

English summary

Introduction

Sports play an important role in young people's lives, and being good in sports usually means high status. More than four out of ten young sportsmen have performance goals in mind, and the majority want to reach the international elite level (Trondman, 2005). The young people who during their upper secondary school years want to combine school with an elite program have two different paths to choose between. To facilitate an effort towards national senior elite level they can choose a nationally certified sports program (NIU), and if they want to go for an international senior elite level, they can choose the National Sports Upper secondary schools (RIG). Both institutions are there to facilitate for the athlete to combine school with an elite investment but with the difference that NIU has the goal of developing the athletes towards the national senior elite level and RIG has the goal of developing the athletes towards the international senior elite level (Riksidrottsförbundet, 2014b, 2014c). This study, which started in 2009 will only focus on RIG since NIU was not established until 2011.

National Sport Upper Secondary School has been around since the early 1970s, and from the early 1980s there is also a subject called Special Sport on the curriculum in regular Upper Secondary Schools. The background and purpose of the National Sport Upper Secondary School is, in combination with secondary education, to give elite athletes a possibility, in competition with others, to develop through an intense focus on the sport with access to good facilities and highly qualified coaches.

The Swedish Sport Confederation chooses to call it the "Swedish model of sport" where specialized associations, sports clubs, school and community together take the responsibility for young talents to be given an opportunity to nurture and develop their talent combined with serious studies. A large number of those who have reached the top in their sport have done so by participating in the Swedish model of sport (Riksidrottsförbundet, 2008).

National Sport Upper Secondary School has played an important role in the Swedish model of sport since the 1970s (Swedish Sports Confederation, 2008). Many federations see the National Sports Upper Secondary School activities as extremely important, if not crucial, in their work with talent and to

develop future elite athletes (Eriksson, 2010; Fahlström, 2011). In 2014, the RIG-system includes 31 sports, 51 upper secondary schools and approximately 1100 students (Riksidrottsförbundet, 2014a)

RIG should be a study and elite sports environment with established quality criteria, where students with the help of competent support can be developed in sports (Riksidrottsförbundet, 2013b). A large part of the competent support consists of the coach (Riksidrottsförbundet, 2014c). It is the coach who plans, develops and conducts the practice with the athlete and therefore seen as both important and vital in the athletes' quest to develop and reach their goals. This is in good agreement with Ericsson, Prietula and Coakley's (2007) general perception of the coach.

The coaches who work at RIG achieve this that under special circumstances. A coach in a sports club can basically decide on their own how the business should be run, since this is unregulated and part of a social movement (Riksidrottsförbundet, 2011). As a social movement, the Sport is independent in their activities to pursue it the way they want. There are no laws, regulations or rules that determine how a sports association activity should look as long as it stays within Swedish legislation. The operations of the National Sports Upper Secondary Schools, are conducted by four parties that interact. It is the Swedish Sports Confederation, the National Agency, the municipality where the school is located as well and the special sport federations in question. The Swedish Sports Confederation is responsible for the quality, the development, the monitoring and the evaluation of the system. As a coach on a RIG, you have conditions from all of these parties to take into account into your handling.

The coach at a RIG is working on one hand as a coach on behalf of their special sports federation and on the other hand, as a teacher in the subject special sports and thus has the school's conditions to take into account. The school is governed by laws and regulations adopted by the Parliament and the Government. The Education Act contains the basic rules of the school. The law regulates the obligations and rights of children, pupils and their parents, and the demands placed on the principal of the school activities.

In some respects, the school is governed by the National Agency as a Management Authority. The National School Agency School decides the framework and guidelines for how education in Swedish schools should be conducted and evaluated, and determines the curricula and topic plans and knowledge requirements and tests (Skolverket, 2013a).

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National Sports Upper Secondary School activities build a large part of their activities around the topic Special sports. Thus it is The National School Agency that decides the curriculum. The Agency is also the body that ultimately decides what municipalities and sports may organize National Sports Upper Secondary Schools. All teaching in secondary schools, including the subject of Special sport, should be based on science and proven experience. To be a qualified teacher, one must have an academic teacher education which itself has a requirement to be built on a scientific basis and proven experience (Skolverket, 2011; Utbildningsdepartementet, 1992).

A RIG-coach is not only a coach but also a teacher in the subject special sport. Special sport is a subject that is graded and consequently carries the same weight as any other subjects in upper secondary school in the students' future civilian career.

In most cases a RIG-coach has their educational background in the sport but works in school which is far more regulated and based on other conditions than sports (Ferry & Olofsson, 2009). Within RIG, two institutions, which are based on completely different logics meet. It is the coaches' handling of the tension between these two institutions that is the main issue in this thesis.

Explicitly, this dissertation deals with the coaches coming from one institution, the sport, where they mostly got their training and experience, but then work within another institution, i.e. school, as a teacher in the subject special sports. Scott (2008) argues that an institution is built on three pillars - regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive conditions which need to harmonize with each other for an institution to function well. If the institution's conditions are not in harmony, it may present difficulties for those involved.

In this thesis, the social phenomena of school and sports will be described as institutions, while the individual cases are seen as organizations. In other words, institutional conditions govern and shape the business generally, while each school may also have to take certain local conditions into account.

The Coaches' part in the institutions that are crossed

At the National Sports Upper Secondary Schools there are a number of guidelines that set conditions for the activity. Based on these guidelines, it is up to the coaches to design a practice that will lead to the development of the athletes and bring them closer to the international elite sport level. The

coaches must also decide what factors determine how the business will look. There are several differences between being the coach of a club and being a coach at a National Sports Upper Secondary School, but the main difference is that the coaches on the National Sports Upper Secondary Schools come from one institution and act in another. The coaches come from the sport institution where, for example, a certain order for the distribution of power prevails, while another is used within the school. In sports you can coach the way you think is correct both in content and form, while in school there is a curriculum that should govern the content and form but also the associated criteria for grading and assessment. National Sports Upper Secondary Schools have the overall goal to nurture the athlete towards the international elite level, while there is a curriculum to follow, which may not need to be a prerequisite for sporting elite performers, such as leadership. In other words, the coaches are no longer only coaches but also teachers who should follow the rules of the school.

Teachers in each of the academic subjects in school are part of the teaching staff with colleagues that teach the same or related subjects. Teachers have their lessons in school classrooms and have their offices. They have a formal training that includes the skills necessary for them to cope with the role as a teacher.

A teacher in the subject special sports faces a different situation. The teaching usually takes place at a training facility, which in many cases is not a normal part of the school premises. In cross-country skiing, which is one of the sports included in the study, the training is done on facilities that are in some cases far from the school and students need to be transported there by minivans. Many times, Special sports teachers have their workroom adjacent to the sports facilities and not at the school along with the other teachers. These teachers also usually lack a formal training for the tasks they will perform.

Knowledge gap to fill

In the review of the previous research an unexplored field is visualized when it comes to the coaches at the RIG. The coaches are generally an unstudied category. The research made on RIG in Sweden has generally focused on the development of the organization of the sports upper secondary schools and in some part of the students and of the special sports federations that run a RIG-business (Eriksson, 2002; Ferry, 2014; Ferry, Meckbach, & Larsson 2013;

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Lund & Olofsson 2009). Lately, the subject special sports has also been evaluated (Ferry & Olofsson, 2009).

In many contexts, it has been shown that activities in which two institutions meet, directly or indirectly, one institution dominates over the other (Larsson, 2009; Londos, 2010; Peterson, 2007). In a RIG, the school and the sports institutions meet. Sports, in the form of the Swedish Sports Confederation, sets the overall objectives of the business. The coaches have a background in sport but are expected to work in school and the question is how their actions can be characterized in the tension that arises between the institutions.

Purpose and Issues

The coaches at the National Sports Upper Secondary Schools are in a special situation. From the day the Agency decided to start a pilot project to help young people to combine top-level sports and studies in Upper Secondary School, there was an activity with terms from two different institutions. These institutions are structured in different ways, making it relevant to study coaches' conduct in relation to the different conditions.

This study aims to describe and analyse the coaches' actions out of the conditions that govern and shape the National Sports Upper Secondary Schools.

The research questions that this study intends to focus on and seek to answer are the following:

1. What conditions govern National Sports Upper Secondary Schools activity at institutional level?
2. Which specific organizational conditions are established at individual National Sports Upper Secondary Schools?
3. How can the coaches' actions be described out of these institutional and organizational conditions?
4. How can the coaches' dealing of the conditions be explained?

Theoretical standpoints

The theoretical perspective used is community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998; Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002) and new institutional theory (Scott, 2008).

The focus of the study is on the coaches and their actions based on the conditions they have to deal with at the National Sport Upper Secondary

School. It is in the coaches actions the organization's conditions is operationalized. By using communities of practice as the goal is to be able to explain why coaches act of the prevailing organizational conditions look like it does. Community of practices is a way to explain how the coaches local practice is created (Wenger, 1998). In every organization, there are both external and internal conditions. The external conditions are represented by the institutional conditions by the school and the sport, while the internal conditions are represented by the specific school conditions such as its organization and what resources are available. To analyse the organizational and institutional conditions, Scott's (2008) interpretation of the new institutional theory will be used.

Methodology

When using case studies and the interpretive perspective, the study's starting point is not to find general theories or patterns, but rather to demonstrate the multifaceted images of coaches' handling, which varies depending on the situation and context in, which the operations take place (Cohen et al., 2009).

Study Design

The study design is based on four case studies. The purpose is primarily to make deep and penetrating analyses of how the coaches' handle of the prevailing conditions. By highlighting what is general for several RIGs, and what is unique for individual ones, a more balanced view of the RIGs is created (Cohen et al., 2009).

The study is designed with the help of the five components that Yin (2013) highlights as particularly important in the design of case studies.

Sample

The study's sampling frame is based on purposive samples (Cohen et al., 2009) in which four cases, the National Sports Upper Secondary Schools, are selected. The sample of sports is based partly on the number of RIG-places that they have and partly on the fact that these sports have a long tradition and experience in running a RIG. Cross country and track and field were selected because they are the sports that have the largest number of RIG-places, and that they have a long tradition of conducting a RIG business. People in these sports thus have a long experience of the problems to be studied.

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The total number of respondents is 18, 14 of whom are the coaches and four the principals. The amount of empirical data is slightly different between the cases because there are different numbers of coaches who work at the various schools. The number of coaches in case 1 is 6, 3 in cases 2 and 3, and 2 in case 4.

One possible criticism of the used sampling frame could be that a larger number of sports should be selected, or that all schools within a sport should be studied to broaden the selection. However, the goal of the study is not in any way to provide a comprehensive picture of the coaches' handling of the conditions at the National Sports Upper Secondary Schools generally, or within a specific sport, but rather to provide examples of how coaches and schools handle the prevailing conditions.

Data sampling methods

The sources for the data production used in this study are analyses of documents and interviews.

The document analyses have aimed to show what common regulative and normative conditions a coach at RIG has to act on. The documents studied are laws and regulations, guidelines and requirements of the Swedish Sports Confederation and curriculum and syllabus of the subject special sports. The starting point has been to provide a picture of the conditions that come both from the school and from the sport. The document's role is according to Yin (2013) to confirm the other sources of the case. Here, however, the documents are to be related to the type of teaching that the coaches describe in the interviews.

The interviews are based on a semi-structured interview guide (Bryman, 2001; Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). As the first step in the process to create an interview guide a thematization was done, partly based on the areas of knowledge that deals with the study, partly based on the theoretical assumptions used. In the previous research, it appears that in cases where two institutions meet, one of the institutions gained the upper hand in the negotiation. This is central in the study which generated the questions about what contents exists what is taught and how the coaches view their role and mission. The research both on coaches and teachers, reveals different areas of expertise that a teacher and a coach needs to possess. To determine whether the coaches feel that they possess these skills, questions were asked about what skills they consider important in their role but also about their perceived

competence in relation to their role. Coaches' continuous development is also highlighted as important to be able to perform and deliver qualitative education. This is also the key element of a Community of Practice. Based on the theoretical approach, questions were formulated to describe the practice of the coaches and the coaches' operationalization of the prevailing conditions. Here, the regulative and normative conditions that emerged in the document analysis, served as the basis for the questions asked.

The questions were largely the same for both coaches and principals but with the difference that the coaches would respond to how they choose to act out of the conditions, while principals would respond to what conditions the coaches have to act upon, and how they felt that the coaches should deal with the conditions.

As a complement to the interviews and document analyses, observations are also used. The purpose of the observations has primarily been to get a better understanding of the management that the coaches described in the interviews but do not contribute to the data production or the analyses.

Processing data

The fourth component, according to Yin (2013), serves to link the collected data to the possible resolutions available, including the theoretical starting points. The last component is about interpretation, which is a natural consequence of the fourth component.

The documents have sought to describe and explain the common-conditions that control RIG and the coaches' conduct, on a regulatory and on a normative level. By studying the regulative and normative documents that govern the school and the sport several areas emerged that largely control the coaches. From the school institution Education Act (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2010b), Secondary Regulation (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2010a), curriculum and syllabus in the subject special sports (Skolverket, 2012C) formed the basis of empirical data and analyses. The documents that represented the basis for the corresponding empirical data and analyses from the sport were the document *Idrotten vill* (Riksidrottsförbundet, 2009), *Högre krav och kvalitet på RIG 2011-2014* (Riksidrottsförbundet, 2010) and the National Sports Board's overarching goal around RIG which can be read in a brochure about RIG (Riksidrottsförbundet, 2008).

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After all interviews were transcribed, an encoding of the coaches' action was done out of the areas found in document analyses. In addition to the themes that can be found in the documents, the core elements of the earlier research also formed the basis for the encoding. After the coding was done, each case was listed under common headlines to compare the cases against each other.

The next step has been to set the coaches' acting partly in relation to the regulative and normative terms, and in relation to the conditions for their community of practice to be functioning, but also in relation to the previous research findings.

The study's generalizability

The study is based on four cases, and the question is which generalizations can be made. There is a total of 51 RIGs and all of these have the same institutional regulative and normative conditions to act upon. Individual schools' internal conditions may vary, of course. There may be local regulations or standards affecting the business. Likewise, the cultures that develop in different sports affect the schools' internal conditions. This means that you might not expect that the results presented here are transferable to the country's entire RIGs.

Dimaggio and Powell (1983) write about institutional isomorphism, which they believe may be a useful tool for understanding today's organizations. A variant of the institutional isomorphism is normative pressure. Normative pressure is about an organization, to seek legitimacy. It adapts its activity to the norms and values that exist in its environment. Transferred to the RIG-coaches' conduct, there is a high probability that many of the coaches' handling, who work in other RIG, are relatively similar in order to gain legitimacy, especially in sports.

The characteristics of the coaches' community of practice

The National Sports Upper Secondary Schools exists, as previously described, in the tension between the school and the sport. The regulatory conditions within the organization consist partly of Upper Secondary Schools Act and Regulation, which describes how the school and the work at the school should look, and partly of regulatory documents from the Swedish Sports Confederation regarding educational requirements for coaches and how many athletes each coach should be in charge of. The normative conditions are

represented by the curriculum for special sports, and from the sport there is the overall purpose of the entire National Sports Upper Secondary School activity. The cultural-cognitive part involves the management and operationalization of the regulatory and normative terms. The cultural-cognitive conditions include the internal conditions that are specific in each individual school. Operationalization can be likened to the community of practice created by the coaches.

According to Scott (2008), there are three vital ingredients in an institution: one regulatory, one normative and one cultural-cognitive ingredient. In a functioning system all conditions can be found, and they work in harmony and support each other. This is also essential for an institution to function optimally. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the various conditions within an institution can be misaligned with the consequence that within these institutions conflicts and confusion often arise, which probably leads to a need for change. At a National Sports Upper Secondary School it is possible to find all three ingredients, but in a closer analysis of them, it becomes clear that they have different impacts on the institution.

Lave and Wenger (1991) mean that a community of practice is created among a group of people who share a concern or interest. To learn more about their common problem or interest, the group interacts regularly in some way. National Upper Secondary Schools Coaches meet and interact with each other regularly, and there are clear signs that they see the value in learning from each other, and especially that less experienced coaches learn from more experienced coaches. This occurs both in the coach group at the school and outside. Some coaches see an opportunity for professional development when they join and follow a national squad practice or meeting, and learn from the coaches who are in those contexts. This is also a common and accepted way to obtain knowledge in the sport (Abraham et al., 2006; Cassidy & Rossi, 2006; Cushion, 2011a; Nelson et al., 2006; Reade et al., 2008; Wright et al., 2007).

The coaches that are new in the business say that they see what the older and more experienced coaches do to learn how "to do it". This is what Lave and Wenger (1991) call Legitimate Periphery Participation. A new coach is first on the edge of a practice, and as he learns from those who are better, his knowledge increases, and so the coach approaches the core of the practice and is then also involved in developing the practice and promoting development. In this way, knowledge is transferred from generation to

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generation, while there is a development of the knowledge. Coaches often say that much of the knowledge they have and build their business on is gained by learning from others and thereby acquire experience. One way of explaining this experience-based learning is, through Wenger's (1998) description of communities of practice.

The analysis of the coaches' community of practice provide a picture of how the institution's conditions are operationalized. At the National Upper Secondary Schools there is an official purpose, which all participating coaches also see as their task: to develop the athletes towards the international elite level. I interpret this as the common goal or problem: how will the coaches act in order to get the athletes to reach the international top?

The coaches see themselves as coaches and not primarily as teachers. They see their mission athletically, i.e. developing the students in the sport. In this description of the coaches, it is understandable that their culture and way of acting are influenced by the culture that exists not in school, but in sports. Thus external influences and the cultural framework which can be found there come from sports. It also comes from the experience gained from the coaches that have either been active athletes themselves, or have already been coaches somewhere else, that they see as the basis for their action.

Even if the coaches see themselves as coaches, they are after all teachers. They are teachers of the subject special sports but they do not base their teaching on the curricula, but choose to base it on a practice season planning for the athlete. The development of training planning is based heavily on the experience of the coaches.

In studies of the content of teaching in physical education and health, research has shown that the content is largely determined by the teacher's interpretation of the curriculum and of what should be included (Lundvall & Meckbach, 2008; National Agency for Education, 2005). The same phenomenon can be found in special sports subjects in the four cases included. The coaches determine the contents themselves, based on their beliefs about what should be included, which turns out to be about different types of training that will promote athletic development.

In connection with the free interpretation of the content of the subject which apparently takes place it is also relevant to take up the free space, as Berg (2014) describes. The theory is based on the idea that the higher degree of stretchable institutional boundaries that exists, the greater the free space will be for the individual organization. Turning to the National Upper

Secondary Schools as an institution, we will find that with this theory there is a large free space for coaches. The outer limits, which should regulate the institution, are apparently very stretchable, which means that there is a large space for planning and conducting operations in the way the coaches want and not take into account the regulatory and normative conditions to any great extent. Berg also discusses the internal borders, which are seen as a reflection of the individual school's culture, and which informally underpin the everyday work in terms of content and form. Internal borders in this case are interpreted by the sport's standards and logic, whereby it is these that form the basis of the design of the business, both in terms of content and form.

The moment the coaches choose not to assume the curricula of teaching, they also jeopardize their exercise of authority when it comes to grades. When the coaches choose to deviate from the course syllabus and the existing grading criteria, a grading system is also created that is based more on emotions and intuition, rather than a system based on fixed criteria to assess student learning. Some of the coaches say they know, for example, that competition is not to be taken in as the basis for a student's grades, but they do it any way.

The coaches value their skills high, while they believe it is difficult to find the time to develop their skills. What becomes problematic is that the responsibility to ensure the competence of the coaches, the principals have left to the coaches themselves, in the belief that they have an insight into what areas they need to develop. The principals believe that the coaches, like the other teachers at the school, ought to know when they need to develop themselves in an area. At first glance, it can be seen as natural to delegate the responsibility to develop their skills to the coaches themselves, but there is a problem with this. When the coaches evaluate their skills, they probably do so based on the mission they believe they have, namely, to develop athletes towards the international elite level, and not be a teacher in accordance with the curriculum, and grade according to existing criteria. Depending on the assumed requirements concerning competence, the need for skills will be different. The question is whether the principals' perception of the skills needed, is consistent with what the coaches consider relevant. The principals' opinion of what kind of competence the coaches need should most likely be in relation to the conditions prevailing in the school, while the coaches reasonably do so according to the conditions prevailing in the sports institution. The coaches believe that they mostly have adequate skills to

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perform the tasks they feel they have, which can result in their not feeling they need any new skills. This itself causes a risk that the coaches do not continually develop and they do not produce any new knowledge, which is seen as a risk in a community of practice (Elkjaer, 2009; Roberts, 2006).

If we look at the results of different research surveys about successful teaching and competency requirements for coaches, we find a number of areas which the coaches themselves do not take up as significant. For example they do not mention what Côté and Gilbert (2009) call intrapersonal competence or the ability to continuously reflect and critically review their own practice (Hattie, 2012).

The Sport sets the agenda in school

The analysis of the characteristics of the coaches' community of practice shows, that the regulative and normative conditions that are stipulated by the school are not followed to the desirable degree. Instead, the practice is run out of the conditions used in the sport institution. The operation has its origins in the official goal that has been produced, and virtually all activities are aimed at developing the athletes' sporting achievements.

There are a variety of conditions that govern the school, but those that primarily affect the coaches in their work, previously presented as critical, are about selection, grades, teachers' education and skills as well as the curriculum (Skolverket, 2013b; Utbildningsdepartementet, 2010a). Upon further questions concerning matters that are governed by the school, it appears that the coaches do not assume the school's regulations, but unconsciously or consciously, instead they base their practice on how they think in the sport and on the basis of developing the athletes athletically. One possible explanation of the coaches' handling is that they do not have the conditions to act like a teacher and follow the schools' steering documents. They do not have a teacher education, and therefore it can't be expected that they should have the same abilities and competences as teachers who have a teacher education.

Threatened legitimacy

The coaches' job is to develop the athletes optimally which fits well with National Sports Upper Secondary Schools overall goal, which most likely gives coaches legitimacy when it comes to the sport. The question is why the coaches do not take their starting point in the regulatory and normative terms

coming from the school. Could it be that these do not have legitimacy for the coaches? That these conditions are not consistent with the norms and values that exist in the sport, and hence there is a lack of legitimacy? The consequence will be, that at the same time as there is a lack of legitimacy among the coaches towards the school's condition, there is a risk that the coaches and their activities lack legitimacy in the school when they do not follow the school rules.

Scott (2008) argues that different conditions produce related grounds of legitimacy, while the various bases can be distinguished. The basics of legitimacy that are interconnected with the different conditions may in some cases be in conflict with each other. The study shows that it actually becomes problematic that the National Sport Upper Secondary Schools as an institution exists in two institutions at the same time. The norms and values in the various institutions, like the regulatory and normative conditions and staging of these, differ on several points. The cultural-cognitive terms, like the coaches' community of practice, is not a reflection of the overall regulatory and normative terms from school and sport, but instead almost exclusively a staging of the terms that come from the sport as an institution. It is also clear that the cultural-cognitive conditions are influenced by the surrounding cultural conditions, especially those from the sports and of racing sport logic. Another example is the way the coaches develop and acquire knowledge. There is no formal training for someone to become a teacher in special sports, but the majority of coaches are educated in the sport, which is an education that does not have the same pressure as an academic education for example when it comes to scientific approach.

It is the coaches that form the community of practice and operationalize the conditions that apply. The fact that it is the community of practice that sets the ground rules for how operations are conducted makes the coaches central and crucial. To get legitimacy, both to the sport and the school, the conditions in the institution need to be consistent. The school's expectations and rules about how business should be conducted needs to be consistent with the coaches and the sports' expectations and perceptions.

Development of the Institution and the coaches' community of practice

The fact that the department is in or between the two institutions, does not need not be a problem, but it is important that both the regulatory and

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normative conditions from two institutions are in harmony, and that the operationalization of these conditions is reflected in the cultural-cognitive conditions. As conditions of the various institutions stand now, it is doubtful if it is possible to find these in harmony, and it is clear that the operationalization does not follow the regulative and normative terms.

There are a few different ways to go to solve the discrepancy between the conditions. One way is to put higher educational demands on the coaches to teach in special sport. Today, the legitimation requirement is taken away for teachers in special sport, but if there were a legitimation requirement the coaches would be better prepared to fulfil their assignment. Rynne and Mallet (2012) emphasize the importance of the employees needing to be prepared for the duties they are expected to perform. One way to ensure this is to see to it that employees have the adequate education, or that they have acquired the skills needed in some other way.

Another way to go is to better coordinate the RIG-activities with the other school activities. The coaches are naturally a part of the school and the daily conversations that take place there. Organizing the coaches so that they have their offices in connection with other teachers, and are seen as natural members of various teaching teams. This type of development, like the previous one, would probably restrict the free space as the coaches have today when it comes to planning and implementation of their business.

A third way to create a better interaction with the institution's different conditions may be an academic coach education, which also qualifies for teaching in the special sports topic. Since 2012, there is a framework was developed which, through a compilation of research have developed key skills that a coach should have (ICCE & ASOIF, 2012). The knowledge that the National Sports High school coaches highlighted as key fits within this framework. The framework is also in part based on the knowledge that Côté and Gilbert (2009) point out. If the coach education would be built on the basis of this framework, which some sports started to do, this would probably ensure that coaches get with the skills they need, while the coaches working on the RIG's will also include on syllabi and grading and assessment.

A fourth way to go is to ensure the continuous and systematic development. Lave and Wenger (1998) takes up methods to prevent the development of knowledge from coming to a halt, and that instead there is a continuous development among both the members of the practice, and in the organization. They argue that in a community of practice need some

leadership and governance are needed. This may come through a facilitator or mentor, who can help the practice to a better structure, which ultimately will lead to better knowledge. It would be good if the facilitator could be a university graduate with the aim to contribute to a critical and reflective approach (Bloom, 2013). Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that a network can also be a way to ensure that the development is on going. By bringing in a new member, a possible stagnation of the development of knowledge self-absorption could be prevented. The facilitator would be able to play this role as long as the facilitator is someone who comes from outside and brings different input values than those already in the community. Another way to go, in order to ensure the continuous development of coaches, might be to create a mentoring program as part of an education structure. Through a mentoring program opportunities would be provided for the mentor, or facilitator, to support and help the coaches to constantly reflect on and develop the practice they engage in (Bloom, 2013).

As a further development of communities of practice is what there are called Professional learning practices. These learning practices are based on similar grounds and conditions for them to be successful but with the difference that the goal is not only to develop the practice that teachers operate within, but also develop the practice in order to improve student learning (Stoll, 2013). In the practices that have been successful, the teachers have been strongly encouraged to look outwards and engage with various partners, and in the next step to bring the knowledge teachers will find in these collaborations back into their own practice. Furthermore, Stoll (2013) claims that one of the key components in the professional learning practitioners is to work together on issues and in areas which are related to student learning and teachers' practices. Several of the coaches believe that they cooperate in the planning stages of education and training, but there is no sign that it occurs in the critical spirit, as Stoll (2013) advocates. In one case, the coaches had a sort of mentor to support them in developing standards and values in the coach group, and this could be a way to go. For just as in communities of practice, an external partner can play an important role in professional learning practices, and what is taken for granted within the group can be questioned and developed further.

The theoretical framework presents four different engines that can drive an institution forward (Scott, 2008). The institution's development depends on which of the engines is the driving one. Based on the results obtained in

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this study, the department's engine should be another than the one that is driving the department forward today. Today routines are the engine that drives the department, but instead what Scott (2008) calls a symbolic system should be the driving engine. In the symbolic system, rules, values, norms, representations, etc. are in control. Applied to the National Sport Upper Secondary Schools, the regulatory and normative conditions would be reflected in the operationalization in the cultural-cognitive conditions. It would then no longer be the tacit knowledge that prevails, but there are clear and developed guidelines for how business should be both conducted and developed.

High performance athletes need high performance coaches

For high-performance athletes to develop, there is a need for high performance coaches, and a key ingredient for being or becoming a high performance coach, is to have a positive attitude towards lifelong learning (Denison et al., 2013, Mallet et al., 2013). Another important knowledge, or part of being a high performance coach, is to have a reflective attitude and be critical of one's own activities (Denison et al., 2013, Gilbert & Côté, 2013). In the actions the coaches describe, it is difficult without further observations to see if there is a reflective approach or critical thinking. In the interviews however, nothing suggests that there is. In a community of practice, where there is no reflection, there is a large risk that no new knowledge is produced, only the old knowledge that is reproduced. Just as Jarvis (2004) argues, society is changing so rapidly that the traditional education system cannot keep up. This requires that learning takes place outside these systems. McCullick et al. (2005) are on the same track and say that as changes occur the whole time, demands of the coaches increase, and they need to have updated skills in relation to the changing requirements. The skills need to be improved outside of both the academy and outside their sport. In one of the cases, the coaches were pretty clear about that even if they meet regularly, they need to have more time to discuss the common ground that will prevail in the business. If it is as one of the coaches says, that it is difficult to find the time for development, what will happen to the coaches' skills? If the coaches do not get the time and resources required to enable them to acquire the skills needed, the coaches' skills are bound to become out-dated eventually and the quality of the practice will deteriorate (Mallet et al., 2013).

Conclusion

The overall aim of this study is to describe and analyse the conditions that govern and shape the coaches' activity within the National Sport Upper Secondary Schools and how the coaches choose to handle those conditions. The specific research questions have been about finding out what conditions that apply for the coaches, how the coaches choose to manage the conditions and also how the coaches' handling can be explained.

The results demonstrate that there are regulatory and normative conditions both from sport and from school. These conditions are operationalized in the cultural-cognitive conditions. However, what emerges is that there is a discrepancy between the cultural-cognitive conditions and the regulatory and normative ones. The operationalization, which is also the cultural-cognitive conditions, gives a picture of how the coaches choose to manage the regulatory and normative terms. The coaches choose not to follow The School Law, the Upper Secondary School Ordinance or subject and course curricula to the extent that would be desired. Instead, the coaches choose to create and implement a business that more resembles the sports conducted outside the school.

One explanation for the coaches handling may be the type of engine that drives the business forward. As it looks now, it is what Scott (2008) calls routines that is the engine. If an organization is driven by routines, there are habits, tacit knowledge and deep-rooted practices that drive the business forward. Several of the coaches describe a certain slowness when it comes to changing and developing the business and therefore the engine that drives this slowness can be explained and understood.

Another explanation for the coaches' handling is very likely that the coaches see themselves as coaches, and not as teachers, and that they all have a solid experience in the sport both as an athlete and as a coach. That is also where many have received the most of their education. The coaches have the right conditions and competence in order to act like coaches but not to act like teachers.

When the cultural-cognitive conditions are not consistent with the regulatory and normative ones as well as how the community believe that business should be conducted, there is a risk that the organization's legitimacy can be threatened. There may be a risk that the National Sports Upper

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Secondary schools will not have the legitimacy in the school community, since it is primarily the school's conditions that are breached.

To ensure the legitimacy both of the sport and of the school, the various conditions need to be consistent. It is the same thing if the business should function well (Scott, 2008). In order to achieve a consensus, there are different ways to go. Despite what way is chosen, the coaches need to have the right preconditions to follow the regulative and normative conditions.

Several researchers have claimed that the coaches are central in the athletes' pursuit of success (Ericsson et al., 2007; Horn, 2002). The same picture can be found in this study. The coaches are those who determine both the content and form of the practice that the students will implement. What this content and form look like, and what the selection of content and form is based on, will affect students' ability to succeed and reach the goal of international elite level. An athlete who reaches the international elite level should be equated with being high performance and for the students to achieve this, high performance coaches are required by Mallet, Rynne and Dickens (2013). There are also various research summaries that highlight the skills and abilities that a coach and a successful teacher needs to have (Hattie, 2012; Håkansson & Sundberg, 2012; ICCE & ASOIF, 2012). Coaches' answers concerning what skills a school coach needs to have do not really match the research but there are also parts that the research highlight as important, but which are not mentioned by the coaches. The principals have superimposed the responsibility for further coach development on the coaches themselves. This becomes problematic in several aspects. The coaches feel they know what they need to know, their image of the skills required is not consistent with the research in this area and the coaches believe they have difficulty finding the time for their professional development. The result of this is that the coaches may not have the required skills, while they do not receive adequate training to be a high performance coach.

The study results can be summarized in one main finding. The study shows there is a discrepancy between the handling of the coaches and the prevailing conditions. The coaches have conditions both from sport and from school to manage and, in that there are terms that come from two different institutions, it becomes a dilemma for the coaches. The coaches only have the preconditions to follow the sports' conditions and not the schools.