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Diversification and division – ‘academic drift’ in Swedish teacher education in the aesthetic school subjects in a new higher education structure

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the academisation or “academic drift” of teacher education in the aesthetic subjects in Sweden from the 1970s to the millennium shift. After long preparations that already began after the Second World War, TE, along with other vocational education, was integrated into the Swedish university system as part of the expansion of the higher education sector in 1977 (H77). The study’s aims were to describe and analyse how the conditions for teacher education in practical/aesthetic subjects changed in the new and diversified higher education sector. For the study, we drew on Official Reports of the Swedish Government (SOU), a type of authoritative policy text intended to influence an activity, but which govern less formally than “governing policy texts” like bills that are legislative in nature. Our study reveals that a division was made between the old, prestigious and discipline-based universities and the newcomers in terms of vocationally-based education. The entire teacher education ended up on the periphery of the new higher education sector. We establish that the absence of own academic structures and thereby power within the higher education structures has harmed the independent development of teacher education in the aesthetic subjects as part of the enlarged higher education sector in the process of them moving from school subjects to university-like disciplines.

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Introduction

This article deals with the academisation or what in a European context is termed the “academic drift” (Kyvik, 2009) of Swedish teacher education by focusing on the aesthetic subjects Art, Music and Sloyd, or pedagogical craft, established in Scandinavia in the 19th century as a school-based system of formative education, meaning handy or skilful (Olafsson & Thorsteinsson 2012). Here we use the two concepts of academisation and academic drift as synonymous. The “academic drift” of professional education like teacher education is an international phenomenon associated with the 1960s and 1970s (Kyvik & Skodvin, 2003) and reflects an approach

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to problem-solving in which science is regarded as the single-most important element in the solution of practical problems (Christensen, 2012; Harwood, 2006).

In our previous study (Erixon & Wikberg, [submitted](#)), we showed how an early academic drift of Swedish teacher education was discursively initiated by the Social Democratic party in Sweden already at the end of the 1940s as a response to and tool for a reformed school built on democracy and equality as a foundation for economic growth. An important aspect was that teacher education should be more strongly focused and adapted to the needs of the school. A first step entailed implementing a new structure, the teachers training college, already in the 1950s, which meant that teacher education was organisationally brought closer to university structures and was to imitate those structures by stressing that teaching was (no longer) a craft, but a science. Effective vocational education would take place in the teacher training colleges.

The term vocationalisation has been used to describe how the rise of universities of applied sciences and the academisation of vocational education have simultaneously forced older university education to develop a more pronounced orientation to the labour market (Grubb & Lazerson, 2005; Hippach-Schneider, 2014). The state's ambition in calling for higher education to be adapted to meet the profession's requirements are examples of what Elzinga (1997) labels "epistemic drift", by which he refers to the situation in which the state has played an important role in the emergence of a general framework of science. This study is concerned with the second step taken, as we see it, when teacher education and other professional education became integrated into a diversified yet also divided higher education sector more strongly adapted to the labour market. In the study, we analyse four governmental official reports that give a concrete form to the post-war education reforms of the school system and teacher education as articulated in the Official Reports of the Swedish Government *1946 School Commission* (SOU, 1948, p. 27). The role model used for the reforms was the theoretical, academic and discipline-based subject TE that was to be moved towards scientifically based knowledge transfer, theory, and scientific language with respect to subject studies, practice and methodology (Ong, 1982). We considered the reforms suggested as a step in the integration and academisation of teacher education into Sweden's higher education sector, but also in the university sector's restructuring as part of a new and diversified higher education sector.

Aims and research questions

The aim of this study is to describe and analyse the conditions provided for teacher education in the aesthetic subjects in governments reports (SOU) that preceded, prepared for and followed up on the integration of Swedish teacher education into a diversified and divided Swedish higher education sector in 1977.

Like our previous study, this one is primarily based on state reports (SOU investigations), a type of authoritative policy text (Hallsén, 2013; Simola, 2000) intended to influence an activity, but which govern less formally than "governing policy texts" like bills that are legislative in nature.

The aim was broken down into two research questions:

- (1) What are the main features of the proposals made in the four Official Reports of the Swedish government (SOU) in connection to the higher education reforms in 1977 (H77)?
- (2) Which opportunities and obstacles does the new and enlarged/diversified higher education sector create for teacher education in the practical/aesthetic subjects?

Background

The process of “academic drift” is intimately linked to the expanding student enrolment or “massification” and democratisation of the higher education sector in Europe and the United States during the 1960s and 1970s (French, 2013), and a common phenomenon in a variety of fields – spanning agriculture, engineering, medicine, and management sciences in many countries in the 19th and 20th centuries (Harwood, 2010). The growth in student enrolments led to an almost tenfold rise in the number of tertiary education students in Europe and changed the institutional landscape for higher education across the continent. Existing institutions expanded, several new ones were created, while professional schools were upgraded. This triggered the emergence of what was increasingly referred to as the higher education sector.

The identified process of “academic drift” has been deduced from at least two different environments (Jónasson 2006); in the U.S.A, where its dynamics and tendency were first identified and was described in similar terms by Riesman (1956), later including concepts like “mission creep” (e.g. Gonzales 2013), “mission drift” (e.g. Jaquette 2013; Tight, 2015) and “vertical extension” (Schultz & Stickler, 1965; Morphew, 2000); in Europe, attributed to Pratt and Burgess (1974) in the UK, and later to Neave (Neave, 1979, 1982) and Kyvik (2004, 2007, 2009).

Governed by the idea of a common standard for education, politicians with democratic educational ambitions like the Social Democratic party in Sweden, which Trow (1973) called “egalitarians” or “unitarians”, were committed to closing the gulf between parts of the higher education sector, and reducing the differentials in the status, quality, costs and features of its various segments and institutions. This sense of a common standard for education meant they were also committed to reforming universities and making them serve more of the functions of the non-elite forms of higher education, while simultaneously raising the quality of non-elite forms of higher education to that of the university standard. Hence, Kerr (1963) claimed that the 20th century had brought far-reaching diversification to academic science, essentially creating “multi-versities” (Kerr, 1963) by continuously adding new missions, identities and ideals to academic institutions and professions (Hallonsten, 2012).

When the “academic drift” of Swedish teacher education was proposed, teacher education in the aesthetic subjects Art, Music and Sloyd was being conducted at different institutions with varying and specific requirements for preparatory education and talent. The programmes in the respective aesthetic subject areas were predominantly practical and based on a master – apprentice relationship, characterised by an “asymmetrical” (Nielsen & Kvale, 1999, p. 16) relationship between master and apprentice, through action, observation, imitation, identification and training. While this was a protective structure, it was also a closed environment and breeding ground for traditionalism and resistance to change.

During a time of rebellion seeing demands made for social justice and political changes as formulated by the “68-generation” (Purhonen, 2017), teacher education conducted in the Art school in Stockholm was criticised by student teachers for representing “the old authoritarian school” (19). The students argued for teacher education containing theory and practice while providing the knowledge and ability to analyse and critically review art. The fact the proposals were in line with the ongoing “academic drift” reforms meant these ideas had politicians’ support, and a revised teacher education programme in Visual Art was established as early as 1968. From then on, subjects like photography and film knowledge, and contemporary aesthetic orientation as a new subject that followed current debate, mass media, cultural policy and environmental knowledge, were given a lot of space (Kockum, Alling-Ode, & Lind, 2019).

The integration of teacher education into the aesthetic subjects as part of a new higher education sector structure implied various challenges. The subject structures of teacher education in the aesthetic subjects were based on weak academic structures in comparison with the university disciplines. School subjects like Art, Music and Sloyd are not disciplines, but introduce disciplinary and cultural and social knowledge that is re-contextualised in an institution with a particular mission (Bernstein, 2000; Standish, 2021). The tradition that gives rise to a particular school subject practice is complex and based on organisational practice, individual biographies and collective experiences (Goodson & Mangan, 1995). School subject may be regarded as both a paradigm attributable to teachers’ conceptions of the subject they teach, and their teaching practice (Baggott La Velle, Mcfarlane, John, & Brawn, 2004; Erixon, 2010).

Moreover, in Sweden like in the rest of Europe, especially in the German-speaking countries, research within teacher education has developed as a special academic discipline: *Pädagogik* and *Didaktik*. The first professorship in pedagogy was established in 1907 in response to the demands of primary school teachers to make teaching scientifically based (Erixon Arreman, 2002, 2005). Although the need for teacher education was an important motive for setting up the first professorship in Pedagogy early in the 20th century, the discipline gradually developed to become an independent one (Dahllöf, 1996; Härnqvist, 1996; Wallin, 2001). This entailed the gradual marginalisation of teacher education issues connected to classroom issues, i.e. didactical issues, and a growing influence on university Pedagogy linked to questions about the organisation and content of the education system viewed from a critical perspective (Carlgren, 2018).

Research overview

One aim of the 1977 reform was to meet the expectations of renewal, flexibility, and occupational adaptability. With respect to teacher education for the intermediate level of the compulsory school, Askling (1983) found that the renewal impulses the reform was expected to release had to resist forces within education that were striving to preserve the status quo. The frames had indeed been widened, but “without anything happening” (331). Locally, people acted as if the frames were still there. The programme committees that were set up seemed to find it difficult to exercise any kind of steering and controlling function. Despite attempts to introduce some integration code, the collection code remained (Bernstein, 2000).

In Sweden, the “newcomers”, another concept coined to describe the new institutions in the reformed higher education sector, like teacher education, were neither expected to develop research activities nor endowed with permanent resources to conduct research (Lepori, 2010, p. 6). In principle, although the higher education sector was unified and levelled, in practice it was diversified and unequal (Holmberg & Hallonsten, 2015). The old prestigious universities retained their influence and status in both education and research, while the newcomers concentrated on their regional education missions (Ruin, 1985, p. 119). This policy was clearly designed to favour the established universities and has therefore helped to not only preserve but also reinforce the stratified higher education sector in Sweden (Holmberg & Hallonsten, 2015).

Therefore, a broad trend was the division of the forms and functions of higher education with respect to the students’ social origins and other characteristics (Trow, 1973). This division relates to the fact that higher education institutions are obliged to various extents to operate in two fields, i.e. one “practical” and wider politico-economic field, and the other the narrower academic field (Harwood, 2010). The narrow academic field does not have the same position of depending on, for example, the ministries, as occurs in the field of practice. Burgess (1978, p. 46) identified this as a tension between institutions coming from the “autonomous” tradition as opposed to those from the “service” tradition. Accordingly, the driving forces for introducing more practical subjects in old academic institutions are weak. The autonomous tradition in the prestigious universities settles this by asserting the priority of the discipline (Christensen, 2012).

In the 1970s in the U.S.A, Labaree (2008) finds that teacher education “for better and for worse” (290) came to be offered chiefly within the institutional setting of the university. He explains that each institution needs the other in significant ways, but each engages in considerable risk by being tied to the other. The university offers status and academic credibility, and teacher education students and social utility.

As part of this new diversified higher education sector, the academic staff in teacher education institutions experienced the transformation of their role as a teacher with a focus on vocational/professional practice and undergraduate qualification to a new focus on a sustainable research profile and participation in national and international scientific networks (Hazelkorn & Moynihan, 2010). Originally, most of these academics were teaching vocational courses. To an increasing extent and because of “academic drift”, teacher educators in Swedish teacher education were recruited based on scientific expertise rather than professional practical experience, causing conflicts of interest within a teacher education department (Ek, Ideland, Jönsson, & Malmberg, 2013). This meant the practical knowledge imparted tended to be valued less than the more theoretical knowledge that characterised the conventional university disciplines. Borg (2007) states that the “academic drift” of Sloyd (handicraft teacher) education since 1977 has seen the time for subject studies in handicraft reduced while the time for the general education area and the requirement for a scientific connection to the education has been tightened. Similar patterns have emerged in the academisation of other vocational education in music education (Gies, 2019) and in nursing education (Laiho, 2010), to name a few.

Theoretical framework

Media ecology

One point of departure is a media ecological perspective. An important aspect of media ecology is the assumption that all human activity is mediated by means of tools. Media are not regarded as neutral, transparent or value-free channels for transporting information from one place to another. Instead, different media have different “biases” (Strate 2010; 2011) or, to quote McLuhan (1964), outgrowths and amputations of our senses. Media state preconditions for how we acquire knowledge and which particular knowledge we acquire. The word ecology in the concept of “media ecology” emphasises the holistic study of both parts and wholes (Odum, 1997; Zhao & Frank, 2003). An ecosystem is an open and dynamic system where things constantly come in and disappear. “Academic drift” implies that some mediations and thereby knowledge forms are rewarded at the expense of others. For teacher education in the aesthetic subjects, this implied moving from observation, imitation and training (Nielsen & Kvale, 1999) to “epistemic knowledge” in written language as a mediation tool.

Action-based knowledge

Different forms of knowledge include various mediations. Based on Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, Saugstad (2002, 2006) claims that the theoretical and the practical hold different functions and fall into different categories and must therefore be learned in distinct ways. Practical and theoretical knowledge are not coherent, convertible and compatible. Theoretical knowledge, or “episteme”, is scientific, certain, eternal, universal, abstract and non-contextual. It is neither developed from practice nor aimed at use in practice. Practical knowledge (“techne”) is associated with a competence in making, producing and manufacturing in the form of a “coping skill” concerned with making and thereby connected with practical/aesthetic subjects like “techne”. “Phronesis” is also practical knowledge, but that connected to ethical, social and political life, a kind of action competence with an understanding of what is good/for the best for the individual. In our study, we see a strong connection between Phronesis and teacher knowledge, while techne is more connected to practical subject knowledge in the aesthetic subjects.

Classification: school subject vs university discipline

Educational contents are subject to different forms of what Bernstein (2000) terms “classification” where the classification is strong and contents are separated by firm boundaries – a “collection code”. Where classification is weak, boundaries between contents are fluent – a “integration code”. teacher education is connected to school subjects, and in comparison to university disciplines, school subjects are weakly classified and “discontinuous” (Stengel, 1997). The impetus for formulating school subjects is distinct from the impetus for developing academic disciplines. Teaching in school encompasses both teaching and upbringing (Bernstein, 2000).

University disciplines can be defined as social constructs (Barnes, 1982) with a strong classification that has evolved following historical processes, and epistemically efficient

at producing new knowledge and evaluating knowledge claims (Krishnan, 2009, p. 19). A distinct feature of a discipline is its intellectual basis defined by its objects of enquiry, theories, concepts and its ways of validating knowledge claims and as constructed through languages, values, and social and cultural practices. Disciplines provide a set of rules for: what constitutes a “problem”; what counts as evidence; and what are considered as acceptable methods by which knowledge is produced, evaluated and exchanged. However, disciplines seldom represent a single profession, but several (Davoudi & Pendlebury, 2010).

Academic drift

The term academic drift was coined to describe the tendency of non-university institutions to orient their activities in ways that bring them closer to the image of a university. Neave (1979) and Kyvik (2009) developed the concept to embrace six different aspects of “academic drift”. In our examples, “policy drift” means that the state and government gradually change their view and purpose of, for example, TE as a vocational training. Kyvik refers to “staff drift” where development occurs through individuals within a structure taking the initiative in a process of academisation. This, in turn, may be a response to what Kyvik calls “student drift”, i.e. a generation of students demanding greater academic quality in their higher education programme courses, like the TE Art School students mentioned before. Both “staff drift” and “student drift” may lead to what Kyvik calls “programme drift”, based on different types of professionalisation strategies initiated by individual pioneers.

Finally, “institutional drift”, which unlike “programme drift” is driven by the ambition to acquire status for an education by introducing comparable academic requirements in education, for example a teacher training college, and “sector drift” when new rules and directives change and develop, for instance when all professional education in Sweden was integrated into an enlarged higher education sector in 1977. We regard ‘sector drift and “institutional drift” as policy from above, and “staff drift” and “student drift” as from below.

Data and method

Our study engages with a policy meta-level with the aim to identify underlying values and norms (Hall & Löfgren, 2006) and related questions concerning why organisations change. For the purposes of this paper, the Swedish educational policymaking discourse is represented by the Swedish official committee system as referred to in Official Reports of the Swedish government (SOU). The committee system occupies a central position at the intersection of politics, public administration, research, and public articulation of interests and provides an arena for policy preparation, formulation and evaluation. Simola (2000) calls this type of committee text authoritative policy documents as opposed to steering (or governing) policy documents that are often legislative in nature and seek to directly influence the practice they are targeting. Authoritative texts also intend to influence an activity, but govern less formally. We look at such educational policymaking on the discursive level.

In this study, we analyse four committee reports that have an organic relationship with the four committee reports considered in our first study, all initiated by Social Democratic government (Erixon & Wikberg, [submitted](#)). The committees issuing the reports analysed in this paper were set up and launched between 1967 and 1999, as further presented in [Table 1](#):

The analysed committee reports are: i/*University. Report of the 1968 education inquiry* (SOU, 1973, p. 2), that had the task of investigating the integration of professional education and the vocationalisation of discipline-based education in an expanded higher education sector, ii/*Pedagogical education and research. Report submitted by the Pedagogic Inquiry* (SOU, 1970, p. 22), with the task of offering proposals on the issue of the coordination and division of work between pedagogical departments at the TTC and at the university, iii/*Teachers for schools in development. Report of the 1974 Teacher Education Inquiry, LUT* (SOU, 1978, p. 86), entasked with investigating and proposing new structures for TE for primary and secondary school and, finally, iv/*To learn and lead. A teacher education for collaboration and development. The Teacher Education Committee's final report* (SOU, 1999, p. 64), with the task of offering proposals for more unified TE on the primary, secondary and upper secondary levels as well as research structures for teacher education. These four reports have an organic relationship and represent the end of a Social Democratic project that started with the 1946 *School Commission* (1948: 27). We focused on issues and proposals that include “academic drift” concerning educational structures, teacher categories in both TE and schools, forms of knowledge, educational content and possible emerging research structures in the TE of the practical/aesthetic school subjects, and how they connect to Kyvik's (2007) typology of six different interrelated academisation processes (see above).

The committee reports studied intended to initiate a reform process. They may thus be regarded as argumentative. In our study, we deal with this by describing the starting point of the reform proposals as presented in the opening “directives”. We then analyse the reform proposals or the direction they take in the production of a policy of

Table 1. The four committee reports analysed.

Full Swedish title of the SOU report	Full translated title of the SOU report in English	Year Convened	Year Published	Short title
<i>Högskolan. Betänkande av 1968 års utbildningsutredning (SOU, 1973, p. 2)</i>	<i>University. Report of the 1968 Education Inquiry (SOU, 1973, p. 2)</i>	1968	1973	<i>1968 University Report (SOU, 1973, p. 2)</i>
<i>Pedagogisk utbildning och forskning. Betänkande avgivet av Pedagogikutredningen (SOU, 1970, p. 22)</i>	<i>Pedagogical education and research. Report submitted by the Pedagogical Inquiry (SOU, 1970, p. 22)</i>	1967	1970	<i>Pedagogical Inquiry (1970: 22)</i>
<i>Lärare för skola i utveckling. Betänkande av 1974 års lärarutbildningsutredning (LUT74) (SOU, 1978, p. 86)</i>	<i>Teachers for schools in development. Report of the 1974 Teacher Education Inquiry, LUT (SOU, 1978, p. 86)</i>	1974	1978	<i>Teacher Education Inquiry (SOU, 1978, p. 86)</i>
<i>Att lära och leda. En lärarutbildning för samverkan och utveckling. Lärarutbildningskommitténs slutbetänkande (SOU, 1999, p. 63)</i>	<i>To learn and lead. A teacher education for collaboration and development. The Teacher Education Committee's final report (SOU, 1999, p. 63)</i>	1997	1999	<i>To learn and to lead (1999: 64)</i>

“academic drift” in terms of objectives, content and organisation with respect to the current situation and a desired change. Finally, we analyse the consequences for TE in the aesthetic school subjects. The study hence entails a text analysis using arguments **and what they express**, not an analysis **or evaluation** of arguments (Bergström & Boréus, 2005; Bryder, 1985; Hallsén 2013).

Results

1968 University Report (SOU, 1973: 2)

The starting point of the reform proposals in the *1968 University Report* (SOU, 1973, p. 2) is described in directives or frameworks for the committee’s investigation. Explicitly the task included the dimensioning, localising and organising of undergraduate education in the area defined by terms like “post-secondary education” or “higher education” (9). The background was the increased influx of students into higher education and the requirement to organise them in HE programmes.

This came at a time of student uprisings and in the same year as the University Chancellor’s Office working group suggested a reform including a proposal to implement far-reaching changes to academic education, whereby students’ optional/free choice of studies in the humanities and social sciences would essentially be abolished and replaced by 34 education programmes. The motives for the proposed reform were to limit the state’s costs, force students to adapt their studies to the needs of the labour market, and help them better organise their studies. When in May 1968 the Social Democratic government presented its reform proposal based on the working group’s ideas, this led to student protests and the reform was postponed. A partly revised proposal was presented in October in that year and adopted by the Parliament in March 1969.

According to the proposal of the committee members, the new, enlarged university sector, including the traditional academic disciplines, hitherto the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, and the new professionally oriented academic programmes, should be organised as part of a new higher education system under a new government agency called the University and Higher Education Office. This implied that post-secondary vocationally oriented academic programmes like teacher education should be included in the new and expanded structure, while disciplinary studies of education within faculties of philosophy should be reshaped and have a clear vocational orientation, “vocationalisation” (Grubb & Lazerson, 2005). The aim of this policy was “sector drift (Kyvik, 2007) and may be understood as a further step in “academic drift” towards the structure of the teacher training colleges created in the 1950s.

The proposal involved a significant expansion of the higher education concepts. A clear distinction and division was also made between college on one side and university on the other. The best way of preserving the university designation in the new local organisation was to

/ ... /refer to such parts of a university with a research and postgraduate education organisation for which the designation appears natural when considering, for example, today’s conditions.

The university designation within the new higher education sector was thus only to apply to the already established academic disciplines whose foundation relied on already existing organisations for conducting research and postgraduate education, whereas the new university colleges and the new professionally oriented programmes were left aside without any guarantee of resources and funding for developing research.

This would constitute two separated “sectors” within the new higher education sector: one vocational-based, lacking its own research and postgraduate structures, the other discipline-based with research structures. Discipline-based research impulses were expected to extend from undergraduate education to research, and that the needs in a certain problem area could be the starting point for research in that area.

Important impulses can go from undergraduate education to research: requirements for education in a certain problem area can be the starting point for research in that area/ ... /The research is thereby guided by the teaching and thus by the professional requirements placed on it.

(60)

Although the new higher education programmes should accordingly contribute to problems being considered in fresh areas involving important practical issues, it was up to the established disciplines and thereby the established universities to decide whether research and postgraduate education with a focus on vocational issues was to be developed within respective disciplines to serve welfare-state-related professions, not compatible with the pure disciplines (Davoudi & Pendlebury, 2010).

Like many other school subjects, the aesthetic school subjects lacked an intellectual basis defined by its own objects of enquiry, theories, concepts and ways of validating knowledge claims, i.e. a discipline structure (Standish, 2021; Stengel, 1997). In the new higher education sector, weak aesthetic school subject structures met university disciplines and instigated an unequal dependence on the established disciplines. Simultaneously, the independent disciplines were challenged by being expected to develop research relevant to teacher education and hence becoming more dependent on policy and politics. This “policy drift” entailing “programme drift” addressed a long-standing debate between liberal education on one hand and vocational education on the other (Tight, 2015). This made the disciplines more strongly dependent on political power and policy; a policy-driven university built on vocational education, i.e. “epistemic drift” (Elzinga, 1997). However, the forces for driving the introduction of more practical subjects into old academic institutions were weak (Christensen, 2012; Harwood, 2010).

The anticipations that the altered undergraduate education would transform the research conducted within the disciplines were either based on a naïve notion of the power of the disciplines held within the universities or, more likely, a political insight from the outset that it was difficult, if not impossible, to use political means to change the historical status of the disciplines and thus of the universities’ freedom (Bexell, 2011; Neave, 1982; Symes, 1999). Another interpretation is that this was one step to be followed by several more, i.e. “epistemic drift” (Elzinga, 1997), which also finds support in the subsequent development.

In summary, we find that the notion that framed the *1968 University Report* (SOU, 1973, p. 2) in terms of objectives, content and organisation did not include the

Table 2. Reform proposals in summary in University. Report of the 1968 Education Inquiry (SOU, 1973, p. 2).

Report	Reform proposals
<i>1968 University Report</i> (SOU, 1973, p. 2)	An enlarged higher education sector Sector drift (Kyvik, 2007) Vocational drift (Hippach-Schneider, 2014) Epistemic drift (Elzinga, 1997) Integration code (Bernstein, 2000) Academic drift (Kyvik, 2007) Epistemic knowledge form (Saugstad, 2002, 2006) Textual mediation/bias (Strate, 2011)

proposing of models to strengthen the research and undergraduate structures for the “newcomers”, despite them having been formally integrated into the university. The content structure that teacher education in the aesthetic school subjects was integrated into was substantively based on a mainly “epistemic” form of knowledge (Saugstad, 2002, 2006) on one hand, while on the other it was at the same time made up of highly classified and autonomous disciplines that asserted their freedom from political interference. The proposals made in the committee reports are presented in Table 2 below:

As mentioned, the discipline of Pedagogy did historically represent the research base for teacher education. The way that representatives of Pedagogy looked at its role in the newly emerging higher education sector relative to teacher education is conveyed in the 1970 committee report “*Pedagogical Inquiry*” (SOU, 1970, p. 22) that for 2 years was ongoing alongside the 1968 University Education Inquiry.

Pedagogical inquiry (SOU, 1970, p. 22)

The beginning point or specific tasks in the directives for the *Pedagogical Inquiry* (SOU, 1970, p. 22) was to clarify the academic positions of and relationships between Pedagogy at the teacher training college and Pedagogy at the university. At the time, the teacher training colleges accounted for the start of what Kyvik (2007) terms “institutional drift”, a policy-driven ambition to acquire status by introducing comparable academic requirements in education.

The committee report stressed that the research and development work in pedagogy had been extremely important for general education planning and development of the country’s education system. Yet, upon a critical reflection, it was also noted that the pedagogical research at the teacher training colleges had been too strongly focused on issues surrounding individuals’ ability to acquire knowledge. This proved to be hidden criticism of Pedagogy’s earlier focus on psychology (Erixon Arreman, 2002, 2005).

It was additionally noted that subject didactic research remained undeveloped and weak, which touched on an old tension between politicians and academic representatives of Pedagogy. In a series of committee reports starting with the *1946 School Commission* (SOU, 1948, p. 27) and repeated in new investigations in the 1950s and 1960s, the committee reports called for the discipline of Pedagogy to develop “school research”.

The importance of research and development work in Pedagogy for school development was thus historically emphasised in connection with the major school reforms of education carried after the Second World War. Still, at the same time, the experts claimed this orientation of research and development work was only being temporarily conducted and organised with a view to prepare and implement larger school reforms.

Common to research and development work in relation to investigations is that it is organised for temporary tasks and directed at the special problems it was intended to solve. (16)

Since the universities and the teacher training colleges had different heads, the investigators advocated two separate educational institutions in Pedagogy for treating common matters, thereby indicating a desire to maintain the existing distance between the teacher training college, teacher education and the university institution. The committee was clear about the discipline perspective it held:

When the investigation here and in the following talks about Pedagogy and its role, it is also in the more limited sense of Pedagogy as a subject area for research and education. (12)

By highlighting “the more limited sense of Pedagogy as a subject area”, the committee members distanced the discipline of Pedagogy from practice. They instead identified Pedagogy with the “autonomous tradition” in the universities by asserting the priority of their discipline (Christensen, 2012). The concepts “temporary tasks” and “special problems” indicated that these “tasks” were not naturally part of a strongly classified discipline of Pedagogy.

Another important task for the Pedagogic Inquiry committee was to “penetrate” issues concerning the recruitment of teacher staff at the teacher training colleges in relation to the requirements for entrance to postgraduate studies in Pedagogy, which Kyvik describes as “staff drift”. Instead of narrowing down the discipline of Pedagogy, implicitly to constitute a research base for teacher education, it was stressed that the discipline of Pedagogy was an application of the methodology and approach to pedagogical problems of various disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. It was emphasised that the cohesive core was the peculiarity of the pedagogical problems, which demonstrated the breadth and complexity of the discipline of Pedagogy. Dividing the subject into different sub-disciplines was thus less appropriate. From that point of view, the experts proposed a special subject-methodological doctoral programme in Pedagogy. Still, all proposals for possible future research training for teacher educators would require undergraduate studies in Pedagogy. A teacher’s degree might possibly only be valid to a very limited extent.

Analysis of the reform proposals and directions taken by *Pedagogical Inquiry* (1970: 22) in the production of policy, namely its objectives, content and organisation, shows that the lens through which the world was then viewed was the discipline of Pedagogy, only in a limited sense as an independent discipline. The connection that had historically existed between Pedagogy, school and teacher education was pushed into the background. It was pointed out that this connection was temporary

Table 3. Summary of the proposed reforms in the analysed Official Reports of the Swedish Government (SOU, 1970, p. 22).

Report	Reform proposals
<i>Pedagogical Inquiry</i> (1970: 22)	Separation of the University and the teacher training college Collection code Discipline based Epistemic knowledge form (Saugstad, 2002, 2006) Textual mediation/bias (Strate, 2011) Academic discourse (Northedge, 2003)

tasks. However, the postgraduate education should be conducted within the framework of the discipline and any division of the discipline was unsuitable for Swedish conditions.

We believe that part of the background to the above-mentioned was the proposals in the 1968 committee report that challenged the long-cherished freedom of the universities (Bexell, 2011; Neave, 1982; Symes, 1999), the pillars of the university as an idea, independent of policy, political control, and “epistemic drift” (Elzinga, 1997). Given the inherent conception of the university, it was emphasised that Pedagogy was an independent academic discipline; the “academic discourse” (Northedge, 2003), in which nothing is to be taken for granted and arguments are separated from personal loyalties, was stressed. At this time, critical pedagogy, conflict and power perspectives had gained in influence in the discipline and the repressive function of both school and the reformers entered the spotlight (Carlgren, 2018). A summary of the proposals in the committee reports is presented in Table 3 below:

Teacher education inquiry (SOU, 1978, p. 86)

Teacher Education Inquiry (SOU, 1978, p. 86) was the first investigation to propose a reform of TE for compulsory school following its integration into the new higher education sector in 1977. The implicit and implied situation and starting point in the directives for the committee members was that the structures for school and teacher education were too fragmented and thus their content and form should be more uniform. The directives echoed ideas of the *1946 School Commission* (SOU, 1948, p. 27) that all school subjects should more strongly resemble theoretical school subjects (181) and that the dualism between theoretical and non-theoretical study paths was an “artificial division of subject matter and teachers” (SOU, 1965: 29A: 17). An overall policy discourse was to create a more unified approach to the field of teacher education. Concerning the aesthetic subjects, it was suggested that the existing requirements of up to 2 years of preparatory courses for eligibility to TE were to be abolished and replaced by making an upper secondary education a qualification for all teacher education programmes on the tertiary level.

In the following teacher education reform in mid 1985, new subject teacher categories were formed for grades 1–7 and 4–9 separately in the compulsory school (Erixon Arreman, 2005). Compared to the prior subject teacher training, Subject studies were reduced by 25% but increased relative to TE for primary teachers by around 30%. The elements of pedagogy, methodology and practice, “phronetic” knowledge also

increased, roughly on a par with what had previously applied to TE for primary teachers. The differences between the various teacher categories decreased significantly.

A prominent feature of the reform proposal was to increase teachers' subject breadth and move away from being specialised in individual subjects. The proposed reform thus affected the aesthetic school subjects that were based on specialisation and strong classification (Bernstein, 2000). In practice, the following reform reduced the aesthetic subjects by providing shorter and more basic education in each subject's specific form of knowledge ("techne"), while "epistemic" and "phronesis" knowledge were extended.

Concerning the issue of research development in teacher education, the committee was consistent with the previous *Pedagogical Inquiry* committee by not only discussing research affiliation but also postgraduate education to meet long-standing needs for PhD teachers in teacher education and in upper secondary school, including the aesthetic school subjects. The term used was "research connection" (*forskningsanknytning*).

/ ... /it has been important not to limit the question of the teacher education's research connection to the question of how different doctoral education paths should be linked to the undergraduate teacher education. The research connection of teacher education must primarily include the question of how one can more generally promote readiness for change, problem orientation and critical thinking, i.e., such qualities that are assumed to characterise research activities.

(309)

The term "research connection" did not imply that teacher education would develop its own research structures, but that it would be connected to an existing discipline. The report suggested that a new educational methodological orientation of postgraduate studies together with established postgraduate programmes at the institutions of Pedagogy educational institutions could be coordinated.

It was also believed that this could and should lead to the creation of a postgraduate education for teachers leading towards broader knowledge sectors. The solution suggested was hence not to create complete research institutions for each subject area for the future, but interdisciplinary collaboration. Teachers in subject theory in teacher education should be linked to corresponding subject departments within the expanded (dual department affiliation). The value of mutual, personal contacts for the transmission of impulses, and not supportive structures, from one sub-area to another was emphasised, a view stressed in U68. The power relationship, built on subordination of the aesthetic school subjects rather than "equality", was maintained. The proposed postgraduate education included the aesthetic school subjects. Three different doctoral programmes within the framework of the discipline of pedagogy were suggested, all containing requirements for further studies in the discipline of Pedagogy after completing the teacher education.

Parallel to this, the concept of Didaktik was being re-introduced and followed by the more specific "subject didactics":

An important border area between subject theory, theoretical pedagogy and teaching methodology is what in several other countries is called subject didactics.

(14)

Table 4. Summary of the reforms proposed in Teacher Education Inquiry (SOU, 1978, p. 86).

Report	Reform proposals
<i>Teacher Education Inquiry</i> (SOU, 1978, p. 86)	Vocational drift (Hippach-Schneider, 2014) Epistemic drift (Elzinga, 1997) Integration code (Bernstein, 2000); A broadened subject base for TE Academic drift (Kyvik, 2007) Epistemic knowledge form (Saugstad, 2002, 2006) Textual mediation/bias (Strate) Reduced subject studies Didaktik and educational sciences as new concepts

It was noted that Didaktik should be linked to subject theory and could be seen as a requirement for participating disciplines to develop an interest in educational research (Biesta, 2011), not only Pedagogy. The report also introduced a new term that saw frequent use after the 1990s: “educational sciences”. All reform proposals were based on the anticipation that the reforms of undergraduate education leading towards a more vocational focus, “vocationalisation” (Grubb & Lazerson, 2005; Hippach-Schneider, 2014), would place new demands on research and postgraduate education conducted in disciplines associated with teacher education. The value of mutual, personal contacts for the transmission of impulses from one sub-area to another was reiterated, while more structured collaboration between the university institutions participating in TE was needed, as captured by the expression “research connection” (*forskningsanknytning*).

Analysis of the reform proposals or the direction they took in the production of policy in terms of objectives, content and organisation reveals that *Teacher Education Inquiry* (SOU, 1978, p. 86) further clarified the conditions that teacher education was to be given in the new higher education sector. The focus was once again the structure of undergraduate teacher education, which implied even more broadening of the subject base, suggesting less time for “techne” and more time for “phronesis” and “episteme”, by making every student teacher a subject teacher. Like in the previous investigations, this idea was in favour of a more integration code and expected to add to cooperation between school subjects and university disciplines. The proposal thus challenged not only highly classified university disciplines, but strongly classified school subjects as well (Bernstein, 2000), like the aesthetic school subjects. As it appears, the power relationship between the highly classified university disciplines and weakly classified school subjects, which were also expected to evolve towards a more integration code (Bernstein, 2000), was once again ignored.

However, for teacher education to acquire an independent position within the new higher education sector, “institutional drift” and “programme drift” along with structures for conducting research and postgraduate studies were needed. It was not until two decades after teacher education had been included in the higher education sector that such reforms were proposed in the last investigation considered in this study, *To Learn and Lead* (SOU, 1999, p. 64) The proposals in the committee reports are displayed in Table 4 below:

To learn and lead (SOU, 1999, p. 64)

The point of departure in the directives for the committee of *To Learn and Lead* (SOU, 1999, p. 64) is that theory and practice in teacher education must relate to each other, while being anchored in concrete and practical experiences. At the same time, the

subject-theoretical studies should take account of the demands made by profession, “vocationalisation” (Grubb & Lazerson, 2005; Hippach-Schneider, 2014).

The committee members proposed a new structure of teacher education built on three well-integrated educational areas: A mandatory general education area, including central areas of knowledge for teaching, comprising three semesters of full-time studies. A second area, comprising two semesters of full-time studies, including in-service training, in the subject areas of a prospective teacher. A third area covering one semester of full-time studies was to include specialisation in or a broadening of previous studies, and a written student thesis, also called a degree project. In a degree project, students should deepen the knowledge they have acquired during their studies in both the general field of education and the specialisation, which constituted an adjustment to the academic requirements to be eligible for graduate studies.

The proposed new structure of teacher education included a single teaching degree for all teachers, instead of 12, which indirectly also reduced the scope of the subject studies (“*techne*”) in the aesthetic subjects in favour of teacher knowledge (“*phronesis*”). Not only was theoretical scientific knowledge (“*episteme*”) emphasised, but so too was “proven experience” (*beprövad erfarenhet*). Teacher education was to be anchored in concrete and practical experiences. The work-based part of teacher education and the associated experiences should increasingly form the basis for the theoretical knowledge in teacher education. Simultaneously, the subject-theoretical studies should be structured with respect to the requirements of the profession and better linked to the work-based part of the education, “vocationalisation” or “vocational drift” (Grubb & Lazerson, 2005; Hippach-Schneider, 2014; Maclean, Jagannathan, & Sarvi, 2013).

From this point of departure, the committee explained the reasoning for the different forms of knowledge and asserted that in the school the theoretical subjects had been separated from the practical ones and the aesthetic ones had been brought together with the practical ones to form an all-practical-together aesthetic subject area. While text is the dominant form of presentation within the theoretical subjects, practical and aesthetic knowledge, in contrast, is usually expressed via other means. The theoretical subjects provide some knowledge in the form of knowing about the world, whereas the aesthetic and practical ones are associated with bodily skills and emotional experiences. A teacher must open up learning with all the senses:

When children and young people gradually learn to handle a new subject content, they use their whole body to gain insight: senses and motor skills at the same time, connecting theory with practice, and uniting thoughts with feelings.

(56)

Further, the committee believed that subject studies should be interdisciplinary, or thematically oriented, which entailed “a broader concept of subjects in teacher education” (14).

While students were acquiring knowledge within their subject area, they should at the same time study how to apply and apply this knowledge, it was stressed.

To distinguish what is school-relevant content in a university subject, solid subject knowledge is required. Knowledge of learning in and *about* the subject must be seen as a central

part of the subject's didactics. The committee believes that subject knowledge and didactics should not be separated.

(14)

Based on this, the committee outlined a new research organisation, including structures for postgraduate education, while also stressing all forms of knowledge within the field of TE: aesthetic, practical and theoretical. It was argued that teacher education must be given full academic rights to ensure its own postgraduate training and its own research oriented to professional pedagogical activities and the needs of different forms of school levels.

Research and postgraduate education was to be present in all the departments that were participating in teacher education and collaboration between departments in the TE field was to be developed and promoted. Further, teacher education should be a matter for the whole university and the university's existing resources should be utilised for that purpose. This presupposed that the university's management took clear responsibility to ensure that teacher education would become an organisationally cohesive education.

In the Teacher Education Committee's view, own research and postgraduate education must occur at all the institutions that participate in teacher education and that cooperation between the institutions regarding research and postgraduate education in the field of teacher education must be developed and promoted.

(30)

The committee highlighted the need for a body within the university/college to hold overall responsibility for teacher education, which should "refer to research and postgraduate education in connection with teacher training, pedagogical professional activities and learning in working life" (30), i.e. a faculty structure.

After analysing the reform proposals and the direction they took in the production of policy in terms of objectives, content and organisation, we find that the committee members acknowledged different forms of knowledge and broadened the view of what knowledge constitutes by stressing both the aesthetic and practical forms of knowledge, placed alongside the theoretical ones. But, like in the previous investigations, strongly classified school subjects such as the aesthetic subjects as well as strongly classified university disciplines were challenged by, on one hand, emphasising what was labelled in earlier SOU reports as the "congruence problem", i.e. that the discipline studies should be relevant to the teaching profession and, on the other, interdisciplinary, or thematically oriented, which involved a "broader concept of subjects in TE" (14). Moreover, for the first time, it was proposed that all teacher education departments should develop their own research and postgraduate structures, "programme drift" and "institutional drift", a territory of their own (Becher, 1994) or a "bardic voice" (Sullivan, 1996, p. 223). To make this possible, the committee pointed out the need for a faculty-like body within the university/college to hold overall responsibility for teacher education and at the same time proposed that a new field of science – educational science – be established. The idea that only one discipline should form the research base of teacher education was thus abandoned. The reform proposals in the committee reports are presented in [Table 5](#) below:

Table 5. Summary of the reforms proposed in to learn and lead (SOU, 1999, p. 64).

Report	Reform proposals
<i>To learn and lead</i> (SOU, 1999, p. 64)	Programme drift – research structures (Kyvik, 2007) Institutional drift (Kyvik, 2007) An enlarged teacher knowledge base Integration code (Bernstein, 2000); a broadened subject base for teacher education Vocational drift (Hippach-Schneider, 2014) Epistemic knowledge form (Saugstad, 2002, 2006) Techne as a recognised knowledge form (Saugstad, 2002, 2006) Phronesis as a recognised knowledge form (Saugstad, 2002, 2006) Reduced subject studies Educational sciences and subject didactics established

Discussion and analysis

This study deals with the academisation or “academic drift” of teacher education with a focus on teacher education in the aesthetic school subjects Art, Music and Sloyd. The academisation process began already in the 1950s and underwent a “policy drift” mainly on a discursive level, and a further academic drift in the 1960s, together with the major university reforms of 1977. Like our previous study (Erixon & Wikberg, *submitted*), this study is based on SOU reports, a type of authoritative policy text (Hallsén, 2013; Simola, 2000) intended to influence an activity, but which govern less formally than legislative bills. The reports stressed the notion that these subjects had been overlooked and were low in status. Therefore, from an egalitarian and equality perspective, these subjects were intended to become more like other more theoretical and orienting subjects.

As concerns the first research question, *What are the main features of the proposals in the four Official Reports of the Swedish Government (SOU) in connection to the higher education reforms in 1977 (H77)*, we find that teacher education in the aesthetic school subjects was invited into a structure substantively based on an epistemic form of knowledge, while the aesthetic subjects represented an action-driven form of knowledge (“techne”) distinct from the dominant form of theoretical knowledge (“episteme”). From a media ecological perspective, and on a structural level, the reforms proposed by the U68 report implied that new “species” in the shape of vocational education had entered the expanded higher education sector and challenged the existing “species”, involving a division between the “old” discipline-based education and the newly integrated vocational-based educations, the “newcomers” (Lepori, 2010). TE, like other vocational training, from the outside and alien, was placed in a new context, i.e. recontextualised. The proposals were based on the anticipation that the reforms of undergraduate education leading towards a more vocational focus, “vocationalisation”, would place new demands on research and postgraduate education conducted in disciplines associated with teacher education. As in previous investigations, both *Teacher Education Inquiry* (SOU, 1978, p. 86) and *To learn and lead*. (SOU, 1999, p. 33) implied an expansion of the competencies held by the teachers in the aesthetic school subjects, relevant to the teaching profession, and interdisciplinary, or thematically oriented, which involved a “broader concept of subjects in TE” (14).

Concerning the second research question: *Which opportunities and obstacles does the new higher education sector create for teacher education in the practical/aesthetic school subjects*, we find that the new higher education sector opened up for new

forms and contents in the aesthetic subjects. The shift from an oral to a literacy culture not only affects the conception, production and transmission of knowledge (Ong, 1982), but may also open up for critical perspectives on traditional teaching content in “the old authoritarian school” (Kockum, Alling-Ode, & Lind, 2019, p. 19). For example, in Art it opened up for photography and film knowledge, contemporary aesthetic orientation, mass media etc. in cooperation and agreement with connecting university disciplines which held power and accordingly interpretive priority. In the curriculum and in teacher education in the aesthetic subjects, the content changed when the mediation, subject to different biases, changed (Strate, 2011).

Later in the period, *To Learn and Lead* (SOU, 1999, p. 64) acknowledged different forms of knowledge and broadened the view of what knowledge constitutes by emphasising both theoretical, aesthetic and practical forms of knowledge, placed alongside the theoretical ones. Further, for the first time it was proposed that teacher education departments should develop their own research and postgraduate structures, a territory of their own (Becher, 1994) or a “bardic voice” (Sullivan, 1996, p. 223). To accomplish this, the committee pointed to the need for a body within the university/college to hold overall responsibility for teacher education and also proposed that a new field of science – educational science – be established.

We additionally find that the broadening of the competencies of the teachers in the aesthetic subjects implied a weakening of the strong classification of the aesthetic subjects (Bernstein, 2000, p. 177) in favour of a more integration code that was expected to increase cooperation between on one hand different school subjects and, on the other, different university disciplines. It challenged the classifications of the school subjects included at the same time as the content was becoming more basic and theoretical. While they stressed what in earlier SOU reports was labelled the “congruence problem”, i.e. that the discipline studies should be relevant to the teaching profession, they also emphasised the other interdisciplinary, or thematically oriented, which involved a “broader concept of subjects in teacher education” (14).

The aesthetic school subjects were integrated into a structure made up of highly classified and autonomous disciplines that asserted their freedom from political interference. Lacking this structure, teacher education became a college on the “periphery” of the new higher education sector and dependent on the participating disciplines. The reforms proposed in both the *1968 University Report* (SOU, 1973, p. 2) and *Teacher Education Inquiry* (SOU, 1978, p. 86) were based on a naïve notion of the position of power the disciplines held within the universities. More likely is a political insight from the outset that it was difficult, if not impossible, to use political means to change the historical status of the disciplines and thus of the universities’ freedom. However, a third interpretation is that this was one step to be followed by several more, for which the subsequent development gives support.

The proposals for postgraduate studies with a subject-methodological focus, also including the aesthetic school subjects, was built on the value of mutual, personal contacts for the transmission of impulses from one sub-area to another, while more structured collaboration between the university institutions that were participating in

teacher education was required, as captured by the expression “research connection” (*forskningsanknytning*).

At the same time, the experts in *Pedagogical Inquiry* (SOU, 1970, p. 22) ensure the discipline of Pedagogy would not have too close of a connection to teacher education. It is reasonable to see this as a reaction to the new demands placed on disciplines in the new higher education sector. The driving forces for introducing more practical subjects in the discipline in the old autonomous academic institutions are according to Christensen (2012) weak. Therefore, long-term policy ideas expecting the development of research and postgraduate education with a focus on vocational issues within the respective disciplines turned out to be a weak “tool”.

Finally, when teacher education finally received the opportunity to develop its own research structures, teacher education was, however, not guaranteed any new basic research resources. Instead, the requisite resources would come to teacher education through the redistribution of already existing university resources. The result of these negotiations varied at the different universities and not as many resources as were required were provided. The reform that followed the report was a step forward in incorporating teacher education into the higher education sector. Still, much more remained to be done. The reform proposals in the four investigations analysed in this study are summarised in [Table 6](#) below:

Table 6. Summary of the reforms proposed in the four analysed Official Reports of the Swedish Government (SOU).

Reports	Reform proposals in summary
<i>1968 University Report</i> (SOU, 1973, p. 2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An enlarged higher education sector Sector drift (Kyvik, 2007) Vocational drift (Hippach-Schneider, 2014) Epistemic drift (Elzinga, 1997) Integration code (Bernstein, 2000) Academic drift (Kyvik, 2007) Epistemic knowledge form (Saugstad, 2002, 2006) Textual mediation/bias (Strate, 2011)
<i>Pedagogical Inquiry</i> (1970: 22)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Separation of the University and the TTC Collection code (Bernstein, 2000) Discipline based Epistemic knowledge form (Saugstad, 2002, 2006) Textual mediation/bias (Strate, 2011) Academic discourse (Northedge, 2003)
<i>Teacher Education Inquiry</i> (SOU, 1978, p. 86)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vocational drift (Hippach-Schneider, 2014) Epistemic drift (Elzinga, 1997) Integration code (Bernstein, 2000); A broadened subject base for TE Academic drift (Kyvik, 2007) Epistemic knowledge form (Saugstad, 2002, 2006) Textual mediation/bias (Strate, 2011) Reduced subject studies Didaktik and educational sciences as new concepts
<i>To learn and to lead</i> (1999: 64)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Programme drift – research structures Institutional drift An enlarged teacher knowledge base Integration code (Bernstein, 2000); a broadened subject base for TE Vocational drift (Hippach-Schneider, 2014) Epistemic knowledge form (Saugstad, 2002, 2006) Techne recognised as a knowledge form (Saugstad, 2002, 2006) Phronesis recognised as a knowledge form (Saugstad, 2002, 2006) Reduced subject studies Educational sciences and subject didactics established

Conclusion

Based on Kuhn's (1962) concept of "paradigm", we conclude that when "academic drift" was instigated in teacher education in the aesthetic subjects they were in a relatively stable state in which certain content, methods, technologies and mediations were rewarded at the expense of others. Their object of study is the perceptual, emotional and imaginative apparatus of human subjectivity; a sort of object different to those upon which scientific, and social scientific, knowledge is constructed (Standish, 2021). Via the proposed reforms presented and analysed in this study, involving less "techne" and more "phronesis", broadening the subject base, integration code, changed mediation, "episteme", shifted content, and emerging conflicts – which Kuhn labels "anomalies". Teacher educators in the aesthetic subjects were henceforth recruited based on scientific expertise rather than professional practical experiences (Ek, Ideland, Jönsson, & Malmberg, 2013) and their role was shifted to a new focus on a sustainable research profile and participating in national and international scientific networks (Hazelkorn & Moynihan, 2010). This has led to "paradigmatic" changes in the aesthetic school subjects. From our media ecological perspective, this has led to both gains and losses, or "extensions" and "amputations" (McLuhan, 1964); 'extensions in the shape of new content areas and critical perspectives on the taken for granted and traditional; amputations when theory and script culture replaces observation, imitation and training (Nielsen & Kvale, 1999).

We conclude that if already in the 1977 reform the government had allocated teacher education with financial resources and structures, its own domain and its own "voice" (Becher, 1994), this may have led to the distinctiveness of teacher education as a whole and of the aesthetic subjects within the higher education sector. This was the case in Finland, a neighbouring Nordic country, in 1974 when teacher education was offered the strongest structure possible within the academy, namely its own Faculty of Pedagogy, in which the discipline of Pedagogy proclaimed its own interest and responsibility for research structures and research development in the field of TE and initiated the work on identifying relevant themes for teachers and students that was to be developed in the ensuing years (Wassholm, 2018). From such a position, in Sweden teacher education in the aesthetics subjects would have been more easily able to find an equilibrium between a scientific paradigm ("episteme"), action-based knowledge ("techne") and teacher knowledge ("phronesis") to the benefit of TE in the practical/aesthetic subjects in the process of them moving from "occupational professions" (Davoudi & Pendlebury, 2010) to more "status" like professions compatible with a new university discipline. After pressure and imbalance an "ecosystem" like TE in the aesthetic subjects also tends to reach homoeostasis or inner stability (Odum, 1997; Zhao & Frank, 2003).

Criticism of teacher education in Sweden grew during the 1990s. When the Conservative government took office in 2006, new investigations and proposals that would strengthen subject content at the expense of general teaching skills was soon announced. It was also decided that the special mandatory faculty body following the start of the new millennium was voluntary for teacher education.

Despite assigned research structures, this placed teacher education in an organisationally vulnerable position. That, however, is another story to be considered separately.

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