Chapter 17
Thinking, Feeling, and Willing: How Waldorf Schools Provide a Creative Pedagogy That Nurtures and Develops Imagination

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Abstract The approach to education developed by Rudolf Steiner in 1919 is manifest in the worldwide Waldorf school movement and its curriculum, which is based on a firm foundation of child development as a gradual unfolding of the soul qualities of thinking, feeling, and willing. Teachers in Waldorf schools believe that a child's imagination should be nurtured and encouraged to develop in a healthy way, using pedagogical approaches that avoid mass media and information technologies, especially screen-based technologies, particularly in the early years:

> One of the key aims of our method of educating is to help the child toward developing the faculty of free imagination. So, for example, we generally tell stories without offering printed pictures. Our words provide the raw materials. The child has to "clothe" the story with his or her own images. (Mt Barker Waldorf School Parent Association 2001)

This chapter will outline the pedagogical and methodological approaches to teaching and learning that Waldorf schools have been applying around the world for over 80 years, and discuss the extent to which they contribute to the development of the faculty of free imagination in children.

Introduction

The approach to education developed by Rudolf Steiner in 1919 is manifest in the worldwide Waldorf school movement and its curriculum. It is based on an underpinning perception of child development as a gradual unfolding of the soul qualities of thinking, feeling, and willing. Teachers in Waldorf schools work with the view that a child's imagination should be nurtured and encouraged to develop in a healthy way, using pedagogical approaches that avoid mass media and information technologies, especially screen-based technologies, particularly in the early years. This chapter will outline the pedagogical and methodological approaches to teaching and learning that Waldorf Schools have been applying around the world for almost 90 years, and discuss the extent to which they might contribute to the development of the faculty of free imagination in children.

T. Leonard, P. Willis (eds.), *Pedagogies of the Imagination,*

> Rudolf Steiner … a guide for a systematic training of thinking, feeling, willing and developing imagination, inspiration and intuition … grounded in the service of humanity. (Lievegoed 1993, p. 16)

Steiner Education and Waldorf Schools

Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925) was an Austrian philosopher and scientist who in his lifetime initiated many practical applications of his theories on human and social development in fields as diverse as agriculture, medicine, art, architecture, human movement, and education. The essence of Steiner's worldview was that a study of the evolution of humanity through various stages of civilization and consciousness will reveal the true direction for the development of society and the individual person in modern times. He coined the term "anthroposophy" to explain this, of which various definitions have been given. According to Shepherd, "perhaps no one definition would contain its whole meaning. The word 'sophia' always denotes the divine wisdom, and 'Anthroposophy' indicates that this wisdom is to be found in the knowledge of the true being of man and of his relation to the universe" (1983, p. 73).

Given Steiner's considered and wide-ranging interests in the renewal of social forms through individual development, he was asked by the German industrialist Emil Molt in 1919 to establish a school for the children of the workers in his Waldorf-Astoria cigarette factory, and the first "Waldorf Free School" opened in Stuttgart in September of that year. It was to be "free" in the sense that it would be accessible to all social classes and not limited by bureaucratic constraints, denominational doctrine, or dogmatic ideology. The success of this first school went on to inspire one of the fastest growing independent movements in education, which has since spread to all corners of the globe. At the time of writing there are over 950 Steiner or Waldorf schools worldwide (Steiner Waldorf Schools Fellowship 2007).

It is remarkable that the original curriculum and teaching methodologies that Steiner developed over a period of three months in 1919 still form the basis of the pedagogical approach taken in Waldorf schools around the world today, despite—and possibly because of—the rapid rise of teaching technologies and educational theories based on cognitive and educational psychology that became popular in the latter half of the last century (Von Heydebrand 1966). Even more notable is the fact that this pedagogical approach is firmly rooted in anthroposophy, providing an underpinning educational philosophy that teachers find support from and parents respond to. Such a philosophical basis is increasingly absent from secular state schooling systems, which strive to be politically correct and value-neutral yet as a consequence suffer from a lack of cohesive direction. In this respect, Steiner education can be firmly placed within the humanistic/holistic tradition, and resonates strongly with the curriculum work that Macdonald (1981) has termed "mythopoetic."

What Is Steiner Education?

This is a question that is frequently directed at Waldorf educators around the globe, and several schools address "Frequently asked questions about Waldorf education" on their websites. The Cape Ann Waldorf School for example replies in part: "Waldorf Schools seek to educate the whole child, integrating rigorous academics with emotional and spiritual growth and physical skills" (1999, p. 1). This whole-child orientation is often referred to in the literature as "head, heart, and hands," meaning that children learn with their body and their feelings as well as their intellect (Barnes 1991, p. 54; Easton 1997, p. 87; Koetzsch 1997, p. 221).

While it is difficult to provide a full answer to the question in a few paragraphs, a concise and useful summary is provided by Easton (1997), who suggests that Waldorf educational theory and practice can be distinguished by the following six key elements:

1. A theory of child development
2. A theory of teacher self-development
3. A core curriculum that integrates artistic and academic work
4. A method of teaching as an art that pays careful attention to synchronizing teaching methods with the rhythm of a child's unfolding capacities
5. Integration of teaching and administration
6. Building the school and the greater Waldorf community as networks of support for students, teachers, and parents

Child Development

An important aspect of Steiner education that is fundamental to a Waldorf teacher's understanding of child development is the image of the child as a threefold human being: body, soul, and spirit. The physical body reflects an earthly stream in terms of the laws of biology and heredity, that is, what the child inherits from its parents; a genetic history. The spirit is subject to the laws of reincarnation and karma and represents a cosmic stream. This presumes that the individual not only has a spiritual history which it brings with it to its earthly incarnation, but will have a future spiritual potential. The soul, then, is the expression of the meeting of these two streams in the present, the higher self and the physical self, which create an individual identity, or psyche. While the concept of destiny is acknowledged in this view, past lives plus spiritual potential create a certain choice or freedom in the present. Teachers are concerned with the soul of a child in this sense of the word, but must recognize and work with the fact that each child has a spiritual history and that very young children are still incarnating until about their third year. It is interesting to note that the original meaning of the word *psyche* referred to what the Ancient Greeks considered to be "the soul"; therefore the term "psychology" really means "knowledge of the soul." This discussion of child development is based on Steiner's principles of "spiritual psychology" (Steiner 1981, 1984).

The view of the child as a being that incorporates a cosmic history is nothing new in comparison to other established views such as those held by certain eastern religions—Buddhism for example—but when applied to an educational philosophy it creates a picture of the child as an "unfolding personality" that "requires nourishing by caring adults" (Miller 1997, p. 5), according to certain predestined rhythms and patterns. While this is important for teachers it can also be a revelation for parents, for example for the nursing mother to realize that her infant's soul has a "dreamlike consciousness" that is still in the realm of the angels and therefore should be regarded with reverence. However, the most important aspect of child development, both from a parenting and teaching point of view, is the recognition of the rhythmic progression of the unfolding soul in accord with the "rhythmic processes of the universe" (Childs 1991, p. 39), and the importance of understanding the appropriate ways of responding to a child's needs at particular stages in this process.

All children go through the same bodily phases of growth, but at the same time experience soul development and changes in their consciousness. Consistent with a biological science view that the body cells are "replaced" every seven years, Steiner considered that this soul development process also occurred in seven-year cycles, from 0–7, 7–14, 14–21 and so on. The first seven years are characterized by rapid growth of the physical body, and learning by imitation and play, in which the child largely relates to the world through its *will*. Around the age of six or seven, the change from milk teeth to adult teeth signifies a change in consciousness that goes beyond dependence on immediate experience to an ability to create mental pictures and to interpret concepts through *feeling*. This is why Waldorf teachers believe that a child is not ready for formal schooling until the age of seven and that reading and writing should be introduced slowly, a well-known and contentious aspect of Waldorf schools. This phase continues until the next great physical change, the onset of puberty around the age of 13 to 14 when a capacity for abstract *thinking* and an ability to make meaningful judgments unfolds, leading up to the full development of the individual ego by the age of 21. These first three phases are therefore characterized by the progressive development of the three "soul forces": willing, feeling, and thinking (Easton 1997; Childs 1991; Mazzone 1997; Ruenzel 1995).

While these seven-yearly milestones continue throughout life, a fundamental aspect of this theory of the unfolding being is the significance of the effects of education and upbringing on an individual's later development in body, soul, and spirit, which is encapsulated in William Wordsworth's famous aphorism "The child is father of the man" (from "My heart leaps up", 1802). The meaning of this saying can be interpreted as: everything that a child experiences affects the way in which the adult relates to the world later in life; and more literally: children bear the seeds of that which they will become within themselves. The task for parents and educators is to nourish this seed and allow it to grow naturally, in order to lay the foundation for effective learning throughout life. This is another fundamental aim of Waldorf schools. "The strength to do this [learn through life] lies within the core of the individual, the 'father to the man' who can never be an object of education but

who must rather be enabled to take on the process of self-education from within" (Maier 1994, p. 13). In this regard Steiner was also an early champion of the concept of lifelong learning.

Teacher Self-Development

This process of self-education also applies to teachers. It would seem apparent that anyone seeking to become a Waldorf teacher would need to develop a clear understanding of this view of child development, only a small part of which has been outlined above. They would also need to become familiar with ways of understanding and working with children and their behavior, such as Steiner's interpretation of the Greek doctrine of the four temperaments: choleric, sanguine, phlegmatic, and melancholic. Recognizing dominant temperaments in children can be useful in relating to them and managing their relations with each other, but the teacher must also recognize that their own temperament can dominate the dynamic of a class and should be prepared to work with it in a positive way. A significant aspect of the pedagogical approach in a Waldorf school is the fact that during the primary years the teacher stays with the same group of children from Class 1 to Class 7, corresponding to the second seven-year cycle from age 7 to 14. They therefore begin with young children who are just experiencing the change of teeth and end with young adolescents who are experiencing puberty. "This demanding and challenging commitment by the main lesson teacher requires that the teacher follow a path of self-development that makes it possible to keep pace with the changing needs of students" (Easton 1997, p. 89).

Core Curriculum

In the primary years especially, the Waldorf curriculum is based on rhythm and repetition, so that students become attuned to the rhythm of the day, the week, the seasons, and so on, and learn similar content in different ways in subsequent stages, building on a foundation and deepening their learning as new capacities unfold. Throughout the primary and high school years the main focus of intellectual activity occurs in the morning, with a long main lesson devoted to a specific topic for several weeks. Afternoons involve more artistic, creative, or physical activities.

Whether the main lesson topic is history, science, social studies, or writing, artistic work is incorporated into the learning activities, engaging the head, heart, and hands. For example, a main lesson in botany would involve not only identifying plants in the field, but the students would produce paintings of the plants and write poems about them. This is a classic example of the recognition of the integration of science, art, and nature, and goes right back to the influence of Goethe on Steiner's

philosophy of education. At the same time, "activities which are often considered frills at mainstream schools are central at Waldorf schools: art, music handwork and foreign languages" (Cape Ann Waldorf School 1999, p. 1). All children learn to play music and to knit, as well as experiencing woodwork, eurythmy, and painting right through to Class 12.

Myth as a Source of Knowledge

A mythopoetic approach to the universal nature of knowledge is clearly represented in the more fundamental aspect of the Steiner curriculum with its recapitulation of the development of human consciousness over the centuries. "Curriculum content is shaped, or at least colored, by what is understood as the consciousness, soul-mood or life principles at work within a given epoch (ontogenesis recapitulates phylogenesis)" (Skewes 1996, p. 7). This is reflected in the primary school curriculum in the study of great epochs of human civilization at the corresponding age at which the child's individual consciousness is unfolding. For example, Norse mythology is introduced in Class 4 when the children at around age nine are able to identify the moral and ethical issues arising from the great sagas of the Norse gods as they battle with the forces of light and darkness (Leah 1997). In Class 5 the study of Ancient Greece introduces the allegorical and metaphorical nature of the characters of the Greek gods, and by inference the children are made aware of the influence of these archetypes on the collective psyche of modern society and culture. To continue with this epochal chronology, Roman times are dealt with in Class 6, which gives a picture of the origin of the modern-day state and a highly regulated and martial society, at an age when the children are beginning to question authority structures.

The notion of recapitulation is carried through into the high school years when the students would progressively learn about the Middle Ages, Shakespearean times, the Renaissance, and Victorian England as well as return to more detailed aspects of ancient cultures through the core subjects of art, English, history, and comparative religion. There are obviously regional variations to this curriculum, as well as a debate in Australia as to whether it should be less Euro-centric and more adapted to a regional and local cultural context (Skewes 1996; Van Kerkhoven 1996), but the guiding impulse of basing the curriculum on the evolution of human consciousness through an appreciation of the growing child in his or her natural environment is universal in Steiner/Waldorf schools.

The use of story-telling is particularly important, and fairy tales, myths, and legends can convey archetypal images and moral messages in a way that speaks to the child's consciousness more deeply than by simply telling: "stories are an age-old means of enlivening the learning process and stimulating students' imaginations" (Easton 1997, p. 90).

Teaching as an Art

> Human life calls for more than education in the realm of meaning, it calls for education in what the will experiences in its sleeping condition: rhythm, beat, melody, the harmony of colours, repetition, any kind of activity not calling for a grasp of meaning. (Steiner 1976, p. 89)

The prevalence and influence of cognitive and behavioral theories of psychology in teacher education courses have had the effect of turning education into a science, a process that can be reduced to objectives, defined by subject matter, and measured by testing. Waldorf schools consider that enabling children to learn in a meaningful and holistic way is an art, and requires creative and aesthetic input, a subjective expressive approach, and attention to intuitive and imaginal processes. The beauty of nature is reflected in the pleasing environment of the classroom, with its warm colors, the nature table with objects typical of the season, and colorful art works. The cycle of the seasons, the great rhythms of nature, are brought into the classroom and into the curriculum in a living way.

Waldorf teachers make a point of engaging young children by telling stories using the oral tradition, without necessarily reading from printed texts, especially picture books:

> One of the key aims of our method of educating is to help the child toward developing the faculty of free imagination. So, for example, we generally tell stories without offering printed pictures. Our words provide the raw materials. The child has to "clothe" the story with his or her own images. (Mt Barker Waldorf School Parent Association 2001)

The methods of teaching therefore involve story-telling, poems, songs, and movement, with an intentional use of rhythm in language to engage children in learning: the power of language and the human voice are not only recognized but embraced. A modernist perspective of a Waldorf classroom would dismiss it as being too teacher-centered, with the focus always on the voice and words of the teacher taking the place of what might otherwise be a text, a video, a worksheet, or some other curriculum resource. However, this approach requires the teacher to continually develop their own aesthetic and mythopoetic sensibilities; student-centered, problem-based, and self-directed pedagogies can also be exploited as an end rather than a means to learning.

The overall picture of the Waldorf teaching method can be seen as one of rhythm, respect, and reverence; an appreciation of natural beauty, and an integration of art, music, and movement in all academic work. It therefore becomes important for the child to experience these qualities in the home environment as well, in order to maintain a balance between the values at home and those at school. This can be a challenge for parents as it requires them to consider what the young child should be exposed to: for example natural toys as opposed to plastic ones; dolls without pre-determined facial features; minimizing exposure to loud music or mass media; and ideally not exposing young children to television or moving images at all for at least their first seven years.

Integration of Teaching and Administration

The traditional structure of a Waldorf school, true to the original intent of the very first school, requires leadership and school management to be shared by the entire faculty, which selects members to a steering committee. This committee—referred to as the College of Teachers—acts as the legally constituted management body of the school and carries all of the decision-making responsibilities that would normally fall to one person, a principal. There are many variations on this structure, with some schools having a separate administrator, or a school council whose members include parents; however the absence of the position of principal is almost universal. It can be seen as an important symbol of a school that values consensus decision making and an egalitarian approach to management above hierarchical structures—one of the enduring principles of Steiner's Threefold Social Order (Steiner 1972a, b).

The School as a Learning Community

Easton's statement that "the development of the school as a learning community is one of the major achievements of Waldorf education" (1997, p. 91) sets Waldorf schools apart from most other schools. The shared mission, philosophy, educational theories, practices, and rituals are seen as key factors in building community. As stated above, many parents are drawn to this aspect of the schools which they perceive to be missing from most modern state school systems, and feel that being able to participate physically, intellectually, and spiritually in the Waldorf school community can also be a strong transformative learning experience. As one parent stated, "In that process of seeing what your child goes through, you suddenly start waking up to yourself and understanding your own path as an individual more clearly" (Stehlik 2002, p. 129).

Imagination as the Basis of Education

Many people who know little about Steiner or Waldorf schools may at least have an idea that an expectation is made of parents that they will keep their children's television viewing to a minimum, or even remove the possibility altogether. A logical question that may follow this idea is, since Steiner died in 1925 long before television was invented, how could he have issued such a decree as part of his pedagogical approach?

Critics of Steiner education (and there are quite a few, especially in the US: see Dugan and Daar 1994, for example) and skeptics in general see the banning of television as another example of a cultist and even fascist approach to child rearing and a threat to freedom of choice. In fact, the schools would be the first to recognize this:

> At first, in the context of common culture and "normal" life, this position may seem to be unduly harsh, dogmatic or plain silly. It may also appear to be undemocratic; undemocratic because some parents may feel this is illegitimate pressure by the school into the private realm of the home. (Mt Barker Waldorf School Parent Association 2001, p. 32)

However the importance of a harmonious relationship between the ideals and values espoused in the home and those espoused in the school environment was fundamental to Steiner's view of how education should work almost 90 years ago and this, combined with his theories on the way in which the developing child incarnates into the world using creative play and learning by imitation, can directly apply to the effects of present day innovations like television, which "fails to enrich the soul and nourish the imagination" (Brooky 1998, p. 4), as well as other information technologies that accelerate intellectual development to the detriment of the feeling life.

As described above, Steiner education is premised on the view that the young child is still in a dreamlike state for the first few years of life, a precious time during which development should not be forced by the type of abstract intellectual notions that characterize the adult view of the world:

> What the child receives in a Waldorf classroom in the early grades is delicate, as matters of the imagination always are; exposure to the powerful and usually ugly images of the mass media can easily overpower what is living in a germinal state in the child's soul. Given time, these seeds will ripen and the child will be able to face the modern world well-armed and armored. I would hope that every Waldorf student will be an adult who can use a computer or a TV (or their future equivalents) and value them for what they are and *not* be enslaved to them, or idolize them as an expression of superhuman intelligence. (Schwartz 1999, p. 3)

Therefore, in order for Waldorf teachers to inspire the imaginations of their students, parents need to be supportive of what happens in the classroom by providing a similar environment in the home. Once parents realize the value of this approach and commit to it, taking an informed and critical approach to television and other mass media becomes just one part of a set of values shared by the wider school community and the notion that it might be perceived as "undemocratic" is no longer an issue.

The Mt Barker Waldorf School for Rudolf Steiner Education, located in South Australia and founded in 1979, sees parent education as an important associated task in supporting the school's pedagogical approach. As with most Waldorf schools, teachers find themselves addressing frequently asked questions from parents about the educational philosophies that underpin policies such as restricting television viewing, as the following extract from the school's parent handbook suggests:

> Television agitates against the development of free imagination. TV images reach the child in a fixed immutable manner. Content [for the young child] becomes dictatorial. Imaginations lack fluidity. (Mt Barker Waldorf School Parent Association 2001, p. 33)

Steiner was concerned that the modern world, even in 1919, was "speeding up" the development of children and "hardening" them to the demands of a fast-paced world when they should be allowed to enjoy what he called "the kingdom of

childhood." In a Waldorf kindergarten, therefore, the children's play is regarded as their work, and they learn through creative experimentation and cooperation with each other in a safe and supportive environment. In these early years it is considered that the child's consciousness is not wide awake like that of an adult but still in a dreamy state, and therefore "pictures presented to its imagination in story form should be in the nature of dream-pictures from the world of make-believe" (Childs 1991, p. 85). As described, the teaching methods reflect this by relying more on the oral than the written tradition, and using art, music, movement, and rhythm to support the absorption of content rather than abstract intellectual methods.

In the primary and high schools each subject is presented in an artistic and imaginative way whether it is science, math, or English. Art and aesthetic appreciation are integrated into the curriculum and ideally even the children's exercise books, in which "every page is to be an artistic event" (Skewes 2002, p. 1). For example, the teaching of the high school science curriculum includes a series of field camps where students experience the natural world in situ, and are given the opportunity to gain a more experiential and holistic appreciation of the environment in relation to their own place in the bigger picture of evolution.

The Mythopoetic Process in Practice

Despite its apparent successful transition to most countries and cultures over 90 years, Steiner education has been criticized for the fact that the curriculum has been adopted and applied fairly unchanged in most instances and in most situations. From this perspective it could be argued that Steiner's pedagogy is deterministic and does not allow for individual or regional difference, or is in fact so prescriptive and controlling that each child's own mythologies are ignored and subsumed into an all-consuming "one size fits all" approach. As discussed elsewhere in this volume (see Chapter 2), the use of mythopoetic language in education invokes an evocative power rather than a controlling power. While there is no doubt that the Steiner curriculum is highly structured and prescribed, it is structured around the development of the whole child and adopts processes that focus on their aesthetic and spiritual development in addition to intellectual and physical development. These processes by design require much more subtle and delicate pedagogical approaches that evoke as well as instruct, and provide a foundation for the individual child to be able to develop a reflective-imaginal way of viewing the world as well as a logical-rational one.

It could be argued that a laissez faire approach to education, such as the still controversial Summerhill model championed by A. S. Neill, might equally allow children to explore and experience the aesthetic and the numinous through freedom of expression and choice (Neill 1968). Encouraging the natural development of children's emotional, intellectual, and social development according to this pedagogical approach also acknowledges that "the kingdom of childhood" should be nurtured and revered. Yet at the time of writing, the original Summerhill school has an enrolment

of less than 90 pupils, while other schools modeled on Neill's "free" approach to education continue to struggle with small or shrinking enrolments or have even failed. Steiner education continues to grow with 630 schools in 22 European countries alone adopting an approach that is "free" in the original sense that Steiner envisaged for the very first "Free Waldorf School": accessible to all social classes and free of bureaucratic constraints, denominational doctrine, or dogmatic ideology.

However, it is not so much the quantity but the quality of the graduates of this pedagogical approach that lends weight to the argument presented in this chapter that a deterministic pedagogy can actually produce very pluralistic results, if the teaching methodologies encourage young people to reflect imaginally on their own life stance using the great archetypal myths of our times. In this regard the Steiner curriculum, while basing its whole foundation on the history of civilization, appears to produce outcomes that are future-focused and highly relevant for our times, as suggested in the following section.

Education for Life

Recent independent research from a futures perspective into the effects of Steiner education has highlighted just one salient outcome of this unique approach to schooling which may also go some way towards addressing the concerns discussed in the previous section. According to Gidley,

> Key educational "futurists" have engaged in critical speculation about alternative forms of education that might better prepare youth for a rapidly changing and uncertain future, while also considering the needs of future generations. Several researchers recommend more holistic, integrated teaching methods using imagination, visualization, pro-social skills and specific futures methodologies. Intriguingly, many of these are crucial aspects of Steiner education. (2002, p. 156)

To determine whether Waldorf schools were any different in preparing young people for a rapidly changing world and an uncertain future, Gidley surveyed 128 senior school students in Waldorf high schools in three Australian states, and conducted two focus group workshops with the Year 12 class of one school, to investigate and discuss their views and attitudes towards the future. She found that this group of students "were just as inclined as other students and young people to have grave expectations about the future of the environment, social justice and conflict" (Gidley 1998, p. 7).

However, in spite of this Gidley found the students in general

> were not disempowered by those negative future expectations, but rather, they demonstrated a strong activist will to create more positive futures … [and] the students' qualitative responses and visions demonstrated that they see the quality and character of humanness itself as a major factor in the challenges they face and the futures they hope for. (2002, p. 159)

Gidley believes it is the integrated approach to the development of the whole child that contributes to this confidence and to a more holistic worldview than might be gained through a curriculum focused mainly on academic content and outcomes.

> In particular, the cultivation of the students' imagination helps them envision prospective futures different from the present. In Steiner schools, the foremost tool for cultivating the imagination is stories, a pre-eminent medium of teaching. Also, Steiner schools widely use the creative arts to give meaning to every subject and promote intrinsic motivation and positive self-esteem. (Gidley 2002, p. 158)

The link between the arts and cognitive development is a key characteristic of Steiner education, as mentioned above, and Steiner himself saw this link as central to developing individual initiative and as a crucial role of teaching:

> If, through an artistic approach, which appeals to the whole human being, we gradually unfold in our teaching what has become purely intellectual in the world, our pupils will grow into complete and integrated personalities, capable of developing real initiative. (Steiner 1981, p. 86)

In conclusion, the continuing growth and success of Waldorf schools in producing young people with the strength of will, breadth of thinking, and depth of feeling to be truly global citizens suggests that these schools clearly foster a pedagogy of the imagination.

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