Independent or Charter?
Study of Teacher Choice: Part One

Liz Beaven

In 1991, the Milwaukee Urban School in Wisconsin opened its doors, bringing the possibility of Waldorf education to inner city children. This marked the first venture of Waldorf education in North America outside the territory of independent schooling. Since then, there has been considerable interest in the potential of Waldorf education in the public sphere, with the development of a number of schools inspired by Waldorf education.[1] Public sector growth has been particularly concentrated in Northern California but is growing in other states. Expansion into the public realm has provoked discussions on principles of practice and philosophy, fundamentally reflecting two major questions: In North America, can Waldorf education exist and thrive in the public sector? What are the immediate and long-term impacts for the Waldorf school movement of development in the public sector?

Seeking to take a fresh look at the dynamics at play between charter and independent schools, I undertook a study of a group of teachers who have had experience in both settings. Rumors abound regarding differences in compensation, approaches to teaching, school organization, freedom and regulations, teacher training, and similar topics; I was interested in exploring any differences through the voices of teachers who have moved from an independent school to a charter and vice versa, hearing what they experienced when they made this move. What emerged was a multi-layered picture of individual biographies, schools, strengths and weaknesses, ideals, practical life, and opportunities and challenges. The study process was illuminated by the thoughtfulness, depth, and open and generous sharing of a group of ten teachers as they reflected on their varied experience, their values, their motivation, and their sincere care for Waldorf education and for the needs of children.

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This article offers a summary of the study process and key results. A discussion of their possible implications for further research or practice will follow as Part Two in the next edition of the *Research Bulletin*.

Study Context

From its 1919 beginnings in post-war Stuttgart, Waldorf education has possessed a strong social mission. Steiner stipulated that the first school should be open to all those who sought it and should operate free of government control. The social mission of Waldorf education can be seen throughout its history as it spread across the world. In the United States, a wider social mission was less visible for much of the twentieth century; in 1991 a change occurred with the opening of the Milwaukee Urban School and its express intent of bringing the gifts of Waldorf education to under-resourced inner city children. The 1990s were marked by an explosion of growth in both independent schools and public ventures. After sixty-five years of quiet, relatively unnoticed development, it could be argued that expansion into the public sphere dramatically heightened the overall profile of Waldorf education.

Development in the public sphere has not been without obstacles—most notably in the form of a lengthy legal challenge brought by the People for Legal and Non-Sectarian Schools (PLANS).[2] Seeking to protect the integrity and quality of Waldorf education, the Association of Waldorf Schools of North America (AWSNA) became the holder of use of the terms *Waldorf, Steiner,* and *Rudolf Steiner* in educational settings.[3] Public schools inspired by Waldorf education cannot currently become members of AWSNA and are not permitted to use these terms. Despite these challenges, growth in the public sphere has accelerated. The schools have created their own association, the Alliance for Public Waldorf Education, which was founded to provide support for these public initiatives "to promote and support high quality public schools inspired by Waldorf education." (www.allianceforpublicwaldorfeducation.org) Similar to AWSNA, the Alliance has developed a path to membership and holds an annual conference. At its January 2013 conference, it was reported that Alliance membership has increased from 14 member schools in 2000 to 25 in 2012 and 43 in 2013 (38 full members and 5 new initiatives), a robust 58% growth over a twelve-month period. The majority of these schools are in California.

Charter school legislation provided the primary framework for the development of public schools inspired by Waldorf education. Charter schools are public institutions supported by public funds and operating under a specific agreement (charter). Charter regulations were first introduced in Minnesota in 1991; California followed in 1992. Often referred to as "public schools of choice" (www.calcharters.org/understanding), charters now exist in forty-one states and the District of Columbia. Similar to many of the independent schools, they are generally founded out of the interests of a group of parents or teachers. They have greater freedom from rules and regulations than regular public schools and can generally define their values, design curriculum, and hire and fire personnel. The level of autonomy and freedom enjoyed by charter schools varies between states and schools; there is a wide variety of type of charter with differences in structure, degree of autonomy, and salaries. All must meet federal, state, or district accountability standards including completion of mandated student assessments. Public funding does not generally meet the full charter school budget. Unlike some states, California law does not allow the conversion of independent schools to charter status. The charter school movement overall has seen rapid growth; the number of charter school students quadrupled from 1999/2000 to 2009/2010 and charters grew from two to five percent of the nation's public schools. (National Center for Education Statistics)

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The Research Project

This was a qualitative study based on interviews with ten participants, each of whom had at least several years' teaching in both independent Waldorf schools and public schools inspired by Waldorf education. The majority had both a California teaching credential and Waldorf certification. Participants were purposively (deliberately) selected after conversations with school administrators and Rudolf Steiner College faculty members and my own knowledge of Northern California schools. I attempted to select participants with experience of a range of schools and to have equal numbers of those who had moved from independent to charter school or charter to independent. This proved to be a challenge; it was much easier to locate teachers who had moved from an independent to charter setting. Every potential participant readily agreed to take part. The study was

primarily located in Northern California due to its number of schools; one participant was living and working in Southern California.

Interviews were confidential; neither individual nor school names have been disclosed. A profile of key characteristics of the participants is offered to provide context for their perspectives:

4 commenced their teaching careers after traditional public school teacher training
8 received their Waldorf teacher training at Rudolf Steiner College, Sacramento
8 hold a California credential (the 2 semi-retired teachers do not)
9 have a certificate in Waldorf education (1 did part of the training but did not complete)
2 had their first teaching experience in traditional public schools
5 began their teaching career in an independent Waldorf school
2 began their teaching career in a charter school inspired by Waldorf education (1 had Waldorf training at this time, 1 did not)
2 have teaching experience in other private school systems (Catholic and Montessori; one began her career in a Catholic school)
4 currently work in an independent school
5 currently work in a charter setting
2 are primarily mentors and teacher educators
3 have kindergarten teaching experience
7 are or have been class teachers
3 are or have been high school teachers
3 are or have been school administrators
2 are Waldorf alumni
10 are parents of current or former Waldorf students
2 have also been parents of students in charter schools
1 has been a parent in "mainstream" public schools
The total years of teaching experience ranges from 8 to 30+ years
Age range is early 40s to late 60s
2 are males, 8 are females

Interviews were semi-structured. I asked the same set of open-ended questions at each interview, but interviewees took the lead and established their own priorities and flow. At times they covered more than one question in a response. Without exception, interviewees answered all questions freely and thoughtfully. I conducted eight interviews in person and two by phone. They lasted from fifty minutes to over two hours. Nine interviews were recorded (audio only) and I took extensive notes. I transcribed the recordings and notes in full after each interview.

When all interviews had been completed and transcribed, I analyzed the transcripts for common or repeated themes and significant differences. This type of research almost inevitably has a subjective element; I attempted to reduce bias by maintaining a standard framework of interview questions and being as vigilant as possible about any tendency to drop into discussion, insert my personal opinion, or select transcript material that matched my expectations. Analysis was initially structured around the interview questions, and responses were grouped into major themes as they emerged. These are summarized and discussed below. Sample participant quotations have been used to more clearly "voice" and illustrate the findings.

MAJOR FINDINGS

Determinants of Choice: Reasons for Moving between Schools

Although there were several unique situations, the major reasons for teachers' decisions to move between independent and charter schools could be grouped into three major categories: social mission and access to education, financial considerations, and a desire to deepen their work.

Social Mission. Social considerations were primary in deciding to move between schools: every participant had concerns about access to education. Several noted that tuition levels

continue to climb, impacting the demographics of the independent schools. One felt that these increases "simply do not seem sustainable." Another reflected on Steiner's intentions, believing he stated that the education would eventually be out in the wider world of education, not confined to independent Waldorf schools. Another expanded on that theme: it was time for Waldorf education "to get out of the monastery and into the missionary" activity. These teachers had been attracted to the pioneering mission of a new charter and its social goals, which they saw as congruent with this ideal. Several noted the greater economic diversity of the charter population, stating that these children, too, were deserving of a Waldorf education but would never have access to an independent school, even with financial aid.

Deepening of Work. Ideals also took teachers from charters to independent schools. In this direction, the ideals were a perceived freedom of practice, a search for like-minded colleagues, and a chance to deepen their work. One recalled a search for greater alignment of beliefs about children and her practice, remembering that she had found it painful to administer standardized tests to second graders. She also spoke of the journey and destiny of the class teacher, of sensing that her work with her class at a charter school had come to an end and that she had been destined to move, called to the independent school by her new class. Another recalled that his charter school had lacked study, with the majority of teachers largely untrained and seemingly uninterested in anthroposophical study. He wanted his school environment to be in accord with the ideals and language of his training; he wanted to be part of a school working strongly with an anthroposophical view of the human being.

Financial Considerations. Only one teacher named financial considerations as the primary reason for changing schools. Others mentioned finances as an important but not deciding factor. Two reported a significant drop in salary—in one case, by almost half—on moving from a charter to an independent setting. For another, a move from charter to independent resulted in an increase. Others had realized a significant gain in income when moving from independent to charter. One noted: "[In the independent school] the salary is really only designed for a single person without dependents," and further reported that the majority of lower school teachers were married women who were not fully dependent on their salaries. Another commented on the difficulty in providing for a family on the current salary and the stress that this caused. Both of these teachers were weighing their choices, juggling their responsibilities and their ideals.

Differences in benefits emerged as a significant motivator for change. A retirement plan—or lack of one—was most frequently cited. Although many independent schools have taken steps in recent years to institute or strengthen retirement plans, these tend to be small and not adequate for full retirement. One teacher, recalling that he had acquired contributions toward state retirement in his early years at a charter school, realized that topics such as retirement had not been part of his thinking as an idealistic young teacher when he had made the switch to an independent school—a lack of awareness he now suspects is "stupid."

The benefit of tuition remission was also discussed: this appeared to help retain teachers in the independent schools, most particularly at the high school level. Several shared stories of colleagues who had stayed at an independent school only for the duration of their children's remission. In one instance, a teacher noted that she would not have been able to afford private high school tuition on a charter school salary, despite the fact that the salary was considerably higher than that of the independent school. She had moved to allow her child to complete his education. It is important to note also that several

participants remained in independent schools long after their children had graduated, and that one participant chose to remain at a charter for several years while paying tuition at an independent school, a decision that was a sacrifice but one she felt gave her more professional objectivity.

In reviewing the *why* of teacher movement between charters and independents, it is noteworthy that for the majority of participants it was a movement *towards* something, not a movement *away*. Most retained very positive feelings toward their prior experiences.

Choices as Parents

For six of the participants, parenting had been the doorway to discovery of Waldorf education and to becoming ever more deeply engaged through volunteer work, substitution, study groups, and then teacher training. Decisions as parents influenced their career paths and their choices of school setting. Every participant is or has been a parent in an independent Waldorf school. Three paid tuition at an independent school, separate from employment or remission. Two had the experience of working "opposite" their children (children were at an independent school, parent at a charter). For five, charter schools had not existed as an option when their children were of school age.

It is noteworthy that for the majority of participants it was a movement towards something, not a movement away.

Several described being "hooked on Waldorf education" as a non-negotiable reality for their children. One noted: "At one point we realized we had spent more than $100,000 on their education, and agreed that we were fully committed to spending whatever it took to keep them in Waldorf." (At that time she had not begun teacher training.) Another recalled the "huge sacrifice" that had been required to provide an independent Waldorf education—there were no charters available as an option at that time for either of these families. She went on to observe that tuitions have continued to climb and that attendance at an independent school today would be "out of the question" for her family.

Several noted the importance of tuition remission and, by extension, employment in an independent school. One recalled the impact of parenthood on her choices, weighing the beauty and richness of an independent setting against a reduction of financial stress in a charter. Ultimately, she concluded, she would not place her children "just anywhere," but could imagine a charter setting that was right for them—a school that was working out of an anthroposophically-inspired understanding of the human being. Her children are happy in their current school, but she noted, wryly, that other factors needed to be considered: "[Economic] survival trumps a beautiful campus."

Two participants were now grandparents, watching their alumni children make decisions about education. One stated that it was "really hard as a grandma to see that my children can't afford a Waldorf school." Another has suggested charters for her grandchildren, based on the burden and stress that paying an independent school tuition would cause. Observing another of her children, she noted that, even with a high income, "it is a stretch" to be at an independent school.

Two participants had had a poor experience with one of their children's teachers (one in a charter school, one in an independent school). Despite this, none expressed doubt or regret about their decision to give a Waldorf education to their children. One spoke of the gift of having a child with learning challenges seen as a spiritual being who was forming a destiny rather than as someone with a problem to be "fixed." Those with current or recent high school students did not feel that charters were a viable option; the independent schools offered

a much richer experience.[4] One observed: "My child is who he is because of the opportunities he was afforded as a matter of course." They agreed that the charter option is becoming more viable as the high school charter work strengthens, and one commented that the absence of independent tuition payments could free up opportunities for enrichment outside of school.

Collegial and Inner Work

Responses to these two topics often intertwined. Participants commented on faculty study, relationships with colleagues, and their personal inner work. In general, there was agreement that the independent school environment offered more support for inner work and study.

Although faculty study, including study of Steiner's works, was described in both settings, several felt that colleagues in the charter schools seemed overall to be less connected to anthroposophy. This varied depending on the level of training of faculty and the number of teachers who had come from a strong independent school environment (in several schools, many teachers were currently receiving training). One reflected that, although she considered her charter school to be very strong, there had been more time and encouragement for inner work at her independent school. She attributed this in part to the general "ethos" of the school and in part to its more rigorous program with significant demands on teachers. She also felt that the question of inner work needed to be looked at before and after settlement of the PLANS lawsuit; she had witnessed a greater freedom to study and discuss these aspects once the case had been resolved.

Colleagues in the charter schools seemed overall to be less connected to anthroposophy.

Another noted that in an independent school, inner work and practice combine in "an open and easy flow." One observed that this depended not only on school setting, but also on one's role within a school: class teaching meant working "more directly with the children and the inner work flowed from that," but the teacher had less time: "In my current position I have more time for inner work and can choose to do it or not. For me, this is not a question of private or public."

Several related inner work and collegial relations, observing that, overall, in an independent school there was more discussion of inner work and an anthroposophical framework: "Most of the teachers were versed in anthroposophy and this was the basis for discussions." In contrast, said another, in a charter one's work was "more private, not an easy conversation piece. … [that it was] not easy to bring this across [to colleagues] unless they have background" and, at least for this teacher, therefore more difficult to maintain on one's own. Another added it is "easier to do the inner work when you know colleagues are doing it too and can share with each other some of the struggles, can give tips. … If colleagues are doing similar work, it is easier." One teacher described an independent school's "depth and total commitment" compared to more external support in a charter, but wondered whether this commitment was sustainable "with the young people coming in." She described mentoring conversations in an independent school, during which she "easily brought in the spiritual part, working with angels, et cetera," compared to in a charter setting where she felt "a lot of tiptoeing had to be done." However, she cautioned from her experiences in many schools: "Collegial work seems to be all over the map between schools. A teacher has to want to do this work."

For others, a feeling of isolation actually strengthened their work: "In some ways you have to work harder in a charter school—aligning personal beliefs with what is being brought to children, digging deep,

maintaining consistent study. Here [in an independent school] it is almost easy to fall asleep—study is built into the regular rhythm and it was tricky to do that in the charter [during the PLANS case]. You had to work much harder to warm the space in the charter school. … Here there is a long line of teachers standing behind you; the walls have been worked and you feel this support." Another observed: "In some ways, I am much more aware of it, it is a far more useful tool. I see results and the power of it; in the private school everything was so enmeshed in everything, families were knowledgeable and kids overall came healthy. I see inner work as homeopathic and powerful." For her, the impact of study and inner work was more strikingly evident and potent—"like kryptonite"—in a charter setting working with less advantaged children.

Most described a stronger collegial environment in the independent setting where it was supported by a much greater amount of time spent together in meetings and events and more opportunities for contact, communication, and collegial warmth—or conflict.

Most described a stronger collegial environment in the independent setting.

School Structure and Organization

Participants were asked to comment on the impact of school structure and organization. They highlighted areas in which the different model of the charter or independent school impacted their work. Major topics included administrative structure and support, workload, and resources.

Administrative Structure and Support. School leadership was identified as the most obvious and consistent difference. Charters operate with a director or principal who has significant authority and the capacity to make decisions that impact classrooms, teachers, and students. This includes the evaluation of teachers; the principal is responsible for the quality of the teachers and education. One teacher described a goal of the director model as "freeing teachers to teach." Part of the director's work was seen to be "protecting teachers from cranky parents"—this was mentioned repeatedly. Teachers experienced a clear structure of protection and support, "a system of boundaries; [an issue] goes through many layers and can often be figured out. … The teacher can keep teaching" while this takes place. "Parents know there is a line they cannot cross."

Independent schools, even those with a strong administrative function, practice distributed, more horizontal leadership; teachers directly experience "carrying" the school through participation in a College of Teachers or other core group and work on many committees. One teacher observed: "I got put into everything—the College, committees, … carrying the school—hiring, firing, listening to … parents." The positives of peer-based administration in a school were noted: a supportive and warm atmosphere, peer mentoring, and a community life that is developed through shared work and in meetings. One administrator identified peer-based evaluations as a downside of this more collegial working: "It can be hard for colleagues to say the difficult things." Most agreed that the quality and style of the leaders is hugely important, no matter the model.

The quality and style of the leaders is hugely important, no matter the model.

Workload. School structure directly impacts teacher workload. There was general agreement that, despite comparable or greater classroom contact hours required in the charter schools, the workload of the independent school is more demanding. One noted that he had far more classroom hours in a charter, but when he switched to an independent school he was recruited for the College of Teachers

and joined numerous committees. There were "long, long meetings deciding things for the whole school." This level of engagement, which he had sought, came at a cost: "Faculty children are often the last to be picked up from aftercare." Another observed that there was "much less of a burden" in the charter school. A teacher could stop at the end of the day when "the business of school is closed." There were "far fewer demands outside of school hours." However, another noted that a certain level of demand is inevitable in Waldorf teaching: "You have to be constantly learning and studying." She felt that, overall, teachers in the charter school were less willing to engage in this way, but wondered if this was more of a generational influence also impacting independent schools. This thought was reinforced by one of the younger participants who observed that the workload was heavy in each setting, but that in the independent setting, so much time was spent on parent work that it went "over the top." She saw colleagues who she felt were giving up their lives for the school, something she was not willing to do.

The workload of the independent school is more demanding.

Student Resources. Teachers described differences in physical resources, but there was no uniformity of response. Some independent schools had larger campuses; others were much more cramped. One teacher described finding a "treasure trove of Mercurius supplies" in an independent school and the added resource of a well-established teacher library. Independent schools tended to have greater human resources in the form of many years of practice and an atmosphere that encouraged collegial sharing.

There was uniform agreement that the charters were better equipped to support students with special needs. Teachers noted that, although most independent schools have made great strides in provision of learning support, the charters have a "huge plus" with assessment, access to psychologists, speech therapists, resource specialists, student study teams, and a clear process for the creation of an independent learning plan. This contrasted with the independent setting in which it "falls to the teacher to create curriculum, main lesson, assess students, and set goals"—with varying degrees of success. Although they agreed universally that student support was superior in the charter schools, a note of caution was sounded. One teacher felt that the accountability requirements of the public system could lead to over-early interventions and a tendency to label rather than allow the unique destiny of a child the time and space to emerge. When it comes to practice "on the ground," however, there were real and growing challenges to be addressed: "I get the principle of extra lesson or therapeutic eurythmy, but it does not solve the issue that right now, right in front of me, there is a gap in abilities. This child is at third grade in math and the class is at fifth grade. What can I do?"

Charters were better equipped to support students with special needs.

Working with Students and Parents

Participants were asked to reflect on differences between the parent and student communities. The most common observations centered on socio-economic differences and their impact.

Teachers described the independent school community as much wealthier, with more parents with college educations and professional occupations. Overall, they reported only slightly greater ethnic diversity in the charter schools, with one teacher observing that her city independent school was more diverse than her suburban charter school had been.

Income differences showed in a variety of ways. One teacher reported that families in the charters were usually larger with more of a

"down-home" feeling. Families were generally more local—"from the neighborhood, whereas the independent school drew from the entire county." There were conflicting reports on the impact of income on ability to support the school: one felt that charter parents were more available to volunteer, while others felt that parents were more likely to volunteer in an independent setting where there were more two-parent homes and more parents at home or with part-time jobs.

Entitlement formed a recurrent theme: parents in the independent schools were paying high tuition and this often came with expectations. One administrator noted that often he heard statements such as: "I pay, so I should be able to have my child in the advanced orchestra group." Issues around payment came up a lot: "struggles about paying, righteousness, wanting a say in decisions, struggling with a lack of money for tuition." Although parents in charter schools may have serious financial difficulties, in most instances this does not impact their ability to have their children in the school.

Entitlement formed a recurrent theme: with high tuition came expectations.

Several commented on a greater weight of parent expectations in the independent schools: "I find I spend so much time with parents. Their expectations are huge." This teacher found that she was asked frequently to justify what she was doing, explain herself, and compromise with parents. She noted that, from the earliest grades, these parents had a high end-goal in mind, whereas at the charter school, many parents "would be very happy with a California State [university] education." Another commented that she had received more phone calls out of hours in her first two weeks in an independent school than in the previous four years in a charter, and she was relieved when the school ceased publishing faculty phone numbers in an effort to provide privacy for teachers. In contrast, there were several comments on the absence of parents at charter schools; this was particularly noted at the high school level, where many homes had little culture of schooling or confidence being in a school setting. They were "much more removed. …I never see some of the parents." All teachers stated that they had found parents in both settings to be generally respectful, appreciative, and supportive.

In the public setting, "Parents know there is a line they cannot cross."

Discussions of students also reflected socio-economic differences. One teacher found that there was not the same level of agreement among parents in her charter school, although she felt that this was increasingly true in the independent schools as well. As a result, children tended to be less protected. One observed "a certain heartiness" in young children in a charter kindergarten—they were perhaps less protected but also less materialistic, with fewer worldly possessions and experiences. Many described the gratitude of charter school children. One teacher who had worked with inner city children commented: "They were so openly grateful, so open to new things, anything with the hands excited them, something that they could do on their own." She found it amazing to experience this level of gratitude, despite an almost overwhelming range of problems [this was a very poor inner city venture] and contrasted it with her experience of independent schools where "the children don't expect to be waited on, but school is nothing out of the ordinary." One teacher found the children at the independent school to be "more open and trusting"—he attributed this to an environment that had fewer restrictions and regulations and believed that the result was one of greater warmth.

Several teachers commented on the impact of admissions criteria: in the charter school

they knew that they had to work with the children in front of them; they could not be turned away. One felt that the independent school's freedom to select children made a significant difference. However, others noted a counterbalance in the independent schools' need to maintain enrollment and retain students, a pressure not lost on parents and the subject of comments from several teachers.

It was interesting to review comments from high school teachers. Charter high school work is relatively new and, as such, offers a fascinating forum for study. The high school teachers in this study noted that their students (most of whom had no prior Waldorf education and many of whom came from low-income homes) had no experience of artistic activity. They were "not accustomed to having independent thoughts, creating an idea, imagining a different way." The teacher ascribed this to the students having been "taught the answer" in their earlier schooling. Many came from homes that lacked resources; they had no understanding of a school as a community and did not know that "learning can be fun, exciting, or cool." This contrasted with independent school students of the same age where "you could ask the students to do anything; they may complain but most have the will to do the work. They are willing to discuss their thoughts; you are very lucky to get this at the charter."

The impact of admissions criteria: in the charter school the children could not be turned away.

Despite these differences, this teacher found no real differences in how she related to students: "I look at who is in front of me and adjust." The high school charter movement is relatively new and the school reported on here currently requires its teachers to modify and remediate in many areas. It will be interesting to see how student responses change as charter schools becomes more established and familiar.

Endnotes

1. The Association of Waldorf Schools of North America (AWSNA) holds the service marks for the terms *Steiner, Rudolf Steiner,* and *Waldorf* in educational settings in the USA. After consultation with AWSNA, the term "school inspired by Waldorf education" has been employed in this article.
2. The PLANS case argued that anthroposophy, the philosophy that inspires and informs Waldorf education, is a religion and that as a result of this, any use of Waldorf pedagogy in the public sphere violates First Amendment separation of church and state. The case began in 1998 and went through multiple appeals, and was finally dismissed without merit in 2011.
3. AWSNA's web site states: "Waldorf," "Steiner" and "Rudolf Steiner" are internationally registered service marks in the field of Education. In the United States, the Association of Waldorf Schools of North America (AWSNA) holds the rights to these service marks through the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office. Only schools, institutions or organizations which have received express permission from the Association of Waldorf Schools of North America may represent themselves as Waldorf schools or use the words "Waldorf," "Steiner" or "Rudolf Steiner" in their names, subtitles, and program descriptions. Only independent schools affiliated with AWSNA and meeting AWSNA's criteria for use have been granted permission to use these service marks. (whywaldorfworks/04_AWSNA/documents/PDFKB3.pdf), revised 04.09.2009)
4. There are currently two charter high schools inspired by Waldorf education in California: the George Washington Carver School of Arts and Sciences in Sacramento (opened in 2007) and the Credo School of Arts and Sciences in Sebastopol (opened in 2012).

Liz Beaven *has over twenty-five years' experience in Waldorf education as a class teacher, school administrator, and teacher educator. She has worked actively with questions of public and independent education for over ten years. The research reported in this article was conducted during a recent sabbatical period and reflects one of her major interests: the expansion and forms of Waldorf education in the modern world.*