Adaptation and Resistance
Response to state governance in a local Swedish knowledge culture

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The relationship between state governance and local implementation has engaged many researchers (e.g. Resh & Benavot, 2009; Seikkula-Leino, 2011; Shkedi, 2006). The starting point is often an interest in establishing how adaptable local areas are when it comes to implementing a national educational reform. This article is not only interested in whether or not, and how, state governance leads to implementation, but why it is sometimes accepted and followed without protest at local teacher level and sometimes, met with significant resistance. Why was the behaviouristic orientation accepted and implemented in the late 1960s? Furthermore, why was academisation initially ignored ten years later? Can the concept of knowledge culture offer a perspective for understanding the actions and decisions of a professional group?

The article draws on Eliasson's (2009) Methods, personality and research: Continuity and change in the knowledge culture of nursing teacher educators 1958–1999. The main issue of this investigation was to explore continuity and change in conceptions of knowledge and learning in a local Swedish teaching culture over time and in relation to a number of factors: for example, state governance; gender; power relationships; and professional traditions. One assumption was that teachers’ conceptions of
knowledge and learning affect the design of education and teaching. The overall perspective was that of curriculum theory (Lundgren 1983, 1984, 1991), but several concepts have been used to understand continuity and changes in the longer term (Bernstein, 1977; Fleck, 1979; Koselleck, 2004; Scott, 1999). The diversity of concepts enabled the comprehension of continuity and change from a broad perspective. A specific interest was to study what happened in the local arena when teacher education, as well as many other forms of education in Sweden, became part of the university curriculum in 1977.

The aim of this article is to illuminate and discuss the relationship between state governance and a local Swedish knowledge culture from 1958 to 1999. What conceptions of knowledge and learning characterise the group of nursing teacher educators, especially in terms of knowledge that is of central importance to a future nursing teacher? How do these conceptions relate to state governance? When do teacher educators adapt to state governance and when do they offer resistance? Can adaptation and resistance be understood by using the concepts of strategy and ideology? To explore the latter question it is necessary to examine the cultural and social context. The theoretical framework in this investigation is, as said, one of curriculum theory, central concepts are adaptation; resistance; strategy; ideology; knowledge culture (see Englund & Linné, 2005); and space of experience (Koselleck, 2004). The concepts of strategy and ideology are used as a tool to understand continuity and change.

**Nursing teacher education**

Education of nurses in Sweden started in 1851 and was connected to the church (SOU 1948:17). The establishment of the «Sophiahemmet» (Sweden's largest private hospital) by the Swedish queen Sophia in 1889 is often referred to as a turning point for the nursing profession (Bohm, 1995; Götlind, 2010). Using Florence Nightingale's nurses' training schools in England as models, the nursing profession became respectable, well suited for middle and upper class women. To maintain respectability, working class women were excluded from the most renowned nurses' training schools (Eriksson & Gunnarsson, 1997).

Theoretical studies became part of nursing education for the first time in the 1890s (Bohm, 1995). Experienced nurses were given the task of managing the theoretical education of student nurses. In 1917, the Swedish Association of Nurses started a course for the education of student nurses that included hospital management. In 1958 the education became the responsibility of the State.

Teachers/lecturers on the course had different professions, for example as doctors of medicine, nurses, academics, teachers, priests, architects and political scientists. The main responsibility was placed in the hands of the nursing leaders, of which the majority were also educated nursing teachers. Although the diversity of the professions involved decreased over time, the tradition of nursing teacher educators, and specialists as part-time teachers, survived until the 1980s. Since then, nursing teacher educators with a nursing background have been responsible for a major part of the educational activities; this can be attributable to both a weaker economy and ideological standpoints.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, a few other cities also offered nursing teacher education, although Stockholm remained the central arena until 1977, when the organisation was changed following reform of the university. An upper secondary school educational reform took place in 1971, after which both theoretical and vocational edu-
Education became part of the Swedish «gymnasieskola» (upper secondary school/sixth form college). Pupils could now choose «nursing assistant education», a new area for nursing teacher educators. The nursing teacher education provided certification to teach both student nurses and nursing assistants. However, in 1993, the certification was changed and now only involves nursing assistants at upper secondary schools and in adult education.

**Curriculum research**

Questions about implementation have engaged many researchers, some of whom focused on curriculum transformation. Tan (2010) highlighted the role played by various pedagogic agents in Singapore who complicated the implementation of curriculum reform. Hong (2010) revealed a discrepancy between policy-makers’ intentions and administrators’ implementation of English as a foreign language in China. Resh and Benavot (2009) stressed the mediation role of local schools between curricular directives and actual classroom practice. Other researchers emphasised teachers’ impact on implementation. Seikkula-Leino (2011) illustrated that, despite seemingly accepting responsibility for the implementation of entrepreneurship education in Finnish schools, teachers did not possess the necessary practical knowledge. Some researchers focused on the difference in understanding between curriculum writers and teachers (Shkedi, 2006; Shkedi, 2009). Toplis, Golabek and Cleaves (2010) indicated that implementation lies on a spectrum between two extremes: creative and restricted.

Certain researchers have a specific interest in teachers’ beliefs and how conceptions and beliefs influence education. Levin and Nevo (2009) exposed changes in teachers’ educational beliefs after three years of working with a constructivist-based transdisciplinary curriculum towards multiple views instead of pure beliefs. Andrews (2007) demonstrated that teachers’ educational beliefs are closely connected to national perspectives, which indicates a social and cultural impact.

Researchers of teacher education traditions (Doyle, 1990; Feiman-Nemser, 1990; Joyce, 1975; Zeichner, 1983) have found some dominant conceptual orientations over time: traditional/craft-oriented; personalistic; academic; behaviouristic; and critical. According to the traditional/craft-oriented paradigm, professional expertise and skills are held by experienced practitioners, meaning that knowledge is transferred from master to apprentice. Internship is therefore regarded as very valuable in the education and doing (learning by experiences), is central. The personalistic orientation focuses on the individual, and teacher education should primarily support development of the personality. Students are seen as active agents, and the role of the teacher is to provide a supportive and stimulating environment to contribute to growth.

Referring to Joyce (1975), Doyle (1990), and Feiman-Nemser (1990) in the academic paradigm, subject knowledge is emphasised and both teachers and students are subordinate to the academic disciplines. The behaviouristic paradigm focuses on development of specific, observable teaching skills. The perspective can be described as practice by means of applied theory. The student teacher is taught to apply teaching models developed from teaching science and the analogy is production. In the progressive/critical orientation, change and innovation in schools are emphasised. Human beings are creators of both culture and knowledge and the associated analogy is emancipation.
Swedish curriculum theory was developed from the frame-factor perspective (Dahllöf 1971), where frames were used as an analytical device to indicate factors that constrained the teaching/learning process (Lundgren, 1983, 1984, 1991). This perspective contributed to a shift in educational research in Sweden, whereby greater emphasis was placed on decisions in the state arena and upon how such decisions affected local education arenas. There was also increased interest in historical studies, focusing on how the curriculum changed over time and how these changes can be related to the intersection between the character of state power and civic society (Linné, 1996, 1999).

Lundgren’s (1991) model emphasises the problem of representation when reproduction is separated from production. What should be taught; how should it be taught; and how should the education be organised? More recently these questions resulted in a curriculum document (Lundgren, 1991). The use of curriculum theory in this investigation relies on:

an attempt to build up knowledge regarding how the knowledge conveyed in an education is chosen, valued and organized and the determinants of such decisions and ideas. It is central to analyse how these ideas can be understood in their cultural and social contexts. (Linné & Englund, 2003, p. 4; author’s translation)

In contrast to a majority of curriculum theory studies, this investigation examines a local arena. The main focus is not on understanding the selection of contents, goals and methods prescribed in the state arena, but on analysing local attitudes and decisions dictated by society, culture and history. 

Knowledge culture (Geertz, 1973; Ingelstam, 2004; Knorr-Cetina, 1999; Snow, 1964) is a central concept in the present article, a tool to illuminate cultural and collective aspects of conceptions. The definition is: «what, as a whole, joins members of a group in their way of understanding, assessing and ascribing value regarding knowledge and learning» (Linné & Englund, 2003). By using knowledge culture as a concept, it becomes possible to describe the characteristics of a specific culture based on conceptions of knowledge and learning, as well as what separates one knowledge culture from another.

This approach implies a view of knowledge and learning as socially constructed. What counts as legitimate knowledge includes an aspect of space and time. The connection between human thinking and social space in a specific time is an issue in this article, which implies an interest in the collective, historical space of early nursing teacher education and more recent societal influences. These space and time dimensions have been used as tools to create an understanding of adaptation and resistance to state governance. The knowledge culture in this article consists of nursing teacher educators who have a professional background as nurses and nursing teachers. They have all worked in Stockholm, the place where nursing education began.

The use of the concept of knowledge culture appeared relevant due to the identification of strong, collective conceptions within the group of teachers who had a common professional background. Without further connection to the theory of Koselleck (2004), the concept of space of experience is used with the intention of reflecting the collective space of tradition in the profession of nurses and nursing teachers, a tool for emphasising a collective, historical space of experience where specific values are intertwined with actions. Professionals often have to deal with the space of experience, whether it is considered outmoded or a source of inspiration.
due to the stability of some conceptions and values.

A concept employed in this article is state governance, used synonymously with the intentions in the state arena, which has been chosen to enable comparisons between state and local conceptions of important knowledge for future nursing teachers. The state arena is divided into two parts: political and administrative (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000). The administrative part was assigned various tasks during the period investigated. Irrespective of its tasks, the administrative part always has space of interpretation, which implies power in relation to educational activities. The analysis of the intentions of the state arena is based on both the political and the administrative aspects. The purpose of the comparison between conceptions of the state arena and the local arena is to determine the degree of harmony or divergence between conceptions of knowledge and learning. Although the interest is in conceptions, these are closely related to the content, methods and organisation of the education.

Adaptation and resistance are central concepts in the text, as they indicate how well the knowledge culture complies with state governance. Also the concepts of strategy and ideology are used in order to understand actions and views of the knowledge culture in relation to state governance; in other words, to comprehend adaptation and resistance. Actions and views that are termed strategic are those designed to preserve or raise the status of the education. As nursing teacher education had a high status in the nursing/care area, it had to be maintained and protected. Actions and views termed ideological are connected to strong and dominant conceptions in the knowledge culture. Adaptation and resistance interact with both ideology and strategy.

Methods

Archived documents and interviews were used to obtain knowledge of conceptions and values in the knowledge culture. Primarily, this culture is approached through its practitioners, and material is used that is either produced by nursing teacher educators or which describes meetings in which they participated. Documents studied were, for example, records of local meetings; local curricula and syllabuses; exams; annual reports; correspondence; course literature; and grading forms. The interview material consists of eleven interviews with retired or active nursing teacher educators, all of whom worked in Stockholm during the period under study. The interviews were semi-structured and based on themes connected to education and the professional lives of the informants, focusing on their time as nursing teacher educators. Ethical principles of the social sciences are followed (Eliasson, 2009, p. 92 ff.).

Primary material, clarifying the intentions of the state arena was studied to an extent, such as correspondence from ministries and the administrative state arena, as well as government bills. Also, research reports were studied to capture state intentions pertaining to teacher education at different periods.

The constant question when examining documents produced by nursing teacher educators was whether or not these texts provide information about conceptions of knowledge and learning. Certain content in the syllabus, prescribed methods, tests, literature lists, reported discussions about teaching methods and student behaviour all act as clues that help form a picture of conceptions and values. Appraisal of issues on the agenda indicates what was seen as important or problematic. Since the purpose was to identify the dominant beliefs in, and values of, the knowledge culture, a number of discov-
eries interacting in a certain direction were required.

I also found that conflicts and confrontations between nursing teacher educators and other groups of teachers, as well as reactions to government proposals, were useful sources of information, as the knowledge culture was often articulated in these. Furthermore, they made adaptation and resistance to state-governing visible. These conflicts were helpful for identifying changes in social order that can be important in strategic terms. Changes and shifts were also observed, the nuances of «speech» that provide a hint of a new way of thinking, for example, changing views and decisions on a particular issue; new solutions to problems; new concepts; and a heightened interest in new phenomena.

Although the documents were the most important source of data, the interviews were useful owing to the informants’ ability to talk about incidents off the record. The interviews also enabled access to the informants’ subjective conceptions and experiences, which provided a clue to the dominant conceptions in the group. Another advantage was that the informants often talked about what they remembered as important for them as either individuals or for the group as a whole. There is a risk that important information could be missed owing to the multitude of documents. Accordingly, interviews can be helpful in terms of drawing attention to specific issues. Nevertheless, the conceptions and descriptions provided by the informants are narratives in present time, rendering it necessary to view the interviews as a specific construction of the past.

**Analysis and results**

The analysis of the material led to structuring of the results over three periods, based on identified breaks or displacements in the local knowledge culture. First, an overall picture of each period is provided, after which the predominant local conceptions and values are presented, finally a comparison of local conceptions and state intentions using the concepts of strategy and ideology are outlined, to understand adaptation and resistance.

**Traditional Teaching and Education Technology 1958–1974**

After the Second World War, Sweden could be characterised by virtue of a sense of optimism: industry flourished; unemployment was low; and wealth grew at a rapid pace. An expanded welfare system was now seen as the responsibility of the state and a national concern (Evertsson, 2002). In education, as in other sectors of society, a number of fundamental reforms were achieved. The state school administration gained increasing influence as centralised governance demanded edicts, advice and supervision (du Rietz, 1998). Education policy also led to the nationalisation of courses that were previously private or partially funded through state grants. SIHUS, the National Institute for Higher Education of Nurses, was established in 1958. Its main task turned out to be education of teachers for the health sector. SIHUS had an exclusive position, directly under the Ministry. The new institution was headed by a board in which members were selected by the Government.

**Conceptions and values of the knowledge culture**

The first period of the knowledge culture was distinguished by conceptions that methodical knowledge was important for the teaching profession, that is, being able to plan, carry out and evaluate lessons and courses in a systematic manner. By constructing more or less unbiased tests, the nursing teacher should be able to award fair
grades. Moreover, the teacher should be a good administrator and familiar with the laws and regulations governing health care organisations and nursing education.

The future nursing teacher should also have knowledge within the field of medicine and psychology. During this period, the knowledge that a future nursing teacher was considered to need was very closely related to the education provided at nursing colleges. Important values were rationality, objectivity and homogeneity, which became stronger during the educational technology era in the late 1960s and early 1970s. At this time, exams featuring open questions were marginalised and the importance of essays decreased. The informants’ statements illustrate this period. In the early period, most of their memories come from their time as nursing teacher students at the same institute where they later worked as teachers:

The main thing, the foundation of the education was lectures. (Siv)

We had to learn how to structure lessons; that was very important. You could never give a lesson without submitting a disposition. (Britta)

The system that mattered was programmed learning. And we had a book on statistics …if you answer «yes» to that question, go down that path, if you answer «no», go in the other direction. Now, you have done wrong. And it was a very experimental pedagogy really… when you began to think that you could use programmed learning. (Gudrun)

And we learned from this educational technology how to write objectives, to make a pre-condition and objective analysis and evaluation… yes like that, it was very strict. (Siv)

It is obvious that there was a tendency to reject the values of the period in the informants’ statements, one which can be easily understood by looking at the following period. Perhaps that promotes emphasising the rigidity of the period even more.

In 1967, nursing teacher educators decided to calculate the average marks and standard deviation of all written tests. Occasionally they seemed to be aware of the shortcomings of the grading system. The identified problem of grading was to be tackled as follows:

A resolution was taken that the mark in health care shall remain for the present, that an objective analysis will be performed and that the test instruments must be developed to ensure better validity. (Nursing teacher conference, SIHUS, Stockholm, 1967-12-14–15)

Adaptation and resistance

Before the National Educational Board became the controlling authority in 1967, the state arena was not very active in pursuing issues related to knowledge and learning. Despite no formal rights pertaining to construction of the syllabus, the SIHUS board delegated the task to nursing teacher educators and part-time teachers involved in education. This can be understood as a consequence of the fact that, for a long time (1917–1958), the education of nursing teachers had been the responsibility of the Nursing Association. The education had a good reputation, as it was the most advanced education for nurses that existed in Sweden, with many of the most renowned nurses involved.5 Nurses working at the Institute in the 1960s often had a middle or upper-class background, which helps explain their influence and opportunities to offer resistance to state governance. Using Bourdieu’s (1995) conception of capital, this can be described as inheritance of both social capital and cultural capital. At the same time, the women were subordinate in terms of
gender and in relation to the discipline of medicine.

The initial governance meant that the medical content increased at the expense of psychology. This revision of the syllabus did not take place without protests from the headmistress of the institute. Traditionally, psychology had always been a major part of the nursing teacher education and was perceived as important for future nursing teachers. Although the arguments emphasised the importance of psychology from an ideological standpoint, the protests can also be seen as disapproval of the expansion of medical subjects at a time when medicine already had considerable influence in nursing teacher education and the nursing profession.

From a strategic standpoint, it was a complex issue. The high status of medical subjects could be seen as a resource for the education, but there was also a risk of marginalising the knowledge of nursing teacher educators if medical aspects gained more influence in the education as a whole. However, the protests did not result in a change of state governance.

Another feature of state governance was an educational technology approach that encountered no obvious resistance, rather the opposite. The values of the knowledge culture presented above: rationality, objectivity and homogeneity, were similar to the ideas inherent in educational technology. Although these values formed part of the knowledge culture and space of experience during the entire period, influences from educational technology strengthened them. The teaching materials produced by the teachers and the student teachers during this period often contained a methodological description of the various health care elements, which can be considered part of a tradition of role models employed in early nursing teacher and nursing education. Education technology also offered a position as methodological experts: teacher educators who provided the tools needed by student teachers. In other words, via strategic adaptation to education technology, teaching became more closely connected to science, thus strengthening the authority of the teacher educators. Furthermore, there were no major ideological obstacles. Education technology conceptions and values were already integrated in the knowledge culture and its space of experience.

A more passive resistance on the part of the knowledge culture became obvious when the intentions of the state arena involved a higher level of similarity between different teacher education programmes. The knowledge culture emphasised the uniqueness of nursing teacher education. Compared to other types of teacher education, the main difference was the form of employment and use of part-time teachers and lecturers. The National Educational Board described the specific circumstances at SIHUS in an explanatory, as opposed to a critical, way (National Board of Education «Education of teachers for the health sector» 1974). This can be seen as a response to successful articulation on the part of the knowledge culture and as an excuse for slowing down the integration process. This resistance can be understood from a strategic point of view. SIHUS had a unique position compared with other teacher educations and communicated directly with the Ministry responsible. Its educational foundation, which was laid down by the Swedish Association of Nurses and firmly rooted in nursing traditions, also contributed to a somewhat different space of experience to other forms of teacher education. Conceptions of knowledge and learning were ideologically rooted in the nursing profession.
Personal development and student-oriented education 1975–1978

The 1970s was a decade when old values were abandoned; changes appeared in all sectors of Swedish society, as well as globally. The student protests in 1968 can be considered to be the beginning of a general radical and political movement focused on equality, gender and global injustice. The Swedish economy was weaker, conflicts appeared in the labour market and the government tried to find political solutions based on communication and unity (Selander, 1984). In the educational arena, the technocratic and centralised governance model was questioned. The state reform, SIA, emphasised the importance of development at local schools driven by the teachers themselves instead of by the implementation of research findings (Government bill 1975/1976:39). Faith in the success of top-down reform was weaker now. Dialogical pedagogy was a concept introduced in an official report about nursery schools that emphasised the child as the centre of education and humans as active learners (SOU 1975:67).

Conceptions and values of the knowledge culture

In the mid-1970s, there was a clear break and new conceptions of knowledge and learning emerged within the knowledge culture. Although the change was extremely radical and described as «a revolution» by one of the informants, there were indications of this some years previously when the values of the earlier period began to weaken. The focus of the previous period had been on important, external knowledge. This was replaced by the idea that the human being and their inner abilities and characteristics were the most important resources of the profession. The student teacher was now looked upon as an active subject who could assume responsibility for their own learning. The teacher educator should assist without controlling.

The most important aspect for the future nursing teacher was to be able to work, and develop, in groups, thereby obtaining self-knowledge and enabling change. The student teacher was expected to contribute their own experiences. The border between private and official diminished. The dominance of medical subjects in the education was questioned, as was the underlying positivist science. In conflicts with physicians, epidemiological questions about what counts as knowledge and how students learn were raised. Important values were equality; emotionality; intimacy; creativity; flexibility; group orientation; and student activity. Inspiration was derived from Carl Rogers (1969), Paolo Freire (1970), gestalt therapy, and group dynamics (Lipschütz, 2004; Perls, Hefferline & Goodman, 1973).

A local syllabus highlights the importance of personal change:

It is also important that teachers understand how their personality affects the teaching situation and are open to responses from the students so they have the opportunity to change their own attitudes and values. (Local syllabus 1978-01-18)

The statement below illustrates the educational model where the needs of the students were seen as the foundation and students should assume responsibility for planning and organisation:

When the students arrived we rolled out a 20-week schedule and said, «go ahead, you are taking a course so what do you want to learn?» And then we just sat there and said nothing […] And we went to the Children’s Island, we had no programme …just waited to see what would emerge. (Siv)
Although the teaching model and other parts of the nursing teacher education led to conflict and disagreement among students, these were considered a natural part of the personal growth process:

There was often confusion and many conflicts in the student groups, of course. It is part of it. And that was partly what we wanted, to be able to work with personal growth. (Britta)

The following statement emphasises a more intimate form of education, where the student and the teacher were persons rather than representatives of a profession:

It was a lot about what you were like as a person and teacher; the human being became more important. It was very personal and you had to be aware of every individual’s previous experiences and start where they were … we didn’t ask that in the old model. (Siv)

It was also one of those times when we had a lot of parties. We went to parties with the student teachers … something we never did after that period. (Miriam)

Although there was no articulated opposition, some informants mentioned differing opinions on the pedagogy:

There were people who didn’t like the «spaced out pedagogy», I don’t like saying spaced out, but it was a little awkward in some courses where there were problems. We sat there, mirroring each other … and it became so psychological, I don’t think we reckoned with that. I definitely could not handle it, and I actually became tired of it. (Anna)

Adaptation and resistance
There was obvious state governance in the area of student democracy, starting in the late 1960s. The National Board of Education stressed the need for cooperation between teachers and students and requested that authorities facilitate student participation. In 1974 the Board distributed discussion material in which Performance Based Teacher Education was presented, a model that was very similar to that later employed in nursing teacher education. In short, the essence was that student needs should form the basis of teacher education and that students should be responsible for planning and organisation. This material was distributed by the administrative arena and intended for discussion as examples of alternative education.

Democratic values were thus important in both the local and the state arenas. Cooperation between students and students and teachers was emphasised. The aim of democracy in education also illuminates other values, such as the belief in active, responsible and self-governing human beings. The vision of greater democracy can also be described as a process of decentralisation, where the interaction between students and teachers increased their power in relation to syllabuses. However, the state arena had much broader democratic ambitions than simply altered power relations in an education setting. Its vision incorporated a more united teaching staff where the existing order of precedence among different categories of teachers would diminish in favour of the establishment of a common ground – a vision not shared by the local knowledge culture.

Both arenas used the concept of personal growth as an important element for future teachers. In one definition, the state arena made a connection between personal growth and interest in actual societal issues, which can be described as personal growth by virtue of becoming aware of the outside world, reflecting upon it, discussing and analysing it. It is also obvious that the state arena had a vision of school and society as a whole, not schools as separated from «real life». In the
knowledge culture, society was present to a lesser degree in the area of personal growth, which was more concerned with knowing oneself better. One tool to achieve that goal was listening to other people's perceptions of the self. Values such as emotionality and intimacy were important in the local culture, while social commitment, a less dominant value in the knowledge culture, was important in the state arena.

Critical and problem-solving student teachers were desirable in both arenas, although the reason for this was not exactly the same. The state arena hoped for energetic teachers with the will to change schools and make them part of modern society. Although the nursing teacher educators also worked towards their students’ future professional practice, there were indications that the development of the student teacher in a «here-and-now» perspective was equally important. The focus on personal growth occasionally rendered the future profession invisible.

Conceptions of personal growth as an indispensable feature of teacher education became strong and remained an ideological characteristic of the knowledge culture for many years. This specific orientation cannot be considered adaptation to state governance, despite the fact that the state encouraged the development of education in different directions. Perhaps it can be said that willingness to change was as important as direction during this period.

To summarise, there were many similarities between the two arenas, which can be understood as adaptation to the state arena. However, both the state and the local culture were part of society at a turbulent time and influence cannot only be seen as top-down governance. It is obvious that, although both arenas made statements about personal growth, the local arena was more focused on the importance of personal growth in teacher education. Perhaps the position of psychology in the space of experience can be one explanation for the development of a psychological focus.

In this «ideological time», there were also signs of strategic actions, albeit closely intertwined with ideology. When using the adopted ideological notions of knowledge and learning to bring about changes in the nursing teacher education, there was an obvious shift of positions between nursing teacher educators and medical part-time teachers. Members of the knowledge culture challenged conceptions of, for example, physiology, anatomy and pharmacology teachers and increased their own power over the education, resulting in less space for medical content and a focus on nursing science. Overall, the education also exhibited a social science orientation.

**Personal development and research-based education 1979–1999**

During the 1980s and early 1990s the Swedish economy was unstable with strong inflation, high unemployment and a growing national debt, resulting in extensive cuts in the public sector. Neoliberal ideas gained strength, with the result that market principles were more widely applied in the public sector. There was also a continuous movement towards decentralised decision-making. A major reform was that, in 1977, many forms of education, for example all teacher education, became part of the university, which led to increased demand for research-based education.

**Conceptions and values of the knowledge culture**

Unlike the clear break between the first and second periods, many conceptions remained the same during the third period. The trend towards personality development and group orientation continued. However, the roles and responsibilities of the teacher and stu-
dent teachers were more clearly defined and
the framework more rigid, which led to re-
duced importance of values such as flexibili-
ty and equality. The previous model of stu-
dent-planned education was abandoned.
Values connected to research emerged,
namely a systematic approach, critical reflec-
tion and perspective vision.

Besides taking part in efforts to develop
practice, the student teacher/nursing teacher
was now expected to contribute to research-
based knowledge and research methodology
was therefore considered central. Although
the previous collective and unified knowl-
dge culture was challenged, it endured be-
cause the two strands, personality and re-
search, were allowed to co-exist. Despite di-
verging interests in the knowledge culture,
the unifying factor was one of notions of the
need for a balance between the strands. The
argumentation of balance constantly appears
in documents, especially during the 1980s:

Nursing teacher educators have a collective ambi-
tion to educate nursing teachers who demon-
strate the will and ability to participate in the real-
ization of state goals for the health sector by
means of subject content and group-orientation.
In addition to specific theoretical and technical
abilities as well as the will and ability to cooperate,
these goals demand engagement in society, knowl-
dge and an interest in how people act as individu-
als and in groups. (Annual statement 1982/83)

The continuing focus on personal develop-
ment and group orientation is visible in local
syllabuses on the Educational drama method
during the whole period. A document pro-
duced in the knowledge culture for the at-
tention of the Department of Education and
Research at the university (Stockholm Insti-
tute of Education) 1994 states:

We believe that as a method for gaining insight
into oneself and one's own behaviour as a group
member and leader, Educational drama is invalu-
able in teacher education (1994-10-26).

Adaptation and resistance
Following its integration into the university
curriculum in 1977, state governance of
teacher education changed from detailed to
overall governance. Since 1993, there has
only been a degree description and no sylla-
buses. During this period, research-based
teacher education governance was one of
the most articulated intentions in the state
arena and the importance of science was set
out in the Higher Education Act. State eco-
nomic resources to develop research-based
education were provided throughout the
1980s.

The initial reaction to state governance of
science and research was one of resistance.
The nursing teacher educators were sceptical
towards research-based education and con-
sidered it a threat to the notion of the teacher
as a self-reflective, emotional person. After a
few years, resistance weakened and some
nursing teacher educators became very in-
terested in research and participated in sem-
inars led by established researchers. They
also started to conduct research projects; this
was wise from a strategic perspective. The
nursing teacher educators studied had un-
dergone training in research methods and
some of them taught a great number of re-
search methodology courses directed at
nurses and nursing teachers. Health and care
pedagogy developed as a subject and nursing
science was integrated into the nursing
teacher education.

These factors contributed to the mainte-
nance of a favourable position in the health
education area during the 1980s, this is visi-
ble in the following statement:

[S]ince there was no higher education for nurses
elsewhere, our reputation was very good. We ac-
tually started nurses' higher education. Now they
are autonomous with all nursing science researchers, but at that time it was just us and we got the assignment. We involved senior lecturers, which led to high status. So it was a very successful period. (Anna)

Several nursing teacher educators developed a keen interest in conducting research themselves, and conceptions of research as constituting something important became stronger, thus achieving the status of an ideological standpoint. Compared to other types of education, in the early 1980s, nursing teacher educators were already active in the implementation of research-based education (Eliasson, Holmberg & Tellgren, 2008). One explanation may be that elements of research methodology, scientific literature, medical subjects and statistics had been a part of nursing teacher education for a long time, a component of the space of experience.

Resistance to an interest in research and research-based education was also visible in the knowledge culture. As previously mentioned, research-based education challenged established values to an extent, which can be described as resistance based on ideological standpoints. The resistance was also connected to the fact that interest in research challenged the firmly rooted collectivistic approach. Research activities were highly valued in a broader societal perspective, which challenged the previous equality where nursing teacher educators had the same courses and tasks. The visible resistance concerned the content of nursing teacher education from an ideological standpoint.

However, it can also be understood as both strategic and ideological resistance to a more individualistic culture. The value of «working together» was closely connected to conceptions that developed during the second period and which can be seen as ideological. A strong collective can also be considered a prerequisite for a strategic perspective, i.e., the promotion of a coherent, non-fragmented nursing teacher education and maintenance of control over education.

Continuing state governance involved coordination between different kinds of teacher education. The local knowledge culture expressed exclusivity rather than unifying factors, which can be considered resistance. The head nursing teacher educator stressed the specificity of the profession in a response to a state reform of teacher education:

> Experience and knowledge in this domain can be obtained through close contacts and cooperation with health and care schools, higher education nursing schools and other nursing teacher institutes rather than by contacts with other forms of teacher education. (Response to proposal for a new teacher education, 1986, Stockholm Institute of Education)

This resistance can be understood from both strategic and ideological standpoints. The roots in the nursing tradition were ideologically strong. As a researcher it is relatively easy to uncover similarities with conceptions of other types of teacher education, however the informants stressed the uniqueness of their own education rather than similarities. This may be a reason to interpret the statement as strategic. In the knowledge culture, there was a strong desire to preserve as much independence as possible; one way to do this could be to keep the collective culture intact. In many documents, there is a distinct «we». Such unified argumentation can be seen as a strategic means of strengthening internal coherence. The quest to preserve organisational and substantive exclusivity contributed to the conservation of internal coherence and connectedness.
Discussion

If we consider conceptions of knowledge and learning in nursing teacher education during this period, all orientations in teacher education described by American researchers are more or less visible. The most obvious is the personalistic orientation, which occupied a large space from the mid-1970s to the end of the period. Joyce (1975) referred to Rogers (1969), Freire (1970) and Perls (Perls, Hefferline & Goodman, 1973) as being associated with the personalistic orientation, and all of our informants described them as providing inspiration. In the mid-1970s there were also conceptions of democracy and equality, values connected to the progressive/critical paradigm. The strong emphasis on personalistic orientation leads to existing intentions in the critical paradigm often being stopped at individual level. Changes in terms of society and equality were not present to any significant extent in the material, where the focus is on the individual’s right to identify their learning needs.

The first period is dominated by a behaviouristic orientation, fully adopted by the nursing teacher educators. There is also a weaker traditional/craft-oriented paradigm, parallel to the behaviouristic one. All teaching activities cannot be related to theories, and the practising teachers’ role of guiding students into the profession is not questioned. Although the academic orientation is most visible in the final period, it was also present in others. It is apparent that state governance is connected to different paradigms, especially the behaviouristic and the academic. Nevertheless, there were also threads of personalistic and progressive/critical orientations in the 1970s.

Perhaps the stability of the personalistic teaching tradition can be understood in the light of the specific characteristics of the values in combination with an established teaching staff. These values not only concerned the teaching role and teacher competence but also how to act as human beings. These conceptions and values developed into a sort of ideology that influenced thoughts, actions and feelings; one which was not easily abandoned. Instead, this ideological position was integrated into new contexts, even in times of changed governance.

The concepts of strategy and ideology have been helpful tools for understanding adaptation and resistance in the knowledge culture. Adaptation occurred when ideological standpoints were in harmony with state governance and did not lead to the risk of strategic losses for the culture as a whole, as in the case of education technology. However, most of the processes were more complex.

At times there were strong ideological perspectives, such as notions of personal growth; when state governance was perceived as challenging these ideas, resistance became visible. Sometimes strategic considerations were important and had significance for adaptation or resistance, such as in the efforts to preserve self-governance and the uniqueness of the education. The collective space of experience has been a source for facilitating understanding of strategic and ideological actions and standpoints. One example is how the middle and upper class roots of the nursing profession led to an understanding of strategic actions. It is also obvious that there may be many reasons for changes in the local culture; state governance being just one of them. Both arenas are part of a specific era, and time is a factor that affects both, and not only in a top-down way.

Can it be assumed that there are similarities in how other knowledge cultures relate to state governance? I believe that the concepts of strategy and ideology can be used to understand resistance and adaptation in a knowledge culture, thus balancing theories that focus on strategies or ideologies in their
attempts to understand continuity and change in different cultures.

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Notes

1 Throughout the article, statements are based on Eliasson (2009), unless otherwise indicated.
2 My investigation is part of a project called «Practical knowledge meets academia», supported by the Swedish Science Council, led by Agneta Linné and Boel Englund.
3 SOU means official reports, written by a committee at the request of the government.
4 Over the years medical doctors gained greater influence and in the 1960s were responsible for about 25% of the theoretical education.
5 Some of the teacher educators had studied at American universities, some had been selected as delegates on official committees, and some worked for the Nursing Association.
6 The headmistress of the institute always had a nursing background, which, in this investigation, means that she was a member of the knowledge culture.
7 Nursing researchers have defined the period as «nurses as medical assistants» (Bevis 1982, Rehn 2008).

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