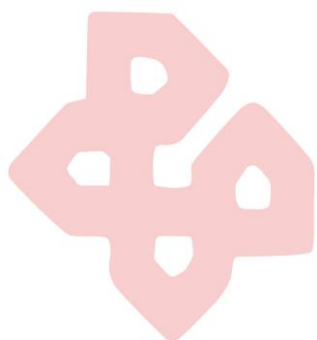




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TEACHER EDUCATION CULTURAL DIVERSITY, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EQUALITY: POLICIES, CHALLENGES AND ABANDONED POSSIBILITIES IN SWEDISH TEACHER EDUCATION

Formación del profesorado, diversidad cultural, justicia social e igualdad: políticas, desafíos y posibilidades abandonadas en la educación de los maestros suecos



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Abstract:

There is a history of policies from the late 1940s to 2000 for the introduction of research based knowledge in Sweden for supporting the intellectual preparation of future teachers for an integrated and inclusive school system. The development of these policies was initiated following the National School Commission Inquiry into the possibilities for a common unitary comprehensive school, which had identified the historical divisions (duality) in teacher education as an obstacle. Pulling these divisions together and educating teachers in a shared content developed from a common research base in the education field about the challenges faced in the realization of the comprehensive school vision was expressed as a possible solution. However, the project failed. The divisions have remained. Schools have not overcome social reproduction. And in recent decades challenges have intensified as hyper-diversity, globalization and a recent turn towards market governance have added new complications. Using the methods of explanatory criticism the aim with

this article is to identify explanations as to why the planned reforms seem to have failed. Main findings: Reforms were ideologically grounded and have also been resisted from within universities but also from praxis fields, though for different reasons.

Key Words: *Diversity, Ethnography, teacher Education, inclusión*

Resumen:

Desde finales de la década de 1940 hasta 2000, en Suecia ha habido diferentes políticas para introducir conocimientos de investigación en la formación de los futuros profesores para un sistema escolar integrado e inclusivo. El desarrollo de estas políticas se inició tras la investigación de la Comisión Escolar Nacional sobre las posibilidades de una única escuela común, que identificó la división histórica (dualidad) en la educación de los maestros como un obstáculo. Aunar estas divisiones y formar maestros a partir de contenidos de educación basados en investigación fueron los desafíos a los que se enfrentó y las consideraciones señaladas como una posible solución para una escuela única común. Sin embargo, el proyecto falló y la división ha permanecido. Así, las escuelas no han superado la reproducción social. Y en las últimas décadas los desafíos se han intensificado a medida que la hiperdiversidad, la globalización y el giro reciente hacia la gobernanza del mercado han añadido nuevas complicaciones. Se ha utilizado una metodología basada en la crítica explicativa, con el objetivo de identificar explicaciones de por qué las reformas planificadas parecen haber fallado. Entre los principales hallazgos cabe destacar que las reformas tuvieron una base ideológica y también han sido frenadas tanto desde dentro de las universidades como desde los espacios de práctica, aunque por razones diferentes.

Palabras clave: *diversidad, etnografía, formación del profesorado, inclusión*

1. Introduction

Why has it been so difficult to build up research and research education for the teaching profession was a question posed by Daniel Kallós in 2009 in relation to the Swedish National Teacher Education Committee (LUK) recommendations to Parliament in 1999 (SOU 1999:63) about a research base for teacher education. As Kallós (2009) identified, this committee had been appointed in the wake of a series of education reforms earlier in the decade that were described as troubling policies for universal comprehensive education and educational equality. But ten years later, despite legislations based on the committee's proposals in Government Proposition 1999/2001:135 most of the recommendations had not been implemented. Kallós wondered why. Using the method of explanatory criticism the present article will engage with this question.

Explanatory criticism is a suitable method for this investigation as it aims to uncover possible determining (i.e. 'vertical' naturally necessary) and/or co-determining (i.e. 'horizontal' and historically contingent) features in the unfolding of everyday circumstances (Banfield, 2016). In the present article it has involved a close reading of selected education policies and research on education processes and outcomes in an to attempt to identify, describe and analytically discuss matters that are illustrative of larger issues and deeper historical rhythms of education reform. The spotlight is on relations between policy, social structures and human agents and

there is an attempt to avoid either overly structural or overly agentic explanations of education reform and to locate contradictions in society's rules and systems by exploring expressions of political intentions against actual outcomes (Honneth, 2001). Metaethnography has been important in the research in developing this comparison.

Metaethnography is a method for generalizing from the findings of published ethnographic research. It was initially established by Noblit and Hare (1988) and has been used previously in Sweden in both teacher education (Beach, Bagley, Eriksson and Player-Koro, 2014) and education justice research (Beach, 2016, 2017, 2018; Beach, Dovemark, Schwartz and Öhrn, 2013). Then and now the aim has been to identify not only what has gone wrong with education reform but also what the struggles for education justice and equality need to include in order to be successful and how efforts to attain social justice aims often fail mainly on their own terms (Beach, 2018; Honneth, 2001; Malsbary, 2016; Pereira, 2019).

2. Outlining policy: Key terms and concepts in LUK recommendations in the fields of policy production and re-contextualization

Kallós (2009) identified two main recommendations in the LUK Commission report: (a) strengthening professional unification among teachers by reducing the number of divisions into which teacher education fell and increasing the amount of common content through a new general professional component (Prop. 1999/2000:135; SOU 1999: 63 and (b), aligned with this, establishing a new research area in the nation's universities alongside those of natural sciences, medicine, and social sciences and humanities to feed teacher education content and to help bridge the theory-practice gap in teacher education (Beach, 2011; Lindberg, 2004; Kallós, 2009; SOU 1999:63). The LUK Commissioners called their new research area Utbildningsvetenskap. Similar suggestions had been made by an earlier commission in 1974 (SOU 1978:86). They were shelved by the right wing coalition government elected in 1976. Previous teacher education research supported these ideas (Beach, 2011; SOU 1999:63). This research had shown that although measures had been taken by successive governments since the 1950s to legislate in favor of a common cognitive base for practice within teacher education, they had failed, and that the existing Education discipline (Pedagogik) was heavily to blame (SOU 1999: 63). This discipline had dominated research on teaching and learning for decades the commissioners pointed out, but had placed very little priority on research for teaching as professional work, or that directly served teacher education and professional knowledge (SOU 1999:63). The universities were not producing directly relevant professional knowledge nor educating enough PhD candidates to fill lecturer posts in teacher education (Kallós, 2009).

The government broadly accepted the LUK recommendations (Beach, 2011; Kallós, 2009; Lindberg, 2004). However, whilst the Commission had recommended that a new research area should be established, the Government did not make this proposal. It suggested instead that a special committee; the Committee for Research

in the Educational Sciences (CRES: in Swedish UVK) should be established within the newly formed National Research Council as part of (and in effect answering to) the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Board (Prop. 2000/01: 3). CRES was positioned as a subcommittee in effect, and Government funded research in education sciences became (or in actuality really remained) in essence a subfield within the social and human sciences.

This is a common position for education research and researchers to be in even internationally (Antikainen, 2010; Apple, 2001; Ball, 2007; Beach and Bagley, 2012, 2013; Codd, 2005; Darling-Hammond, 2006). But it is one that means that existing research traditions and structures of domination and hegemony are often maintained not challenged by reforms (Niemi, 2007; Rasmussen, 2007), as ambiguities are created with respect to the new subject and its role (Lindberg, 2004). The interpretations that were made by CRES of the regulation statements from the government (SFS 2000: 1199 §16) reflected this according to Kallós, 2009). These statements identified funding for research and postgraduate education conducted in conjunction with teacher education to meet needs in teacher education and pedagogical professions as a priority (Kallós, 2009). But they were interpreted more openly than this, as referring to general education research for strengthening the scientific base of teacher education in a broad sense (SOU 2005: 31).

Education sciences had an unusual combination of heterogeneities according to Lindberg (2004) that contributed to this. They were firstly that the subject was weakly integrated into the university field, as it had been politically composed rather than generated from within scientific communities of practice. However, secondly, and again due to this political grounding, the subject also lacked strong professional sutures, as it had been formed at some distance to teaching in schools and teacher education. The subject was meant to form a connection at the interfaces of theoretical and working knowledge but it was dysfunctional in these respects (Beach, 2011; Beach and Bagley, 2012), so although regulation texts expressed that the Education Scientific Committee should 'allocate funds for research and education at the doctoral level to meet the needs of teacher education and pedagogical professional activities' (SFS 2007: § 1397 §15), CRES's funding decisions could resist this requirement. This was clearly a malpractice according to Kallós (2009) with a distinctive chain of deficiencies that the National Research Council did not respond to appropriately and rectify. However, in line with Lindberg (2004), what was more important was an 'autopoiesis' in an academic field that was capable of reproducing and maintaining itself, but that was also trapped between a reality of fragmentation and statements about constitutional order. It was presented as a field that was constituting and reproducing itself at a point of intersection between science and reflection, research and ideology, theory and generic knowledge and theory and practice (Lindberg, 2004). But it was politically constituted as a field that was neither a reflection of the educational system and its practices nor a product of scientific thinking (Beach, 2011; Lindberg, 2004).

Driven and opposed by power asymmetries, paradoxes and struggles the new subject was resisted from within universities but also from praxis fields. University researchers were concerned about what sort of research had been intended by LUK and why (or even if and how) it was in the best interests of researchers in the field to support it or not: either for themselves or the professions, institutions and clients the knowledge they produced was to be useful for (Beach, 2011). Teaching professionals were split by union affiliation and commitments toward school subject expertise on the one hand and what value the new subject held for the profession. Wiborg (2017) identified similar patterns in union opposition to equity projects in education in England. There was confusion. Teaching was becoming an increasingly technical practice nationally and internationally (Apple, 2001, 2006; Player-Koro, 2012) but there was no agreement over whether this was a good thing or not. They were being given guidelines and technologies of evaluation, but they were also being de-skilled and re-positioned as curriculum deliverers not professional thinkers (Bernstein, 2000; Edwards, 2001). Research and professional practices were to be focused on a canon not on reflection and critique relating to the canon or the assumptions on which it had been constructed (Edwards, 2001). And if there was any research underpinning their decisions it was research that Edwards (2001) described as the research of correlators that teachers were expected to simply apply directly to their workplace. Referring to Apple (2006), Player-Koro (2012) called this a process of modernization that helped to cement conservative educational values and positions into place in teacher education and professional work (also Apple, 2001; Beach and Bagley, 2012, 2013; Codd, 2005; Wiborg, 2017).

2.1. Resonance in political and professional resistance and opposition

Going back to the question posed by Kallós (2009) a number of emerging points have been identified in the way of explanatory critique in the present article so far. The first is that the project of creating a research based teacher education which had been associated with the “Folk-Home” welfare state project pioneered in Sweden by the Social Democratic Labor Party between 1940 and 1990 to create possibilities for diminished social inequality had been opposed (Beach, 2011). The second is that this opposition is often associated with the political right and some professional groups, but that in some case and conditions it also came from within scientific communities; particularly when reforms were felt to encroach on and limit critical reflection and autonomy. These seem to be international features not only national ones (Antikainen, 2010; Apple, 2001; Ball, 2007; Beach and Bagley, 2012, 2013; Codd, 2005; Darling-Hammond, 2006; Edwards, 2001; Pereira, 2019). They suggest that expressions about a desire to address social inequalities in education and through teacher education and education research come most often from social democratic politicians, whilst conservative right wing politicians oppose such changes by fighting to withhold the most intellectually challenging and rewarding education from the majority of pupils by channelling educational resources into the reproduction of elites (Apple, 2001, 2006; Beach, 2018).

This idea is also one that has been discussed by Börjesson and Broady (2016) as having become increasingly evident in Sweden since the 1990s, as the existing 'dominating class fractions have begun to strengthen their control over the educational system' and valued education capital has become ever more concentrated to a narrow elite set of programs, institutions and consumers. Their point is that the politics of education and teacher education driven by right and left leaning political parties are actually very different and are also driven in and through different alliances (Nilsson Lindström and Beach, 2013, 2015) and the present section begins by considering these possibilities. However, Börjesson and Broady are also at pains to avoid clouding over important points of political consensus and deeper ideological agreement between the political parties. As is also suggested by Svensson, Urinboyev and Åström (2012), there was also a lot of agreement between the political parties regarding the development of an ostensibly open education system in Sweden in the 1940s. Sweden was a class-ridden society that had followed a very similar developmental trajectory to that of other Western countries and all parties were concerned about social stability and the possibility of using welfare reforms for addressing this (Nilsson Lindström and Beach, 2013; Svensson et al, 2012). Thus whilst the school and teacher education reforms between the end of WW2 and the 1990s seemed to be promoted by the Social Democrats as a part of a welfare state project that other parties opposed, this is a truth with some modification (Beach, 2018; Börjesson and Broady, 2016; Svensson et al, 2012).

The concept of one school for all and a common teacher education for teachers for this school emerged in the directives to the National School Commission (NSC) in 1946. The Social Democrats were beginning a long period of political hegemony at this time due mainly to two alliances (Svensson et al, 2012). One of them came from their revisionist opposition to ending capitalism, which allowed them to draw agreements from the capitalist employers association. The other came from their support for the development of labor market, political, cultural and economic concessions in the form of a welfare state, which allowed allegiances with worker associations (Antikainen, 2010; Beach, 2010; Esping-Andersen, 1996; Svensson et al, 2012).

The social democrats were in other words, unlike the communist, syndicalist or fascist parties, a party that both the capitalist owners and controllers of production and their political representatives and the working class and theirs were able to collaborate with. This is true too, to an extent, for dictatorial authoritarian ultranationalist parties, and was very important (Svensson et al, 2012). Prior to the development of their political hegemony the Social Democratic party and its Welfare State model was only one among many different ideas about the political future and the party notion of a political and social order came under attack from several different directions (Esping-Andersen, 1996). They included outright fascist alternatives such as those propagated by the National Socialist Workers Party of Sweden, the continuation of bourgeois classical political economy as advocated by the members of the Swedish Employer Association (SAF), support of a petty-bourgeois political economy from the middle parties, a vision of utopian socialism from

revolutionary democrats and syndicalists, and even the development of an openly Marxist political economy among the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary and other communist parties (Beach, 2018; Svensson et al, 2012). The conditions of the day were important (Esping-Andersen, 1996). Sweden had more days of industrial dispute in the 1930s than any other country in Europe, and the revisionist politics of the social democrats prompted on the one hand and allowed on the other collaboration with the representatives of capitalist industry and moderate representatives of the workers movement together, to try to stabilize a platform of concession around a notion of tolerable inequalities and moderate social justice (Maisuria, 2017). But the social democrats weren't offering a peaceful development from capitalism to socialism. This was impossible unless capitalist owners and controllers of production were prepared to give up on private ownership and the creation and exploitation of labor power for profit; which of course they were not and have never agreed to do. The social democrats were thus not even a revisionist party let alone one with a revolutionary potential (Maisuria, 2017; Svensson et al, 2012; Therborn, 2018).

The Social Democratic reforms were not ones initiated by a "good" party that was acting in the broad interests of the mass of the population (Beach, 2018; Therborn, 2018). Although this idea is very much one that the Social Democratic Party liked to propagate, as Svensson et al (2012) point out, it was really nothing more than a party that was able to collaborate and collude with the representatives of capital. It offered them a solution to the political unrest and social turmoil sufficient to ease concerns about the security of businesses. Moreover, the other major parties in the 1930s were also important and were needed to form policies that could be acceptable to parliament.

The Center Party ideology was possibly the closest as the party had been formed as a protest against urban power concentrations. So it became the usual go to party for political support. Not the Left Parties such as the Swedish Communist Party, which still aspired to revolutionary solutions and a politics of nationalization. As also Maisuria noted (2017), in its welfare state political bargaining the social democratic party almost always turned rightwards for support and almost never to the left. The Folk Party (Liberal) program clearly was the one that was most clearly distanced from the social democratic ideas about regulation and social equalization. In fact 1972 was the first time the word equality appeared in its party program, which generally always repeated the basic liberal honor-words about freedom, justice and a humanity based on an ethical personal responsibility in contradiction to a social order based on state control: for the Liberals the hegemony of the individual stood highest on the political agenda, which of course really only granted a license to stronger groups (unregulated elites for instance) to excerpt influence within a society. The Moderate (Conservative) Party were also clear opponents of the class struggle of the labor movement, but toned this down in their 1946 manifesto, which expressed a value of moderate reform for financial and social security. National cohesion, the family, Christian faith and individual property rights were the central values, as they were also the marginal party on the right at the time, the Christian Democrats (kd).

These differences were important regarding the content of the reform package: i.e. not the framing. This related to the need of political stability with respect to the smooth running and efficiency of the capitalist production apparatus. In education politics it was outlined first by the 1940 School Evaluation Committee's (SEC) critical interim report in 1944 concerning the school's present malfunction in a modern society, and what could be done. School organization needed to become better adapted to modern society and enabled to play a role in the development of that society (SOU 1948: 27). But the political parties on the right and the social democrats were never able to fully agree on the how schools or teacher education should develop (Nilsson Lindström and Beach, 2013).

Opposition to the unitary comprehensive model and a uniform teacher education came not only from rightwing politicians and conservative academics however. There was also opposition from within the teaching profession too, from the National Union of Swedish Teachers (abbreviated NUST in this article) organizing the grammar school subject teachers and affiliated to Saco, the Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations (Nilsson Lindström and Beach, 2013). But perhaps this was only to be expected. The changes to the Swedish school system were momentous for NUST. They meant that the different teacher categories that had existed since the beginning of the century were threatened as distinct groups connected to separate parts of the school system: one for the mass of the population on the one hand and one for the elite (who were to be prepared for overtaking leading positions in society) on the other. These different categories were to be brought together in the same organization with the same curriculum and this was not read favorably by NUST and nor was the idea of a common teacher education.

There was a perfectly logical if rather selfish reason for this. Grammar School teachers in the NUST, unlike the elementary school teachers, were already university educated in their different subject areas and had already achieved certain profession-specific attributes in the sense of for instance Andrew Abbot's work, which they felt could be threatened by the new reforms (Nilsson Lindström and Beach, 2013, 2015). They also taught primarily children of the social, academic, cultural and political elites and conferred their subject capital in this way on families who were already the bearers of valued capital forms. And both of these privileges were due to their unchallenged knowledge in the academic subjects.

Establishing high value for academic subjects was vital for NUST. University academic subject studies formed the basis of the professional hegemony and identity of NUST members (Beach, 1995, 2000), and the new reforms were threatening this by suggesting that such studies provided an inadequate foundation for professional actions and needed to be supplemented by university level studies in the fields of psychology and pedagogy. A new subject (Practical Pedagogics/ Praktisk Pedagogik) was created in the Teacher Colleges to these ends, as were professorial positions to help research to develop. But these developments, where education specialists at the highest academic level were taking responsibility for the development of professional knowledge, were quite short-lived. Teacher education was fully

integrated into the higher education system following the 1977 Higher Education Act but with, at the same time, some loss of control over the development of professional knowledge as the new professional content was integrated as a sub-division of the mainstream Education discipline (Pedagogik) and placed in the hands of predominantly male scientific leaders, who really didn't value it and proceeded to marginalize it and its representatives.

This marginalization was of course to be expected. And there were some scientific foundations for it. The academic experts in the Education discipline knew of course that since the time of its inception, the Education discipline had been expected provide a theoretical basis for pedagogical action in teacher education and in school. These ideas that stretch back to the early 19th century and the writings of Johan Friedrich Herbart. Herbart was the founder of pedagogy as an academic discipline who recognized empirical psychology as a potential science for educators. But he also recognized that this science could never replace the observation of the learner as an individual and that the true capacities and of the learner could only be found in their performances and could not be reliably predicted.

The professors and senior researchers in the Education discipline knew this history and they also knew about the tenuous relationship between predictions based on empirical observations in psychology for educational practices. Their position was that there was far more that was worth knowing in relation to education practices for practitioners than this tenuous one-to-one relationship between the psychology of the young mind and schools and teaching in them. But others didn't know these things and the proposed relationship between psychology and learning became a politically enforced reality. Indeed it came to threaten educational research for teacher education, based on ideas about research and application that were far too simple and that in a sense undermined the status and above all true possible use value of the Education discipline (Beach, 2011).

These ideas were discussed by the Teacher Education Committee (SOU, 1999:63) in 1999 (Beach and Bagley (2012, 2013). But they are also identified in important articles in education journals by for instance, Darling-Hammond (2006) and Gore & Morrison (2001). They have been very significant in Scandinavian countries (Niemi, 2008; Rasmussen, 2008) and can be identified in Sweden as far back as the 1946 Teacher College Delegation Report (SOU, 1952:33) through to Green paper recommendations from the Teacher Education Expert Committee (SOU, 1965:29) and the 1974 Teacher Education Commission (SOU, 1978:86) (Englund, 2004). In the early/mid 1900s, thinking was influenced by philosophy and questions about what knowledge was possible (Englund, 2004). In the mid-20th century there was a shift from philosophy to psychology and then later sociology became the discipline whose influence increased. As expressed by Edwards (2001), researchers refused an obvious focus on a canon, in favor of investigating, developing and also even critiquing the assumptions on which such canons are constructed and the interests that are served by them (Englund, 2004). The integration of teacher education into higher education didn't end the divisions between teacher education categories or the debates about

what kind of knowledge could and should be developed for the teaching profession in Sweden. These continued. However, the resistance (and hegemony) of the professors in the Education discipline meant that practical pedagogics tended to be a second class pathway; which is something that seems to even be the case. Working in teacher education formed a second class activity.

3. Hegemony, tradition and power relations in the fields of reproduction

Following its return to power in 1982 the Social Democratic Party once again took up a commitment toward politically establishing a single category of teachers for the compulsory comprehensive school, and common research based professional studies components in teacher education for teacher-students. This time they did this through legislating new programs of teacher education within the universities and university colleges, with two broad and overlapping age- and subject combination enrichment lines. One of them was for the school years 1-7 and one was for years 4-9 (Beach, 1995). The central argument was that the former divisions were artificial in relation to pupil development and contradictory to the needs of a compulsory comprehensive school (Government Bill 1984/85:122).

This position had also been argued earlier, in the TEEC Report in 1965. But then teacher education was physically separate. Now it wasn't. Moreover, a new subject area for teacher education and educational research was also going to be established to generate research based knowledge about learning in school subject areas (Beach, 1995). The new subject was called *subject didactics* (Sw: ämnesdidaktik). It related to questions about the selection of teaching content and examinations and how to make subjects comprehensible to pupils. It formed a new component in teacher education and the cognitive base of teaching as a professional occupation (Englund, 2004; Player-Koro, 2012). But it did not break the divisions between the historical traditions in teacher education, nor did it weaken the institutional hegemony of subject teacher education. Alliances between subject educated teachers who were employed to teach the new subject in teacher education and subject studies specialists (university lecturers in academic subjects) formed to maintain this hegemony (Beach, 1991, 1995, 2000) and the programs for teachers for grades 1-7 (replacing the former primary teacher preparation) comprised 3 and a half years full-time study whilst those for 4-9 programs (which replaced subject teacher education) were 4 or 4 and a half years and with a subject studies component that had been extended by half a year. As previously, subject teaching was treated as more demanding, more worthy, and as needing a longer education than studies in other parts of the education field (Beach, 1995; Nilsson Lindström and Beach, 2013, 2015) and once more establishing a common profession with a shared research base was beaten back. But what happened within the classrooms of teacher education and how did teacher-students, most of whom had been educated in the comprehensive system, respond to their education?

These matters have been examined using a meta-ethnographic analysis (Beach, et al, 2014). They show how hegemony worked its way all the way down and into to the fields of reproduction in teacher education, as secondary-grade-focused teacher-students formed their values along the same vectors as the tutors did. They idolized the subject mastery of their subject tutors and celebrated the creative transformations of difficult subject matter to comprehensible levels by them and their curriculum instructors (Beach, 1995, 2000; Player-Koro, 2012). For these students teaching didn't require pedagogical knowledge in its cognitive base. Instead being professional involved personality with a capital P and subject knowledge with a capital S (Beach et al, 2014), which was broadly speaking the position held by NUST in the 1940s, and the parties to the right of the political spectrum then and afterwards (Player-Koro, 2012).

Primary specialising teacher-students did not share these values however. Instead they wanted to understand the child, and they talked about the need to converse around matters related to the psychology of teaching and learning. Their future responsibilities would be with the development of their pupils they said, not their own development through the subjects they will teach. But their concerns were still only for the learning of individual pupils, not for social change, education justice and equality. Their values were in this way reactionary and organic to dominant class distinctions and the status quo (Beach et al, 2014).

4. Leacher education 'managed' professionalism, justice and equality

To summarise a little, in 1948 the National School Commission Inquiry into the possibilities for a common unitary comprehensive school identified the division between different school teachers created by teacher education as one of several obstacles for the comprehensive school project for education inclusion and equality, and recommendations were made to address the problem. They included the creation of a new teacher education with a common foundation of research based knowledge for teachers for the new common school project and new institutions, called Teacher Colleges in which to organise and focus the production and communication of this knowledge (SOU 1948: 27, 1952: 33). However, these recommendations were opposed, particularly but not only by the national association for grammar school teachers (NUST) and the right-wing political parties and also from some university academics.

The opposition centred on the value of subject content. The assertion was that subject expertise formed the cognitive base for professional action and that a common professional education based on studies in subjects like psychology and pedagogy should only ever be a secondary professional factor, as should teacher education in these subjects. Two later Inquiry Commissions followed. The developments were blocked initially but two new teacher education inquiries were commissioned, one in 1960 called the Teacher Education Expert Committee (SOU 1965:29) and one in 1974 (the 1974 Teacher Education Commission, SOU 1978:86).

Both came with further suggestions regarding the development of a unitary profession and in 1977 Teacher Education was integrated into the national higher education system. However, it was first in 1984 (Government Bill 1984/85:122) that a shared structure for all teacher education that included common courses was formally recommended (Beach, 1995, 2000; Beach et al, 2014). They were extended by the 1997 Teacher Education Committee (SOU 1999:63) and the subsequent Teacher Education Bill, which concluded a 60 year long policy trajectory toward unification in the interests of a common profession for a common and inclusive comprehensive school. But the problematic dualism and subject teacher hegemony remained active in shaping student learning (Beach, 1995; Player-Koro, 2012).

What can be identified here then is that vertical resistance throughout the political and academic fields has played a part in blocking developments (Beach et al, 2014) and that the challenges of inclusion and equality have not been possible to overcome (Beach, 2018; Beach et al, 2013). The common comprehensive school project failed to secure social equality, teachers weren't prepared for it, and/as key sources of injustice and inequality were papered over rather than identified, critiqued, deconstructed and opposed (Bagley and Beach, 2015). The history of dominance of the bourgeois cultural heritage from the white upper class in education content and education politics and the way this has been ignored in teacher education opposed it. Policy inauthenticity and deceit have also played a role. Yet as Carl Bagley and I have identified (Bagley and Beach, 2015), although the possibilities of education justice and social equality policies were consistently opposed and marginalized there was at least a semblance of possibility for them as an aim and there was a skeleton platform from which to attempt to build ideas and practices for the realization of the project from. This does not seem to be the case today.

Current conditions in the global and national political economy leaves little space for an overt and specifically targeted politics of education justice and equality (Bagley and Beach, 2015), which has been surrendered to the whims of the market as a symptom of a global policy disease according to Ball (2007). Hyper-conservatism has once again become the official political position on education and teacher education (Apple, 2001, 2006; Codd, 2005) and the curriculum of teacher education has been changed accordingly (Darling Hammond, 2006; Gore and Morrison, 2001). The possibilities for including the kinds of critical and vertical forms of knowledge that are associated with social justice in teacher education are now entirely excluded or reframed (Beach and Bagley, 2012, 2013). New public management regimes with target setting and inspection and the construction of performance tables prevail and performance related pay impels neo-conservative ideas onto practice (Bagley and Beach, 2015). What progressivism there was in the system has gone and there is now an emphasis upon the transmission of traditional authority, moral values, national identity and cultural heritage not only nationally but also in an international perspective. New anti-egalitarian sentiments that the State should no longer take responsibility for social mobility and equality have become popular and the task of the State along the lines of justice and equality has been rolled back nationally and globally to the level of simply managing and overseeing the operation

of a free market (Bagley and Beach, 2015; Beach and Bagley, 2013). Neo-liberal and performative education institutions on the other, that teach elite white upper-class values as our common cultural heritage and yardstick (Apple, 2001, 2006; Beach, 2010; Brenner et al, 2010; Bunar, 2010; Flinders and Wood, 2014; Fourcade-Gourinchas and Babb, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Nilsson Lindström and Beach, 2015).

Ghazala Bhatti (2011) in England and amongst others Majsa Allelin (2019), Marianne Dovemark (2004), Osa Lundberg (2015) and Mats Widigson (2013) in Sweden have explored and analyzed some of the tensions and pressures that can be created for young people when they try to get on in education and do well for themselves in these kinds of circumstances (Malsbary, 2016). Bhatti's (2011) investigation will be considered first. It was conducted with a group of working class British Muslim men at an elite university. What she found was that what cut against the grain of unproblematic education achievement in these institutions for these young men were sophisticated forms of racism. They operated through a White bourgeois elite curriculum allied with with forms of Muslim stereotyping by tutors and student colleagues that made the young men feel as if they were outsiders in the country where were born, brought up, and educated.

Similar results to these were also found in Sweden in recent ethnographic investigations such as those mentioned above. They are discussed there and in writing by Bunar (2010) and Schwartz (2013), that have been cross-translated together with other ethnographic studies in meta-ethnographic analyses by Beach (2016, 2017) and Beach, Dovemark, Schwartz and Öhrn (2013). They suggest that as Sewell (1997) indicated in the UK already 20 years ago, such experiences of outsidership are not surprising in racist, classist and structurally also obviously misogynous societies. In these societies teachers will have been most likely exposed to a form of teacher education that exists and operates in denial of these features and that doesn't prepare teachers well for dealing with the injustices involved (Bayati, 2014; Bagley and Beach, 2015; Lundberg, 2015; Sewell, 1997).

This doesn't mean that teachers are overtly racist however! Although some of them may be, the racist, class sutured, misogynous and able-ist societies process pupils of different genders, classes and races differently unless prevented from doing so and schools will then tend to end up reproducing and legitimizing marginalization, exclusion and segregation almost automatically unless the mechanisms involved are concretely identified, opened up to critical analysis and opposed: Lundberg's (2015) thesis pointed to this. But teacher education doesn't even pretend to want to do this now: if it ever did. Justice and equity are left to market relations that submerge racial, gender and cultural differences and tensions behind a screen of individual desires, styles and interests, just at the same time as students are trying to make sense of their class-gendered and racial identities in and out of school, and cope with new forms and sources of stress and discrimination in education life (Allelin, 2019).

5. Concluding remarks

As Bayati (2014) points out, there are numerous examples of how silences are created in teacher education surrounding experiences of exclusion, discrimination and racialized segregation in society and education. One of them is that teacher education is dominated by a mono-cultural curriculum that reproduces Eurocentric knowledge in ways that far from prepare teacher-students well for the tensions and responsibilities of teaching in a globalized society, toward the interests of greater educational justice and equality for all. Indeed according to Bayati (2014) teacher education contributes to the ways that national education systems operate on the basis of class/ color/ disability/ gender and race bias not neutrality, in ways that leave class, gender, color/ whiteness and positions on various ability-spectra as still highly significant in relation to education differentiation, university access, and the inheritance of public, military, cultural and civic positions. Justice and inclusion are still very limited (Beach, 2018).

In the past in the period of post-war reconstruction in some nations and as part of welfare state and modernization projects in others, policies of common comprehensive education developed along with teacher education projects that were intended to produce teachers who were intellectually and ideologically well prepared to work in these schools. These projects were often developed by social democratic governments and resisted by right wing parties and reactionary occupational groups. However, as the present article suggests, resistance is more complicated than this and has been a strongly vertical phenomenon that took form both in the field of research production through the regulation and production of research in the political contextualizing field (Parliament, Government and their offices), and in the fields of pedagogical re-contextualization (university/ college curricula and local regulating agencies and professional groups: including university professors). Comparisons with conditions in other countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Germany, England, Holland and Canada, as identified in international research possibly applies not only in Sweden (Apple, 2001, 2006; Beach & Bagley, 2013; Codd, 2005; Lindberg, 2004; Darling Hammond, 2006; Edwards, 2001; Malsbary, 2016; Niemi, 2008; Pereira, 2019; Rasmussen, 2008).

The turn to neoliberalism and performativity in teacher education has worsened the situation regarding politics of inclusion, justice and equality which are now exposed to the whims of the market (Bagley and Beach, 2015). As described in detail in Beach (2010), neoliberal economic reorganization in the public sector spread through the 1990s and the new millennium into continental Europe and Scandinavia, where it became an increasingly ubiquitous and active form of political and economic organization for transforming bureaucratic-professional and centralized postwar civic institutions into decentralized 'independent' ones. Market-based solutions to public services and civic goods have since then spread worldwide into what is now a global phenomenon (Flinders and Wood, 2014; Fourcade-Gourinchas and Babb, 2002). Variations range from extreme neoliberalism with unregulated markets, minimal welfare states, extensive income differentials and gross social inequalities to

regulated neoliberal states with more extensive public services, regulated markets and lower income differentials and social inequalities (ibid.; Beach, 2010; Harvey, 2005).

As written by Brenner et al (2010, p.183) neoliberalism is a process of institutional transformation, an emergent form of subjectivity and a reflection of realigned hegemonic interests. In line with Harvey (2010, p. 10) though, it is also clearly a dominant class project that is run and has been designed in the interests of dominant global elites 'as a means to restore and consolidate capitalist class power'. This does not auger well for the struggles for education justice equality and inclusion in the future or for the preparation of teachers who are ideologically committed and intellectually prepared to take on these educational challenges. Based on the method of explanatory criticism the present article suggests that current teacher education involves inadequate preparation for this condition. However it also suggests that the reforms that have been put in place in the past have never worked. They have been essentially ideologically rather than scientifically grounded and they have also essentially been opposed to (sometimes passively, sometimes openly and aggressively, and sometimes deliberately and deceptively) rather than aligned with social equality and equality of education outcomes.

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