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# Waldorf Education and Rudolf Steiner Schools as a Topic of Educational Science

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## **Abstract**

*The highly controversial Waldorf pedagogy has changed its relationships to educational sciences in the last decades, especially through their own teacher training institutions that became academic under the necessary Bologna process. Also, the growing number of Waldorf schools worldwide draws more attention because of pedagogical competition and some practices which are interesting for the mainstream schools. I will try to present this new attention and the following encounter between two quite different knowledge domains by concentrating on the most interesting developments and an understanding from the perspective of educational science. This requires certain paradigmatic examples to cause even more interest. Some of my paradigmatic examples have been confirmed in academic seminars at a German university and in some international places.*

**Key words:** *alternative pedagogy; educational science; Rudolf Steiner; traditional schooling; Waldorf pedagogy.*

## **Introduction**

Why should there be an educational scientific look at Waldorf education?

The first Waldorf School was established in Stuttgart (Germany) in 1919, for the children of the people who worked in the Waldorf-Astoria Cigarette Factory. Rudolf Steiner, the Austrian philosopher with a complex approach to all human activities (Anthroposophy), and Emil Molt, the Factory director, started the school.

Nowadays (March 2012), there are 1,023 schools all over the world (including Russia (18), China (3), Israel (11), Japan (8), Korea (5), Egypt (1)), but they are mostly active in the Netherlands (85), Scandinavia (120), Austria (18), and Germany (229). In Croatia, there are two of them (Zagreb, Rijeka).

Waldorf or Rudolf Steiner schools are well-known today, and there is a growing amount of literature about them, mainly in German and English. The first overview is to be found in Wikipedia. Academic literature appeared in 1929 with the first dissertation and, up to 1962, there were 5 dissertations including the first one not from Germany (Manitoba 1962).

Specific features of these schools are also well-known, such as having no headmaster, being focused on arts and handicraft, teaching some subjects for weeks, getting methods and contents orientated towards the students' developmental phases. Besides, it is well-known that there is a kind of esoteric understanding of children, e.g. their rebirth and karma.

Waldorf education is probably one of the most controversial pedagogies, at least in the communities of educational scientists and politicians. Therefore, it might be pedagogically interesting to understand this pedagogy from the perspective of educational sciences. This is especially interesting since some of the special Waldorf teacher training institutions are starting to gain their academic status, approved by the state, for instance, in Stuttgart, Mannheim, and Alfter (Bonn) in Germany, Oslo in Norway and Vienna/Krems in Austria.

Such a scientific issue might be founded on the following theoretical approach: (a) one of the most important issues in educational sciences refers to pedagogies because they are decisive frameworks of all pedagogical activities. There is no education, instruction, and upbringing (Ger. *Bildung*) without a specific pedagogical framework. (b) If there are the so-called alternative pedagogies, e.g. Montessori or Waldorf pedagogy, all other (mainstream) pedagogies are logically alternatives, as well. Therefore, the selection of any mainstream pedagogy must be equally founded on educational sciences and proved by them. If an alternative pedagogy is understood as a kind of dogma, this often critical understanding might be based on another pedagogical dogma, not proved or even noted yet. The supposition that every pedagogical approach needs a dogma based on the ways of life (it cannot be proved by sciences) was positively considered in the humanities (Ger. *Geisteswissenschaften*) first in the 1920s (Tenorth, 1989) and then in the last decades (Tenorth, 1989; Meder 2004). As jurisprudence sometimes understands itself as a *dogmatic science* because it might be based on different dogmas – e.g. *case law* in GB, *fixed law* in France and Germany – or on *Sharia* in Muslim nations, educational sciences could be dogmatic, too. (c) If an understanding of dogma with a predominantly negative meaning has to be changed into a neutral, self-evident, and epistemic helpful understanding, an investigation of pedagogies with dogmas different than the mainstream one might be also helpful for its better and more critical understanding. (d) Waldorf education is quite a different approach which especially makes one aware of one's own alternative position in the mainstream education with their dogmas.

If we accept that there are different pedagogies with different outcomes (successive in the history but, today, quite often simultaneously used), we need some instruments to understand their differences and find out how to treat them scientifically.

## Standard Instruments for Investigating Pedagogies, Especially Waldorf Pedagogy

First, we need a system of pedagogies which cannot be hierarchic, but must have a topic-based structure (Paschen, 1997). It theoretically means that all pedagogies or their basic forms are equally selectable if their focus needs to overcome the deficits of the current pedagogy. If we, for instance, differentiate between **a.** pedagogies based on learning and teaching of knowledge and operations, and **b.** pedagogies based on socialization through education (in a narrow sense) that is oriented to certain habitus (i.e. critical citizen) and competences, then Waldorf pedagogy belongs to **c.** the third group of pedagogies like Montessori pedagogy, as it is based on the development of children and, therefore, on the formation [Ger. *Bildung*] of physical, psychic, and mental 'organs' (i.e. as a healthy spinal column, well-trained memory, reasonable faculty of judgment).

If one accepts a possibility of having different pedagogies, it is necessary to choose one of them in practice, and democracy requires argumentation showing why the selected pedagogy is better than the others: for this particular child or wanted aims, or in this particular epoch. As a consequence, educational sciences have to evaluate the quality of decisive argumentation, which means that such sciences are argumentative in practice – theories are 'only' the back-ups of arguments, so you need, as in empirical research, instruments with scientific standards (Paschen, 1996). Such instruments are: a definition of 'argument', a blueprint with necessary premises of some complete argumentation and a collection of used and possible arguments, model of the weight of arguments including the balance between pro and contra arguments. So, you will further have some data on the type of pedagogy, plausibility of its argumentation and necessary preconditions and conditions.

Such an argumentative analysis of Waldorf pedagogy has not been suggested yet. But one can use the model of necessary premises of pedagogical argumentation, data with regard to Waldorf teacher training and follow-up studies as evaluation tools to get the first (educational) scientific judgment of this pedagogical framework.

This is different from critical considerations about the well-known knowledge domains such as the anthroposophic model of development of four 'bodies' (physical, ether, astral, and, finally, the I) or the use of four archaic types of temperaments (sanguine, melancholic, choleric, phlegmatic) and some of Rudolf Steiner's statements (sometimes out-of-date, not politically correct today, or difficult to understand). On the other hand, many of his pedagogical ideas are very interesting and seem to be quite up-to-date (e.g. a teacher has to consider what might happen between today and tomorrow's lessons, especially overnight, i.e. what the brain science has just started to find out – the overwhelming amount of energy and activity of the brain is used in a special network when the brain does not *think*). Or to use an entanglement of two domains of knowledge – cognitive and social – to indirectly teach with one approach another content (see later more about it).

Carlgrén's basic dogma with reference to education is that Waldorf pedagogy represents *Education for Freedom* (Carlgrén, 2008) with the purpose of preparing a child to be able (free) to turn his/her life intentions into reality, which you cannot do if you are not healthy and do not have social and emotional capacities, or experienced judgemental faculties.

If we use a model of complete argumentation such as the following one, our first step is to evaluate an argumentation of pedagogy in general and what is valid for Waldorf pedagogy.

#### 1. Deficit Premise

There must always be a deficit with regard to the existing pedagogies; otherwise, you do not need an alternative pedagogy. An asserted deficit must be really proved as a deficiency.

Waldorf pedagogy is based on the assumption that neither the instruction of knowledge nor the student's socialization towards idealized habits and competences allow the promotion of individual, holistic and integer characteristics of human beings.

#### 2. Cause Premise

An educationally relevant cause is the only one that must be found to overcome the deficit.

Waldorf pedagogy assumes that neither instruction nor socialization can create sustainable and stable personalities. What you *learned* can be forgotten, *socialization* can be reversed (it often happens in politics so quickly), but development is often irreversible.

#### 3. Alternative Premise

There must be discovered an alternative pedagogy with some plausibility to prevent the accused deficits from coming into being, or weakening them, or complementing them.

Waldorf pedagogy assumes that pedagogical orientation towards development, especially Rudolf Steiner's concept of ontogenesis, will ensure a sustainable personality.

#### 4. Practice Premise

It is a convincing argument when an alternative pedagogy sufficiently works almost elsewhere.

Waldorf pedagogy has had schools since 1919 and nowadays there are so many of them. Since they work in a free market and are not state schools, their customers (parents and employers) are satisfied with their programmes and outcomes, which is one of the best evaluation methods.

#### 5. Resource Premise

If there are two different pedagogies with the same aims, a required alternative pedagogy must be the one with fewer necessary resources (money, time, etc.).

Waldorf pedagogy often has fewer material resources compared to the majority of other schools and kindergartens, but of the same quality. This can be checked

only by using comparable aims. In general, Waldorf pedagogy, like other alternative schools, has a different pedagogical profile, though.

#### 6. Condition Premise

The conclusion will be right unless there are situations which do not allow the conclusion. The conclusion considering an alternative pedagogy argumentation is only valid under certain preconditions and conditions.

In other words, Waldorf pedagogy is only valid when teachers are trained according to Waldorf concepts and experiences.

#### 7. Conclusion: The alternative pedagogy is argumentatively well-founded.

Waldorf pedagogy is argumentatively well-founded.

However, we have to point out that the quality of argumentation also depends on the quality of premises' back-ups. The weight of arguments is important for argumentative educational sciences. Pedagogical arguments are seldom right or wrong. Their plausibility ranges from 0 to 1, which is true for pro and contra arguments, as well.

There are more detailed issues to be argued in Waldorf pedagogy.

## **Special Pedagogical Differences of Waldorf Pedagogy**

If you consider this pedagogy from the outside, you can find a number of interesting pedagogical elements as follows:

Since Waldorf schools do not have headmasters and are not guaranteed by the state, their staff members are entrepreneurs in a free market, and every day students see their teachers as the role models of civil society.

From the first class on, almost every month, classes present their activities/projects on the auditorium stage, so that Waldorf students are not shy at all when they need to perform in front of a big audience.

They also know that their school is established and run by their parents, and they need to take care of all the facilities because they are their own (e.g. no graffiti).

A great portion of the curriculum refers to arts and handicrafts, not for the creating purposes, but because these can form the students' personalities and shape their emotions, and give them opportunities to get familiar with the meaning, sense and spirit of contents. Art is, thus, a lively method of all teaching in a Waldorf-school. Education itself is considered to be an art, not an applied science of education or a handicraft. Therefore, teachers need to be allowed to have special training (often to follow academic teacher training) to know how to teach in a Waldorf school. Today, there is a lack of teachers in Germany who are trained in Waldorf pedagogy.

Waldorf pedagogy is mostly focused on a concept of students' development. In general, there are three seven-year phases (physical development 0-7; development of living systems 7-14; mental development 14-21), which has an influence on the development of contents comprehension. School starts when the first period closes with the change of first teeth. Any topic and subject must be based on one's own

experiences. First, you meet phenomena – in chemistry you might start with a big fire in the schoolyard and add different materials to it to see different colours, then you might draw pictures of this fire and listen to poems about fire in different situations. Much later, after having real-life experiences with the phenomenon, you hear something about chemical elements as the source of their colours. The contents should always have some meaning, making sense in the students' world and creating their will-power for doing something in this field.

In the third class there is a subject called holistic agriculture which presents the complete cycle of bread making: plowing, harrowing and sowing, reaping the grain with little sickles, milling the grain for flour by hand, mixing dough and baking rolls in old-fashioned ovens each Waldorf school has and serve them quite proudly to parents: look what I can do.

This is a paradigmatic example used to compare Waldorf pedagogy with the others. They would probably think or critically say that it is a kind of a Stone Age process. Other pedagogies like examples based on socialization, so they would rather make a project on how to bake rolls with modern computer-controlled conveyer belts. Or it would be enough to instruct the next generation about academic disciplines in general, and then they will know which scientific knowledge domains you need to make bread. And this knowledge is not included in other pedagogies, is it? Waldorf teachers would tell you that it is most important for children not to deal with topics for which they think that they will never be able to master; they should rather see that this world can be coped with and they can develop trust in the future.

Unsurprisingly, these pedagogies do not like each other and, of course, none of them is good enough for each other. So, there is a struggle between pedagogical dogmas, as analyzed in a new book under *insight policy* (Erkenntnispolitik by Reichenbach et al., 2011).

## Basic Concepts – Background

The anthroposophy of Waldorf pedagogy is the most problematic basic concept for a science that is based on the pedagogical understanding of instruction, education, and cultivation (*Bildung* in German). Rudolf Steiner, who created and promoted it, thinks that it belongs to the *humanities*, but his understanding is different (*extended* says the anthroposophist) from the academic humanities, and especially, from the social orientation of educational sciences today. Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophy is basically a kind of holistic and spiritual understanding of human mental activities, mainly in medicine, education, evolution, and agriculture. Applying such a concept of reality seems to be unacceptable for materialistically-orientated sciences although we know that mental issues like information, empathy, esthetics, and intuition are increasingly accepted as important, efficient realities which can be academically researched. Therefore, efficiency might be a preliminary category with regard to an academic interest in Waldorf pedagogy. Some examples, three here, particularly show that the

humanistic orientation of Waldorf pedagogy makes teachers more aware of students' individual characteristics (a), certain issues to be taught (b), and efficient methods (c).

a. The first is the concept that children are reborn, that they bring with them some ideas to be realized in life, and that the I cannot be influenced in its core or essence. In the perspective of educational sciences, this understanding is actually not a matter of the right concept of reality, but what is rather interesting is its influence on teacher's behaviour to students. It must be different from thinking that a child has to be programmed with all knowledge and to develop social habits the society wants from him/her. Therefore, the aim of Waldorf pedagogy is – as Carlgren said – *education for freedom*. This means that all (physical, psychic, and mental) *organs* should be given the possibility to develop in order not to be handicapped, but to be free – to be used.

b. Concerning the anthroposophical background of issues, the pedagogical understanding might be promoted by an example of teaching in the first grade. The main aim of this developmental phase is to offer some opportunities for active experiences with establishing relationships between the phenomenon and the personality to enable the development of personal commitment. Instead of transmitting objective knowledge domains, psychic 'organs' should be developed on the basis of awareness, reverence, deep impressions, care, abilities and trust in managing the world.

Experiencing phenomena first is always the foundation for gaining more scientific, human, and moral experiences later.

The above-mentioned chemistry and agriculture examples can be expanded by one of the most remarkable, almost paradigmatic, examples of maths teaching after Schubert's article *Social Learning in Maths Lessons* (updated 2010). One of his examples is from mental arithmetic, some training in the beginning of a lesson, 10 minutes. In other pedagogies, you find the same intention with a different method. The teacher sets a task such as *what is the square root of 144?* Or:  $10 \times 23 - 25 + 95 - 200 = ?$  Then a student is chosen and she is a little shocked, she knows the right answer or hears it from her neighbour, and then sits down relaxed, because she will not be chosen again, other students should be also asked. Schubert and Waldorf pedagogy give a different type of task and all students have to give an answer: *What is 12?* And the first one might start with  $12 = 10 + 2$ ; the next one says  $11 + 1$ ; maybe the tenth one suggests twelve months. A student of mine complained once in a seminar: *Why did you stop at the twentieth student?* I answered that I thought the principle was clear. *No, I would also like to hear his answer.*

Irrespective of empirical research, if all Waldorf teachers do this, the kind of effects this approach has can be recorded like this: 1· since all students follow each other's answers, there is as much training as with some other method; 2· you learn that there are many solutions (in this society); and 3· an individual and his/her answer is interesting. This is important for social learning.

And the other pedagogical approach might also include social learning: 1 there is only one right answer and you had better have it; 2 there is no chance to express your individual ideas; and 3 nobody is (even not mathematically) interested in you. Therefore, this approach might also be a type of social learning.

But this example is much more interesting in pedagogical sense. It means that the decision to take a specific cognitive approach will or might have specific social effects. Briefly, it means that special cognitive forms of learning and special social effects are entangled, and you do not have to integrate them, as they are already combined. You can develop emotional and social education by choosing a specific cognitive approach. And it would mean that there are no special holistic pedagogies, as some alternative pedagogies think of themselves. We should rather realize that all pedagogies are holistic, but quite often they do not know it, so they do not make use of this entanglement just as Waldorf pedagogy often does by teaching indirectly, i.e. teaching ecological understanding or using aesthetic media (Beichel, 2007).

- c. It is, therefore, not surprising that some educational scientists such as Beichel (mentioned above) are motivated to show the current general importance of certain Waldorf pedagogy approaches and to support them by academic elaboration. Christian Rittelmeyer is probably an outstanding supporter in this sense. Some of his topics are – pedagogical importance often empirically supported – the following ones: school architecture (2004), influence of different forms of animals (1999a) and puppet eyes (1999b) on children, childhood distress (2007), media education (2008), what children should read (2009), pedagogical aesthesiology (1998, 2002), escape to virtual worlds (2010a), scientific support of Steiner's understanding of temperaments in Waldorf pedagogy (2010b), why esthetic cultivation (2012a), and *Bildung* (cultivation) (2012b).

## Relations to Other Pedagogies

These special characteristics of Waldorf pedagogy, academically-supported recently, change its relations to other pedagogies, evaluations such as follow-up studies, which can be presented by a very few other school pedagogies, theoretically interesting and up-to-date approaches such as combining cognitive and social domains, and critical scientifically-supported positions towards media competences, constrain other pedagogies from increasing the soundness of their critical claims on Waldorf pedagogy.

If there is an alternative pedagogy such as Waldorf pedagogy for the mainstream pedagogy, all pedagogies become also equally alternative to have good arguments and be evaluated like, looking in a mirror, you see your own pedagogy in different colours.

And, finally, if no pedagogical approach, no pedagogy can claim to be the best and the only one based on truth, it is more interesting to understand the differences and the prerequisites and conditions of each one and their effects. This seems to be more productive since all pedagogies now encounter deep and wide changes in all human



domains and contexts and do not know what is really necessary for the future of our youths.

Last but not least, parents decide on pedagogies by noticing, expecting or demanding, experiencing pedagogical differences; they often change schools (from state school to Waldorf or Steiner school (for empirical analysis of reasons see Keller, 2008), and vice versa, no research).

## Research on Waldorf Pedagogy

In 1929, i.e. 10 years after the first Waldorf school was founded in Stuttgart, the first dissertation (the University of Leipzig) on Waldorf pedagogy was written. In the 1950s, there were three more dissertations (universities of Kiel, Hamburg, and Muenster) and, in the 1960s, another two dissertations were defended (one of them from Manitoba). Since the 1970s – parallel to the unexpectedly growing number of Waldorf schools – academic research has developed (5 dissertations).

If we look at the keywords of early and recent dissertations, we can find different topics, from the general overviews of Waldorf pedagogy to its specific qualities. This is a list of phrases found in them and other academic sources: *creativity in comparison with state schools* (Ogletree, 1967), *imaginational counting, imagination and feeling in life* (1974), *child-centered system, eurhythm, reversal of acceleration of developmental trends in Waldorf schools* (1977), *wholeness* (1987), *historical necessity of Waldorf pedagogy, comparison with Jean Piaget, self-actualisation* (1990), *Montessori and Steiner, changing a difficult class, nature of Waldorf teachers, school rituals* (1992), *what a student does after class 12, focused attention, transition to public schools, racism, education through art, bullying* (1996), *experiences with school autonomy, school movement – adoption and progress, Dahlin's follow-up studies, viable science education, identity of vital functions and thinking activities, place of movement in science, spiritual values, inclusion of young children with special needs, theological and religion education, atopy of children, teacher training, fidelity and flexibility in Waldorf education, parents, natural world, aesthetic discourses in early childhood, education of feeling, organic functionalism, learning of life, parental participation.*

The last mentioned topics are the most recent. We can see quite clearly that in these academic research publications there is a smaller number of specific Waldorf or anthroposophical terms. A lot of them were taken from academic reviews or institutions.

But we can also find critical and aggressive literature. Actually, we identified different types of literature on Waldorf pedagogy:

- a. Rudolf Steiner's books and speeches: about more than 300
- b. Pedagogical followers in the anthroposophical frameworks of Rudolf Steiner: i.e. Leber (1996), self-critical Mosmuller (2009)
- c. Approaches of actual scientific knowledge to an anthroposophical interpretation of education: i.e. Kranich's Understanding Biology (2004)

- d. Aggressive popular warnings of the 'real' intentions of Waldorf pedagogy: i.e. Prange's education for anthroposophy (1985)
- e. General attacks on progressive education (Ger. *Reformpädagogik*): Oelker's critical analysis of progressive education dogmas (1992)
- f. Critical empirical research in educational sciences: i.e. Helsper et al., 2007; Idel, 2007
- g. Empirical research on the phenomena and effects of Waldorf pedagogy: i.e. Zdrazil, 2000
- h. Academic readers on the important aspects of Waldorf pedagogy: i.e. series of the Stuttgart Kolloquium, i.e. Bohnsack/Kranich (1990) and Paschen (2010)
- i. Academic foundation of Waldorf methods, i.e. Patzlaff (2000) on TV effects; Rittelmeyer (2010a) on esthetic methods
- j. Follow-up studies, i.e. Hofmann et al. (1981) and Bartz/Randoll (2007)

A bit more abundant research developed not a long time ago, e.g. the first and the second follow-up studies; growing number of doctoral dissertations appeared, e.g. Götte (2000), Stöckli (2011), Fiedler (2012); online review with academic articles (RoSe), academic teacher training and adequate literature also increased Paschen (2010), Willmann (2011), Frielingsdorf (2012). Besides, research on Waldorf pedagogy in educational sciences began, e.g. Helsper et al. (2007). Studies jointly conducted by educational scientists and Waldorf institution experts are still rare, the only exception is the *Erziehungswissenschaftliches Colloquium* of the *Free Universal Academy* (Freie Hochschule) in Stuttgart, which started in the 1980s and produced 10 books, the first one was Bohnsack/Kranich (1990).

## Conclusion

Last but not least, scientific judgments cannot be founded only on the critics of concepts and their academic qualities, as it is in medicine, where the most decisive category includes empirically-founded effects and results. If this is done in equal school classes in comparison with other pedagogies, the results mostly show that this pedagogy does not have the same results as other pedagogies. In other words, Waldorf students do not have such good results when compared with the first graders in mainstream schools in writing, natural sciences, or conscientious self-control. Therefore, follow-up studies, which are seldom found in the German mainstream school pedagogies, are more interesting and the best students come from Waldorf schools. There are two scientific studies (Hofman et al., 1983; Bartz, Randoll, 2007) with interviews and questionnaires of former students when they were about 30 years old or even different cohorts.

Some interesting results of the last follow-up study with 3 groups (year of birth/age when surveyed: 1. 1936-1945/68-61; 2. 1945-1954/ 50-59; 3. 1967-1974/37-30) show average and above-average performance in their later life, percentage of the highest

exam scores is a little above the average (probably because of their parents' higher education: most of them mentioned that their parents were teachers in state schools – fathers 14%, mothers 13%; academics are >40%).

One has to realize that these results could not be only seen as school time effects, but as the attraction effect. Those students who came to school selected by their parents were the only ones who later had such effects.

14% of the students became teachers (five times more than the rest of other school students); 9.8% of them became engineers; 9.5% physicians and pharmacists; 7.7% artists, and 2% carpenters. 46.8% of the students had academic education (universities), 66.7% received education from the universities of applied sciences (Ger. *Fachhochschulen*). There is no 'education towards anthroposophy' – as Prange (1985) criticized and called, the majority is rather indifferent and skeptical to it. A positive bias towards anthroposophy is decreasing in groups as follows: 17% (1<sup>st</sup> group), 12% (2<sup>nd</sup> group), and 7% (3<sup>rd</sup> group).

Considering health, they have lower blood pressure, degenerative joint disease; however, some diseases rarely occurred, e.g., asthma, hay fever, other allergies; no significant differences were recorded in heart attack, cancer.

Thinking of their school time disadvantages, they mentioned expert knowledge, spelling, and foreign languages; while the advantages included questioning things, and perceiving relationships. Their further evaluations referred to: high priority of social responsibility, remarkable identification with the old school, extraordinary well-being in school, positive connotations of learning and cultivation, very good basic equipment for life, key competences for daily life, positive attitudes to life, basic trust in one's own abilities, independence and adaptability, feeling of solidarity, social interaction, practical craft dowry, cultural and artistic dowry.

The weak points of such school consisted of: unworldliness, inefficient knowledge transfer, and complete exclusion of performance (60% of them mentioned this effect a little bit).

Their memories are mostly positive. A lack of full time units to be processed by teachers is seen to be lenient, which would be secondary.

It has to be understood that answers are often caused by questions and their types. In other words, you will get answers with different meanings. If you ask: Did you have a good instruction of computer use? [No]. But if you ask: Did you have problems after school to learn how to use computers? [No]. Speaking about the good outcomes of the final exams (mostly under the state control), teaching could not be as bad as some of them reported.

In general, one can say that the practical aspects of pedagogical concept: present for over 90 years, successful in a free market, spread out over the world, were positively evaluated.

As for the future, one can imagine that Waldorf pedagogy will keep developing with its kindergartens and schools, so it might have more problems with hiring enough

teachers. On the other hand, it will struggle to maintain the essence of its concepts in a changing world (Mosmuller, 2009), giving other school pedagogies suggestions for their problems or tasks in order to help them develop and promote the individual abilities of children and students, and to enable them to experience that this world needs them.

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# Waldorfsko obrazovanje i škole Rudolfa Steinera kao tema u odgojno-obrazovnim znanostima

## Sažetak

*Posljednjih desetljeća vrlo kontroverzna Waldorfska pedagogija mijenja svoj odnos prema odgojno-obrazovnim znanostima, osobito zahvaljujući novom akademskom statusu institucija u kojima se obrazuju njihovi učitelji u sklopu Bolonjskog procesa. Sve veći broj waldorfskih škola posvuda u svijetu također postaje još intrigantniji zbog pedagoške konkurencije i nekih oblika pedagoške prakse zanimljivih školama koje pripadaju tradicionalnoj struji u pedagogiji. To se novo zanimanje, kao i buduće povezivanje dvaju sasvim različitih područja znanja, nastoji koncentrirati na najzanimljivije razvojne pravce i shvaćanja iz perspektive odgojno-obrazovnih znanosti. Da bi se potaknulo zanimanje, potrebni su paradigmatički primjeri. Neki od primjera što ih navodim potvrđeni su na seminarima sa studentima na jednom njemačkom sveučilištu, kao i u drugim mjestima u svijetu.*

**Ključne riječi:** *alternativna pedagogija; odgojno-obrazovne znanosti; Rudolf Steiner; tradicionalno školovanje; Waldorfska pedagogija.*

## Uvod

Zašto je potreban obrazovno-znanstveni pogled na waldorfsko obrazovanje?

Prva waldorfska škola osnovana je 1919. godine u njemačkom gradu Stuttgartu i bila je namijenjena djeci radnika u tvornici cigareta Waldorf-Astoria. Zasluga je to Rudolfa Steinera, austrijskog filozofa koji je imao kompleksan pristup cjelokupnoj ljudskoj djelatnosti (antropozofija), i Emila Molta, direktora tvornice.

Danas (u ožujku 2012.) u svijetu postoje 1.023 waldorfske škole (uključujući Rusiju (8), Kinu (3), Izrael (11), Japan (8), Koreju (5) i Egipat (1)), ali ih je najviše u Nizozemskoj (85), Skandinaviji (120), Austriji (18) i Njemačkoj (229). U Hrvatskoj djeluju dvije škole, u Zagrebu i Rijeci.

Waldorfske ili škole Rudolfa Steinera dobro su poznate jer o njima postoji sve više literature, uglavnom na njemačkom i engleskom jeziku, a njihov prvi pregled moguće je potražiti u Wikipediji. Najstarija stručna literatura potječe iz 1929. godine, kada se

pojavi prva disertacija, a već do 1962. godine napisano je pet knjiga, među kojima i prva izvan Njemačke (Manitoba 1962).

Te su škole dobro poznate po svojim specifičnostima. Npr. nemaju ravnatelja, osobito ih zanimaju umjetnost i obrt, pojedini se predmeti poučavaju nekoliko tjedana, metode i nastavni sadržaji prilagođuju se razvojnim fazama učenika. Poznato je, također, da su im svojstvena neka ezoterična stajališta, poput onoga o djetetovu ponovnom rođenju i karmi.

Waldorfsko obrazovanje vjerojatno predstavlja jednu od najkontroverznijih pedagogija, barem među pedagogima i političarima. Upravo bi je stoga moglo biti zanimljivo promatrati iz perspektive odgojno-obrazovnih znanosti, osobito kada se zna da je država počela priznavati akademski status institucijama specijaliziranim za obrazovanje budućih waldorfskih učitelja, kao što su one u Stuttgartu, Mannheimu i Alfteru (Bonn) u Njemačkoj, Oslu u Norveškoj i Beču/Kremsu u Austriji.

Podloga za znanstveni pristup mogla bi se pronaći u sljedećim teorijskim premisama: (a) jedno od najvažnijih okvira u odgojno-obrazovnim znanostima čine pedagogije jer su one ključne za sve pedagoške aktivnosti. Nema obrazovanja, poučavanja ili odgoja (njem. *Bildung*) bez specifičnog pedagoškog okvira; (b) ako postoje takozvane alternativne pedagogije, kao što su Montessori ili waldorfska, onda su sve druge (glavne ili središnje) pedagogije također moguće. Stoga odabir bilo koje dominantne pedagogije mora biti utemeljen na odgojno-obrazovnim znanostima i njima potvrđen. Ako se bilo koja alternativna pedagogija shvati kao određena dogma, onda bi se takvo nerijetko kritičko shvaćanje moglo temeljiti na nekoj drugoj, vlastitoj dogmi koja još nije potvrđena, čak ni prepoznata. To da je svakom pedagoškom pristupu potrebna određena dogma utemeljena u načinu života (znanstvenicima nedokazivo), humanističke su znanosti smatrale pozitivnim (njem. *Geisteswissenschaften*) najprije u dvadesetim godinama prošloga stoljeća (Tenorth, 1989), a zatim ponovno tijekom posljednjih desetljeća (Tenorth, 1989; Meder, 2004). Kao što pravna znanost sebe ponekad vidi dogmatskom jer bi mogla počivati na različitim dogmama (primjerice, parnično pravo u Velikoj Britaniji, fiksno pravo u Francuskoj i Njemačkoj ili šerijatsko pravo među muslimanskim narodima), odgojno-obrazovne znanosti mogle bi također biti dogmatske; c) ako je potrebno zamijeniti najčešće negativno značenje dogme s neutralnim, bjelodanim i epistemološki korisnim shvaćanjem, onda bi istraživanje pedagogija koje se odlikuju različitim dogmama u odnosu na glavnu pedagogiju moglo pridonijeti njezinu boljem i kritičnijem razumijevanju; (d) zahvaljujući ponajprije waldorfskom obrazovanju kao potpuno drugačijem pristupu, one su svjesne vlastite alternativne pozicije, sa svojim dogmama, u odnosu na prevladavajući koncept obrazovanja.

Ako prihvatimo da postoje različite pedagogije s različitim ishodima, koje ne samo da slijede jedna drugu kroz povijest nego su danas vrlo često istodobno prisutne, onda su nam potrebni određeni instrumenti da bismo shvatili u čemu su njihove razlike i kako im znanstveno pristupiti.



## Standardni instrumenti za istraživanje pedagogija, osobito waldorfske pedagogije

Najprije nam je potreban sustav pedagogija koji ne može biti hijerarhijski, već mora biti tematski strukturiran (Paschen, 1997), što u teoriji znači da se sve pedagogije ili njihovi temeljni oblici podjednako mogu odabrati ako se njihovo glavno usmjerenje koristi za prevladavanje nedostataka trenutno važeće pedagogije. Ako, primjerice, razlikujemo **a.** pedagogije zasnovane na usvajanju i poučavanju znanja i operacija i **b.** pedagogije zasnovane na socijalizaciji s pomoću obrazovanja (u užem smislu) usmjerenog prema određenom habitusu (kritičnom građaninu) i kompetencijama, onda Waldorfska pedagogija pripada **c.** trećoj skupini pedagogija kao što je Montessori pedagogija jer se zasniva na dječjem razvoju i time se shvaća kao formiranje (njem. *Bildung*) fizičkih, psihičkih i mentalnih „organa” (tj. zdrava hrptenjača, mentalna kondicija, sposobnost razumnog prosuđivanja).

Ako se prihvati mogućnost postojanja različitih pedagogija, onda je u praksi potrebno odabrati jednu od njih, ali su u demokraciji nužni argumenti da bi se njima objasnilo zašto bi upravo ta pedagogija bila bolja od ostalih: za određeno dijete, željene ciljeve ili razdoblje. Takvo shvaćanje kao posljedicu podrazumijeva da odgojno-obrazovne znanosti trebaju vrednovati kvalitetu odlučujućih argumenata. To pak znači da su odgojno-obrazovne znanosti u praksi argumentacijske – teorije samo podržavaju argumente – tako da su im potrebni, kao u empirijskim istraživanjima, instrumenti sa znanstvenim standardima (Paschen, 1996). Takvi su instrumenti: definicija „argumenta”, plan s premisama potrebnim za kompletnu argumentaciju, zatim upotrijebljeni i mogući argumenti, model težine argumenata koji uključuje ravnotežu između argumenata za i protiv. Stoga u nastavku rada prikazujemo waldorfsku kao jednu konkretnu pedagogiju, uvjerljivost njezine argumentacije, preduvjete i uvjete koji su joj nužni.

Do sada ne postoji njezina tako argumentirana analiza. Pri vrednovanju se, međutim, mogu koristiti premise potrebne za pedagogijsku argumentaciju, podaci o obrazovanju učitelja za rad u waldorfskim školama i naknadna istraživanja, da bi se dobila prva znanstveno-obrazovna evaluacija toga pedagogijskog okvira.

Razlikuje se od kritičkog osvrta na dobro poznata područja znanja, kao što su antropozofijski model razvoja četiriju „tijela” (fizičkog, eteričnog, astralnog i, konačno, Ja) ili četiriju arhaičnih tipova temperamenta (sanguinik, melankolik, kolerik, flegmatik) i nekih tvrdnji Rudolfa Steinera (koje su ponekad zastarjele, politički nekorektne ili danas teško shvatljive). Ipak, promatrane s drugog stajališta, mnoge su njegove zamisli vrlo zanimljive i čine se sasvim suvremenim (to da učitelj mora uzeti u obzir što bi se moglo dogoditi između nastave danas i sutra, osobito tijekom noći, ono što je znanost o mozgu upravo počela otkrivati – golema se količina energije i aktivnosti mozga koristi u posebnoj mreži kada mozak *ne misli*). Ili bi se trebalo koristiti povezanošću dviju domena znanja – kognitivne i društvene – da bismo jednim pristupom posredno poučavali druge sadržaje (o čemu će biti više riječi u nastavku).

Carlgrenova temeljna dogma o obrazovanju glasi da je waldorfska pedagogija *Obrazovanje za slobodu* (Carlgren, 2008), što podrazumijeva pripremanje djeteta da može (slobodno) ostvariti svoje životne ciljeve, a to nije moguće ako niste zdravi, ne raspoložete socijalnim i emocionalnim sposobnostima i nemate iskustvo prosuđivanja.

Ako primijenimo model potpune argumentacije kao što slijedi, prvi nam je korak vrednovati argumentaciju opće pedagogije i waldorfske pedagogije.

1. Premisa deficita

Postojeće pedagogije uvijek moraju biti deficitne jer inače nije potrebna alternativna pedagogija. Taj se deficit doista mora potvrditi kao nedostatak.

Waldorfska se pedagogija temelji na pretpostavci da ni poučavanje znanja ni socijalizacija učenika usmjerena prema idealnim navikama i kompetencijama ne omogućuju razvoj individualnih, holističkih i kompletnih ljudskih osobina.

2. Premisa uzroka

Samo uzrok koji je u obrazovnom smislu relevantan mora prevladati deficit.

Waldorfska pedagogija pretpostavlja da ni poučavanje ni socijalizacija ne mogu dovesti do razvoja održive i stabilne osobnosti. Ono što ste naučili, može se zaboraviti, svaka socijalizacija može imati dva lica, u politici vrlo često sasvim brzo, ali razvoj uglavnom nema obrnuti smjer.

3. Premisa alternative

Mora se pronaći donekle uvjerljiva alternativna pedagogija da ne bi došlo do nedostataka, slabljenja ili nadopune.

Waldorfska pedagogija pretpostavlja da će usmjerenje prema razvoju, a posebno Steinerov koncept ontogeneze, osigurati stabilnu osobnost.

4. Premisa prakse

Argument je uvjerljiv kada alternativna pedagogija u dovoljnoj mjeri djeluje gotovo posvuda.

Waldorfska pedagogija obuhvaća škole osnovane od 1919. godine, a danas ih je doista mnogo. Budući da djeluju na slobodnom tržištu i nisu državne škole, njihovi su klijenti (roditelji i poslodavci) zadovoljni programima i rezultatima, što je jedna od najboljih metoda vrednovanja.

5. Premisa resursa

Ako postoje dvije različite pedagogije s istim ciljevima, onda se mora odabrati alternativna pedagogija koja zahtijeva manje resursa (novca, vremena itd.).

Nerijetko waldorfska pedagogija ionako raspolaze s manje materijalnih resursa u odnosu na druge škole i vrtiće ili u najboljem slučaju jednako kao i oni. To se može provjeriti samo s pomoću usporedivih ciljeva. No, waldorfska pedagogija, kao ostala alternativna rješenja, uglavnom ima različit profil u pedagojskom smislu.

6. Premisa uvjeta

Zaključak će biti u redu ako ne postoje situacije u kojima zaključak nije moguć. Zaključak argumentacije u slučaju alternativne pedagogije jedino je valjan pod određenim preduvjetima i uvjetima.

Waldorfska pedagogija je ispravna samo kada se učitelji obrazuju u skladu s waldorfskim konceptima i iskustvima.

7. Zaključak: Alternativna pedagogija je dobro argumentirana.

Waldorfska pedagogija je dobro argumentirana.

Moramo, međutim, uzeti u obzir i to da argumentacija također ovisi o kvaliteti rezervnih premisa. Za argumentacijsku je kvalitetu odgojno-obrazovnih znanosti težina argumenata važan instrument. Argumenti su u pedagogiji rijetko točni ili pogrešni. Uvjerljivost im se kreće od 0 do 1, što je točno za potvrdne argumente, kao i one koji su im suprotni. Slijedi iscrpnija analiza waldorfske pedagogije.

## **Waldorfska pedagogija i specifične razlike**

Ako izvana promatrate tu pedagogiju, otkrit ćete mnoštvo zanimljivih elemenata. Budući da u waldorfskim školama nema ravnatelja i da za njih ne jamči država, njihovo osoblje čine poduzetnici koji djeluju na slobodnom tržištu, a učenici se svakodnevno susreću s učiteljima kao modelima civilnog društva.

Od prvog razreda svaki razred otprilike jednom mjesečno javno, na pozornici, predstavlja ono na čemu je radio, pa se waldorfski učenici uglavnom ne srame nastupati pred mnogobrojnom publikom.

Osim toga, znaju da su njihovi roditelji osnovali školu i da je održavaju, tako da im pripada sve ono što im je na raspolaganju, zbog čega na to više paze (npr. nema grafita).

Dobar se dio nastavnog plana i programa odnosi na umjetnost i obrt, ne zbog umjetničko-obrtničkog stvaralaštva, nego zato što se s pomoću takva pristupa mogu na poseban način oblikovati osobnost, emocije, omogućiti uvid u značenje, smisao i duh gradiva. U waldorfskoj školi umjetnost predstavlja snažnu metodu za sveukupno poučavanje. Obrazovanje se samo po sebi smatra umjetnošću, ne primijenjenom znanosti o obrazovanju ili obrtom, pa je učiteljima potrebna posebna izobrazba (često poslije one akademske) da bi mogli poučavati u waldorfskoj školi. Danas u Njemačkoj nedostaju učitelji obrazovani na načelima waldorfske pedagogije.

Njezino se glavno uporište odnosi na koncept učenikova razvoja. Općenito gledano, postoje tri faze sedmogodišnjih razdoblja (fizički razvoj 0 – 7; razvoj živih sustava 7 – 14; mentalni razvoj 14 – 21), što utječe na sposobnost razumijevanja nastavnih sadržaja. Školsko doba počinje završetkom prvog razdoblja kada djeci ispadaju prvi zubi. Sve nastavne teme i predmeti moraju polaziti od osobnih iskustava. Prvo nailazite na neku pojavu – u kemiji možete početi s paljenjem velike vatre u školskom dvorištu i dodavanjem raznog materijala u nju da bi se vidjele različite boje, zatim crtanjem te iste vatre i slušanjem pjesme o vatri u različitim situacijama. Mnogo poslije, nakon izravnog doticaja s tom pojavom, čujete nešto o kemijskim elementima kao izvoru njihove boje. Nastavni sadržaji uvijek moraju imati neko značenje, predstavljati neki smisao u učenikovu svijetu i dovesti ga do želje da nešto u tom području učini.

U trećem razredu postoji predmet holistička poljoprivreda s kompletnim ciklusom proizvodnje kruha: oranje, drljanje i sijanje, žetva uz pomoć malih srpova, ručno

mljevenje zrna da bi se dobilo brašno, miješanje tijesta i pečenje žemlje u starinskim pećnicama koje ima svaka waldorfska škola. Djeca ih na kraju ponosno poslužuju roditeljima: pogledajte što znam.

To je paradigmatički primjer za usporedbu waldorfske s drugim pedagogijama. Vjerojatno biste pomislili ili kritički prokomentirali da je to priprema kruha iz kamenog doba. Druge pedagogije, npr. one utemeljene na socijalizaciji, prije bi planirale projekt o tome kako se danas peku žemlje uz primjenu računalnih tekućih traka ili bi poučile sljedeću generaciju o općim školskim disciplinama da bi znali kakvo im je znanje potrebno za pripremu kruha. Takvo znanje nedostaje u drugim pedagogijama, je li tako? Učitelji bi vam u waldorfskim školama rekli kako je najvažnije da se djeca ne izlažu temama za koje misle da ih nikada ne mogu svladati, nego da trebaju prvo steći iskustvo o tome kako se nositi s ovim svijetom i razvijati buduće povjerenje.

Nije uopće čudno da postoji netrpeljivost među pedagogijama te da svaka od njih, dakako, nije dovoljno dobra za onu drugu. Na djelu je, dakle, borba među dogmama u pedagogiji, kao što ih se analizira u novoj knjizi pod nazivom *unutarnja policija* (njem. *Erkenntnis politik*) (Reichenbach i sur. 2011).

## Osnovni koncepti – podloga

Najproblematičniji osnovni koncept znanstveno utemeljenog shvaćanja poučavanja, obrazovanja i odgoja (njem. *Bildung*) u waldorfskoj pedagogiji jest antropozofijska podloga. Njezin autor i zagovaratelj Rudolf Steiner tvrdi da pripada humanističkim znanostima, ali njegovo je shvaćanje različito (*prošireno*, kaže taj antropozof) od humanističkih znanosti i, osobito, današnjeg društvenog usmjerenja odgojno-obrazovnih znanosti. Antropozofija Rudolfa Steinera u osnovi je neka vrsta razumijevanja ljudskih aktivnosti uz pomoć mentalnih sila, uglavnom u medicini, obrazovanju, evoluciji i poljoprivredi, na holistički i spiritualan način. Baviti se takvim konceptom stvarnosti čini se neprihvatljivim za materijalistički usmjerene znanosti iako znamo da se mentalna pitanja poput informacija, empatije, estetike i intuicije sve više prihvaćaju kao važne, učinkovite činjenice koje se mogu istraživati. Učinkovitost može, dakle, predstavljati preliminarnu kategoriju u akademskom zanimanju za waldorfsku pedagogiju. Osobito zato što neki primjeri, ovdje su tri, pokazuju da, zahvaljujući humanom shvaćanju waldorfske pedagogije, učitelji mogu biti svjesniji individualnih obilježja učenika (a), pojedinih tema koje treba poučavati (b) i učinkovitih metoda (c).

- a. Koncept da se djeca ponovno rađaju, da donose sa sobom ideje koje će ostvariti u životu te da se ne može utjecati na J u njegovoj suštini ili biti. Iz perspektive odgojno-obrazovnih znanosti takvo shvaćanje nije zapravo stvar konkretnog koncepta stvarnosti, nego zanimljiva utjecaja učiteljeva ponašanja na učenike. Mora se razlikovati od mišljenja da dijete treba biti programirano tako da raspoláže svim znanjima i razvija društvene običaje koje društvo želi. Stoga je cilj waldorfske pedagogije – kao što je rekao Carlgren – *obrazovanje za slobodu*.

To znači potrebu da se svi (fizički, psihički i mentalni) organi normalno razvijaju (bez hendikepa), budu slobodni – da bi se njima moglo koristiti.

b. S obzirom na antropozofijsku dimenziju te problematike pedagoški bi se shvaćanje moglo promicati uz pomoć primjera poučavanja u prvom razredu. Glavna je namjera djeci u toj razvojnoj fazi pružiti mogućnosti za stjecanje aktivnih iskustava u povezivanju pojava i razvijanju osobne predanosti. Umjesto prijenosom objektivnog znanja, fizički bi se „organi” trebali razvijati s pomoću svjesnosti, poštivanja, dubokih dojmova, pažnje, sposobnosti i povjerenja u upravljanje svijetom. Uvijek najprije doći u doticaj s pojavama podloga je za daljnja znanstvena, ljudska i moralna iskustva.

Prvi spomenuti primjeri iz kemije i poljoprivrede mogli bi se proširiti jednim od najneobičnijih, gotovo paradigmatičkih primjera u nastavi matematike iz Schuberthova članka *Društveno učenje na satu matematike* (nadopunjen 2010.). Jedan od njegovih primjera pripada mentalnoj aritmetici – na početku sata, prvih deset minuta, malo vježbanja. U ostalim pedagogijama nalazite isti cilj, ali drugačiju metodu. Učitelj primjerice pita *koji je drugi korijen od 144?* Ili  $10 \times 23 - 25 + 95 - 200 = ?$  Zatim odabere jednu učenicu, ona je blago začuđena, zna ili čuje točan odgovor od učenika do nje, a onda opuštena sjedne jer je neće ponovno odabrati zato što treba pitati više učenika.

Schuberth i waldorfska pedagogija zadaju različit tip zadataka, a svi učenici moraju odgovoriti *što je 12*. Prvi bi mogao početi ovako:  $12 = 10 + 2$ ; sljedeći  $11 + 1$ ; možda deseti odgovori dvanaest mjeseci. Jedan se moj student jednom žalio na seminaru: *Zašto ste stali na dvanaestom studentu?* Odgovorio sam kako mislim da je načelo jasno. *Ne, ja bih također čuo njegov odgovor.*

Bez obzira na empirijska istraživanja, ako svi Waldorfski učitelji to čine, učinkovit pristup može biti: prvo, budući da svaki učenik prati odgovore ostalih, vježba se isto toliko kao i kada se primjenjuje neka druga metoda; drugo, učite da ima mnogo rješenja (u ovom društvu); treće, osoba i njegov odgovor su zanimljivi. To je bitno zbog socijalnog učenja.

Drugi bi pedagoški pristup mogao također sadržavati socijalno učenje: prvo, samo je jedan odgovor točan i bolje vam je da ga znate; drugo, nema šanse da izrazite individualne ideje; treće, nikoga (čak ni matematički) ne zanimajte. To znači da bi i taj pristup mogao obuhvatiti jednu vrstu socijalnog učenja.

Ali ovaj je primjer za pedagogiju mnogo zanimljiviji. Znači da će odluka o specifičnom kognitivnom pristupu imati specifične društvene učinke ili bi ih pak mogla imati. Ukratko, to znači da su posebni kognitivni oblici učenja i društveni učinci isprepleteni, ne morate ih integrirati, oni su već u međusobnoj kombinaciji. Moguće je razvijati emocionalno i socijalno obrazovanje odabirom nekog specifičnog kognitivnog pristupa, a to bi značilo da ne postoje posebne holističke pedagogije, kao što o sebi misle neke alternativne pedagogije. Trebali bismo najprije shvatiti da su sve pedagogije holističke, ali one to vrlo često ne znaju,

odnosno ne koriste se takvim kombinacijama kao što to često čini waldorfska pedagogija putem neizravnog poučavanja, to jest poučavajući o ekologiji ili koristeći se estetskim medijima (Beichel, 2007).

- c. Ne iznenađuje stoga da su neki autori u području obrazovnih znanosti, poput spomenutog Beichela, bili motivirani pokazati važnost nekih pristupa prema waldorfskoj pedagogiji i podržati ih dodatnim tumačenjima. Christian Rittelmeyer je u tom smislu vjerojatno istaknuti zagovaratelj. Neke su od njegovih tema – pedagogijska im je važnost često empirijski potvrđena – sljedeće: školska arhitektura (2004), utjecaj različitih oblika koji predstavljaju životinje (1999a) i oči marioneta (1999b) na djecu, nevolje u djetinjstvu (2007), medijsko obrazovanje (2008), što bi djeca trebala čitati (2009), pedagogijska esteziologija (1998, 2002), bijeg u virtualne svjetove (2010a), znanstvena potpora primjeni Steinerova tumačenja temperamenata u waldorfskoj pedagogiji (2010b), zašto estetski odgoj (2012a) i *Bildung* (odgoj) (2012b).

## Odnosi s ostalim pedagogijama

Tako podržane specifičnosti waldorfske pedagogije mijenjaju njezin odnos prema drugim pedagogijama, vrednovanjima kao što su naknadna istraživanja (što ih mali broj drugih školskih pedagogija može predstaviti), teorijski zanimljivim i osuvremenjenim pristupima kao što je povezanost kognitivnog i socijalnog, kritičkim stajalištima o medijskim kompetencijama, većoj opravdanosti kritičkih tvrdnji o waldorfskoj pedagogiji u sklopu ostalih pedagogija.

Ako postoji neka alternativna pedagogija kao što je to waldorfska za glavnu pedagogiju, onda i sve druge pedagogije postaju jednako alternativne sve dok imaju dobre argumente i dok su vrednovane kao da, gledajući u zrcalo, vidite vlastitu pedagogiju u različitim bojama.

Napokon, ako ne postoji nikakav pedagogijski pristup, nijedna pedagogija ne može tvrditi da je najbolja i jedina zasnovana na istini. Puno je zanimljivije spoznati njihove razlike, pred/uvjete i učinke, a ujedno se čini produktivnijim, jer se svaka pedagogija danas suočava s dubokim promjenama u svakom ljudskom području i kontekstu, pa ne zna što je stvarno potrebno našim budućim mladim generacijama.

Posljednje, ali ne najmanje važno, roditelji odlučuju o tome koju pedagogiju odabirati tako što uočavaju, očekuju ili traže, doživljavaju razlike među njima, često mijenjaju škole (iz državne u waldorfsku ili Steinerovu školu – empirijsku analizu razloga vidi u Keller (2008) – i obrnuto, nema istraživanja).

## Istraživanja o waldorfskoj pedagogiji

Sve od 1929. godine, to jest 10 godina nakon što je otvorena prva waldorfska škola u Stuttgartu i napisana prva doktorska disertacija o waldorfskoj pedagogiji (Sveučilište u Leipzigu), pedesetih godina kada su se pojavile još tri disertacije (sveučilišta u Kielu, Hamburgu i Muensteru), a šezdesetih dvije (jedna iz Manitobe), zatim sljedećih

sedamdesetih godina – istodobno s neočekivano rastućim brojem novih waldorfskih škola – proširilo se istraživanje unutar akademske zajednice (5 disertacija).

Ako pogledamo ključne riječi u tim prvim i kasnijim disertacijama, uočiti ćemo pomak u temama od općih prikaza waldorfske pedagogije do njezinih specifičnih i tipičnih obilježja. Navodimo popis ključnih riječi u tim i drugim akademskim izvorima: *kreativnost u usporedbi s državnim školama* (Ogletree, 1967), *maštovito brojanje, mašta i osjećaj u životu* (1974), *sustav u čijem je središtu dijete, euritmija, brza smjena razvojnih trendova u waldorfskim školama* (1977), *cjelovitost* (1987), *povijesna potreba za waldorfskom pedagogijom, usporedba s Jeanom Piagetom, samoostvarenje* (1990), *Montessori i Steiner, promjene u problematičnom razredu, priroda waldorfskih učitelja, školski rituali* (1992), *što radi učenik poslije dvanaestog razreda, usmjerena pažnja, prijelaz u javne škole, rasizam, obrazovanje kroz umjetnost, nasilje* (1996), *iskustva sa školskom autonomijom, školskim pokretom – usvajanje i napredak, Dahlinova naknadna istraživanja, vitalno znanstveno obrazovanje, identitet vitalnih funkcija i misaonih aktivnosti, mjesto pokreta u znanosti, duhovne vrijednosti, uključivanje male djece sa specijalnim potrebama, teološko i religijsko obrazovanje, atopija u djece, obrazovanje učitelja, odanost i fleksibilnost u waldorfskom obrazovanju, roditelji, prirodni svijet, estetski diskursi u ranom djetinjstvu, poučavanje o osjećajima, funkcije organa, učenje o životu, sudjelovanje roditelja*.

Teme na kraju popisa spominju se posljednjih godina. Sasvim jasno vidimo da sadrže manje specifičnih waldorfskih ili antropozofijskih termina. Dobar je dio njih preuzet iz akademskih časopisa ili institucija.

Međutim, pronašli smo također kritičke i napadačke osvrte. Riječ je zapravo o različitim vrstama izvora o waldorfskoj pedagogiji:

- a. knjige i govori Rudolfa Steinera: više od 300
- b. pedagoški sljedbenici u antropozofijskim okvirima Rudolfa Steinera: Leber (1996), samokritični Mosmuller (2009)
- c. pristupi realnom znanstvenom znanju u antropozofijskom tumačenju obrazovanja: Kranicheva biologija razumijevanja (2004)
- d. agresivna popularna upozorenja na „prave” namjere waldorfske pedagogije: Prangeovo obrazovanje za antropozofiju (1985)
- e. opći napadi na progresivno obrazovanje (njem. *Reformpädagogik*): Oelkerova kritička analiza dogmi progresivnog obrazovanja (1992)
- f. kritika empirijskog istraživanja u odgojno-obrazovnim znanostima: Helsper i sur., 2007; Idel, 2007
- g. empirijska istraživanja o pojavama i učincima waldorfske pedagogije: Zdrasil, 2000
- h. akademska literatura o važnim aspektima waldorfske pedagogije: serije kolokvija u Stuttgartu, Bohnsack/Kranich (1990) i Paschen (2010)
- i. akademska uspostava metoda waldorfske pedagogije, Patzlaff (2000) o učincima TV; Rittelmeyer (2010a) o estetskim metodama
- j. naknadna istraživanja, Hofmann i sur. (1981) i Bartz/Randoll (2007).

Ne tako davno nastao je bogat korpus, zahvaljujući početnim i naknadnim istraživanjima; povećanom broju doktorskih disertacija: Götte (2000), Stöckli (2011), Fiedler (2012); mrežnom izvoru koji sadrži relevantne radove (RoSe); akademskim institucijama za obrazovanje učitelja i odgovarajućoj literaturi (Paschen, 2010): Willmann (2011), Frielingsdorf (2012). Tu su također početna istraživanja o waldorfskoj pedagogiji u sklopu odgojno-obrazovnih znanosti poput Helsper i sur. (2007). Rijetka su zajednička istraživanja stručnjaka iz područja odgojno-obrazovnih znanosti i onih iz waldorfskih institucija, pa još uvijek iznimku predstavlja *Erziehungswissenschaftliches Colloquium* na Slobodnoj akademiji (njem. *Freie Hochschule*) u Stuttgartu koja je otvorena osamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća i koja je objavila 10 knjiga, od kojih je prva Bohnsack/Kranich (1990).

## Zaključak

Na kraju, ali ne najmanje bitno, znanstvene se prosudbe ne mogu temeljiti samo na kritici konceptata i njihovoj akademskoj kvaliteti, kao što su u medicini empirijski utemeljeni učinci i rezultati odlučujuća kategorija. Ako se waldorfska pedagogija uspoređuje s drugom pedagogijom u realnom vremenu, onda ona uglavnom ne daje jednake rezultate kao druge pedagogije. Waldorfski učenici tako postižu lošije rezultate u prvom razredu kada je riječ o pisanju, prirodoslovlju ili svjesnoj samokontroli. Zanimljivija su stoga naknadna istraživanja, koja rijetko nalazimo u sklopu središnjih pedagoških škola u Njemačkoj, a najbolja se odnose na waldorfske škole. Postoje dva znanstvena istraživanja (Hofman i sur., 1983; Bartz i Randoll, 2007) u kojima su bivši učenici intervjuirani ili anketirani s pomoću upitnika kada su imali oko 30 godina ili čak pripadali različitim skupinama.

Neki zanimljivi rezultati posljednjeg naknadno provedenog istraživanja na uzorku triju skupina (godina rođenja/dob u trenutku provedbe istraživanja: 1. 1936-1945/68-61; 2. 1945-1954/50-59; 3. 1967-1974/37-30) pokazuju prosječna ili iznadprosječna postignuća u kasnijoj dobi; postotak najboljih rezultata na ispitima donekle premašuje prosjek (vjerojatno zbog boljeg obrazovanja roditelja: najčešće je spominjano zanimanje roditelja učiteljsko (u državnim školama) – 14% očeva i 13% majki; akademski obrazovanih > 40% ).

Potrebno je znati da to ne proizlazi samo iz rezultata postignutih u školskoj dobi nego da su takvi učinci primamljivi: oni se naknadno pojavljuju samo u onih učenika koji dolaze u školu po izboru roditelja. 14% učenika postaju učitelji (pet puta više u odnosu na učenike drugih škola); 9,8% inženjeri; 9,5% liječnici i farmaceuti; 7,7% umjetnici i 2% stolari. Njih 46,8% stječe akademsko obrazovanje (na sveučilištima), 66,7% na sveučilištima primijenjenih znanosti (njem. *Fach hoch schulen*). Ne postoji „obrazovanje usmjereno prema antropozofiji” – kako ga je Prange (1985) kritizirao i nazivao – nego je većina prije ravnodušna i skeptična. Pozitivno se ograničenje u odnosu na antropozofiju smanjuje po skupinama: u prvoj iznosi 17%, drugoj 12%, trećoj 7%.



S obzirom na zdravlje imaju niži krvni tlak, manje uobičajenih degenerativnih bolesti. Neke se rijetko javljaju kao što su astma, peludna groznica, ostale alergije; bitne razlike ne postoje kada je riječ o infarktu i raku.

Spomenuli su sljedeće školske probleme: stručno znanje, sricanje slova i strani jezici. Od prednosti su najprije naveli propitivanje pojava i uočavanje odnosa, a zatim prioritet društvene odgovornosti, visok stupanj identifikacije sa starom školom, iznimnu dobrobit u školi, pozitivne konotacije učenja i odgoja, vrlo dobru temeljnu pripremu za život, ključne kompetencije za svakodnevno življenje, pozitivno stajalište o životu, osnovno povjerenje u vlastite sposobnosti, neovisnost i prilagodljivost, osjećaj zajedništva, društvenu interakciju, praktično obrtničko znanje, kulturno i umjetničko nasljeđe.

Kao školske nedostatke naveli su izostanak svjetovnosti, neučinkovit prijenos znanja, potpuno nedostatna pažnja posvećena izvedbi (60% kaže da je premali učinak izvedbi).

Sjećanja su uglavnom pozitivna. Nedostatak cjelovitih nastavnih sadržaja ocjenjuju blago, što bi bilo sekundarno.

Nužno je shvatiti da odgovori često proizlaze iz samih pitanja, odnosno dobit ćete odgovore s različitim značenjem. Ako pitate: Jesu li vas dobro naučili kako se koriste računala? [Ne] Ali ako pitate: Je li vam bio problem poslije škole naučiti kako se koristiti računalima? [Ne]. S obzirom na dobre rezultate završnih ispita (uglavnom provedeni pod državnim nadzorom), nastava nije mogla biti tako loša kako su neki navodili.

Općenito se može reći da je pedagoški koncept, u uspješnoj primjeni više od 90 godina na slobodnom tržištu širom svijeta, pozitivno vrednovan u praksi.

Moguće je zamisliti da će se u budućnosti waldorfska pedagogija nastaviti razvijati u vrtićima i školama, što bi moglo dovesti do većih problema s nedostatkom odgovarajućeg kadra. S jedne će se strane i dalje boriti da u promjenjivu svijetu zadrži svoje osnovne koncepte u njihovoj biti (Mosmuller, 2009), dok će s druge strane ostalim školskim pedagogijama čak davati prijedloge za rješenje njihovih problema ili zadataka usmjerenih prema razvoju i unapređenju individualnih sposobnosti učenika i studenata, te im doista omogućiti vrijedna iskustva kako bi shvatili da ih ovaj svijet itekako treba.