steiner's distinctions, such as detailed accounts of the stages of childhood development, and how this proceeds into adulthood, and an outline of life processes as outlined by Steiner, for example, including breathing, warming, nourishing, secreting, maintaining, growing, reproducing (Stehlik, 2002, p. 90). He relates these to contemporary theorists in a way that clarifies, expands, and positions these aspects of Steiner's thought in relation to contemporary education practice.

While Stehlik focussed on Steiner schools as sites for adult learning, Thomas Nielsen undertook class observations for his PhD study of Steiner education, a focus which influenced his subsequent development of a "curriculum of giving" (Nielsen, 2010; Nielsen, 2018). To examine the notion of imagination in teaching, Nielsen conducted an ethnographic case study in three Australian Steiner school classrooms. Nielsen's analysis identifies seven teaching methods pertaining to imagination: drama, exploration, storytelling, routine, arts, discussion and empathy (Nielsen, 2006, p. 251). In describing the use of drama in a teaching "moment", for example, Nielsen concludes that "[r]esonating with Steiner's argument that the essential link between the child's intellect and body is the 'feeling' realm, the elements of feeling and drama in the above

'moment' served to connect thinking and learning via the emotional realm" (p. 252). Thus, a contemporary account of classroom practice is analysed in depth, with the conclusion drawn that:

> the empirically observed ability of the imaginative transaction to connect students with 'spiritual-aesthetic' or 'mytho-poetic' realms, the pedagogical transaction of imagination emerged in my Ph.D. study as a possible counterbalance to an alleged tendency in mainstream education to undervalue subtle and non-tangible dimensions of human experience. (Nielsen, 2006, p. 263)

The closely observed "moments" within Steiner educational practice that Nielsen documents represent a valuable contribution to the understanding of contemporary Steiner education practice, while pointing up the complex and carefully delineated attention paid to the role of the imagination within Steiner education practice. My focus is not on classroom practice, but theorised understanding of classroom practice contributes to the theorised understanding of the tradition that my study *is* interested in.

In addition to Nielsen and Stehlik, contemporary engagement with Steiner education is reflected in the work of Jennifer Gidley, who has examined Rudolf Steiner's educational philosophies from a postformal perspective, with the aim of identifying and elucidating a "new movement of consciousness" through engagement with literature in postformal, integral and planetary consciousness (2008, p. iv). In Gidley's sights is the "deep epistemic shift of consciousness from the formal logic of Cartesian dualism to an embrace of the postformal logics of dialectical and dialogic thinking", which as she seeks to demonstrates, "requires a complex and comprehensive reconfiguring of "how we think" and "how we know." (2008, p.479). In 2008 Gidley also produced a report commissioned by Steiner Education Australia (under its former name, Rudolf Steiner Schools of Australia) titled: *Turning Tides: Creating Dialogue between Rudolf Steiner and 21st Century Academic Discourses,* which was printed in the first edition of the UK-based *Research On Steiner Education* (ROSE) journal in 2010 (Gidley, 2010). This identifies the above work, along with a small number of PhD and Masters theses, and publications on Steiner's thought and philosophy. In itself, the initiative represented the

interest in encouraging critical academic engagement with Steiner's work on the part of the Australian Steiner education community.

In 2014, Stehlik and Burrows sought to capture contemporary accounts of Steiner education practice in their edited publication: *Teaching with spirit: new perspectives on Steiner education in Australia,* in which Paper 5 of this study was published. This represented a valuable addition to the documentation of localised experiences and practices of Steiner education in the contemporary Australian setting. Themes are divided into *contextual perspectives*, with a focus on educational theory, school structure and governance, and academic analysis, and *practitioner perspectives*, with a focus on case studies, classroom-based practice, and teacher development, and so on. Some of the issues, such as the place of leadership within Steiner education (Moller, 2014), as well as accounts of Steiner education initiatives ranging from early years to secondary school and teacher development from across Australia. Stehlik also published an account of the history of Steiner-Waldorf education internationally on the occasion of the 2019 centenary of the first Steiner school which argues that Steiner Schools can be characterised as alternative to the mainstream of traditional schooling as they "feature a form of education based on a specific and defined philosophy including a unique view of child development and a sequentially structured, arts-based and comprehensive curriculum" (p. 191). Stehlik notes a "more pejorative use of the term alternative" also continues to apply to apply in "reference to the anti-establishment, counter-culture movements of the 1960s and 1970s which saw a rejection of consumerist and materialistic values and a striving towards more collective, communal, ecological and spiritual ways of living" (2019). He notes further that caution is needed in relation to the term "alternative" as "it has overtones of deficiency or compromise, even implying 'second best'. There is much debate around this terminology; even in a journal entitled *Other Education: The Journal of Educational Alternatives*, it is acknowledged in an editorial that the use of language to describe "other" ways of educating has its inherent limitations and that labels can be misleading (Lees, 2014, p. 1). While Stehlik's book is centred on Steiner education in an international context and focuses on whether there is an identifiable essence for Steiner schools that can discerned, it contains useful accounts also of the background of some Steiner schools and programs in Australia, including an account of the Steiner stream program that has operated at Trinity Gardens Primary School in Adelaide since 2006 (Stehlik, 2019). The

latter supplements the accounts of the establishment of three Steiner streams in Victoria presented in Paper 4 of this study.

Further recent research on Steiner education in Australia is evident in the doctoral research of Bronwen Haralambous (2016), titled: *Surfing the Wave of Emergent Renewal: Re-imagining Steiner's Vision for Teachers' Research and Professional Learning.* Haralambous traces in detail the design and the running of a Graduate Certificate in Steiner Education, as well as an action research project in an Australian Steiner primary school. A central aim of the thesis is to explore the potential of embedding Steiner's concept of "Living Thinking" into teacher development, through the lens of Contemplative Inquiry outlined by Zajonc (2009). Haralambous argues that Contemplative Inquiry practices "have the potential to break down barriers between religious forms of dogmatism, epistemological hegemonies and educational doctrines", with her findings indicating that:

> *Living Thinking* can support teachers read the inner soul gestures of students and can thus help teachers learn this particular way of giving students the education they need so that they can meet the future as it emerges with resilience and imagination". (Haralambous, 2016, p. 276)

Haralambous is among an increasing number of Steiner researchers who draw extensively on Deleuze and Guattari (1987) scholarship, seeing in the disrupting of traditional lines of modernist thinking evident in this tradition a close affinity with the creative, in-the-moment impetus (reflective of a foundational epistemological re-orientation) inherent in Steiner's work (Gidley 2009; Dahlin, 2013, Boland 2019).

3.2 The issue of alternative

In studying Steiner education as an educational alternative within the Australian education landscape, this study raises questions about the notion and conception of alternative education, how it has been understood, and how this understanding has changed over time. This question was first raised in my mind through an experience included as a vignette in Paper 1 under the second "struggle" identified: "the possibility of multiplicities". The experience occurred while teaching in Japan, having just

completed a Master's thesis on the history of homeopathy as an alternative medical practice in nineteenth century Australia, and the difficulty of conveying to my Japanese students the notion of "alternative" medicine. They appeared aware that there were multiple medical traditions and appeared comfortable with this. That is, they didn't identify with a struggle for difference or provocation inherent in the notion of "alternative". This led me to consider that the notion of "alternative", where aligned with a struggle for legitimacy, was less of a natural category than I had realised. These students appeared comfortable with a multiplicity of practices and, reflecting on this, I was put in mind of the status of the master potter in Japanese culture, and the notion of crafts masters within the Japanese culture. As noted in Paper 1 (Bak, 2015, p. 98):

> To appreciate the mastery of one potter or even one approach to pottery in no way carries the suggestion that there is only one way to produce quality pots. Indeed, it suggests that context, materials, and attention to process are likely to be the common thread to how particular practices are constituted and enacted, rather than a single particular system or approach.

Subsequently, I suggest in this study that to understand Steiner education as an alternative involves understanding 1) the connotations or implicit positionings that have come with this notion in the Australian context, 2) the ways in which the usage and implications of this term has changed over the half century, and 3) the role that neoliberalism, as the predominant policy and discourse context for contemporary education in Australia, as in much of the global world, has played in placing a competitive, and I argue a largely diminishing overlay, across these understandings in recent years. It is also to note, however, that an educational ecology capable of sustaining a multiplicity of practices within education – at an epistemological level of depth – stands to reconfigure the notion of alternatives as oppositional counter-spaces, while maintaining "choice" in terms of variety from the perspective of students and parents. It is of course acknowledged here, as it generally is in the literature, that there is no singular definition of alternative education, just as there is no singular definition of progressive education (Cunningham, 2001; Lange & Sletten, 2002; McLeod, 2014; Stehlik, 2019).

3.2.1 Metaphors to mediate thinking on alternatives in this study

Two guiding concepts or metaphors were drawn on or developed in the course of this study to assist in finding ways of thinking about Steiner education as an alternative that foregrounds the notion of multiplicity and possibility inherent in Steiner education, but that were not included directly in the individual papers. The first was the notion of rhizome, and lines of flight as developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987). The second was the notion of improvisation-based jazz music as mirroring the "pedagogy of presence", based on in-the-moment creativity, that underpins the Steiner education approach, as well as an example of a counter-practice that "sits alongside" without denying the richness of other traditions. These are discussed in some further detail below. A third concept applied to Steiner education in this study was the notion of slow education, and indeed slow scholarship, as a lens into Steiner education as a pedagogy of presence as well as place (Boland, 2016). This third metaphor was the subject of a conference paper and is presented with contextualising remarks in Appendix F.

3.2.2 Rhizome

Various developments in postmodern and post structural philosophy have been identified by Steiner education scholars as demonstrating an affinity or useful alignment with the philosophical distinctions they see their own practice as based on (Hougham, 2012; Ben-Aharon, 2017; Dahlin; 2013). Socio-materialist theory for example works to re-"activate" the more static conceptions that have accompanied representationalism in a manner not dissimilar to Steiner's notion of living concepts and living thinking – as discussed in the previous chapter and as touched on in the quotes in section 3.2.2. Key amongst these is the notion of rhizomic method as outlined by Deleuze & Guattari (1987) and the accompanying concepts of "lines of flight" and "nomadic thinking" as attempts to break through the strictures of the arborescent linearity inherent in modernist thinking. As understood in botany, rhizomes are subterranean, grow horizontally, and if separated retain the ability to rise to a new plant. As an idea it accentuates "assemblages" and places interest on "the increase in the dimensionality of a multiplicity that necessarily changes in nature as it expands its connections" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987, p. 9), and as a result is particularly helpful in enabling an exploration of "ways of thinking that challenge hierarchies and deprivilege centres of authority" (Mackness et al, 2016, p.81) and linearity. In relating these notions to the philosophical

understandings that underpin Steiner education, Dahlin has observed that they can be helpful in throwing "a light on the (possible) meaning of at least some of the [Steiner's] philosophical ideas (which are not always easily accessible)" (213, p. 69). In particular, Dahlin notes, Deleuze shares with Steiner an investment in non-representationalist thinking through the notion that "the concept is a multiplicity in unity, and the movement of thinking that produces it takes place beneath the surface of our spatialized time-consciousness" (213, p. 74). Haralambous has likewise applied the Deleuzian notion of rhizomic mapping and lines of flight in developing Steiner's notion of Living Thinking within the context of Higher Education. In producing a rhizomatic mapping of Living Thinking, Haralambous proposes that "Living Thinking weaves back-and-forth between arborial and rhizomatic ways of knowing and in this way revitalises the underlying ontological structures… which are recognized to be evolving forms themselves" (2016, p. 37). In his doctoral dissertation Boland likewise notes the concept of "interbeing" as associated with the rhizome, as having no beginning or end, and of always being between things, and applies this to aspects of Steiner's thought, as well as to the process of his own doctoral journey examining the musical interval of fifth as interpreted by Steiner (2019, p. 90). Within my own study the concept of rhizomic creativity is reflected in the notion of "each from their own soil", used in the title of Paper 3, to illustrate the multiple nature of Steiner schools themselves as institutions that respond to time and place, defying assumptions of uniformity. As one participant put it, in her experience people often wanted a singular answer when it came to explanations of what Steiner schools are like, but said that "they can't have it", as they are not intended to be the same.

3.2.3 Improvisational Jazz

If there is a metaphor that captures the planned spontaneity exercised by Steiner educators, it is perhaps found most directly in the idiom of jazz music. In its improvisational core, jazz music is founded on in-the-moment creativity built on the rigorous study of durable forms. As such, it finds its most obvious contrast in the classical music tradition that has over the past two centuries come to rely on interpreting the score. The attitude towards preparation common to Steiner educators is similar to the practice undertaken by Jazz musicians, while there is a set tune, they do not know how it will unfold in the moment. This contrast with an orientation that views the

curriculum as the set score, with only the *way* the set notes are played open to interpretation, not the notes themselves. As Stover has suggested, in jazz:

> a performer's note choices are not derived from an a priori melodic plane/harmonic plane, but help constitute that plane as a plane of immanence, where communications between stratifying acts (encounters with histories, syntactic particularities, and other conditioning factors of a practice) on one hand and gestures of coding and decoding (drawing lines between constituent elements in the singular ways that define *any particular* utterance, and drawing lines of flight into new spaces) on the other are enacted. (2017, p.6)

The usefulness of the analogy is enhanced both by its literal resonance with more theoretical uses of "lines of flight", as discussed in the previous section, and the manner in which it is not oppositional – that is, it is not set against other rich forms, such as the interpretivist classical tradition. It also reflects historical and conceptual complexity in terms of an evolving tradition that has never been singular, and never stopped evolving. As an art jazz improvisation can appear effortless, even frivolous. As jazz musician Wynton Marsalis has pointed out, however, "jazz is not just 'well man, this is what I feel like playing'… It's a very structured thing that comes down from a tradition and requires a lot of thought and study" (in Berliner, 2009, p. 63). It has also, in recent years undergone extensive theorisation, with one result being the emergence of the New Jazz Studies (O'Meally, Edwards & Griffin, 2004; Sarath, 2010, 2013, 2016) which, along with developments in contemplative inquiry, consciousness studies and integral and post formal theory, is beginning to contribute to the conditions where the "interior, first person engagement" (Sarath, 2016, p.86) aspect of Steiner education practice is emerging as a recognisable concept in mainstream theory and practice. As Sarath (2013) has argued in applying the "integral" template of jazz to music, education and society, "Jazz's improvisation-based process scope renders it a uniquely powerful tributary that flows not only into the overarching musical ocean, but the broader oceans of creativity and consciousness" (Sarath, 2013, pp. 3-4). The application of jazz as a fruitful metaphor through which to examine education has also started to be explored through the work of Santi and Sorsi (2016) and others who examine the potentials of jazz not only as a form of music but as "a mix of values, attitudes and skills" with educational application in both the "short term of everyday life and for the long term of human

development" (Santi & Sorsi, 2016, p. x). Jazz, they contend, breaks down barriers, reduces tensions between individual, groups and communities, encourages new forms of expression, stimulates intercultural dialogue and is a "vector of freedom of expression" (2016, p. x). The metaphor of Jazz has also been applied in business and leadership studies focusing on non-hierarchical contexts, and in the development of turn-taking, increasingly valued by employers in post-industrial economies (Sorensen, 2013). This latter component is also of direct relevance to the manner in which non-hierarchical leadership is applied in Steiner schools, most notably in the College of Teachers structure common to leadership in Steiner schools, and which has evolved in its own way in recent years (Stehlik, 2019), but this is not a focus of this study.

3.2.4 Neoliberalism and Alternative education in Australia

While during the 1970s Australian education was witness to a spirited "opening up" in line with a wider process of social transformation, (Smith & Crossley, 1975; McKinnon, 2010; McLeod, 2014; Carozzi, 2015), by the end of the decade this project had stalled under what W.F. Connell (1993, p.iv) has described as a "failure of nerve". As W.F. Connell observed, from the mid-seventies onwards:

> educational questions almost invariably came to involve negotiation to settle interests and raise issues involving matters more political than educational such as those of equity, freedom of choice, and division of responsibility. In effect, the major decisions taken by bodies such as the Schools Commission at this time were political rather than educational. (1993, p. 5)

By 1985, indeed, W.F. Connell suggests, "education in all its aspects had come to be seen more clearly to be highly susceptible to political influence" (1993, p. 5). The changes brought about under this influence have been described as the neoliberal "cascade", characterised by an increasing grip of market logic on schools, universities and technical education R.W. Connell (2013, p. 102). Internationally, this development is reflected in what Sahlberg (2012) has termed the Global Education Reform Movement (GERM). The five trends that characterise GERM are (1) standardisation, (2) a focus on core subjects, (3) a preference for low risk approaches, (4) use of corporate models of management, and (5) test-based accountability policies (Sahlberg,

2012). Together these trends have profoundly reshaped the administration as well as the practice of education, ushering in what Biesta (2008) has dubbed the "Age of Measurement". These developments have been subject to extensive critique within the educational literature (Hursh, 2008; Biesta 2009; Sahlberg 2012; R.W. Connell, 2013; Lingard, Sellars & Thompson, 2016; Rudd & Hudson, 2017) and have been contested by professional teacher associations. Despite this Taubman (2009, p. 197) has suggested that the "discourses and practices of standards and accountability" have recently become so hegemonic that even resistant political action is likely to simply sustain this new system. Indeed, Taubman notes, the pervasive nature of the "logics, language, and practices of standards and accountability" are such that there is a very real danger in offering an alternative that "the alternative itself may be linked to the very discourses to which it is posed as an alternative" (2009, p. 201; see also Grek et al 2021). Despite this, critical reflection has rarely extended to educational alternatives themselves. On the contrary, alternatives in education have generally been championed as antidotes to the corrosive effect of such regimes, with little critical consideration of the ways in which the idea of alternative education itself has become constrained under these discourses.

Of scholars in the area, te Riele has contributed perhaps most significantly to the field of alternative education in contemporary Australia, extensively mapping the non-standard programs and educational options available for marginalised youth, and students otherwise alienated within the mainstream school system. This work has been undertaken with the dual purpose of making the previously dispersed and often inaccessible information available to students and parents, so they can see their options, and to promote learning between the alternative and mainstream education sectors. In the process of this mapping te Riele (2007) identified four possible quadrants comprising the locus of change (the young person/educational provision) in relation to stability of the program (unstable project/stable school/unit). She argues that programs existing in the fourth quadrant – wherein an established unit or school aims to offer an experience that connects with the young person's interest, meets the young person's needs, and provides educational credentials – works better than other options (2007, p. 59).

In a similar vein, Mills and McGregor (2014) have examined alternative education from

the point of view of what mainstream education may learn in terms of re-engaging young people in education. Their examination of flexible learning centres in Australia and the UK, also referred to as second-chance schools and learning choice programmes, found these were often effective in catering for a diverse cohort with a highly diverse set of circumstances and needs (2014, p. 84). In also examining several democratic schools, they likewise argue that there was much that mainstream government schooling could learn from these schools in the "re-visioning" of schools they call for (2014, p. 271). Reflected in their approach, however, is the assumption that philosophical alternatives, through their association with elite schooling settings, have no place in this task. As they state in the justification of their choice of programs and schools to examine:

> For our project, we avoided schools structured around a particularly educational ideology or religion (for example Montessori, Steiner, Catholic, Islamic etc.) because the nature of the official practices and belief systems in such sites were officially pre-ordained. Further our intent was to explore what our chosen sites might contribute to 'school for all'; we concur with Fielding and Moss (2011) who have indicated it is not the place of such a 'common school' to inculcate a particular set of religious beliefs. (2014, p. 24)

While the choice to avoid any particular set of schools for the purposes of the study is uncontroversial in itself, the basis given for it here is problematic. Firstly, there is a lack of specificity around which of the two charges, "ideology" or "inculcation", belongs to which type of school. Assuming the ideological charge is aimed at Montessori and Steiner education, there is no distinction provided between these two quite disparate practices, nor evidence provided that either approach is "ideological", in any negative sense. It is unclear here whether the authors are aware of the extent to which, as foregrounded in Paper 3 of this study, the philosophy that underpins Steiner education overtly encourages each school to find its own expression for the educational ideas that underpin it – to take its own line of flight, as it were. Nor is it clear whether the authors are aware that in Australia a significant number of Steiner schools, referred to traditionally as the "Lorien stream" – have pursued a localised expression of the Steiner curriculum, emphasising the southern hemisphere through an emphasis on place, and placing the teacher's own material, including original songs and plays, and poems, and

other creative components – at the centre of the endeavour (West, 1994; Whitehead, 2001; Bak, 2018; Stehlik 2019). Nor is it clear whether they are aware that, since 2011, Australian Steiner schools follow the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) accredited Australian Steiner Curriculum Framework – to date "the only Steiner curriculum in the world to be recognised by a 'mainstream' national regulating body" (Stehlik, 2019, p. 50). Whether this latter fact renders the approach less ideological, or whether it renders the Australian National Curriculum equally ideological in the eyes of the authors, is a question that is tempting to ask. Regardless, since the study does not appear to suffer from a lack of academic rigour *overall*, the lapse suggests the more general tendency in the contemporary literature on alternative education to eschew engagement with the philosophical alternatives which this study seeks to foreground as a notable "blind spot", in the terms of Wagner (1993), within this scholarship.

As outlined earlier, philosophical alternatives are, for the purposes of this study, defined as those that are underpinned by a philosophy that engages directly with existential questions of the human experience (Nagata, 2007). That these are generally overlooked in the literature is perhaps partly explained in the case of the relatively "settled" practices of Montessori and Steiner education as lacking the "newness" that would make it attractive for research on innovation in education. It is the contention here, however, that there a number of further factors at play. One of these is the assumption that the benefits of approaches accessed predominantly by the middle class are restricted to this class. The legacy of this circular logic stems from the valuable insights, born from the sociology of education from the 1960s onwards, of the role played by class structure in issues of equity and the reproduction of privilege (Cunningham, 2001). It is also counter-indicated, at least in the case of Steiner education in several studies examining the outcomes of the Steiner approach for students from diverse and low socioeconomic backgrounds (Friedlaender, Beckham, Zheng, Darling-Hammond, 2015; Mcdermott et al., 1993), discussed in Paper 4. Another is to be found in the predominance of a received scepticism toward approaches that engage with questions of existential meaning, unless appropriately "contained" within the recognisable categories offered by organised religion. The rupturing of such perceived fault lines is examined in this study particularly in Paper 4 and 5, in relation to the ideological tensions and public debates spurred by the perceived encroachment of Steiner education into the secular

domain of State schools in the form of Steiner streams programs. A third potential reason for the obscuring of what philosophical alternatives could contribute to a re-visioning project within education can be tied to the manner in which they represent a deeper challenge to the core assumptions inherent within neoliberal policy and discourse – which, as they stand, still allow for some level of diversity under the banner of "choice".

Key amongst such assumptions is the tendency to erase the past in favour of a 'timeless' view of the present. If nothing else, the removal of the history of education courses within pre-service teacher education has underscored a de-coupling of the transformative vision of alternative education in the 1960s and 1970s, in the face of what, as noted earlier, W.F. Connell (1993) described in Australian education as ultimately "a failure of nerve" in the face of the wholesale administrative re-arrangement of education. The notion that educational traditions that prove durable may contain valuable wisdom, at the same time, is rendered less obvious in the rush to grab the future from the standpoint of the present alone. A further key assumption is reflected in the emphasis on the individual. As is underscored throughout this study, neoliberalism is most forcefully challenged by ontologies of togetherness, particularly where such ontologies are fostered by overtly articulated epistemologies of connection enacted at the level of practice (Haralambous, 2016; Gidley, 2007; Kemmis 2019), and as discussed in relation to Steiner education practice in Paper 1, 2 and 4 in particular. As such Steiner schools can be seen to represent 'counter-institutions', as outlined by Meyerhoff and Notermann (2019), and as pushing against the "temporal architectures" and "spatial clockworks" common to mainstream education in finding their pace. The latter work interrogates the complexities in practice of recent advocacy for slow scholarship as a counter-mode within higher education contexts. As mentioned earlier, the notion of slow education movement (Holt, 2002) as a useful lens onto Steiner education is explored in further detail in Appendix F.

It is noted, despite the above, that McCluskey & Mills' (2018) more recent edited volume outlining international perspectives on alternative education includes acknowledgment of philosophical alternatives and a chapter on Steiner-Waldorf education in Germany (Saggau, 2018). At the same time scholarship focused on methodology, rather than documentation of practice, has also displayed a broader

outlook. One key example is the publication edited by Trimmer, Black and Riddle (2015) entitled *Researching Mainstreams, Margins and the Spaces In Between*, which is dedicated to opening up spaces for engagement across the polarities that inhibit education research and to "trouble the dominant binary of mainstream and marginal thinking in education research by bringing forth the multiple and varied 'in-betweens' of contemporary research" (p. 1). Paper 1 of this study appears in this volume and contributes to this in relation to this author's grappling with positioning in relation to undertaking this project (Bak, 2015).

3.2.5 Alternative education in international context: USA and the UK

Perhaps the most influential and well known progressive or alternative school is Summerhill, in England. Opened in 1921, it was its founder A.S. Neil's account of the school published in 1960 that saw it become an influential symbol of the alternative education movement that blossomed in the subsequent two decades. Along with writers such as Ivan Illich (1971) and Hartmut von Hentig (1973) in Europe, Paulo Freire (1974) in Brazil, and John Holt (1964), Herbert Kohl (1970) and Jonothan Kozol (1967) in the Unites States, A.S Neil questioned the values and methods of public schooling (Sliwka, 2008). *Summerhill* became a role model for alternative schools, and well known for its democratic, free school approach, centred on free choice for its pupils to attend class and to follow their interests (Neil, 1968; Vaughn, 2006). In the UK during the 1960s numerous progressive free schools opened with "no timetable, no compulsory lessons, no uniform, no hierarchy" while teachers would be called by their first names, and "children would make up the rules and decide what they wanted to learn" (de Castella, 2014). By the end of the decade, following the release of the Plowden Report in 1967 which recommended a more child-centred approach, elements of progressive education were taken up within State education, and the majority of experimental alternative schools were discontinued (de Castella, 2014). In the USA the 1960s saw the proliferation of alternative schools, both in various forms of open schools in the public system, and free schools outside of it. In his account of the Free School movement in the USA Miller notes that "the activism of the 1960s was personalist and holistic… [and] addressed existential and spiritual aspirations as much as material needs" (2002, p. 25). By the end of the 1970s, however, a shift had taken place in the US "transforming many, if not most, 'alternative schools' from sites for experimentation

and innovation into safety valves – refuges for disaffected or unsuccessful students that allowed the majority of schools to function more smoothly without dissent" (Miller, 2002, p. 136). Raywid (1981, p. 552, cited in Lange & Sletten, 2002, p. 5) noted further that "the definition of alternative schools began to narrow in scope" further in the 1980s, with many of the open schools not surviving and a change "from the more progressive and open orientation in the 1970s to a more conservative and remedial one in the 1980s (Young, 1990 p. 20, cited in Lange & Sletten, 2002, p. 5).

In examining the context for alternative education in the UK in more recent years, Woods and Woods (2009) in their edited volume *Alternative education for the 21st century: philosophies, approaches, visions* do not address the narrowing of definition and conceptualisation of alternative education, but do suggest the discernment of three orientations within alternative education as analytical tools: *separation*, *engagement*, and *activist* (p. 228). These are not intended as competing, or mutually exclusive categories, and they position Steiner schools, traditionally operating in relative isolation in the UK, in the *separate* category, unless operating within a publicly funded context in which an accommodationist orientation of engagement can be seen to be present. In 2005 Philip and Glenys Woods, with Martin Ashly, were commissioned by the Department of Education and Skills to produce a report on Steiner Schools in England. The report identified a need for clear understandings on both sides if Steiner education was to move into the publicly funded setting, which first took place in 2008 with the establishment of the Steiner Academy Hereford. While three further Academies were opened in the following decade, these were subject to school closures in 2019 following negative Ofsted inspections that identified problems with safeguarding children. This development is commented on briefly in Paper 4, which examines the move of Steiner education into the publicly funded setting in Australia, including the contentious closure of the Steiner stream at Footscray City Primary School, in Melbourne's western suburbs, in 2011.

Of increasing interest in recent years in the UK has also been the exploration of geographies of alternative education. Kraftl (2013) applies the notions of spatiality to examine a wide range of alternative education spaces, including Steiner schools, Montessori schools, human scale schools, democratic schools, forest schools, care farms, home schooling and a spiritual community (p. 2). He focusses his attention on

thematic perspectives across the various learning approaches, extending Woods & Woods' three orientations into an examination of connections and disconnections, as well as examinations of such things as mess and order in relation to materials, timings and feelings. Kraftl seeks to show how the notion of "multiple spatialities of alternative education dismantle further than previous work any sense of a simple binary between "alternative" and "mainstream education" (2013, p. 3). Ultimately, Kraftl suggests, his work presents an argument that "alternative" learning spaces be considered "autonomous", "in multiple, complex and shifting ways" (2013, p. 7).

For alternative education, no less than with progressive education (Cunningham, 2002), the lack of a singular definition does not mean that this cluster of practices has not evolved over time. In the past fifty years alternative education has continued to evolve, as has the context within which it has found itself situated. In recent years, scholarship on alternative education has reflected an interest not only in seeking to understand alternative education practices themselves, but in the possibility of counter-orientations that they represent in the broader project of re-visioning education that is increasingly being called for. Such scholarship, in other words, like many of the practices themselves, have often been underpinned by a critical stance towards mainstream education practice environments. Over the past three or four decades, a key focus in this critique has been the impact of neoliberal policy environments in particular, that have championed market-based processes as solutions to the challenges inherent in producing quality education. In accounting for the myriad of ways in which standardisation and accountability regimes have constrained educational practice in general, however, the ways in which it might also have constrained conceptions and understandings of alternative education practices themselves has less often been subject to scrutiny. Of particular note is the extent to which structural concerns centred on equity, and variety of set up, have elided questions of epistemological depth within educational practice, and the conditions which might enable such a multiplicity to start to be imagined. In such consideration the question of ed-diversity, as Waters, (2017) has put it, is not only extended vertically, but horizontally, enabling an envisioning not only the structural equity that comes with variety and choice, but the epistemologies of connection that come with practices of philosophical depth.

By locating this study within the Australian education history literature, particularly with the work on the progressive education, I establish the gap that this study is seeking to fill, particularly through treating the background on Steiner education in its historical context. The historical and other work on Steiner education in Australia and internationally points up the question of Steiner as 'alternative', particularly through outlining some guiding metaphors including the Deleuzian notion of nomadic thinking and the rhizome, and improvisational jazz as a reflecting an epistemology of creativity in the present. These were employed to contribute to the conceptual tools available to extend theoretical understandings of Steiner education practice on the one hand, and to contribute to the linking of these developing understandings to contemporary theoretical developments and debates in a variety of relevant fields. The account of the contemporary scholarship on alternative education in Australia foregrounded a lack of engagement with philosophical alternatives. This account was made more robust through a historical review of the shifting meanings of alternative education in Australia, the UK and the US, and an examination of the implications of dominant neoliberal policy for alternative education generally, and philosophical alternatives, such as Steiner education, in particular. Despite the widespread critique of both mainstream education and discourse, Steiner education and its scholarship has largely remained a "sideshow". It is thus fortunate that research on Steiner education and efforts undertaken to generate theorised understandings of Steiner education practice is a growing field, to which this thesis can contribute.

4. Conclusion

This chapter reflects on the work of this study, including the significance of the body of work brought together in the five papers and exegesis. First, it revisits the implications of positioning Steiner education as an alternative, followed by a brief reminder of the case for an historical approach. Some illustrative experiences are then discussed as a means to examine the experience of the educators involved in this study in finding expression for the ideas of Rudolf Steiner in their various settings. The third section outlines in more specific terms the contributions of this study to the history of education in Australia, literature on Steiner education, and to Foucault's history of the present and methodological approaches for examining alternative education. Key limitations of the study are briefly touched before outlining potential future directions for research. Finally, understandings emerging from the developments in contemplative inquiry and the contemplative turn in education are identified as fertile ground for a more tangible narrative of Steiner education in Australia moving forward.

4.1 Pulling the threads together

This study has considered Steiner education and its place in the Australian, and particularly Victorian, education landscape over the past half a century. It has placed Steiner education in the context of alternative education, and by so doing has connected Steiner education to the call for better ways of doing education that are currently occurring. As discussed in Chapter 3, an important part of the search for more socially just and equitable ways of doing education in the Australian context has been addressed within contemporary scholarship on alternative education in Australia. The attention of this scholarship, I have argued however, has tended to focus on second-chance and flexible programs seeking to meet the needs of those alienated within mainstream education settings (Mills & McGregor, 2014; Mills & McCluskey, 2018, te Riele, 2007, 2012). Practices that engage directly with existential questions of the human experience, referred to here as philosophical educational alternatives (Nagata, 2007), have to date generally not been included in these discussions. I have shown that this is partly a historical outcome, reflective of changes in the meanings, nature and practice of alternative education itself over the past half century. However, by placing Steiner education within this literature, I have sought to bring what Steiner education represents

and offers as an educational alternative into the wider conversation on educational change and possibility that is animating this work. While some of the reasons for its omission are discussed in detail in Chapter 3, I have argued that what Steiner education offers to the potential re-visioning of education in Australia lies not so much in *structural* solutions to the challenges of alienation and social justice within education but in the *epistemological* orientations that, through its practice, enables pedagogies of deeper connection, presence and engagement.[2] These orientations, I note, are not mutually exclusive to questions of structure, access, and innovative classroom arrangement but rather provide a potential additional grounding for practice – in this case one that has been increasingly shown to be effective across socioeconomic and culturally diverse divides (Friedlaender, et al., 2015; Larrison et al., 2012, Oberman, 2007). A further point I have made is that examinations of alternative practices are helpful in illuminating the conditions for diversity within an educational landscape. Through bringing Steiner education into the discussion on the need for "edu-diversity" within education, to use Water's (2018) term, I have shown how this notion can be extended to include epistemological diversity, allowing for inclusion of evolving knowledge traditions as well as contemporary innovations in practice.

I have used an historical approach to underpin these arguments. As touched on in Chapter 2, the case for history is made among many others by Mills (1970), who maintained in his classic work on the sociological imagination that "without use of history…the social scientist cannot adequately state the kinds of problems that ought now to be the orienting points of his studies" (Mills, 1970, p. 159). In illustrating this same point, R.W. Connell argues for the inclusion of history when considering the idea common to the sociology of education that education is a process of social reproduction. On its own, she suggests, this concept is static, and as such leads either to "complacency or despair" (2013, p.104). Bringing history "more centrally into the frame", she argues, allows for "the creative development of social practice through time" which in turn helps us "arrive at an understanding of education as the social process in which we nurture and develop capacities for practice" (2013, p.104). My study has reflected this approach and interest in its focus on the experience of Steiner educators at various times

[2] That is, what the reality of Steiner education as an alternative today offers. This study has not discussed Rudolf Steiner's concept of social three folding, which extends to structural solutions for the arrangement of society overall (Steiner, 1985).

and places, as well as the changing contexts for this experience. The three historical papers, as well as chapter 3, have traced how the conception of alternative education changed from being associated with broader projects of social and educational transformation in the 1960s and 1970s to a more remedial role of catering for those not served by mainstream schools from the 1980s onwards. Secondly I have shown, in Chapter 3, and the historical papers, that philosophical alternatives such as Steiner and Montessori education both preceded these projects, and outlasted them, in some ways surfing the wave they created, but also not being an integral part of them. As one participant put it, Steiner education was happening "alongside" these developments (Paper 2). Thirdly I have argued, in Papers 2 and 3, that a historical view helps to foreground how Steiner education is tied to a gnostic, western esoteric knowledge tradition (Hanegraaff, 2012) that was extended by Rudolf Steiner, and which continues to offer a range of pragmatic distinctions for educators that involve inner-life application in addition to external action as a component of professional (as distinct from personal) practice. It is this component of the practice of Steiner educators that *for them* demarcates their approach from other alternatives as well as mainstream practices. To be able to examine the implications of this for the present a biographical sociological approach, in conjunction with oral history was adopted, rather than a more formal historiography. The use of biographical sociology has enabled me to examine the logics "up against which" this practice has found itself, and how these have evolved and been constituted in specific places at particular times. It likewise has allowed me to foreground the multiple and evolving nature of Steiner education in the Australian context, as enacted through particular individuals and groups. My use of biographical sociology, oral history and Foucaldian geneaology, in other words, added a dimension to the framing of Steiner education in the Australian context not attainable through either pure sociology or formal history. This has echoed in some way what the Steiner educators who participated in this project also saw themselves as doing: working with an overlay on existing educational knowledge that expanded the possibility of their practice.

4.2 Some illustrative experiences

For Robert Martin, a founding member of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School in early 1970s Victoria, a key imperative for starting a Steiner school was his experience of teaching in mainstream schools where there was no space to discuss what a child is:

> [T]he one thing we never dared discuss were the kids. Because we all disagreed what a kid was. So, all we ever talked about were the peripheral aspects of the curriculum. And our exam results. The key focus, which was education, we never were able to discuss, because there were people there who were atheists, and theists, and Roman Catholic, and Jewish and so on. And, we didn't have a forum which you could have discussions, starting with fundamentals and gently accepting another person's point of view, and then building on that. It just didn't seem to be possible. There weren't the philosophical people there to be able to do that. There weren't people with sufficient faith in the power of reasoned discussion. And I mean gentle discussion, I don't mean debate. Or people that had real faith in the human ability to perceive children as they are at any stage of their development, and then, try to work out what would be good for that stage. So, at the most we might discuss innovations that we might be able to take on directed from the United States, because they were presented to us with enthusiasm. As to whether they were philosophically sound? practically sound?... (Interview, 15 May, 2015)

For the Steiner educators interviewed in this study, the work of Steiner offered a set of additional distinctions on which such judgments could be based and in which they saw the foundations for enacting a meaningful, nuanced, and holistic education. What they saw, and were attracted to, was an approach that met not only the academic needs of their students but sought to meet some of their more existential ones too. Borrowing a pragmatic term from Australian vocational education they saw a knowledge tradition with the human being "built in" rather than "bolted on" (Wignall, 1999) and which informed possibilities for a pedagogy of presence, underpinned by an epistemology of connection to both person and place (Boland 2016). For some, such as Judith Weatherhead (Paper 3) or Bob Hale (Paper 4), who were encountering these ideas for the first time, these seemed like ideas worth exploring. For others, such as Corinne

Willowson (Paper 3) and John Russell (Paper 3 and 4), however, they underpinned practices they had witnessed in person and which they had studied for some time; in the case of Robert Martin this included visiting Germany in the early 1970s, where Steiner education had been practiced for more than half a century at that stage.

As outlined in the Paper 2 and Paper 3, a key influence in the application of these ideas in Victoria was Alex Podolinsky (1925-2019). Podolinsky had spent a year of his youth, in 1939, at the Goetheanum in Basel Switzerland, being tutored by many of Rudolf Steiner's former associates and colleagues and had also taught at the Freiberg Steiner School in Germany prior to immigrating to Australia in 1949. From the 1950s he pioneered biodynamic farming – the natural approach to agriculture outlined by Rudolf Steiner – in Victoria (Lee, 2019) and helped found the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School and Ghilgai Steiner School in the east of Melbourne. He established Steiner teacher education in what would later become the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner Seminar, and helped establish an anthroposophically-based curative home, Wandin Springs, that ran for a decade or more in Wandin, half an hour east of Melbourne. He became leader of the Victorian Anthroposophical Society, known as the Michael Group in the 1970s and as an architect designed the early buildings of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School, along with those at Ghilgai and the Orana Steiner School in Canberra, among others.

For the purpose of connecting the ideas with the material practice, Podolinsky's buildings can be illustrative (Gray, 2014). The design of the kindergarten building of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School features five angled walls of unequal height and length, with large low windows to let the outside in. The floor runs from the main large window at an imperceptibly raised angle, so that a marble will run from one side to the other. The educational consequence is that when a child stands in this space they cannot not rely on the straight lines of the walls, nor the evenness of the floor, alone to find their bearings but rather is subtly nudged towards an inner sense of balance within themselves and upon which they can rely. As noted in Paper 2, a description of these buildings appears in article in Melbourne newspaper The Age in 1974:

> [the school] nestles in a sleepy hollow, its purpose built classrooms sculpted out of the rugged landscape, and an air of peace and harmony pervades it all … the

> school is part of the land and the land is part of the school. Inside, the rooms open up with wide-angled windows. The warm wooden floors and soft-glowing walls, irregular in shape, impose no box-like limits. They create endless possibilities. You get the feeling that anything could happen here and you wouldn't be surprised. (Hewitt, 1975, p. 16)

As examples of the educational reasonings at play within Steiner education, such descriptions point to the subtle yet pragmatic and material nature of many of the ideas that underpin Steiner education.

For the participants of this study, the educational value of these ideas was evident in their everyday practice as well as in the graduates they produced – even if occasionally the graduates themselves were "not aware of their own uprightness", as one participant put it. One of the participants was informed by a lecturer from a local university at one point that he could identify the Steiner graduates. Asked how, the lecturer explained they were "in touch with themselves" (Pauline Ward, interview, 15 May, 2015). This finding is also corroborated by studies of Steiner graduates such as the 2007 study in North America that reported professors' impressions of Waldorf education graduates as displaying: (1) a holistic integrative quality to their thinking, (2) creative and imaginative capacities that stood out, and (3) a "moral ballast and caring for others" (Mitchell & Gerwin, 2007, pp. 29-30). A more recent study likewise found that Waldorf school graduates in North America (1) recognise the value of their education in cultivating a meaningful outlook, (2) tend to display collaborative, community-oriented tendencies (Safit & Gerwin, 2019, p 194), and (3) value relationships, setting and experiences in their education in a manner that suggests they "most value the people from *whom* and with *who* they have learned and the impersonal elements of their learning experience" (Safit & Gerwin, 2019, p. 45). These findings are not included here to validate the practice that the participants of were involved in, although that is part of the story of Steiner education in itself, but rather as a reminder of the central motivating possibility that tied together the actions and intentions of these educators and pushed them to start these schools and programs in diverse places and times.

Having earlier focused on the example of the buildings, it is also worth noting that these ideas were not inherently dependent on elaborate facilities. Each of the independent

schools examined in this study began by humble means – often in a single shed, a room in a house, or a shared space in a local community hall. As noted in Paper 3, architect Greg Burgess recalls classes being held in his house for a time in the early years of the Sophia Mundi Steiner School for example. Likewise, Sandra Busch, founder of the Little Yarra Steiner School, herself had to pack up the equipment in Wesburn Hall for use by other community members each evening, as well as scrubbing the local public toilets each morning so they would be clean for the children to use. Illustrative of this point was the experience of founding member of the Orana Steiner School in Canberra, Michael Nekvapil, of a Minister visiting the school at a when time classes were still being held in a local YMCA hall. The minister Minister was not disapproving of what they were the group were doing but told the teachers "I cannot understand why any parent in the ACT [Australian Capital Territory], given the excellence of the schools and the facilities [available], would choose to come to a school like this" (Michael Nekvapil, interview, 1 May, 2018). The ideas were clear to the educators involved, however, and as charted in the three incorporated historical papers, provided a source of inspiration for the work undertaken to establish these schools. The subtle architectural curation of educational space one is likely to see in a typical Steiner school, this study has shown in other words, is not so much a necessity as it is a natural extension of the ideas on which it is based. As all of the participants of this study could also attest, at the same time these ideas have by no means always been obvious to the outside observer.

As is outlined in further detail in the following sections, the contribution of this thesis lies in its presentation of a small set of studies. An entry from my research journal entry in relation relays my intentions with this:

> ..the level or reality I want to engage with isn't found in the detailed numbers, or the singular focus, it's at the level of experience of meaning, and placing this within a realm of perception. It feels like a gauze weaving that is fragile. Push too hard and I reach through it. Don't reach far enough and I miss it. It hangs there in the middle. Where we are not used to looking (Journal entry 24 March 2017).

The focus is limited to the establishment of six Steiner schools or programs, and as discussed in further detail below (as well as earlier in Chapter 3), I did not set out to

examine Steiner curriculum or pedagogical practice specifically, nor to measure or engage in questions of its effectiveness. Similarly, the intention here was not to undertake institutional history in a formal sense, nor examine closely any one particular setting or school. The view I have taken up in this study has therefore reflected a type of middle-distance gaze. What this has allowed me to show is how each of these sites involved a group seeking to respond to place – inclusive of the natural environment, the community, and the local social and political make up – but also a group wanting to engage in something *different*. Something "differently different" from what these parents and educators saw possible elsewhere, as Hougham (2012, p. 8) has put it. What emerged differed also from school to school and program to program, in accordance with the imperative that each Steiner school find its own expression for the ideas underpinning it – as explored in the notion of "each from their own soil" as features in the title of Paper 3. In addition to charting history this acknowledgement of Steiner education as multiple "pushes back" against stereotyped assumptions and views that marginal practices are often subject to (Trimmer et. al, 2015) – and to which Steiner education is no exception.

4.3 Methodological contribution and significance

My use of biographical sociology in conjunction with – or as a form of – deploying Foucault's history of the present (Foucault, 1991; Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998) in this study has added to the possibilities of this approach in relation to alternative educational practices. In particular, its application of the examination of the experiences of collective groups within the contexts they are operating has enabled a more productively theorised account of the localised development of these practices. The approach has expanded the historical focus to bring into the frame questions of how these practices have been constituted both by the backstories of those involved, and by the wider social, political and discourse context. Oral history has been combined with biographical sociology to enable a more robust account than might be provided by phenomenology alone, for example. Oral history (Ritchie, 2011, 2014) provides a layer of interest in the documentation of events as significant in themselves, and not merely the instantiation of a category or type of event. It likewise builds people in, as individuals and as part of a collective group. To the extent that it seeks to document it also compels, although does not always require, the use of real names, and references to

real events, as opposed to anonymised accounts. In the analysis Oral history also allows for a single comment or moment to shed a new or additional light on what is being examined. While the rationale for this methodological combination has been touched in each of the individual papers, a more extended account has been presented in Chapter 3.

As well as biographical sociology and Foucault's genealogy, practice theory, Gee's D/d discourse analysis, oral history, and auto-ethnography have been drawn on. This blending of practice-based and historical approaches has enabled the development of a set of themes and ways of thinking through Steiner education as an alternative in various places and times. These include the guiding metaphors of Rhizomic creativity and Jazz music as outlined in Chapter 3, as well as the concepts that are outlined in individual papers, and discussed further in the following section. This theorisation of Steiner education through the lens of practice also has resonance with Stehlik's (2002) study which examines Steiner schools through a community of practice lens as sites for adult learning. The study centres on Stehlik's experience with the Mt Barker Waldorf School located outside of Adelaide in South Australia. The focus on communities of practice as sites wherein "participation in a community of practice relates to a sense of belonging to the community and is both a condition under which learning takes place as well as a constitutive element of the content of the learning, which is in turn defined by the parameters of the practice the community is concerned with" (Stehlik, 2002, p. 99), reflects similar interest in the wider context, in a sociological sense, as present in my study. It also reflects an interest in the situated meaning of the experience of collective groups, albeit my focus is on Steiner educators rather than parents. The interest of my study has extended also to questions of positioning and power; showing how Steiner education has been sidelined within dominant education discourses, including in what counts as legitimate education and what narrowed language and epistemologies are brought to bear in evaluations and judgements of Steiner education.

The methodological approach taken up and developed in this study also represents a response to the call by Dhondt et al. (2015) for the adoption in Steiner education history of a methodological approach such as Foucault's genealogy for the purposes of "focusing not so much on the question 'what is Waldorf education?', but rather on issues like 'how did it develop?' and 'how these ideas have been re-interpreted by different generations?'" (2015, p. 646). As discussed at length in Chapter 2, my study

also grappled with questions of individual and collective agency, and positioning in relation to the politics of Steiner education as an alternative in the context of discourses of education that have held sway at various times. As noted above, such approaches bring more overtly into question the manner in which particular practices are constituted by the wider contexts that both constrain and enable them. And to this end, the study focused on the ascendancy of neoliberal policies and discourses that became increasingly hegemonic during the period in question – approximately 1970 – 2010. Today the move towards standardisation and accountability has been encapsulated by Sahlberg (2012) in what he has termed Global Education Reform Movement (GERM) and in what Biesta (2009) has characterised as the age of measurement. These developments have formed the backdrop for the Steiner schools and programs examined in this study and their evolving influence noted in each of the incorporated papers. I have attempted to show how these developments have both afforded opportunities for Steiner education, in relation particularly to policies favouring educational choice (Paper 4), but also how they have worked to constrain the conditions for richer conceptualisations of education. Most particularly conceptualisations that lie outside of the dominant consumerist lens that these policies promote, and the oppositional terms that the idea of an educational marketplace can promote – as examined in Paper 1. This sits in contrast, I have suggested, to the notion of a multiplicity of practice, and the promotion of a diversity of educational practice for the sake of cultivating an ecology of rich diversity within education in Australia as an aim in itself. The various papers have both situated Steiner education within contemporary methodological and practice-based debates and linked the current study to scholarly work on Steiner education more broadly. The more substantive contribution they make is outlined in further detail below.

4.4 Substantive contribution and significance

First, the three historical papers that comprise the core of this study help fill a gap in the history of Australian education, and Victorian education particularly. Although the early Steiner schools in Australia, including Glenaeon (1957) and Lorien Novalis (1971) in Sydney, The Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School (1972) in Victoria, and the Mt Barker school (1979) in South Australia were all historically significant in the time of their establishment, their significance has grown as Steiner schools and programs have

expanded to reach more than 6o nationally at the time of writing. Broader histories of Australian education to date have generally noted the expansion of Steiner schools as part of a "golden age" for progressives under the extension of funding to independent schools that was initiated by the Whitlam Federal Government in the 1970s (Campbell & Proctor, 2014, p.227; Connell, 1995; W.F. Connell, 1993). They have not, however, addressed the question of what the contribution of those schools might have been to the diversity Australian education practice, beyond an association with a vaguely "artsy" approach catering to a niche subsection of middle-class interest. Just as Mazzone's (1995) study positioned Steiner education in the progressive tradition, as carried forward by philosophers and educators like Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel from 18th century onwards, and in the first half of the nineteenth century by the New Education Fellowship (NEF), this study positions Steiner in the context of alternative education, as it evolved from the 1960s onwards. As with progressive education, however, Steiner education has both been connected to the alternative education movement and remained separate from it, most notably through its association with the western esoteric knowledge tradition (Hanegraaff, 2012) that informs in its practice, as discussed earlier.

From the practitioner perspective, as emphasised in Paper 2 and 3, the educational ideas being worked with are more than just educational, but philosophical ideas – of an existential nature – which have implications for the practitioner and knower. The accounts of interviewees involved in Jonathan Stedall's (2012) documentary, *The Challenge of Rudolf Steiner,* were drawn on to help emphasis the manner in which Steiner's texts are "performative" in the sense that they are supposed to have an effect on the person, and this is how they were approached by these educators. Reid's (2008) notion of education as an aesthetic object was similarly drawn on in Paper 2 in order to highlight the sense in which an experience of an aesthetic object is to an extent its own explanation, and in some important ways it does not exist outside of that experience. In discussing this in relation to Steiner's educational ideas three qualities relevant to the experience of practitioners in working with the body of knowledge – known as Anthroposophy, or "wisdom of the human being" – expounded by Rudolf Steiner were outlined as follows in Paper 2 (Appendix B):

> 1) its 'expansiveness of vision', in opening up areas of the human experience that attention can be fruitfully turned to; 2) its complexity, in terms of the

> reading it calls for, representing both a performative and a demanding text; 3) its rigour, in bringing together with philosophical seriousness both spiritualist and scientific traditions, or outer knowledge and inner experiences. (Bak, 2018, p. 291)

For those outside of this practice, this study has in more general terms affirmed Steiner as an approach to education that has planted its roots in a different soil in Australia, and found ways to flourish and, as such, added to the understanding and sense of possibility for the diversity of practice within the Australian education landscape.

Chapter 3 and the individual papers also located my work within the small but growing scholarship undertaken on Steiner education in Australia, and to some extent internationally. Of most relevance to this study has been the work of Mazzone (as mentioned above) and Mowday on the history of Steiner education in Australia and by the work of Stehlik on Steiner schools as sites for adult learning (discussed in the previous section). My study has either built on, extended or supplemented this work in various ways. Mazzone (1995) traced the development of Steiner education in Australia through a "founding" (1950s-1970s) and an "expansionary" phase (1979-1992). My study built on this work through its focus on Victoria, which had previously received little attention. It also extended Mazzone's account through the addition of a "Steiner stream" phase (1990-2010) through which the move of Steiner education into the publicly funded school setting in Victoria was explored. Here I adapted Mazzone's "expansionist" phase, replacing it with the notion of a "second-generation" Steiner phase, and in so doing provided a basis for fleshing out the experience of newer Steiner schools seeking to find their own path during this period – foregrounding an important aspect of the Steiner educator experience, and significant part of the Australian Steiner education story. Invoking the notion of generations also provided a link between work on the history of Steiner education in Australia and related work in the international context, most notably through the use of this notion in the histories of Waldorf education in the US undertaken by Sagarin (2011) and Oberman (1998). This provided a stronger basis for comparative analysis of Steiner education in Australia, one example of which is to be found in Sagarin's referral of the generation that pushed for publicly funded Steiner education in the US as the "social missionaries". The same zeal for provision of education to lower socioeconomic and diverse cohorts was not overtly

echoed in Australia, where a more pragmatic rather than ideologically driven approach held sway. A notable exception to this, however, was the work of John Russell who, as outlined in Papers 3 & 4, was driven by a conviction that an education the quality of this really should be accessible to all, regardless of means, and whose persistence and conviction was vital in securing approval for the first Steiner stream program in Australia at Moorabbin Heights (previously East Bentleigh) Primary School, and also the largest, and arguably most influential, at Collingwood College. As detailed in Paper 4, Russell was also a key figure in the introduction of kitchen gardens in primary schools in Victoria. It is worth noting here also that a trip was undertaken to the UK in 2016 for the purpose of presenting at paper at the joint UK History of Education Society and Australia and New Zealand History of Education Society Conference in Malvern that also included site visits to three Steiner schools, and interviews with six Steiner educators. A similar trip was in 2015 to present at the Australia and New Zealand History of Education Society Conference in Wellington, New Zealand, which also involved a site visit to a Steiner school. While the data gathered on these trips was not used in the papers or exegesis directly, they both allowed me to sharpen my understanding of Steiner education from an international perspective.

As outlined in Chapter 3, Mowday (2004) conducted a history of the first Steiner school in Australia, Glenaeon, from 1957 to 2000 with an emphasis on the tension between theory and the compromise in implementing Steiner's educational ideas. Mowday's history of Glenaeon Rudolf Steiner School, located in the northern suburbs of Sydney, focuses on the tension between theory and the compromise of practice evident in implementing Steiner's educational ideas, an important theme common to literature on Seiner education, and the theme also of Oberman's (1998) history. While such internal discussions are important, my study has focused more on Steiner education as a localised practice in broader context.

4.4.1 Steiner education as localised practice/s

The incorporated papers for this study have helped illuminate the experience of Steiner education as a localised practice in the Australian context in various ways. The themes developed in the individual papers help think through Steiner education in both contemporary and historical contexts. Considered together, however, the possibilities

they represent for a more nuanced, and potentially more tangible narrative of Steiner education as an alternative tradition within the Australian education landscape is suggestive of a more substantive significance. If Steiner education is to be taken seriously in the Australian context, it needs to be understood not just as a set of principles, but as a tradition that has at its core an integrated picture of the human being that is being working with, and out of, forming the wellspring for its practice. In order to bring this more clearly to light, a perception of Steiner education as an enacted practice is required, along with effective methodological frameworks and conceptions that help "get at" Steiner education not only in a descriptive sense, but in terms of a lived practice and tradition. An entry in my reflective journal for this project reads that "people often want a description of Steiner education when in fact a conversation is required" (Journal entry 20 May 2016). The themes and concepts, potential distinctions and demarcations, and the methodological standpoints from which to approach Steiner education, and the creation of new Steiner schools have been examined in this study all contribute to this conversation.

4.5 Limitations

As outlined in more detail in Chapter 2, the key limitations of this study relate to the scope and small number of schools examined, and the primary focus on the State of Victoria. schools or programs, in the state of Victoria, during the first ten years or so of their existence. The period was limited to approximately 1970-2010 and analysis focussed on the experience of Steiner educators, broadly defined to include parents or founders that became involved in managing these schools as well as teaching in them. The findings are exploratory, and not intended to constitute formal institutional history, nor the application of formal educational historiography. In considering Steiner education as a philosophical alternative, it was outside the scope of this study to engage directly with other approaches that would be considered philosophical alternatives, such as Montessori education, the Reggio Emilia approach, along with a number of Australian Indigenous knowledge based approaches likewise based in a deeper engagement with questions of human existence. The focus, however, has generated important questions and issues which can be taken up in new phases of research.

4.6 Future Directions

This study has offered a basis for further studies of a similar kind. Similar "sets" of studies in other states and territories in Australia would add further valuable understanding of the variation in circumstances of Steiner education as a localised practice contextualised within particular times and places. Another fruitful possibility lies in more systematically comparing Steiner schools across states. Productive and useful research could similarly be undertaken focusing on the experience of Steiner school students, or Steiner school parents. Where relevant, studies that include other stakeholders, such as mainstream teachers and managers in schools which host a Steiner stream, could likewise be productively investigated. Each of the limitations noted in the Methodology chapter also opens up further possible work, as does, in this case, the data gathered on my trip to the UK in 2016. To date there has been little if any work on the history of Steiner teacher education, which forms an important part of the overall story of Steiner education in Australia, and internationally. Likewise, it became apparent in undertaking this study that that little, if any, work has been undertaken on the history of Anthroposophy and the broader work of Anthroposophists in Australia, which represents an important strand of Australian history, the legacy of which continues to play out today. For example, Mowday (2004, p. 29) contests Jill Roe's (1998) suggestion that interest in spiritually based practices such as Theosophy and Anthroposophy disappeared in Australia after World War II, and it is not clear that there is awareness of the vibrant cultural meeting point that Theosophical Bookshop and meeting rooms in inner Melbourne has represented well into the new millennium.

In a pending publication entitled "Waldorf Education and Postmodern Spirituality", Martyn Rawson notes that the advent of a post-modern world "with its rejection of pseudo-rationalistic dogma, has brought with it a revival of spirituality" (Wright 2000, p. 2, cited in Rawson, 2020, p. 1). Rawson notes that "spirituality has become an increasingly important theme in education research" although its "meanings have shifted to be inclusive and less associated with religiosity and with well-being" (2020, p. 19). Amongst others, Rawson cites Gidley, an Australian academic whose work is touched on briefly in Chapter 3, who has argued for Steiner education as a model for post-formal education. Post-formal pedagogies:

> engage in epistemological boundary crossing, emphasise imagination, and intuitive thinking, aesthetic and artistic approaches. They are critical, post-colonial, take global perspectives, and create space for pedagogical voice and four pedagogical values of love, life, wisdom and voice – in short, and education for spirituality (Gidley 2006, cited in Rawson, 2020, p. 8).

What is lacking in notions of postmodern spirituality, Rawson suggests, following Schreiber (2012, cited in Rawson, 202, p. 8) is a robust anthropology that takes spirituality into account. This, Rawson adds, is what anthroposophy offers. While this study has not engaged with the notion of spirituality in direct terms, it is clear that new set of conditions for the recognition of a notion of spirituality not dissimilar to that evident within anthroposophy has begun to emerge. As Rawson argues:

> If we draw together what characterizes postmodern spirituality, we can say it is an integral, intuitive and holistic consciousness and sense of connectedness that takes the subject out of her spectator position and moves her into a position of being-in-the-world that is a twofold material and spiritual unity, rather than duality. There is only one world, but it requires a monistic consciousness for us to appreciate this fact. It recognizes individual voice and respects difference and comes into being through the other. It can be cultivated through direct experience and imagination and can be developed through reflexive observation of the cognitive processes (2020, p. 8).

While my interviews with participants did not extend explicitly to their spiritual understandings, this study has nevertheless brought together a theoretical and methodological base from which to productively do so in the future. In the meantime, a key emergent theme did identify the inner-life work of Steiner educators as a core consideration in their understanding of what demarcates their practice. And it is the development of the contemplative turn in education that I will turn to for the final word in this thesis, following a few words about my own journey as a researcher during this project. At the start of this project I was at pains to maintain an arms-length relationship to my identity as a Steiner education "insider" of sorts – as outlined to some extent in Paper 1. One expectation that could be maintained is that were I to continue to research and write on Steiner education from an "outsider" perspective, that is, for an "outsider"

audience, it may have been appropriate for me to maintain this distance. As the project progressed however, I felt increasingly confident that continuing to deepen my understanding of Steiner education, and the evolving knowledge tradition in which it sits, were not mutually exclusive. I could extend my academic experience and contribution to scholarly knowledge. This does not mean that the philosophical and ideological tensions that I have traced in this project are diminished, but more so that this project has afforded me a significantly clearer sense of the terrain, overall trends, and where potentially constructive contributions may be made as I move forward as a researcher, scholar, and student of Anthroposophy and related traditions. By doing biographical sociology, I could see my own experience, and that of the people I was interviewing as part of a landscape of educational endeavours.

4.7 Towards a narrative of Steiner education in Australia

The overarching premise that has informed this study has been that Steiner education in Australia has lacked recognition both as an educational idea and as a tangible narrative. Rather than suggest what this idea might be, or to suggest a narrative handle echoing the notion of Steiner schools as being the place where students learn to "dance your name" as holds sway in Germany (Saggau, 2018), this study closes with the suggestion that the most fertile grounds for a narrative that distinguishes Steiner education within its various settings is to be found in the emergence of the contemplative turn in education. As one participant of this study put it, the mere mention of the word 'yoga' in 1970s Victoria was "liable to cause someone to faint" (Bak, 2018, p. 291). Today, in contrast, the practice of mindfulness has become mainstream (Zenner, Herrnleben-Kurz, & Walach, 2014; O'Donnell, 2015; Schonert-Reichl & Roeser, 2016; Moreno, 2017; Ergas, 2019a), and the contemplative turn in education has begun to open the door to a focus on inner-life capacities as an important addition to the contemporary educational toolkit. In 2013 Arthur Zajonc published a study entitled *Contemplative Pedagogy: A Quiet Revolution in Higher* in which he distinguishes between stillness practices, activist practices, generative practices, ritual cyclical practices, movement practices, creation process practices, and relational practices. Zajonc suggests that "[much] of contemplative pedagogy is concerned precisely with giving practical instruction for improving the faculty of attention" (p.85). Such practices are not unfamiliar to Steiner educators, who practice these themselves, as a matter of professional concern. As

Boland has noted – and as is mentioned in the introductory chapter – "the most fundamental and possibly the least talked about task of the teacher is the development of their inner life" (Boland, 2019, p. 21). For Steiner educators the development of an inner attentiveness for outer pedagogical action is a pragmatic, applied component of their professional lives. It is more likely that a narrative that renders Steiner education more recognisable as an educational idea will be found in this component of the professional practice of Steiner teachers, I propose, than in any description of the activities they undertake with their students – revealing and important as these might be. That this type of activity is entering the domain of theorised understanding within education expands this possibility significantly.[3]

A study by Ergas (2019b) establishes that there is now sufficient interest in contemplative approaches within education to justify reference to these practices as the "contemplative turn". Ergas documents three framings that have increased significantly in education literature in the past decade: 1) mindfulness-based interventions with a therapeutic framing, 2) contemplative pedagogy, with a curricular-pedagogical framing, and 3) contemplative inquiry, with a scientific framing. The latter two relate strongly to the practice tradition that Steiner education represents. Ergas notes some critical views also evident, including a concern that contemplation has been "hijacked by the economic-rational-bureaucratic orientation", is too shallow or religious, or too therapeutic (2019b, p. 263). Nevertheless, the contemplative turn represents a broadening of the epistemology, he argues, "undergirding the curriculum" (p. 265) in four main domains: 1) the non-discursive, sensual-emotional curriculum; 2) the private-internal curriculum; 3) a spontaneous curriculum; 4) an ephemeral curriculum. While they have not been a core focus of this study, each of these domains resonates with the conceptualisations that have been worked with and developed within it. They arise from the participant accounts and are clearly identifiable inherent in Steiner education practice. They also resonate with the guiding metaphors of rhizome, slow education,

[3] As, it may be reasonably argued, does the establishment in 2021 of a Contemplative Studies Centres at Melbourne University and at Monash University, funded by a combined AU$22 million (Waters, 2021).

and jazz – all centred on in-the-moment presence and creativity – that have been evoked in this study.

If Steiner education can find itself more strongly represented within the landscape of educational ideas – in Australia and elsewhere – then it can begin to join emergent debates, including the contemplative turn, on the fertile grounds that these practices and theoretical developments are grounded in a practice tradition with an already rich history. The extent to which this link has not yet been made, I have argued, constitutes the personal "troubles" experienced by the participants of this study (Mills, 1970) as they relate to the broader structural "problem" at hand: the constrained (but hopefully expanding) conditions for epistemological diversity within the Australian education landscape.

Reference List

Abrams, L. (2016). *Oral history theory. London: Routledge.*

Alex Sergei de Podolinsky, Obituary. (2019): Australian Demeter Biodynamic.

Alexander, R. (Ed.). (2010). *Children, their world, their education: Final report and recommendations of the Cambridge Primary Review*. London: Routledge.

Alexander, S. (2016, October 18). Get them eating well when they are young, and they will prosper for life. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from https://www.smh.com.au/opinion/get-them-eating-well-when-theyre-young-and-theyll-prosper-for-life-20161018-gs4r8z.html

Alliance for Public Waldorf Education. (2020). Find a School. Retrieved January 20, 2020, from http://www.allianceforpublicwaldorfeducation.org/

Australian Broadcasting Corporation. (2007). The Religion Report: Steiner education in State Schools [Radio Broadcast]: ABC Radio.

Bak, H. (Ed.). (1996). *Anne Macky, pianist, educator, composer*. Melbourne: Mark Neill.

Bak, T. (2014, June 26). For creativity, capability and resilience, Steiner schools work. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from https://theconversation.com/for-creativity-capability-and-resilience-steiner-schools-work-24763

Bak, T. (2014). Where does Steiner fit? A contemporary framing of Steiner education within the shifting education landscape in Australia. In L. Burrows & T. Stehlik (Eds.), *Teaching with spirit: New perspectives on Steiner education in Australia* (pp. 213-223.). Murwillumbah, NSW: IB Publications Pty Ltd.

Bak, T. (2015). Insider/outsider research on Steiner education in Australia: one researcher's struggles with positioning. In K. Trimmer, A. Black & S. Riddle (Eds.), *Mainstreams, Margins and the Spaces In-between: New Possibilities for Education Research* (pp. 94-111). London: Routledge.

Bak, T. (2018). 'Embodied knowing': Exploring the founding of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School in 1970s Victoria, Australia. *History of Education, 47*(2), 285-300. doi: 10.1080/0046760X.2017.1420248

Bak, T. (2020). Each from their own soil: an exploration of the creation of two Steiner schools in 1980s Victoria, Australia. *Paedagogica historica*, 1-19. doi: 10.1080/00309230.2020.1762676

Ball, S. J. (1999). *Global Trends in Educational Reform and the Struggle for the Soul of the Teacher!* Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association Annual Conference*,* University of Sussex at Brighton.

Barad, K. (2003). Posthumanist Performativity: Toward an Understanding of How Matter Comes to Matter. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society, 28*(3), 801. doi: 10.1086/345321

Barker, I. (2012) Find the time for Slow Education. (pp. 4): Times Supplements Ltd.

Barnett, R. (2009). Knowing and becoming in the higher education curriculum. *Studies in Higher Education, 34*(4), 429-440. doi: 10.1080/03075070902771978

Bateson, G. (1979). *Mind and nature: A necessary unity*: Dutton New York.

Ben-Aharon, Y. (2011). Anthroposophy & Contemporary Philosophy in Dialogue. *being human* (Fall), 19-34.

Berg, M., & Seeber, B. K. (2016). *The slow professor: challenging the culture of speed in the academy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Berliner, P. F. (2009). *Thinking in jazz: The infinite art of improvisation*: University of Chicago Press.

Bertaux, D., & Bertaux-Wiame, I. (1981). Artisanal bakery in France: How it lives and why it survives. In F. Bechhofer & B. Elliott (Eds.), *The petite bourgeoisie: Comparative studies of the uneasy stratum* (pp. 155-181). London: The Macmillan Press.

Bertaux, D., & Delcroix, C. (2000). Case histories of families and social processes. In J. Bornat, P. Chamberlayne & T. Wengraf (Eds.), *The turn to biographical methods in social science: comparative issues and examples* (pp. 71-89). London: Routledge.

Biesta, G. (2009). Good education in an age of measurement: on the need to reconnect with the question of purpose in education. *Educational Assessment, Evaluation & Accountability, 21*(1), 33-46. doi: 10.1007/s11092-008-9064-9

Blackburn, S. (2015). *Breaking out: memories of Melbourne in the 1970s*: Willoughby, NSW: Hale & Iremonger, an imprint of The GHR Press, 2015.

Blom, P. (2011). interviewed for the film 'The Challenge of Rudolf Steiner'. In J. Stedall (Ed.), *The Challenge of Rudolf Steiner*: Cupolla Productiosn LTD.

Boland, N. (2016). A sense of place within the Waldorf curriculum. *Pacifica Journal, 50*(2), 19-24.

Boland, N. (2019). *The Mood of the Fifth: Exploring Interbeing with (in) the Refrain.* (PhD), Auckland University of Technology.

Bourdieu, P. (1996). Understanding. *theory culture and society, 13*(2), 17-37. doi: doi:10.1177/026327696013002002

Brandt, D. (2014). *The rise of writing: Redefining mass literacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brehony, K. J. (2004). A new education for a new era: the contribution of the conferences of the New Education Fellowship to the disciplinary field of education 1921–1938. *Paedagogica historica, 40*(5-6), 733-755.

Brennan, M. (2011). National curriculum: A political-educational tangle. *Australian Journal of Education (ACER Press), 55*(3), 259-280.

Bridges, D. (2001). The ethics of outsider research. *The Journal of Philosophy of Education, 35*(3), 371-386.

Bugg, L., & Gurran, N. (2011). Urban planning process and discourses in the refusal of Islamic Schools in Sydney, Australia. *Australian Planner, 48*(4), 281-291. doi: 10.1080/07293682.2011.593531

Bullough Jr, R. V. (2012). Against best practice: Uncertainty, outliers and local studies in educational research. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 38*(3), 343-357. doi: 10.1080/02607476.2012.668335

Burnett, J. (2009). Authentic assessment in the first Steiner Academy. *Management in Education, 23*(3), 130-134. doi: 10.1177/0892020609105808

Burrows, L., & Stehlik, T. (Eds.). (2014). *Teaching with spirit: new perspectives on Steiner education in Australia*. Murwillumbah, N.S.W.: IB Publications.

Cambridge Primary Review. (2009). Introducing the Cambridge Primary Review. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Campbell, C., & Proctor, H. (2014). *A history of Australian schooling*: Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Carozzi, B. (2015). Livin' in the 70s, Teachin' in the 70s. In S. Blackburn (Ed.), *Breaking Out: Memories of Melbourne in the 1970s* (pp. 123-142). Willoughby, NSW: Hale & Iremonger, an imprint of The GHR Press.

Carr, M., & Claxton, G. (2002). Tracking the development of learning dispositions. *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice, 9*(1), 9-37.

Chamberlayne, P., Bornat, J., & Wengraf, T. (2000). *The turn to biographical methods in social science: comparative issues and examples*: London: Routledge, 2000.
Chertoff, E. (2012, November 30). Is this grade school a cult? And do parents care? *The Atlantic*.
Clouder, C., & Rawson, M. (2003). *Waldorf education*. Edinburgh: Floris.
Clough, P. (2004). Theft and ethics in life portrayal: Lolly—the final story. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 17*(3), 371-382. doi: 10.1080/0951839042000204642
Clough, P. T., & Halley, J. O. M. (2007). *The affective turn: theorizing the social*: Duke University Press.
Coates, G., J. (1997). *Eric Asmussen, Architect*. Stockhol: Byggforlaget.
Cock, P. (1979). *Alternative Australia: Communities of the Future?* Melbourne: Quartet Books.
Connell, R.W. (2013). The neoliberal cascade and education: an essay on the market agenda and its consequences. *Critical Studies in Education, 54*(2), 99-112. doi: 10.1080/17508487.2013.776990
Connell, R.W. (1993). *Schools and social justice*. Sydney: Pluto Press.
Connell, W., F. (1995). Origin and Development of Progressive Education in Australia. In H. Rohrs & V. Lenhart (Eds.), *Progressive Education Across the Continents: A Handbook*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
Connell, W. F. (1993). *Reshaping Australian education 1960-1985*. Hawthorn, Vic: Australian Council for Education Research.
Council, C. o. A. G. C. R. (2012). *Education 2011: comparing performance across Australia*: COAG Reform Council, Sydney, New South Wales.
Cunningham, P. (2001). Innovators, networks and structures: towards a prosopography of progressivism. *History of Education, 30*(5), 433-451. doi: 10.1080/00467600110064726
Dahlin, B. (2013). Gloves of Ice or Free Hands? A Nomadic Reading of Rudolf Steiner and Bergson and Deleuze and Others on Knowledge as Nonrepresentational and the Importance of Aesthesis…. *Other Education: The Journal of Educational Alternatives, 2*(2), 67-89.
Dahlin, B. (2017). *Rudolf Steiner: The relevance of Waldorf education*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
de Castella, T. (2014, October 21). The anarchic experimental schools of the 1970s. *BBC NEws Magazine*.
De Rijke, V. (2019). *Art and soul: Rudolf Steiner, interdisciplinary art and education*. Cham: Springer.
Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1987). *A Thousand Plateaus*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Dhondt, P., Van de Vijver, N., & Verstraete, P. (2015). The Possibility of an Unbiased History of Steiner/Waldorf Education? *Contemporary European History, 24*, 639-649. doi: 10.1017/S0960777315000387
Dudley, J., & Vidovich, L. (1995). *The politics of education: Commonwealth schools policy, 1973-95*: ACER.
Duff, W. (2015). Beginnings of Sophia Mundi: Doing the Good. Retrieved June 1, 2018, 2018, from http://www.sophiamundi.vic.edu.au/the-beginnings-of-sophia-mundi-doing-the-good-steiner-education/
Dwyer, S. C., & Buckle, J. L. (2009). The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 8*(1), 54-63.

Education, D. f. ((2013)). Free Schools. Retrieved April 9, 2013, from http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/leadership/typesofschools/freeschools

Ellis, C., Adams, T. E., & Bochner, A. P. (2011). Autoethnography: An overview. *Historical Social Research, 36*(4), 273-290.

English. (2014). Too cool for homeschool? Accessing underground unschoolers with Web 2.0. In K. Trimmer, A. Black & S. iddle (Eds.), *Researching Mainstreams, Margins and the Spaces In-Between.* Australia: Routledge.

ERA School. ERA School 1971–1987. Retrieved December 10, 2017, from http://www.era-school.net/

Ergas, O. (2019a). Mindfulness In, As and Of Education: Three Roles of Mindfulness in Education. *Journal of Philosophy of Education, 53*(2), 340-358. doi: 10.1111/1467-9752.12349

Ergas, O. (2019b). A contemplative turn in education: charting a curricular-pedagogical countermovement. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society, 27*(2), 251-270. doi: 10.1080/14681366.2018.1465111

European Council for Steiner Waldorf Education. (2010). Study of racist attitudes among Waldorf school pupils: European Council for Steiner Waldorf Education.

European Council for Steiner Waldorf Education. (2018). Fact Sheet 2017-2018: European Council for Steiner Waldorf Education.

European Council for Steiner Waldorf Education. (2020). from https://ecswe.eu/

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: textual analysis for social research*. New York: Routledge.

Fielding, M., & Moss, P. (2011). *Radical education and the common school: a democratic alternative*: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1991). Nietzsche, geneaology, history. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault Reader* (pp. 76-100). New York: Pantheon.

Freire, P. (1974). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Ringwood: Penguin Books.

Friedlaender, D., Beckham, K., Zheng, X., & Darling-Hammond, L. (2015). *Growing a Waldorf-inspired approach in a public school district*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Center for Opportunity Policy in Education.

Garland, D. (2014). What is a "history of the present"? On Foucault's genealogies and their critical preconditions. *Punishment and Society, 16*(4), 365-384.

Gearin, M. (2007, September 14). Steiner approach under review. *ABC News*. Retrieved from https://www.abc.net.au/news/2007-09-14/steiner-approach-under-review/669332

Gee, J. P. a. (2014). *An introduction to discourse analysis: theory and method* (Fourth edition. ed.): Routledge.

George, I. (2007). A thinking heart for the 21st century? In A. Holland (Ed.), *Joseph Beuys & Rudolph Steiner: imagination, inspiration, intuition* (pp. 9-11). Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria.

Gidley, J. (2010). Turning tides: Creating dialogue between Rudolf Steiner and 21st century academic discourses. *RoSE–Research on Steiner Education, 1*(1).

Gidley, J. M. (2007). Educational imperatives of the evolution of consciousness: the integral visions of Rudolf Steiner and Ken Wilber. *International Journal of Children's Spirituality, 12*(2), 117-135.

Gidley, J. M. (2008). *Evolving education: a postformal-integral-planetary gaze at the evolution of consciousness and the educational imperatives.* (PhD), Southern Cross University, Lismore, NSW.

Gillard, J. (2010, 26 January). Gillard blogs live on My School for parents. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from http://blogs.news.com.au/dailytelegraph/yoursay/index.php/dailytelegraph/commentc/julia_gillard_blogs_live_on_my_school_for_parents/

Gingis, H., J. (2012). *The act of knowing: Rudolf Steiner and the New-Kantian Tradition.* (PhD), University of Western Sydney.

Gobby, B. (2013). Enacting the independent public schools program in Western Australia. *Issues in Educational Research, 23*(1), 19-34.

Gonski, D., Boston, K., Greiner, K., Lawrence, C., Scales, B., & Tannock, P. (2011). *Review of Funding for Schooling Final-Report*. Commonwealth of Australia.

Gray, F. (2014). *Rudolf Steiner's theories and their translation into architecture.* (PhD), Deakin University.

Green, B. (Ed.). (2009). *Understanding and researching professional practice*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Grek, S., Maroy, C., & Verger, A. (Eds.). (2021). *World Yearbook of Education 2021: ccountability and Datafication in the Governance of Education* (Vol. 2021). New York: Routledge.

Griffith, A. I. (1998). Insider / Outsider: Epistemological Privilege and Mothering Work. *Human Studies, 21*(4), 361-376. doi: 10.1023/a:1005421211078

Hall, S., Massey, D., & Rustin, M. (2013). After Neoliberalism: Analysing the Present. In S. Hall, D. Massey & M. Rustin (Eds.), *After Neoliberalism: the Kilburn Manifesto*. London: LW Books.

Hammer, O. (2004). *Claiming knowledge. strategies of epistemology from theosophy to the New Age*: Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Hanegraaff, W. J. (2012). *Esotericism and the Academy. Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture*: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haralambous, B. (2018). Australian Steiner Curriculum Framework 2018 *Steiner educational and academic foundations*. Australia: Steiner Education Australia.

Haralambous, B. G. (2016). *Surfing the Wave of Emergent Renewal: Re-imagining Steiner's Vision for Teachers' Research and Professional Learning.* University of Canberra.

Hardrop, D. (2004). Lingering colonial racism at some Dutch Waldorf schools. Retrieved January 6, 2019, from https://waldorfanswers.org/Netherlands.htm

Harkness, M. (2016). The Harkness Studio. Retrieved Oct 13, 2020, from http://www.mechthildharkness.net/page/The+Harkness+Studio

Harvey, D. (2007). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated.

Hellawell, D. (2006). Inside-out: analysis of the insider-outsider concept as a heuristic device to develop reflexivity in students doing qualitative research. *Teaching in Higher Education, 11*(4), 483-494. doi: 10.1080/13562510600874292

Hentig, H. v. (1973). *Schule als Erfahrungsraum?: eine Übung im Konkretisieren einer pädagogischen Idee*: Klett.

Hewitt, S. (1975, July 8). Teaching the Whole Being in the Rudolf Steiner Way. *The Age,* p. 16.

Heywood, A. (2007). *Political ideologies: an introduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Holt, J. C. (1964). *How children fail*. New York: Pitman.

Holt, M. (2002). It's time to start the Slow School Movement. *The Phi Delta Kappan, 84*(4), 264-271.
Hougham, P. (2012). *Dialogues of destiny: A postmodern appreciation of waldorf Education*. Malvern Hills: Sylvan Associates.
Howlett, J. (2017). The formation, development and contribution of the New Ideals in Education conferences, 1914–1937. *History of Education, 46*(4), 459-479. doi: 10.1080/0046760X.2016.1268215
Hursh, D. W. (2008). *High-stakes testing and the decline of teaching and learning: the real crisis in education*: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Iaria, M. (2005, June 1, 2005). Steiner stream fought, parents oppose school change. *Bendigo Advertiser*. Retrieved from https://www.bendigoadvertiser.com.au/story/661229/steiner-stream-fought-parents-oppose-school-change/
Illich, I. (1971). *Deschooling society* ([First edition] ed.). London: Calder and Boyars.
International Forum for Steiner/Waldorf Education (Hague Circle). (2016). Key Characteristics of Waldorf education. Arles.
Kane, J. (2011). Chapter 6 Toward Living Knowledge: A Waldorf Perspective. *Encounter, 24*(2), 115-132.
Karmel, P. (April 1985). Quality of education in Australia: report of the Review Committee. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
Kemmis, S., McTaggart, R., & Nixon, R. (2014). *The action research planner: doing critical participatory action research*. London: Springer.
Knight, T. (1998). Public knowledge: public education: Northland Secondary College versus the State. *International Journal of Inclusive Eeducation, 2*(4), 295-308. doi: 10.1080/1360311980020403
Kohl, H. R. (1970). *The open classroom: a practical guide to a new way of teaching*: [New York Review]; distributed by Vintage Books.
Kontra, C., Goldin-Meadow, S., & Beilock, S. L. (2012). Embodied learning across the life span. *Top Cogn Sci, 4*(4), 731-739. doi: 10.1111/j.1756-8765.2012.01221.x
Kozol, J. (1967). *Death at an early age: The destruction of the hearts and minds of Negro children in the Boston Public Schools*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.
Kraftl, P. (2013). *Geographies of alternative education: Diverse learning spaces for children and young people*. Bristol: Policy Press.
Labaree, R. V. (2002). The risk of 'going observationalist': negotiating the hidden dilemmas of being an insider participant observer. *Qualitative Research, 2*(1), 97-122. doi: 10.1177/1468794102002001641
Lange, C. M., & Sletten, S. J. (2002). Alternative Education: A brief history and research synthesis. *NASSP Bulletin, 88*(641), 3/42. doi: 10.1177/019263650408864109
Lambert, A. (2015). Voices of resistance: Positioning Steiner Education as a living expression of Freire's Pedagogy of Freedom. *Counterpoints* (Vol. 500, pp. 409-430).
Larrison, A. L., Daly, A. J., & VanVooren, C. (2012). Twenty years and counting: A look at Waldorf in the public sector using online sources. *Current Issues in Education, 15*(3), 1-22.
Lasczik Cutcher, A., & Irwin, R. L. (2017). Walkings-through paint: A c/a/r/tography of slow scholarship. *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*, 1-9.
Lawson, M., & Petersen, R. (1972). *Progressive Education: An introduction*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.
Leavy, P. (2011). Oral history. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Lee, T. (2019, 17 August). Biodynamic farming pioneer Alex Podolinsky had sceptics, but farmers still follow his methods. *ABC News*. Retrieved from https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-08-17/alex-podolinsky-biodynamic-farming-pioneer/11413794?pfmredir=sm&fbclid=IwAR0wbCyvov_X2UDcB_AcFbjm_9PcHy0qm_h3VTYWaT7U-HdpkIeRwDYKWnY

Lees, H. E. (2014). Editorial: A certain sensibility for alternatives? *Other Education, 3*(2), 1-2.

Liberal Party of Australia. (2013). *The Coalition's Policy for Schools: Putting Students First* [Press release]. Retrieved from http://www.lieral.org.au/latest-news/2013/08/29coaltions-policy-schools-putting-students-first

Lievegoed, B. (2013). *The Developing Organisation*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Lingard, B., Sellar, S., & Thompson, G. (2016). *National testing in schools: an Australian assessment*: New York: Routledge.

Lingard, R. (2010). Snapshot View: The My School Website, NAPLAN and the Politics of Australian Schooling. Retrieved October 14, 2013, from http://www.uq.edu.au/education/?page=139445&pid=139445&ntem..

Lovegrove, T. (2015, November 17). Steiner School pioneer Peggy Macpherson was inspired by her nursing of children. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from https://www.smh.com.au/national/steiner-school-pioneer-peggy-macpherson-was-inspired-by-her-nursing-of-children-20151117-gl0osx.html

Mackness, J., Bell, F., & Funes, M. (2016). The rhizome: A problematic metaphor for teaching and learning in a MOOC. *Australasian Journal of Educational Technology, 32*(1), 78-91. doi: 10.14742/ajet.2486

Mann, S. (1993, January 27). The school that grew on community spirit. *The Age,* p. 3.

Marques, A. J. R. (2020). *Steiner Waldorf Education in Transition: Critical Narratives Towards Renewal.* (PhD Doctorate), School of Education, Western Sydney University.

Mazzone, A. (1995a). *'Islands of Culture' Waldorf (Rudolf Steiner) Schools in Australia; Their origin and Development.* (Special Studies in Education Special Project), University of Adelaide, Unpublished.

Mazzone, A. B. (1995b). *Waldorf (Rudolf Steiner) schools as schools in the progressive education tradition*. Paper presented at the Orthodoxies and diversity: collected papers of the Twenty Fourth Annual Conference', Sydney.

McDermott, R. (2011). interviewed for the film 'The challenge of Rudolf Steiner'. In J. Stedall (Ed.), *The challenge of Rudolf Steiner*. Youtube: Cupolla Productions.

McDermott, R., Henry, M. E., Dillard, C., Byers, P., Easton, F., Oberman, I., & Uhrmacher, B. (1996). Waldorf education in an Inner-city public school. *Urban Review, 28*(2), 119-140. doi: 10.1007/BF02354381

McKinnon, K. (2010). *The Schools Commision: A Review*. Paper presented at the The Schools Commission Seminar, University of Melbourne. Abstract retrieved from http://www.whitlam.org/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/164263/Ken_McKinnon.pdf

McLeod, J. (2014). Experimenting with education: spaces of freedom and alternative schooling in the 1970s. *History of Education Review, 43*(2), 172-189.

Melbourne Rudolf Steiner Seminar. (2017). Melbourne Rudolf Steiner Seminar. Retrieved December 15, from https://www.steinerseminar.net.au/

Meyerhoff, E., & Noterman, E. (2019). Revolutionary scholarship by any speed necessary: Slow or fast but for the end of this world. *ACME, 18*(1), 217-245.

Middleton, M. (1982). *Marking time: alternatives in Australian schooling*. Sydney: Methuen Australia.

Mills, C. W. (1970). *The sociological imagination*. Ringwood: Penguin.
Mills, M., & McCluskey, G. (2018). *International Perspectives on Alternative Education: Policy and practice*. London: UCL Press.
Mills, M., & McGregor, G. (2014). *Re-engaging young people in education: learning from alternative schools*. New York: Routledge.
Mills, M., & McGregor, G. (2018). Alternative Schooling in Australia: Policy and practice. In M. Mills & G. McCluskey (Eds.), *International Perspectives on Alternative Education: Policy and practice* (pp. 66-85). London: Institute of Education Press (IOE Press).
Minh-ha, T. T. (2013). *When the moon waxes red: Representation, gender, and cultural politics*: Routledge.
Mitchell, D., & Gerwin, D. (2007). *Survey of Waldorf Graduates, Phase II, Wilton*. Wilton: Research Institute for Waldorf Education.
Mogenson, K. (2004). Insight Steiner: Eyes wide open. *Australia Educator, 41,* 26-30.
Moller, V. (2014). Leading the implementation of a 'teacher as reflexive practioner' culture at Kamaroi Rudolf Steiner School. In T. Stehlik & L. Burrows (Eds.), *Teaching with Spirit: New Perspectives on Steiner Education in Australia* (pp. 70-85). Murwillumbah: Immortal Books.
Moreno, A. J. (2017). A theoretically and ethically grounded approach to mindfulness practices in the primary grades. *Childhood education, 93*(2), 100-108. doi: 10.1080/00094056.2017.1300487
Mountz, A., Bonds, A., Mansfield, B., Loyd, J., Hyndman, J., Walton-Roberts, M., . . . Curran, W. (2015). For Slow Scholarship: A Feminist Politics of Resistance through Collective Action in the Neoliberal University. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies, 14*(4), 1235-1259.
Mowday, G. A. (2004). *Steiner education in Australia: Maintaining an educational theory given the necessity of practice, Glenaeon Rudolf Steiner School, Sydney, 1957-2000.* (MA), University of Sydney.
Nagata, Y. (2007). *Alternative education: global perspectives relevant to the Asia-Pacific Region* (Vol. 10). Dordrecht: Springer.
Neill, A. S. (1968). *Summerhill*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
News, B. (2013). Frome Steiner school causes controversy. *BBC News*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-20403392
Nico, J. (2005). An Interview with Margret Meyekort. *Gateways, 49*(Fall/Winter), 25-27.
Nielsen, T. W. (2004). *Rudolf Steiner's pedagogy of imagination: a case study of holistic education*. Oxford: Peter Lang.
Nielsen, T. W. (2006). Towards a pedagogy of imagination: a phenomenological case study of holistic education. *Ethnography & Education, 1*(2), 247-264. doi: 10.1080/17457820600715455
Nielsen, T. W. (2010). Towards pedagogy of giving for wellbeing and social engagement *International research handbook on values education and student wellbeing* (pp. 617-630). Dordrecht: Springer.
Nielsen, T. W., & Ma, J. S. (2018). Connecting social and natural ecologies through a curriculum of giving for student wellbeing and engagement. *Australian Journal of Environmental Education, 34*(3), 215-227. doi: 10.1017/aee.2018.41
Oberman, I. (1998). *Fidelity and flexibility in Waldorf education, 1919-1998.* Stanford University, Stanford. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/304542132

Oberman, I. (2007). Learning from Rudolf Steiner: The relevance of Waldorf education for urban public school reform. Online submission, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED498362.pdf.

O'Brien, B. (2004). Anne Macky: A radical in her time. *Context: Journal of Music Research* (27/28), 71-82.

O'Donnell, A. (2015). Contemplative pedagogy and mindfulness: Developing creative attention in an age of distraction. *Journal of Philosophy of Education, 49*(2), 187-202. doi: 10.1111/1467-9752.12136

O'Meally, R. G., Edwards, B. H., & Griffin, F. J. (2004). *Uptown conversation: the new jazz studies*. New York: Columbia University Press.

O'Neill, M., & Harindranath, R. (2006). Theorising narratives of exile and belonging: the importance of Biography and Ethno-mimesis in "understanding" asylum. *Qualitative Sociology Review, 2*(1), 39-53.

Paull, J. (2011). Rudolf Steiner and the Oxford Conference: The birth of Waldorf Education in Britain. *European Journal of Educational Studies, 3*(1), 53-66.

Paull, J. (2012). Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony Griffin: Architects of Anthroposophy. *Journal of Bio-Dynamics Tasmania, 106*, 20-30.

Paull, J. (2014). Ernesto Genoni: Australia's pioneer of biodynamic agriculture. *Journal of Organics, 1*(1), 57-81.

Paull, J. (2017). Ileen Macpherson: Life and tragedy of a pioneer of biodynamic farming at Demeter Farm and a benefactor of Anthroposophy in Australia. *Journal of Organics, 4*(1), 29-56.

Paull, J., & Hennig, B. (2020). Rudolf Steiner Education and Waldorf Schools: Centenary world Maps of the global diffusion of "the school of the future". *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, 6*, 24-33.

Pavlidis, P. (2013). The Ideal of Education and the Emancipation of Labour. *Policy Futures in Education, 11*(3), 299. doi: 10.2304/pfie.2013.11.3.299

People for State Education. (n.d.). About People for State Education. Retrieved October 11, 2013, from www.peopleforstateeducation.org/website/index.html

Pettit, D. (1980). *Opening up schools: School and community in Australia*. Ringwood: Penguin Books.

Plows, V., Bottrell, D., & Te Riele, K. (2017). Valued outcomes in the counter-spaces of alternative education programs: success but on whose scale? *Geographical Research, 55*(1), 29-37. doi: 10.1111/1745-5871.12186

Podolinsky, A. (2015). *Life, Contra Burocratismus*. Powelltown, Vic: Alex Podolinsky.

Popkewitz, T. S. & Brennan, M. (1998). *Foucault's challenge: discourse, knowledge, and power in education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Portelli, A. (1991). The death of Luigi Trastulli and othersStories: Form and meaning in oral history. Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press.

Portelli, A. (1998). Oral History as Genre. In M. Chamberlain & Thompson (Eds.), *Narrative and Genre*. London: Routledge.

Portelli, A. (2005). A Dialogical Relationship. An Approach to Oral History. In M. Jain (Ed.), Expressions Annual. Retrieved from www.swaraj.org/shikshantar/expressions_portelli.pdf

Potts, A. (2007). New Education, Progressive Education and the Counter Culture. *Journal of Educational Administration and History, 39*(2), 145-159. doi: 10.1080/00220620701342304

Rawson, M. (2020). Waldorf education and postmodern spirituality [Preprint]. In T. Stoltz & A. Wiehl (Eds.), *Education – Spirituality – Creativity*. Wiesbaden: Springer (in preparation): Springer (in preparation).

Raywid, M. A. (1999). History and issues of alternative schools. *Education Digest, 64*(9), 47.
Reay, D. (2010). Sociology, social class and education. In M. W. Apple, S. J. Ball & L. A. Gandin (Eds.), *The Routledge international handbook of the sociology of education* (Vol. 396, pp. 396-404). London.
Reed, R. (1975). Curriculum reform in Victorian secondary schools in the late sixties. *Critical Studies in Education, 17*(1), 214-224.
Reid, L., Arnaud. (2008). Aesthetics and education. *Research in dance education, 9*(3), 295-304. doi: 10.1080/14647890802416713
Riddle, S., & Cleaver, D. (2017). Working within and against the grain of policy in an alternative school. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 38*(4), 498-510. doi: 10.1080/01596306.2015.1105790
Riele, t. (2012). Learning choices: A map for the future: Report to Dusseldorp Skills Forum.
Ritchie, D. A. (2003). *Doing oral history: a practical guide* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Ritchie, D. A. (2011). *The Oxford handbook of oral history*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Ritchie, D. A. (2015). *Doing oral history* (Third edition. ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Roe, J. (1986). *Beyond belief: theosophy in Australia 1879-1939*. Kensington: New South Wales University Press.
Roe, J. (1998). Dayspring: Australia and New Zealand as a setting for the "New Age" from the 1890s to Nimbin. In D. Walker & M. J. Bennett (Eds.), *Intellect and Emotion, Perspectives on Australian History, Essays in Honour of Michael Roe*. Geelong Deakin University
Rose, R. (2013). *Transforming criticism of Anthroposophy and Waldorf education: Evolution, race and the quest for global ethics*. UK: Centre for Philosophy and Anthroposophy.
Rosengren, H. (1974, November 8). Their circle of friends. *The Herald*.
Rudd, T., & Goodson, I. (2017). *Negotiating neoliberalism: developing alternative educational visions*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
Rustin, M. (2000). Reflections on the biographical turn in social science. In P. Chamberlayne, J. Bornat & T. Wengraf (Eds.), *The turn to biographical methods in social science: comparative issues and examples* (pp. 33-52). New York: Routledge.
Safit, I., & Gerwin, D. (2019). *Into the world: How Waldorf graduates fare after high school*. Hudson: Waldorf Publications.
Sagarin, S. K. (2011). *The Story of Waldorf Education in the United States: Past, Present, and Future*. Great Barrington: Steinerbooks.
Saggau, W. (2018). Waldorf education in Germany. In M. Mills & G. McCluskey (Eds.), *International Perspectives on Alternative Education: Policy and practice*. London: UCL Press.
Sahlberg, P. (2012). Global Educational Reform Movement is here! '[Blog post]'. Retrieved from https://pasisahlberg.com/global-educational-reform-movement-is-here/
Salter, J. (1987). *The incarnating child*. Stroud: Hawthorn Press.
Santi, M., & Zorzi, E. (2016). *Education As Jazz: Interdisciplinary Sketches on a New Metaphor* (Vol. 1st unabridged). Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Sarath, E. (2016). A Consciousness-Based Look at Spontaneous Creativity. In B. Piekut & G. E. Lewis (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Critical Improvisation Studies* (Vol. 2, pp. 132). New York: Oxford University Press.

Sarath, E. (2016). Meditation, Improvisation, and Paradigmatic Change: Integrity of Practice as Key to Individual and Collective Transformation. *The Journal of Contemplative Inquiry, 3*(1), 85-96.

Sarath, E. W. (2013). *Improvisation, creativity, and consciousness: Jazz as integral template for music, education, and society*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Schaefer, C., & Voors, T. (1996). *Vision in action: working with soul & spirit in small organizations*. New York: Steiner Books.

Scharmer, C. O. (2009). *Theory U: leading from the future as it emerges: the social technology of presencing*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.

Schleicher, A. (2011). The case for 21st century learning. *OECD Observer, 282*, 42-43.

Schonert-Reichl, K. A., & Roeser, R. W. (2016). *Handbook of Mindfulness in Education: Integrating Theory and Research into Practice*: Springer New York.

Schulzke, E. (2012, June 13). Charter Schools test church and state boundary. *Deseret News*. Retrieved from http://www.deseretnews.com/article/765583126/Charter-schools-test-church-and-state-boundary.html?pg=all

Schuster, J. (2003). About, Biosculptural Architecture. Retrieved June 30, 2019, from http://biosculpturalarchitecture.com/about/biosculptural-architecture/

Selg, P. (2013). Interview. In J. Stedall (Ed.), *The Challenge of Rudolf Steiner*. Youtube.

Shantz, J. (2009). Biographical Sociology: Struggles over an Emergent Sociological Practice. *A/B, 24*(1), 113-128.

Sherman, J. (2011). interviewed for the film 'The Challenge of Rudolf Steiner'. In J. Stedall (Ed.). Youtube: Cupola Productions LTD.

Sliwka, A. (2008). The contribution of alternative education. In OECD (Ed.), *Innovating to learn, learning to innovate*. OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development).

Smith, M., & Crossley, D. J. (1975). *The Way Out: Radical Alternatives in Australia*: Melbourne: Lansdowne.

Smith, S. J. (2017). Slow down and smell the eucalypts: Blue Gum Community School and the slow education movement. *Journal of Global Education and Research, 1*(1), 16-34. doi: 10.5038/2577-509X.1.1.1006

Sophia Mundi Steiner School. (1985). Sophia Mundi Newsletter.

Spence, M. (2013). *The Story of Emerson College: Its Founding Impulse, Work and Form*. Forest Row: Temple Lodge Press.

Stedall, J. (Writer). (2012). The challenge of Rudolf Steiner [Documentary]. In J. Stedall (Producer): Cupola Productions.

Steen, S. (2012). *Ownership, self-organisation and diversity as the main characteristics of independent schools*. Paper presented at the Portuguese Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, "New Schools" Conference, Lisbon and Faro.

Stehlik, T. (2002). *Each Parent Carries the Flame: Waldorf Schools as Sites for Promoting Lifelong Learning, Creating Community, and Educating for Social Renewal*. Flaxton: Post Pressed.

Stehlik, T. (2008). Thinking, feeling, and willing: How Waldorf Schools provide a creative pedagogy that nurtures and develops imagination. In T. A. W. Leonard, P. (Ed.), *Pedagogies of the Imagination* (pp. 231-243): Springer Science + Business Media B.V.

Stehlik, T. (2019). *Waldorf schools and the history of Steiner education: an international view of 100 years*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
Steiner Education Australia. (2017). Steiner Education Australia. Retrieved December 15, 2017, from http://steiner-australia.org/
Steiner, R. (1985). *Renewal of the social organism*. Hudson: SteinerBooks.
Steiner, R (1987). *The Boundaries of Natural Science.* Hudson: SteinerBooks
Steiner, R. (1995). *Anthroposophy in everyday life*. Hudson: SteinerBooks.
Steiner, R. (2017). *The First Class, Lessons and Mantras: The Michael School Meditative Path in Nineteen Steps*. Hudson: SteinerBooks.
Steiner, R., & Allen, P. M. (1970). *Education as an art*. Blauvelt: Steiner Books.
Steiner Waldorf Education Fellowship. (2008). *Statement in response to reports from the Cambridge Review and the National Foundation for Educational Research* [Press release]. Retrieved from www.steinerwaldorf.org/
Steiner Waldorf Education Fellowship. (2017). Steiner Waldorf Education Fellowship. Retrieved December 10, 2017, from https://www.steinerwaldorf.org/
Steiner Waldorf Schools Fellowship. (2020). Transfer of Steiner Academies to Avanti. Retrieved January 20, 2020, from https://www.steinerwaldorf.org/steiner-schools/list-of-schools/
Stokes, M. A. P. (2010). *A Poetics of Care: Mourning, Consolation, Healing.* (PhD), The University of Melbourne.
Stover, C. (2017). Affect and Improvising Bodies. *Perspectives of New Music* (2), 5-66.
Strain, M. (1997). Taking the Discursive Turn: critical studies in language, discrimination and schooling. *Curriculum Studies, 5*(3), 369-378. doi: 10.1080/14681369700200018
Taubman, P. M. (2009). *Teaching by numbers: deconstructing the discourse of standards and accountability in education*. New York: Routledge.
Taylor, C. (2008). Secularism and critique. Retrieved October 14, 2013, from: http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/2008/04/24/secularism-and-critique/ '[Blog post]'. Retrieved from http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/2008/04/24/secularism-and-critique/
Taylor, J. (2011). The intimate insider: negotiating the ethics of friendship when doing insider research. *Qualitative Research, 11*(1), 3-22. doi: 10.1177/1468794110384447
te Riele, K. (2007). Educational Alternatives for Marginalised Youth. *Australian Educational Researcher (Australian Association for Research in Education), 34*(3), 53-68.
te Riele, K. (2014). Putting the jigsaw together: Flexible learning programs in Australia. Final report. Melbourne: Victoria University.
Teese, R. (2014). *For the common weal: the public high school in Victoria, 1910 - 2010*: North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing Pty Ltd, 2014.
The Steiner-Waldorf schools Fellowship of the UK and Ireland. (2020). What is Steiner education. Retrieved 19/11/2020, 2020, from https://www.steinerwaldorf.org/steiner-education/what-is-steiner-education/
Thompson, J. (2012). interviewed for the film 'The Challenge of Rudolf Steiner'. In J. Stedall (Ed.). Youtube: Cupolla Productions LTD.
Thomson, A. (2011). Memory and remembering in oral history. In D. A. Ritchie (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of oral history* (pp. 77-95). New York: Oxford University Press.
Tomazin, F. (2008, April 29). Warning on state Steiner schools. *The Age*. Retrieved from https://www.theage.com.au/national/warning-on-state-steiner-schools-20080429-ge70ov.html

Topsfield, J. (2011a, November 23). Blocking the Stream. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from http://www.smh.com.au/national/education/blocking-the-stream-20111122-1nsu5.html

Topsfield, J. (2011b, November 29). Handling of Steiner closure criticised. *The Age*. Retrieved from https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/handling-of-steiner-closure-criticised-20111128-1o3c4.html

Trimmer, K., Black, A., & Riddle, S. (2015). *Mainstreams, margins and the spaces in-between. new possibilities for education research*. London: Routledge.

Uhrmacher, P. B. (1995). Uncommon Schooling: A Historical Look at Rudolf Steiner, Anthroposophy, and Waldorf Education. *Curriculum Inquiry, 25*(4), 381-406.

Usher, R., Bryant, I., & Johnston, R. (1997). *Adult education and the postmodern challenge: learning beyond the limits*. New York: Routledge.

Vaughan, M. (2006). *Summerhill and AS Neill*. London: McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

Ver Eecke, M. (2017). Balance Arises out of Movement and Stillness: Healing Observations of a Eurythmy Teacher. *The Swing of the Pendulum* (pp. 101-110). Rotterdam: Brill Sense.

Verger, A., Altinyelken, H. K., & Koning, M. D. (Eds.). (2013). *Global Managerial Education Reforms and Teachers Emerging policies, controversies and issues in developing contexts*. Amsterdam: Education International Research Institute.

Wagner, J. (1993). Ignorance in educational research or, how can you not know that? *Educational Researcher, 22*(5), 15-23.

Waldorf 100. (2017). Waldorf 100. Retrieved December 15, 2017, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wfec6eF4I_4

Warren, W. (2007). Steiner education in State Schools. *The Religion Report: Steiner education in State Schools*: Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

Waters, C. (2021, March 8). Redbubble founder bankrolls mindfulness courses. *Sydney Morning Herald.* Retrieved from https://www.smh.com.au/business/small-business/redbubble-founder-bankrolls-mindfulness-courses-20210308-p578oh.html

Waters, R. (2017). 'Edu-diversity': the role of alternatives in education. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 39*(6), 954-964. doi: 10.1080/01596306.2017.1389433

Watson, A. (1998). *Beyond architecture: Marion Mahony and Walter Burley Griffin: America, Australia, India*: Powerhouse Publishing.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

West, J. (1994). The Steiner-Waldorf School Movement in Australia *Waldorf Education Worldwide: celebrating the 75th Anniversary of the Uhlandshohe Waldorf School in Stuttgart* (pp. 183-190). Stuttgart: Freie Waldorfschule Uhlandshohe.

White, N. R. (1995). *School matters: the Preshil alternative in education*. Port Melbourne: Mandarin.

Whitehead, A. (1975). An Example of Rudolf Steiner Education. In M. Smith & D. Crossley (Eds.), *The Way Out: Radical Alternatives in Australia* (pp. 74-77). Melbourne: Lansdowne Press.

Whitehead, A. (2001). *Memoirs of a Rudolf Steiner teacher*. Blackheath, NSW: Golden Beetle Books.

Whitehead, K. (2016). *Lillian de Lissa, women teachers and teacher education in the twentieth century: a transnational history*. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Wingall, L. (1999). Built in, Not Bolted on. Information Kit for Language, Literacy and Numeracy Coordinators on Incorporating Communication Skills into Training

Packages: Australian National Training Authority, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED435796.pdf.

Wood, R., V. (2002). Richardson, Mervyn Victor (1893-1972). In J. Ritchie & L. Dianne (Eds.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/richardson-mervyn-victor-11517: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University.

Woods, P., Ashley, M., & Woods, G. (2005). Steiner Schools in England: Research report RR645. Bristol: University of West England.

Woods, P., & Woods, G. (2002). Policy on school diversity: taking an existential turn in the pursuit of valued learning? *British Journal of Education of Studies, 50*(2), 254-278.

Woods, P. A., & Woods, G. J. (2009). *Alternative education for the 21st century: philosophies, approaches, visions*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Yonemura, M. (1990). Shared Visions and Common Roots: Montessori, Pratt and Steiner. *The Educational Forum, 54*(1), 49-64. doi: 10.1080/00131728909335517

Young, J. (2007). *The school on the flat: Collingwood College 1882-2007*. Collingwood: Collingwood College.

Zajonc, A. (2009). *Meditation as Contemplative Inquiry*. Great Barrington: Lindisfarne Books.

Zajonc, A. (2013). Contemplative pedagogy: A quiet revolution in higher education. *New Directions for Teaching and Learning, 134*, 83-94. doi: https://doi.org/10.1002/tl.20057

Zenner, C., Herrnleben-Kurz, S., & Walach, H. (2014). Mindfulness-based interventions in schools-a systematic review and meta-analysis. *Frontiers in Psychology, 5*. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2014.00603

Zundick, W. (2008). In us or nowhere, is eternity: philosophical reflections on the exhibition of blackboard drawings by Joseph Beuys and Rudolf Steiner at the National Gallery of Victoria. In A. Hollan (Ed.), *Joseph Beuys & Rudolph Steiner: imagination, inspiration, intuition* (pp. 53-70). Melbourne: Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria.

Appendix A – Paper 1

Insider-outsider research on Steiner education

Citation details:

Bak, T. (2015). Insider/outsider research on Steiner education in Australia: one researcher's struggles with positioning. In K. Trimmer, A. Black & S. Riddle (Eds.), Mainstreams, Margins and the Spaces In-between: New Possibilities for Education Research (pp. 94-111). London: Routledge.

Appendix B – Paper 2

‘Embodied knowing’: Exploring the founding of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School

Citation details:

Bak, T. (2018). ‘Embodied knowing’: Exploring the founding of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School in 1970s Victoria, Australia. History of Education, 47(2), 285-300. doi: 10.1080/0046760X.2017.1420248

Appendix C – Paper 3

Each from their own soil: an exploration of the creation of two Steiner schools in 1980s Victoria, Australia

Citation details:

Bak, T. (2020). Each from their own soil: an exploration of the creation of two Steiner schools in 1980s Victoria, Australia. Paedagogica Historica, 1-19. doi: 10.1080/00309230.2020.1762676

Published online: 20 Jul 2020.

Appendix D – Paper 4

Stepping into the mainstream: exploring Steiner streams in publicly funded schools in Australia, 1990-2011

Publication details:

Submitted to Educational Review, Oct 5, 2020

Status: under review

Appendix E – Paper 5

Where does Steiner fit? A contemporary framing of Steiner education within the shifting education landscape in Australia

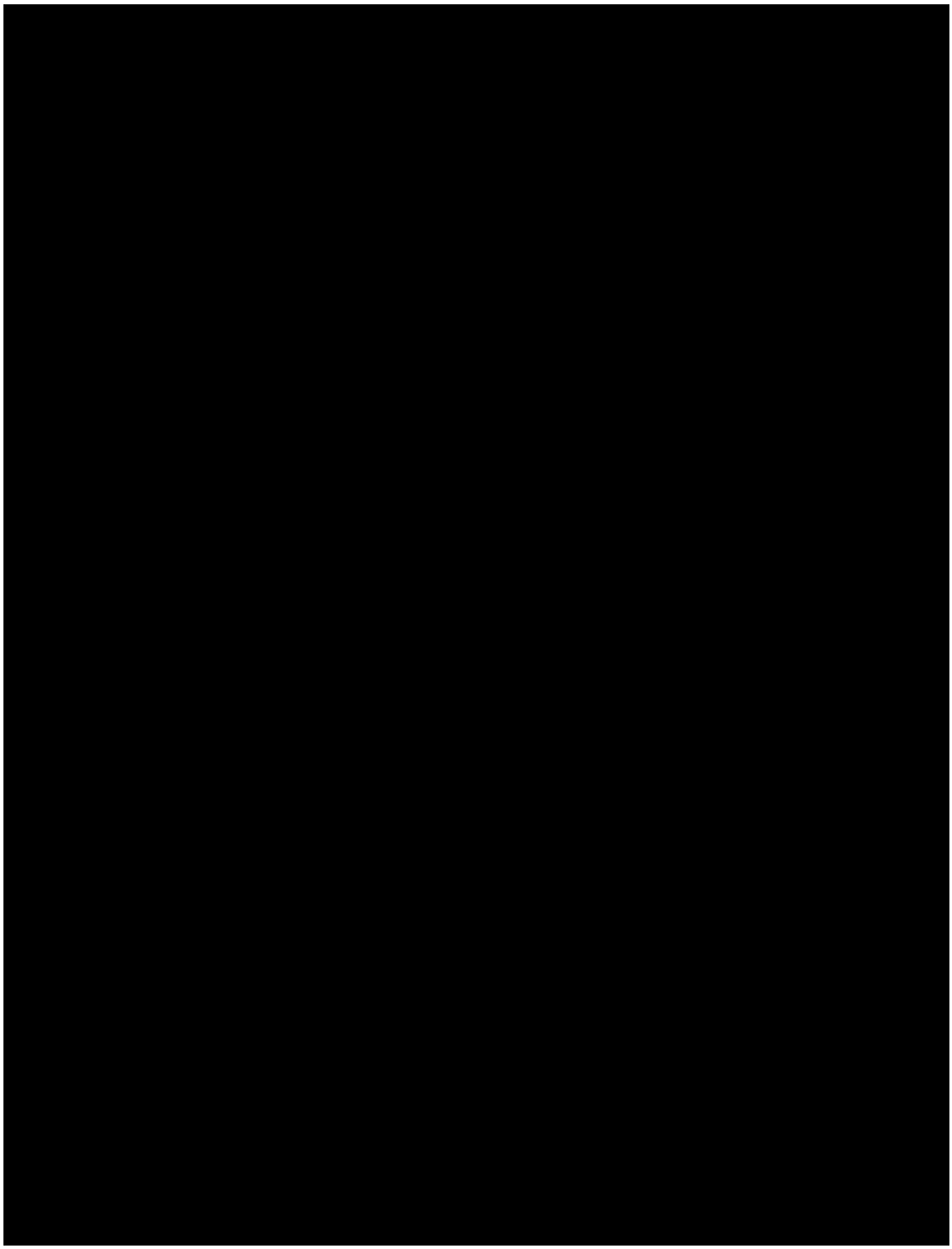
Citation details:

Bak, T. (2014). Where does Steiner fit? A contemporary framing of Steiner education within the shifting education landscape in Australia. In L. Burrows & T. Stehlik (Eds.), *Teaching with spirit: New perspectives on Steiner education in Australia* (pp. 213-223.). Murwillumbah, NSW: IB Publications Pty Ltd.

Appendix F – AARE paper – 2017

Steiner as a form of "slow education"

Forgetting the rush: examining the founding of a Steiner school through the lens of slow education. Australian Association for Research in Education (AARE) Conference, Canberra, November 27, 2017.



In this paper I suggested that a significant theme to emerge out of my interviews was the notion of slowness, or as one of the study participants put it: “forgetting all rush”. I traced recent interest in “slow scholarship” (Holt, 2002; Mountz et al., 2015; Lasczik & Irwin, 2017; Meyerhoff & Noterman, 2019) as extending from the slow food and slow living movements, and as driven in part by an interest in reclaiming moments. I noted the desire within the slow food moment to be attentively conscious, not swept along by industrialised streamlined processes, but rather to be present. This desire and intention is evident in any “slow” based outlook, and has affinity with the contemplative turn in education, and with the inner-life focus of Steiner educators as accentuated in this study as a key point of demarcation for Steiner education practice. I linked the Steiner approach to the ideals of the UK based slow education movement (Holt, 2002; Barker, 2012), which advocates for 1) time for deep learning experiences with real outcomes; 2) time for curiosity, passion and reflection to be at the heart of learning experiences; and 3) time for dynamic, collaborative, democratic and supportive relationships for learning. Related initiatives noted include the Blackburn and Darwen Slow Education Research Network and in Australia the Blue Gum Community School (Canberra) which works explicitly with Slow principles, and has been examined by Stephen Smith, from university of Newcastle (2017). I suggested that many of the values and ideals of the slow education movement have been evident in Steiner education practice since its inception in 1919. I then drew on the accounts of my participants involved with the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School to foreground several examples. The first of these was the conscious effort made to *forget all rush*, covering less, but covering it deeply.

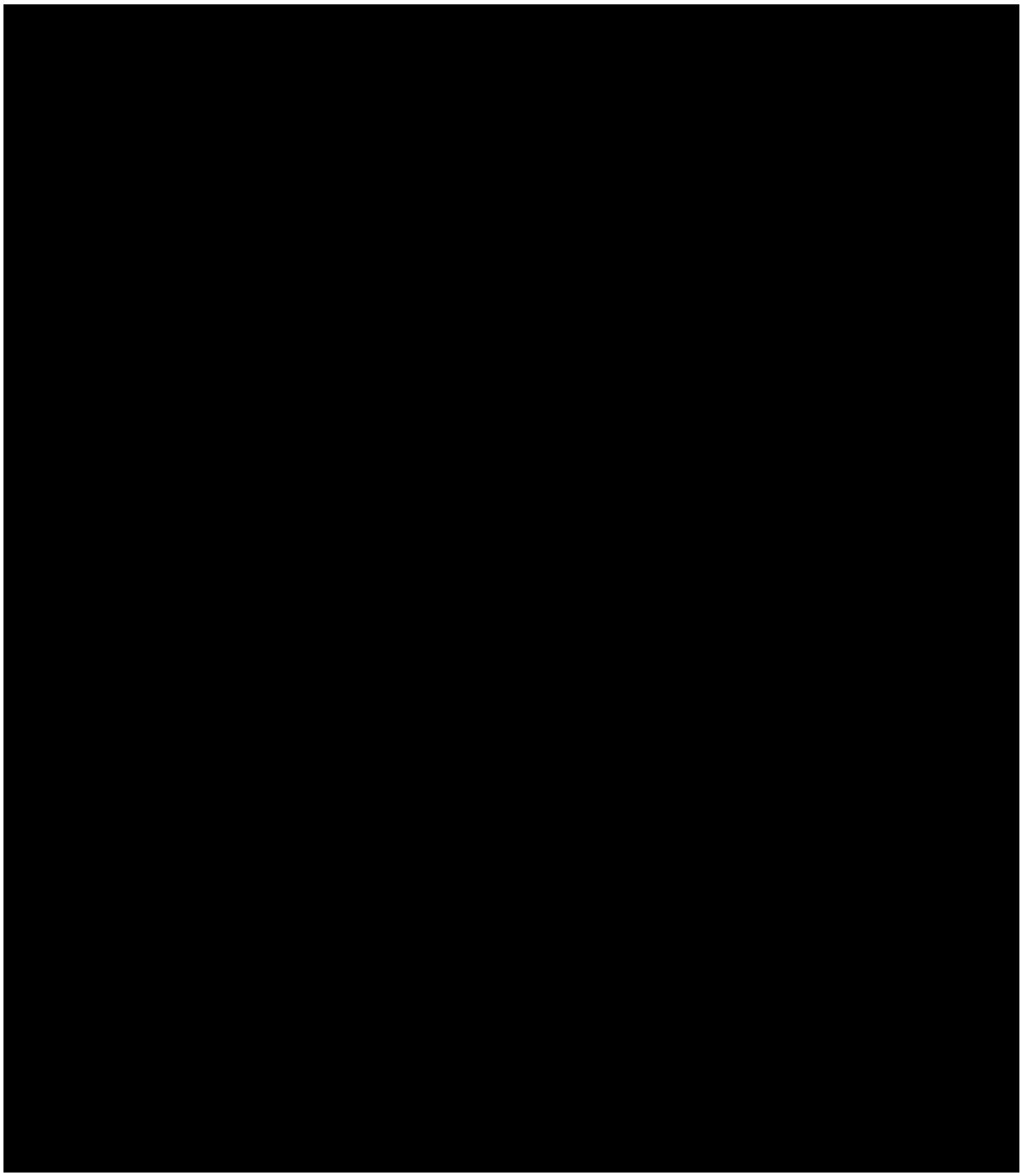
The second was conscious space made to *meet the day*, particularly in the early day of the school when, if it was sunny, the class teacher would often take the class for a walk. The third was the acknowledgement of *place* that is central within Steiner education (Boland, 2016) – and that is evident particularly in the outdoor education programs that seek to "be with", rather than to "overcome" the natural spaces that are typically visited. The example of the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School year 9 students canoeing down the Murray River blindfolded charged with "hearing" the riverscape, was drawn on, to give one very brief but not untypical example. It was noted that such activities are usually chosen to be age appropriate and part of an intricately conceived program that displays the type of sensitive logic, and "education of the senses" that distinguishes between "surviving" the natural landscape and "moving gently through" it. As noted in Chapter 3, the notion of slow represented a third metaphor that informed the thinking through of Steiner education as an alternative that constituted the central work of this study.

Appendix G – The Conversation article – 2014

Series on alternative education

In 2014 I was invited to contribute to a series on alternative education on the basis of my undertaking this research project. Below is the article:

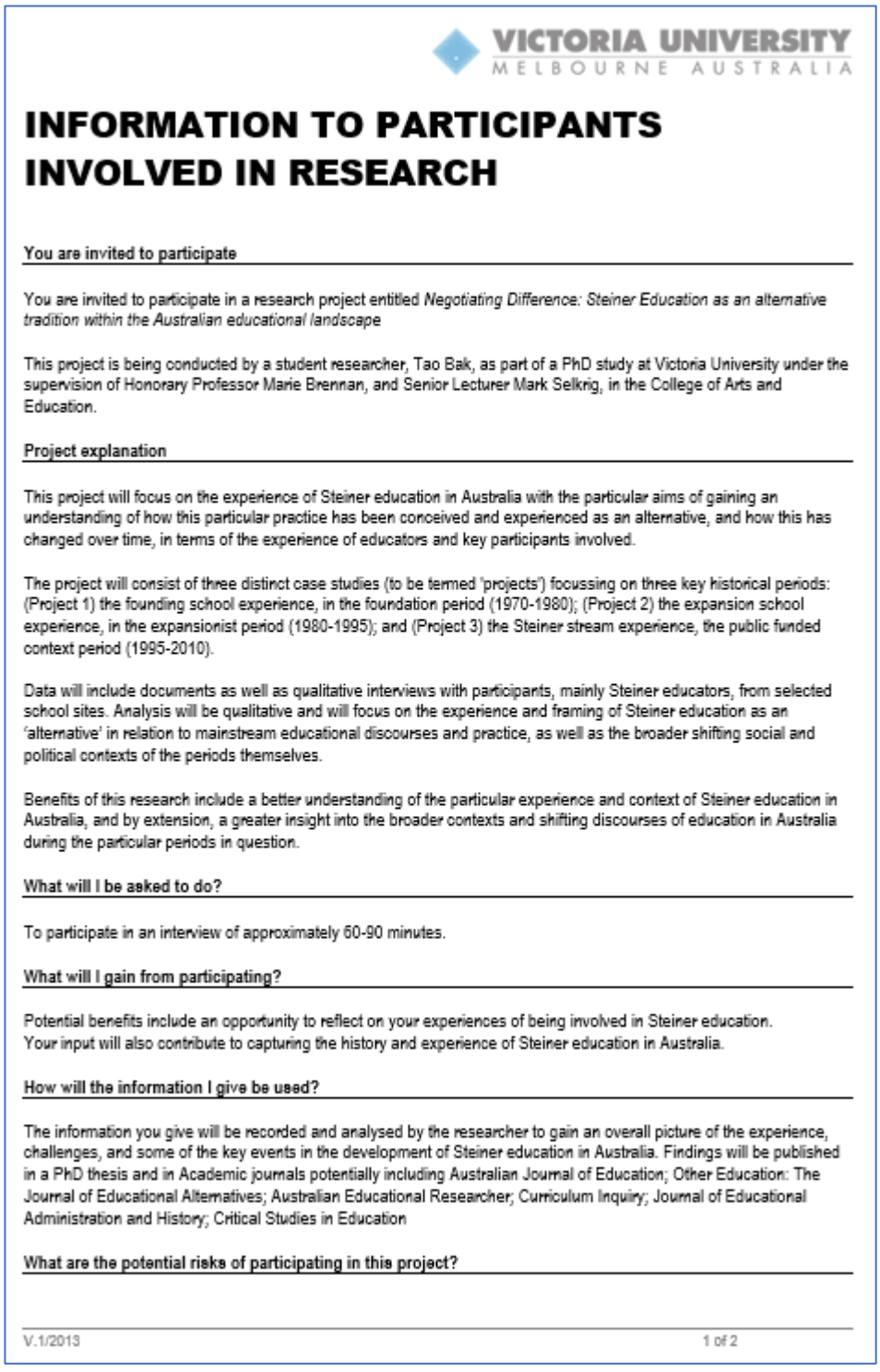
For creativity, capability and resilience, Steiner schools work
The Conversation, June 26, 2014.
URL: https://theconversation.com/for-creativity-capability-and-resilience-steiner-schools-work-24763. (Reach as of 18-11-2020 **39,636** readers).



Appendix H: Ethics

Ethics approval was obtained through Victoria University Ethics Committee HRE14-299:

Plain Language Statement



VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

INFORMATION TO PARTICIPANTS INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

You are invited to participate

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled *Negotiating Difference: Steiner Education as an alternative tradition within the Australian educational landscape*

This project is being conducted by a student researcher, Tao Bak, as part of a PhD study at Victoria University under the supervision of Honorary Professor Marie Brennan, and Senior Lecturer Mark Selkrig, in the College of Arts and Education.

Project explanation

This project will focus on the experience of Steiner education in Australia with the particular aims of gaining an understanding of how this particular practice has been conceived and experienced as an alternative, and how this has changed over time, in terms of the experience of educators and key participants involved.

The project will consist of three distinct case studies (to be termed 'projects') focussing on three key historical periods: (Project 1) the founding school experience, in the foundation period (1970-1980); (Project 2) the expansion school experience, in the expansionist period (1980-1995); and (Project 3) the Steiner stream experience, the public funded context period (1995-2010).

Data will include documents as well as qualitative interviews with participants, mainly Steiner educators, from selected school sites. Analysis will be qualitative and will focus on the experience and framing of Steiner education as an 'alternative' in relation to mainstream educational discourses and practice, as well as the broader shifting social and political contexts of the periods themselves.

Benefits of this research include a better understanding of the particular experience and context of Steiner education in Australia, and by extension, a greater insight into the broader contexts and shifting discourses of education in Australia during the particular periods in question.

What will I be asked to do?

To participate in an interview of approximately 60-90 minutes.

What will I gain from participating?

Potential benefits include an opportunity to reflect on your experiences of being involved in Steiner education.
Your input will also contribute to capturing the history and experience of Steiner education in Australia.

How will the information I give be used?

The information you give will be recorded and analysed by the researcher to gain an overall picture of the experience, challenges, and some of the key events in the development of Steiner education in Australia. Findings will be published in a PhD thesis and in Academic journals potentially including Australian Journal of Education; Other Education: The Journal of Educational Alternatives; Australian Educational Researcher; Curriculum Inquiry; Journal of Educational Administration and History; Critical Studies in Education

What are the potential risks of participating in this project?

V.1/2013 1 of 2

Potential risks associated with participating in this subject include the risk that you may be inadvertently prompted to recount experiences that were challenging for you professionally or personally. There is a small risk there that participants may feel some distress following the interview. In the case that this occurs, the participant will be directed to appropriate professional support services, based on Victoria University ethics protocols.

How will this project be conducted?

Participants for each of the 3 case studies will be sought from selected Steiner schools to supplement key documentary data. If interested in taking part, participants will be asked to contact the Student Research, Tao Bak, by phone or email and an interview will be arranged at a time and place that suits the participant. Interviews will be 60-90 minutes in length, and the participant may be contacted, usually by phone, to clarify something if needed. The interviews will be audio recorded, and analysed by the researcher to gain understanding of key events and experiences of Steiner educators involved at the particular school.

Who is conducting the study?

Victoria University, Melbourne, Australia.

Chief Investigator:
Honorary Professor Marie Brennan
College of Arts and Education Footscray Park.
Marie.brennan@vu.edu.au
Phone: 03) 9919 4844

Student Researcher:
Tao Bak
PhD Candidate, College of Arts and Education, Footscray Park
Geerttao.bak@live.vu.edu.au
Phone: 0401771904

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the Chief Investigator listed above.
If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781 or 4461.

Sample consent form

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

INFORMATION TO PARTICIPANTS:
We would like to invite you to be a part of a study into *Steiner education as an alternative tradition in the Australian educational landscape*

The aim of the research is to trace and examine the experience of Steiner education in Australia with a particular focus on how this particular practice has been conceived and experienced as an alternative, and how this has changed over time, in terms of the experience of educators and key participants involved.

The project will draw on documentary data as well as qualitative interviews with participants, primarily Steiner educators, from select sites.

Potential risks associated with participating in this subject include the risk that you participants may be inadvertently prompted to recount experiences that were professionally or personally challenging. There is a small risk there that participants may feel some distress following the interview. In the case that this occurs, the participant will be directed to appropriate professional support services, based on Victoria University ethics protocols.

Benefits of this research include a better understanding of the particular experience and context of Steiner education in Australia.

CERTIFICATION BY SUBJECT

I,
of

certify that I am at least 18 years old* and that I am voluntarily giving my consent to participate in the study: *Negotiating Difference: Steiner Education as an alternative tradition within the Australian educational landscape* being conducted at Victoria University by: Professor Marie Brennan

I certify that the objectives of the study, together with any risks and safeguards associated with the procedures listed hereunder to be carried out in the research, have been fully explained to me by:

Mr Tao Bak

and that I freely consent to participation involving the below mentioned procedures: attend an individual interview of approximately 60-90 minutes. Interviews will be audio recorded for analysis.

I certify that I have had the opportunity to have any questions answered and that I understand that I can withdraw from this study at any time up until publication of findings and that this withdrawal will not jeopardise me in any way.

I will be offered the opportunity to have a pseudonym assigned rather than revealing my real name.

Signed:

Date:

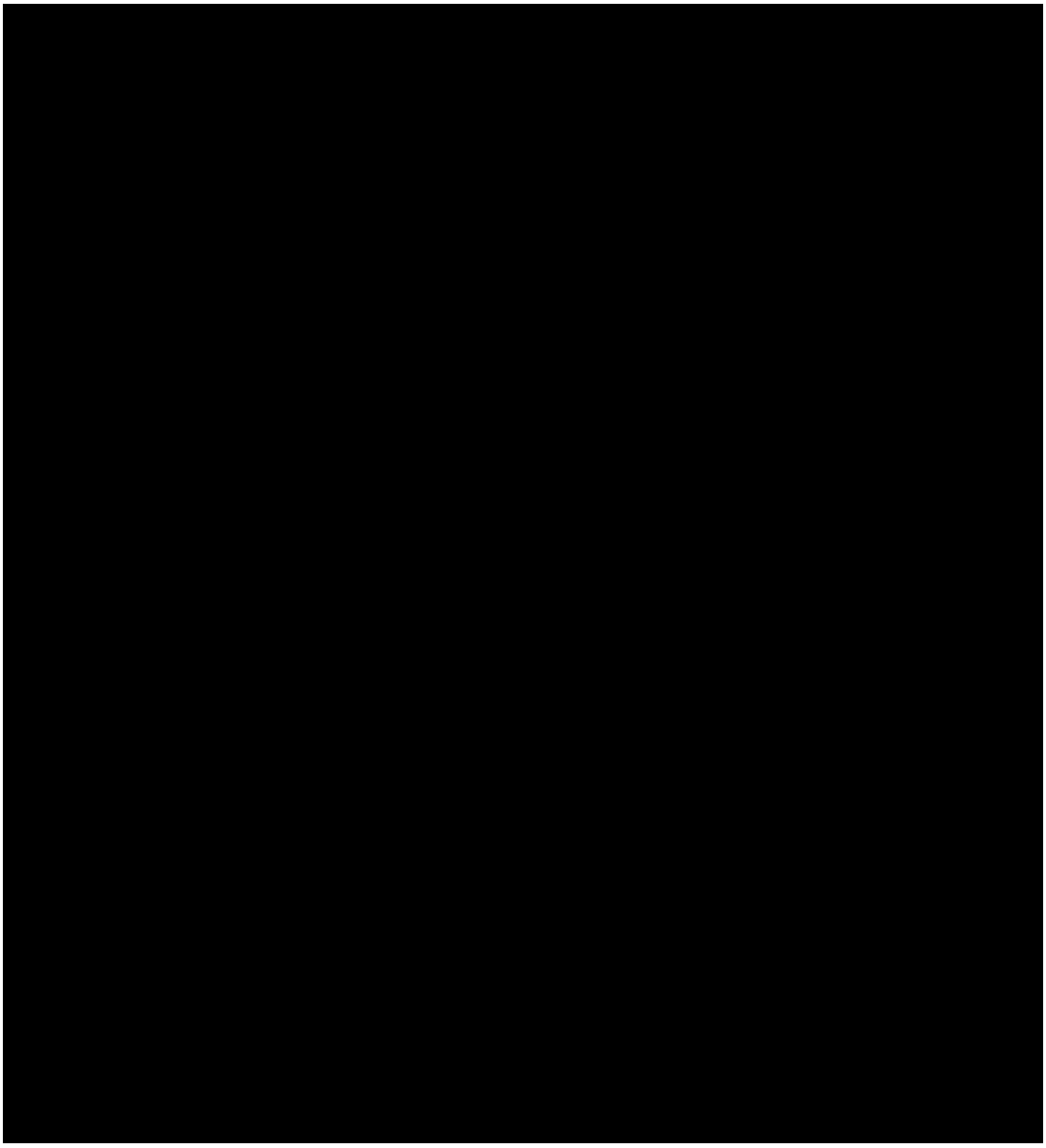
Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the researchers
Professor Marie Brennan, (03) 9919 4844; Senior Lecturer Dr Mark Selkrig (03) 9919 2979; Mr Tao Bak 0401 771 904

If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email Researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781 or 4461.

Appendix I - Other conference presentations

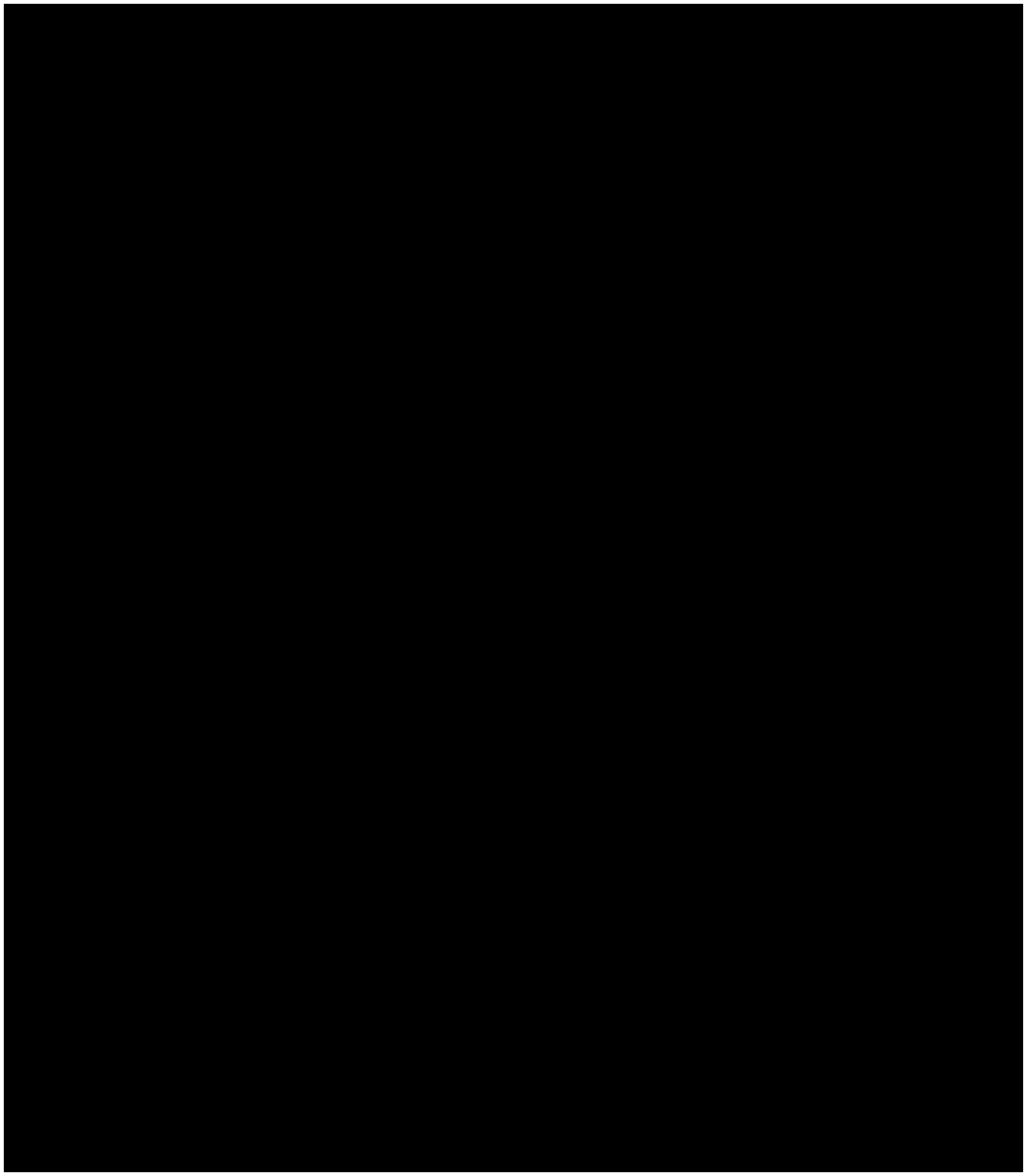
2015 ANZHES – Wellington

Streams within and without: experiences of Steiner education as a founding alternative in 1970s Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society (ANZHES) Conference, Wellington, New Zealand, Dec 5, 2015.



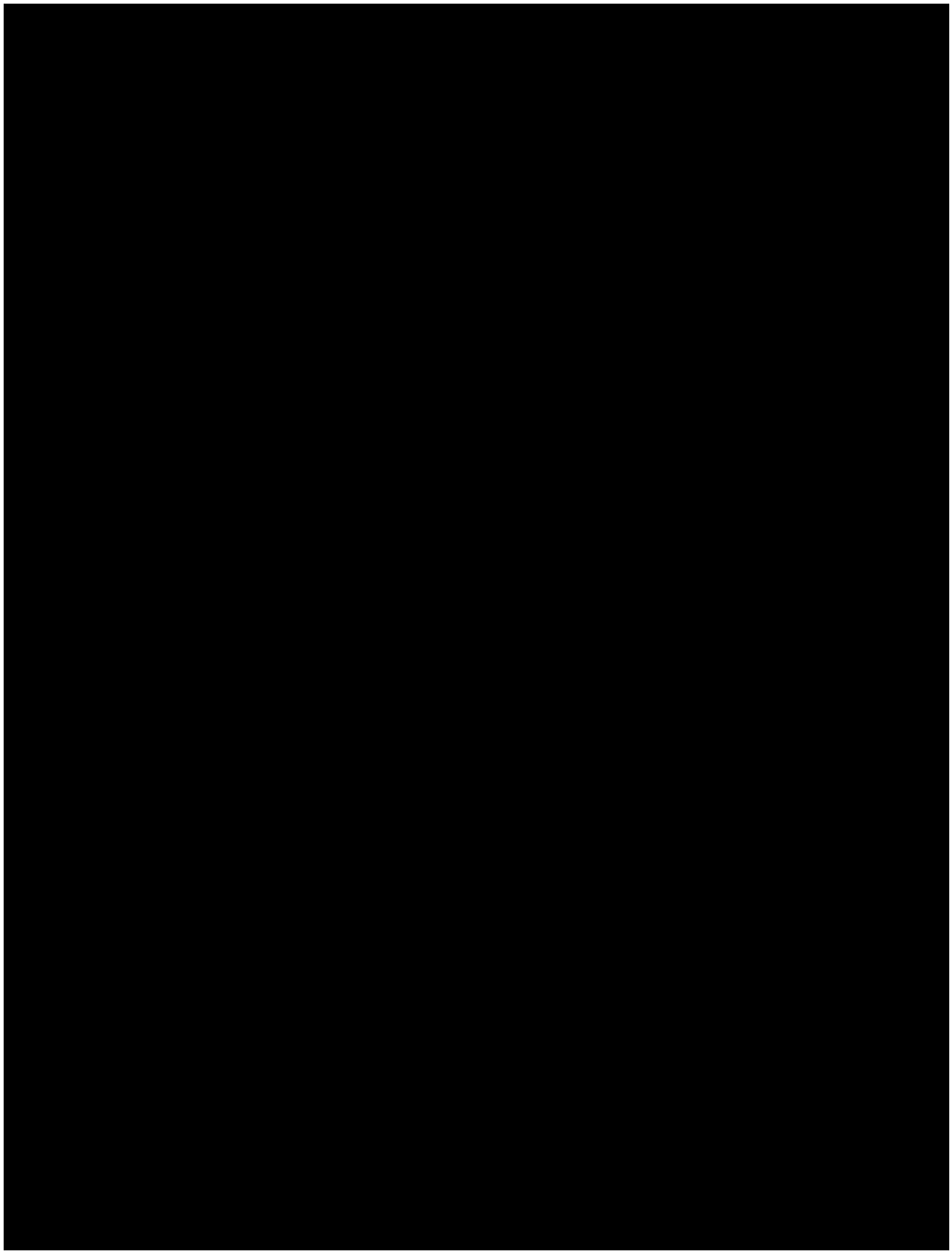
2016 ANZHES – Melbourne

Global communities and local practices: exploring the foundation of Steiner education in 1970s Victoria, Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society (ANZHES) Conference, Melbourne University, July 9, 2016.



2016 HES/ANZHES – Malvern

Journeys into an educational way of knowing: exploring the establishment of Steiner education as an alternative in 1970s Victoria. Sight Sound and Text in the History of Education, History of Education Society/ Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society (HES/ANZHES) joint conference. Malvern, UK, Nov 20, 2016.

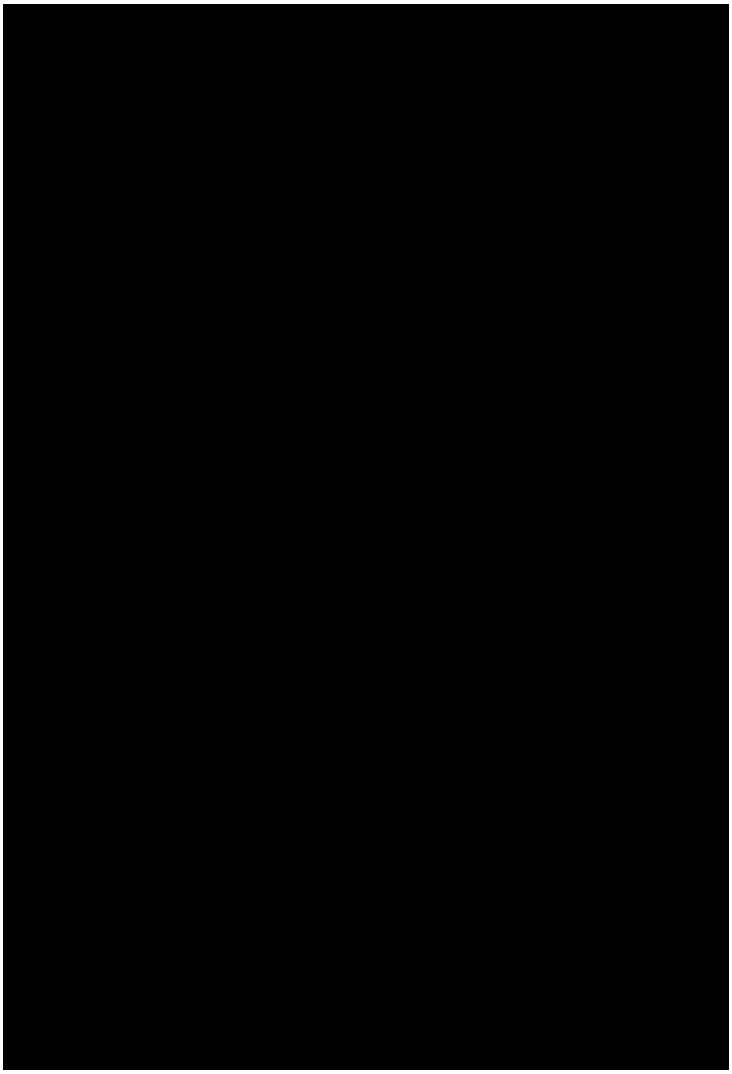


2019 VSSCD – Melbourne (Keynote)

History of Steiner Schools in Victoria, Victorian Steiner Schools Curriculum Day, Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School, August 23, 2019.

This presentation was based on my research findings to date and commemorated the occasion of Waldorf 100 – the centenary of Steiner education globally.

Attendance: 300



2020 ANZHES – Zoom Mini Conference

Pockets of pedagogical difference: exploring Steiner streams in publicly funded schools in Australia, 1990-2011, Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society (ANZHES) Mini Conference, Zoom, Nov 19, 2015.