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Teachers in School Sports: Between the Fields of Education and Sport?

Abstract

According to the cultural sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, gaining access to a social space or a position within a social space requires a specific capital. For teachers, this normally indicates a valid teaching certificate with relevant subject knowledge. However, when no qualified teachers are available for schools, which in Sweden is the case for school sports, other assets gain recognition. Drawing on Bourdieu's conceptual framework, this paper examined the circumstances for school sports in Sweden, and based on questionnaires answered by 109 teachers, explores the competencies, education, and backgrounds teachers in upper secondary school sports possess. The paper address the question: What valuable resources are required to become a teacher of school sports and gain recognition as symbolic capital? The results indicated that school sports in Sweden are carried out through a school subject and thus regulated by the government. However, school sports are influenced by both the fields of education and sport. Furthermore, the questionnaire results indicated that a majority of the teachers were employed as coaches instead of teachers, and that in relation to education, 45% had attended a teacher education programme, while 95% have attended a coaching programme. The results also indicated that teachers assessed their competencies in various areas as high, in terms of teaching school sports, with the highest estimated competencies in specific sport skills. In conclusion, the research indicated that school sports probably cannot be viewed as a legitimate part of the field of education but instead as a part of the field of sport. Therefore, coaching education and experience in competitive sports becomes an important resource required to become a teacher of school sports, and thus recognised as symbolic capital.

Keywords: *Bourdieu, Coach competence, Special sports, Sweden, Symbolic capital, Teacher competence.*

Introduction

Inspired by Bourdieu's concept of fields, Peterson (2008) discussed how the social fields of sport and school crossed when schools and sport clubs collaborate in projects aimed at increasing physical activity among pupils. Following this discussion, school sports are an area where the intersection is even more evident, and the participants simultaneously are influenced by the two different fields' demands and requirements. In this paper the pupils, teaching, and content of school sports are not examined; the focus is instead on the individuals in charge of the teaching. This group has increased in size in Sweden during the 2000s as a consequence of the significantly increased number of pupils participating in school sports (Lund, 2014).

Participation in upper secondary school sports in Sweden is carried out through the specific subject *special sports*, with a national syllabus and grading criteria (Ferry, Meckbach, & Larsson, 2013). This is unlike in many other countries, where the participation usually involves various extra-curricular activities and sport competitions (cf. Pot & van Hilvoorde, 2013; Stokvis, 2009; Truman Williamson, 2013). Another special feature with the Swedish system is that, even though the activities primarily consist of and focus on competitive sports, the pupils do not compete in the name of the schools. They are supposed to be educated in their sport in school, but compete and conduct further training, in voluntary sport clubs during leisure time (Ferry et al., 2013). Also, although physical education (PE) teachers are sometimes involved in school sports activities, the primary responsibility for these activities does not lie with the PE teachers. This is in contrast to North America, where PE teachers are also often coaches and responsible for the school sports activities (Truman Williamson, 2013; Wilson, Bloom, & Harvey, 2010).

The requirements for teachers in special sports in Sweden are formally regulated by the government through the jurisdiction of teachers (SFS 2011:326), the higher education

ordinance (SFS 1993:100), and the syllabus for special sports (SKOLFS 2000:111). However, they are also influenced by the sports movement's requirements. This indicates that the teachers should assist the pupils in their development of sporting skills to perform better during leisure-time competitions representing their voluntary sports clubs.

This points at blurred boundaries between school and sport, and perhaps the fields of school and sport are crossing (Peterson, 2008). Following Bourdieu's cultural sociology theories, which indicated that specific assets are required to gain access to a social space or a position, this paper is an examination of the circumstances of school sports in Sweden and an analysis of the competencies, education, and backgrounds individuals who teach school sports possess. The paper addresses the questions: what valuable resources are required to become a teacher in school sports? and, what resources gain recognition as symbolic capital?

The paper starts off with a presentation of the theoretical framework and the method employed. Subsequently, a contextualisation of the circumstances for school sports in Sweden is provided, after which the results of a questionnaire study among teachers in special sports will be presented and further discussed. The paper ends with concluding thoughts and some remarks about the future of school sports teachers in light of recent developments and the results of this study.

Theoretical Framework

Bourdieu's conceptual framework was the analytical tool for this paper for two main reasons; first, the framework has been shown useful for understanding the relationship between social structures and practice (cf. Cushion, Armour, & Jones, 2003; Pang, Macdonald, & Hay, 2013); second, it has been widely applied in diverse empirical research studies in the fields of education and sport (cf. Backman, 2010; Brown, 2005; Fulton, 2011; Green, 2002; Hunter, 2004; Quarmby & Dagkas, 2013; Redelius, Fagrell, & Larsson, 2009;

Stuij, 2013). The core of Bourdieu's theoretical framework consists of the three closely related concepts of field, capital, and habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Broady, 1990; Brown, 2005).

Bourdieu and Robinson (1985) explained the concept of field as 'an autonomous universe, a game-space where one plays a game with certain rules, rules different from those of the game played in the space nearby' (p. 65). A field is occupied by specialized agents and institutions (Broady, 1990), and to gain access to a field or a position within the field, a specific holding of capital is required. Quarmby and Dagkas (2013) argued that the possession of capital will determine the range of available choices within a specific field. However, what this capital consists of differs between different (sub-) fields and depends on who is in power in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Different fields are autonomous in varying degree and may overlap (Broady, 1990).

In the field of education, those who are in power include the government, universities (teacher education programmes [TEPs]), and principals at local schools. These institutions and individuals are the specialized agents who determine the rules of the game, or as Hunter (2004) argued for the field of PE: 'have influence over curriculum and practice' (p.176). In Sweden, the government has set the requirements for teachers (SFS 2011:326) enacted throughout TEPs (SFS 1993:100). The exception from these regulations is in situations where no qualified teacher is available for schools, which sometimes is the case for subjects with specific or uncommon orientations. In these specific cases, the final decision about who receives access to an occupation as a teacher lies with the principals at local schools.

Bourdieu (1978) described sport as a field with its own specific kind of logic. According to Bourdieu, in this field, the struggle between the individuals who are in power is about 'the legitimate definition of sporting practice and of the legitimate function of sporting activity' (1978, p. 826). In Sweden, those who are in power in the field of sport consist of the

Swedish Sports Confederation (RF), (some) Special Sports Federations (SF), and local sport clubs (Lund, 2014). These are the dominating institutions that decide the rules, norms, and logics by which different types of capital and habitus are considered valuable.

Capital exists in three main forms: economic, social, and cultural (Bourdieu, 1986). While economic capital includes various assets, property, money, or material objects (Vryonides, 2009), social capital involves the relationships and social networks an individual has access to with the potential to be transformed or used as actual resources (Robson, 2009). Cultural capital includes the attributes and skills highly valued by those in power in the field (Fulton, 2011), and exist, according to Bourdieu (1986) in the three sub-forms: embodied (e.g., disposition of the mind and body), institutionalized (e.g., academic qualifications or education), and objectified (e.g., cultural goods and items).

The acquisition of capital takes time (Bourdieu, 1986) and in addition to the main forms of capital, there exist a more general and fundamental form of capital: symbolic capital (Broady, 1990). This broader concept is often used as a complement to the three main forms of capital (cf. Backman, 2010; Redelius et al., 2009) and is by Bourdieu described as ‘any property that is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception which causes them to know it and to recognize it, to give it value’ (1998, p. 47).

As Broady (1998) pointed out, any resource can function as symbolic capital in a specific context, if it is conferred value by those in power in the field. In addition, Broady (1990) indicated that the concept is relational and that the possession of a specific capital may be converted and act as a symbolic capital in certain conditions.¹

¹ For example, can an academic title act as a symbolic capital in the field of education, but perhaps not in the field of sports. The fact that various assets may act as symbolic capital in certain conditions, makes the concept useful in the analysis of what resources gain recognition in school sports, and are therefore the main form of capital used in this paper.

To exemplify contextualize this, the Swedish regulations (SFS 2011:326) stated that to be qualified to teach in upper secondary schools requires a valid teaching certificate, which is obtained by attending a TEP. The regulations of TEP (SFS 1993:100) indicated that the programmes consist of more than basic subject skills and that the general competence all teachers receive should relate to the teachers' future professions and provide knowledge about the school system. This indicates that within the field of education, the specific form of symbolic capital required to serve as teachers primarily consists of a teaching certificate with relevant subject knowledge and general school knowledge, e.g. an institutionalized form of cultural capital. However, since for some school subjects, few qualified teachers are available—which is the case for some vocational subjects (e.g., carpentry or welding)—those in power (e.g., principals) recognize and value other resources, which thus becomes symbolic capital in that specific context. In the field of sport, on the other hand, experience in competitive sports and a coaching education (e.g., an embodied form of cultural capital), are likely viewed as valuable and necessary resources required for a position as a coach, and thus recognised as symbolic capital.

Closely related to the concept of capital is the concept of habitus, which can be described as an incorporated form of capital; 'a system of dispositions that determine how people act, think, perceive and value in a given social context' (Broady, 1990, p. 231, my translation) and is by Bourdieu defined as '[a] system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures' (1990, p. 53). An individual's habitus can be seen as the product of his or her history, as well as a result of the social experiences and collective memories that have been inscribed in the individual's body and mind (Broady, 1998). Furthermore, habitus affects an individual's approach to a profession, and in relation to teaching and coaching education, Dodds et al. (1991) emphasised that an individual's life prior to formal professional education is important for the

individual's perception of the role and requirements of teachers and coaches. This indicates that teachers and coaches are not *tabulae rasae* when they enter their professions; the years they have spent as pupils in school, athletes in sport clubs, and students in professional programmes have predisposed them with the 'skills, perspectives and responsibilities pertaining to their chosen profession' (Schempp, 1989, as cited in Bell, 1997, p. 34). In line with this, Brown (1999, 2005), Brown and Evans (2004) and Green (2002) argues that when a student enters a PETEP, the student arrives with a particular habitus, with particular views and dispositions regarding the purpose and teaching of PE. On the same topic, Cushion, et al. (2003) and Taylor and Garratt (2010) argues that habitus influences and structures the requirements, culture, and conditions for coaching in sports. And since different assets and resources are valued as capital in different sports, different kinds of habitus are valuable and (re)produced (Taylor & Garratt, 2010).

Methods

The empirical basis for this paper was obtained through the national evaluation of the upper secondary school subject special sports, carried out on behalf of and funded by the Swedish National Agency for Education (SNAE) and the RF (Ferry & Olofsson, 2009). The evaluation addressed the conditions, content, assessment, and achievements of goals of special sports and was based on national statistics, document analysis, questionnaires administered to pupils and teachers, and school visits. A consultation with the funders helped select ten school sport milieus for closer examination: five national elite sport programs (RIG) and five regular upper secondary schools with a wide supply of special sports. The selection of milieus was made through purposeful sampling, so as diverse a range of sports (team/individual, winter/summer, minor/major) and geographical location (north/south, small/large town) as possible would be represented.

Data Collection

The quantitative data for this paper was collected through Web-based questionnaires sent to all teachers of special sports at the ten milieus. To contact the respondents, the principals in charge of special sports at the milieus were involved and provided the information about the questionnaire. In total, 109 respondents answered the questionnaire, a respondent rate that varied between 50% and 100% among the milieus, and was 85% in total. The questionnaire utilised both selected-response and open-ended questions focusing on the teacher's background and the lessons in special sports. For questions in which respondents assessed their own competencies regarding different aspects of teaching, they gave answers on a Likert scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

Statistical Analysis

IBM SPSS Statistics ver. 21 was used for the statistical calculations. Comparisons of proportions between groups used a chi-square test or Fisher's exact test in relation to the variables. Comparisons of group mean values used the independent t-test. The significance level was set at 5% ($p < 0.05$).

Results and Discussion

This section begins with a contextualisation of the circumstances for school sports in Sweden, followed by a presentation and discussion of the results of the questionnaire.

The Swedish School Sports System

The subject special sports, in which pupils participate in school sport in upper secondary schools in Sweden, was created during the 1970s to enable elite sport athletes at RIGs to develop in their sports while also receiving upper secondary education (Lund, 2014; Olofsson, 2007). However, after offering the education only to a few selected athletes at the outermost elite level in some sports in the beginning, the supply increased significantly during the 1990s and 2000s, and it became possible for a large number of pupils in different sports

and at different athletic levels to attend (Ferry et al., 2013). During this period, the RIGs were at ‘regular’ schools, supplemented with local courses in special sports.

In 1994, the Swedish school system was reformed and changed to a goal-driven system with a new goal-based grading system. Under this system, the goals pupils should attain in a subject are predefined in syllabi, but the content and working methods are not. The teachers are guided by syllabi, but they have a lot of freedom to choose the content and methods (Redelius et al., 2009).

The subject special sports has a national syllabus with grading criteria that are the same, regardless of the sport or the pupils’ athletic levels. The overall objective of the subject is to develop the pupils in their sports, and although the syllabus (SKOLFS 2000:111) is comprehensive and differs slightly among the courses, the content of the subject and thus, what pupils should develop knowledge in can be summarised into five subareas: exercise physiology, nutrition, sport psychology, leadership, and specific sport skills (Figure 1). The underlying intention is that general knowledge in the five subareas should be adapted by the teachers for the specific sports the pupils are practicing. Furthermore, the central function of special sports is the acquisition of specific sports skills. The evaluation of the subject reported that a large part of the lessons consist of ‘normal’ training sessions for the pupils, while fewer lessons are devoted to the sometimes quite extensive theoretical subareas stipulated by the syllabi (Ferry & Olofsson, 2009).

Figure 1.

As an indication of how common the subject became during the 2000s, approximately 10% of all upper secondary school pupils in Sweden received grades in special sports (SNAE, 2008), and 75% of all Swedish municipalities offered some kind of school sports program (Lund, 2014). One consequence of the increased supply in Sweden is that many schools have

developed partnerships with local sport clubs, whereby the schools may take advantage of the clubs' knowledge (e.g. through coaches) and facilities (Lund, 2014). However, this development has not formally been driven by the government or RFs investments in sport, in contrast to the School Sport Co-ordinator Programme, which Flintoff (2003) described as emerging in the United Kingdom. Instead, the development has mainly occurred from the schools' own initiative or, in the case of RIGs, from the initiative of respective SF. At RIGs, RF and SFs also influence the content treated during lessons, pupils admitted, and teachers employed. This has resulted in that the school's own teaching staff is not always in charge of the lessons in special sports; instead, the lessons are usually lead by individuals from voluntary sport clubs. This is a development that vaguely resembles the outsourcing of HSPE in Queensland (Williams, Hay, & Macdonald, 2011) and the use of external coaches in the English school system (cf. Blair & Capel, 2011; Green, 2002; Smith, 2013).

Returning to Peterson's (2008) discussion of the crossing of fields, one conclusion of the described school sport system, is that in relation to the relatively autonomous fields of education and sport respectively, the field of school sports may be similar to Brown's (2005) notion on the field of PE: a 'weakly autonomous field' (p. 6). At the least, it is an area where the fields of education and sport intersect (cf. Brown 2005; Peterson, 2008). Thus, the activities within school sports seem to be affected by the two fields' different constitutions and requirements, and influenced by the two fields' views on what may be recognised as symbolic capital.

Thus, special sports may not be a school subject like any other. Formally, it is, because it has a national syllabus that regulates the content and the assessment of pupils. The education and knowledge regulated by the government are also required for teachers in the subject. However, as the results of this study will indicate, the subject special sports differs from many other school subjects in several senses.

Teachers' and Coaches' Competencies

A number of studies have focused on the dual roles as a teacher/coach and potential problems associated with these professions (Bergmann Drewe, 2000; Dodds et al., 1991; Richards & Templin, 2012; Wilson et al., 2010). Richard and Templin (2012) stressed that since teachers and coaches are separate professions with specific skill requirements and demands, it is wrong to assume both professions can be performed by the same person without problems. Furthermore, although there is no general consensus about this subject in the scientific community, there are notable differences between the teaching and coaching professions. However, there are also similarities.

One of the greatest differences between the two professions is related to education. A TEP for upper secondary schools in Sweden is usually 300–330 ECTS (5–5.5 years) and includes general educational courses, specialisation courses, and school practice. For teachers in vocational subjects, the programme is shorter (90 ECTS) and focuses primarily on general educational courses and school practices; the student teachers are expected to have the required professional knowledge, when they are admitted to the programme (SFS 1993:100). Specifically for the subject special sports, a specific TEP existed in Sweden between 1967 and 2002 and was reintroduced in 2011 (Tidén & Meckbach, n.d.).

Coaches, on the other hand, are instead often informally educated through socialization within the field of sport (cf. Cushion et al., 2003). In Sweden, most coaching programmes are short (a number of weeks), and the programmes are organised by the SFs themselves (Eriksson, 2006; Grahn, 2012) without any cooperation with universities or colleges. In relation to the development of coaching competence, Wilson et al. (2010) and Stoszowski and Collins (2014), argues that coaches' sport-specific knowledge and skills mainly develop through the coaches' own experiences; this includes the coaches' experiences

in competitive sport settings as coaches and athletes, their interaction with other coaches, and their participation in coaching programmes.

Eriksson's (2006) examination of elite coaches in Sweden pointed in the same direction. His results showed that the main influence on the role of a coach is one's own participation in sports at a high athletic level. The elite coaches in Eriksson's study stated that the most important factors for the development of coaching competence were the peers in sports and coaching programmes. However, at the same time, a majority of the coaches said that the coaching programmes were insufficient. The coaches assessed their own competencies in technical and tactical sport performance and in leadership highly; however, they estimated they had lower competencies in areas such as sport injuries, nutrition, and sport psychology (Eriksson, 2006).

Teaching and coaching professions differ in other ways. Teachers work with pupils in mandatory settings, while coaches work with young people who participate voluntarily. Teachers usually have many pupils, while coaches have few. Moreover, teachers provide a broad knowledge base in different areas related to sport and physical activity, while coaches provide deep knowledge of a specific sport (Bergmann Drewe, 2000). As noted by Smith (2013) and Blair and Capel (2011), although coaches have specialist knowledge in individual sports, they are usually less prepared to work with pupils in school.

However, there are also great similarities between teachers and coaches. For instance, both professions entail teaching skills to children and adolescents (Bergmann Drewe, 2000): teachers in a school subject, and coaches in a specific sport. In the case of PE teachers, the two professions also have in common the focus on skill instruction and physical movement (Richards & Templin, 2012).

Thus, the roles of teachers and coaches are complex and involve many duties requiring different abilities and competencies (cf. Bergmann Drewe, 2000; Richard & Templin, 2012; Smith, 2013). With the use of Bourdieu's concept of capital, this indicates that to access these different roles, different kinds of resources become valuable and receive recognition. This is true in particular for the subject special sports, where the main goal is the acquisition of specific sports skills, which indicates that a specific competence and knowledge in the specific sports is required, beyond mere theoretical knowledge. Coaches usually have these specific sports skills, but the regulations demand a teaching certificate with relevant subject knowledge, assets formally held only by those who have completed a TEP.

According to Green (2002) 'what people value tends to be shaped by what they have experience of, as well as competence in' (p. 86), and the issue is then the kinds of competence, education, and backgrounds possessed by those who teach special sports. This could be an indication of the symbolic capital for teachers in the area of school sports, and, in consequence, it also indicates the field in which activities within special sports take place: education, sport, or both.

Background and Employment

The teachers in this study had a relatively homogenous background: 84% were male, 92% were of Swedish origin, and the average age was 39 years ($s = 8.7$ years). To contextualize this result, Ferry and Olofsson's (2009) study noted that 17% of Swedish national team coaches and 34% of upper secondary PE teachers were women, and 10% of all teachers in upper secondary schools in Sweden had foreign backgrounds.

The 109 teachers, of whom 20 worked at a RIG, taught a total of 27 different sports; soccer ($n=37$), floor ball ($n=19$), and ice hockey ($n=19$) were the most common. About half of the teachers (48%) taught only team sports, and 37% only individual sports. A majority of the teachers stated that they were employed as coaches (77%), and the rest that they were

employed as teachers (15%) or had other responsibilities at the school, such as working as the head of the sports department or principal (8%). Only a minority (13%) stated that they were simultaneously teaching another subject, particularly PE.

About half of the teachers were employed directly by the schools, while the rest by different agents within the sports movement, such as RF, SFs, and local sport clubs. As Table I shows, this pattern differed among the milieus, as significantly more of those teaching special sports at regular schools were employed by the sports movement, compared with those teaching at RIGs ($p < 0.05$). That teachers are employed by agents outside the field of education and are somewhat external individuals who taught a school subject is unique to the Swedish school system and resembles the widespread use of external coaches in English schools (cf. Blair & Capel, 2011; Smith, 2013).

Table I

Does this mean that it is acceptable for principals to appoint external and amateur individuals to teach a school subject? In high-status school subjects such as mathematics, this would not be the case (Peterson, 2008), but in special sports, it is. The fact that these ‘teachers’ reported that they were employed as coaches (77%), a position that according to the SNAE formally does not exist in school, indicates that perhaps they are not teachers in the true sense and instead other competencies and resources are valued and required to gain access to the actual position.

In addition, few teachers reported that they were recruited for their positions by actually applying for an advertised position (22%); instead, the most common way the teachers were recruited was by being headhunted to the school by being personally contacted (51%), or by their sports club being contacted (16%). Only a few of the teachers were already employed by the schools, prior to their involvement in special sports (11%). This indicates the

actual appointment of teachers in special sports does not follow the usual pattern in school (i.e. applying for an advertised position). This may also be seen as an indication on that other resources, in comparison with school in general, act as symbolic capital and is required to become a teacher in school sports.

Education

A majority of the teachers had completed higher education (70%), while 24% had only completed upper secondary school. A closer examination of the orientation of the education revealed that 45% had attended a TEP (28% with a focus on PE). However, 95% had attended a coaching programme (30% at the university level). A dual education in teaching and coaching was held by 44% (Table II).

Table II

One explanation for this result is that between 2002 and 2011, there was no TEP available for special sports in Sweden (Tidén & Meckbach, n.d.) and it was therefore not possible to obtain this kind of formal education. Following Eriksson's (2006) and Wilson et al.'s (2010) arguments on the development of coaching competencies, this result instead indicated that many of the teachers had developed their knowledge from their own experiences as athletes and coaches (see also Stoszkowski & Collins, 2014). However, Rocha and Clemente (2012) acknowledged that expertise in an area is acquired rather than inherent, and that the expertise is domain-specific and takes a long time to acquire. Because the teachers in this study have worked for quite a long time with special sports; 73% longer than two years, they had presumably gained the experience and knowledge, or in other words, the habitus required for becoming a teacher in special sports (cf. Green, 2002), e.g. a habitus recognised as symbolic capital.

Competencies

Overall, the teachers estimated their competencies in various areas related to teaching in special sports as high (Table III). Similar to Eriksson's (2006) results about Swedish elite coaches, the teachers' self-perceived highest competencies were in specific sport skills, while they perceived their lower competencies in the areas of sport psychology and nutrition, which according to syllabi (SKOLFS 2000:111) are knowledge areas in special sports. In general, the teachers with dual educations estimated their competencies higher than those with only a coaching education. In relation to the subareas of nutrition, leadership, teaching skills, and grading and assessment, these differences were significant ($p < 0.05$).

Table III

This result may be explained by the teachers own participation in competitive sports and the high proportion of teachers with a coaching education. Through these experiences they have developed their specific sports skills (cf. Stoszkowski & Collins, 2014; Wilson et al., 2010), competencies valued as symbolic capital in the field of sports. At the same time, they have not received any knowledge in grading and assessment, the kind of competence that are highly valued in the field of education and treated in a TEP.

Between the Fields of Education and Sport?

One interpretation of the presented results is that special sports are probably not a legitimate part of the field of education, but are instead a part of the field of sport. Thus, similar to the argument of Redelius et al. (2009) about PE teachers in Sweden, teachers in school sports are to a greater extent a part of the field of sport, rather than a part of the field of education. If this is the case, a teaching certificate—an institutionalized form of cultural capital which is valued as symbolic capital in the field of education and formally is required to become a teacher—does not apply in the area school sports. Instead, experience in

competitive sports and coaching education offering highly valued knowledge within the field of sport—an embodied form of capital—becomes a valuable form of symbolic capital.

This argument is particularly true for the RIGs, where RF and some of the SFs have greater impact on the actual recruitment of teachers and the content treated (Lund, 2014). For the RIGs, almost every teacher had completed a coaching programme offered by the sports movement (85%), while only a minority had a teaching education (37%). The regular schools that provided special sports, however, showed more similarities with traditional school subjects. At regular schools, a higher proportion of the teachers had a dual education (46%).

Therefore, unlike in RIGs, the regular schools are areas in which the fields of education and sport are intersecting, because the schools must adapt both to the demands of the sports movement and the formal requirements of the schools. RIGs, on the other hand, are as high-stake institutions within the field of sport that have managed to acquire a position within schools, but are much less affected by the systems of the field of education in comparison to special sports at regular schools.

Potential Problems

Following Peterson's (2008) argument, the cooperation between schools and the sports movement can be problematic. The results of this study acknowledged a number of potential problems, for instance in relation to the employment and recruitment of teachers in school sports. However, the main problem is related to if school sports is perceived as a school subject or training in a sport. If school sports is perceived as a school subject, and thus a legitimate part of the field of education, the aim is to develop the pupils' knowledge in a wide range of subareas related to sports and the teachers have to relate to the national syllabus and grading criteria. However, the results of this study showed that the teachers, especially those with only a coaching education, estimate their own competencies in some of the stipulated

subareas and their competencies in grading and assessment as low. This can be seen as an indication that they do not possess the resources acting as symbolic capital and required for the possession as teacher.

On the other hand, if the subject is perceived as training in a sport, and thereby a part of the field of sports, the main aim is to develop the pupils' sporting abilities. If this is the case, the competencies normally possessed by a coach is required. In this study, the teachers involved in special sports were to a great extent employed and saw themselves as coaches, not teachers. In addition, they estimate their own sporting skills as high. This could be seen as an indication that they possess the resource and competencies valued and acting as symbolic capital for coaches.

Conclusions

This paper showed that, despite the formal requirements of a teaching certificate to obtain a position as a teacher, other resources and competencies, such as coaching education and experience in sports in specific (competitive) forms, have become valuable symbolic capital for teachers in school sports. This was shown, among other factors, by the coaching education of a majority of the teachers, while less than half had a teaching education. Simultaneously, the teachers' specific sports skills were valued highly by themselves, competences that according to Eriksson (2006) and Wilson et al. (2010) primarily is created by experience of sports as an athlete, as well as through the participation in a coaching programme.

One conclusion is therefore, that for special sports, the asset that received the most recognition and has the highest value among the specialized agents (e.g., principals) is the individuals' coaching abilities. This means schools value the individuals' coaching backgrounds over their formal education as teachers. In other words, a coaching education, an

embodied form of cultural capital required for coaches in the sports movement, is valued an important form of symbolic capital within the area of school sports.

The reason for this, as argued in this paper, is that school sports in Sweden, particularly the activities, teachers, and pupils at RIGs, are a part of the field of sport. Thus, to a great extent, school sports are influenced by the norms and values within the sports movement. Principals have therefore hired individuals with the competence and capital demanded by the sports movement (cf. Brown, 2005). Meanwhile, the need for certified teachers in special sports has been low. This is also one explanation for why a specific TEP in special sports has not been possible for a period of time: there has been no need for it.

However, as Peterson (2008) pointed out, education and sport are different social fields with different field rationales and demands. Coaches working at schools require a different approach and leadership than is normally the case in the field of sport. In future education programmes for teachers in special sports, this will be important to consider, and it also indicates that coaches who are already engaged in schools should be offered professional development courses.

Some elements of school sports at regular schools may lie between the fields of education and sport; thus, the supply is simultaneously affected by the two fields' different demands and requirements. However, recent developments have shown that the sports movement has gained influence on school sports: there has been an enhanced focus on elite sports in schools (Lund, 2014), and the RIGs has been complemented by Certified Elite School Sports programs, while the local courses in special sports have disappeared (SFS 2010:2039). During 2012, special sports also became classified as a vocational subject (SNAE, 2012), indicating that coaching education should be the main knowledge base prior to the formal vocational TEP. This development suggests that school sports have truly become a

part of the field of sport. This will most likely have an impact on the competencies and resources which will act as symbolic capital for teachers in school sports in the future

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Table I. Employer, percentages

	Schools	Sports movement
RIG	80	20
Regular school	48	52
Total	54	46

* $p < 0.05$

Table II. Educational levels, percent¹

	Teacher education programme	Coaching programme at university	Coaching programme by SF/RF	Dual education
RIG	37	20	85	37
Regular school	48	33	81	46
Total (%)	45	30	82	44

¹ Teachers may have attended multiple programmes.

Table III. The teachers' self-estimated competencies, mean value (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)

	RIG	Milieu	Education	
		Regular School	Coaching Education	Dual Education
Exercise physiology	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.4
Nutrition*	4.0	3.9	3.8	4.1
Sports psychology	4.0	3.7	3.6	4.0
Leadership*	4.6	4.5	4.4	4.7
Specific sport skills	4.8	4.9	4.9	4.9
Teaching skills*	4.5	4.7	4.5	4.8
Teaching organizing skills	4.4	4.7	4.6	4.7
Grading and assessment*	4.1	4.0	3.7	4.4

* $p < 0.05$ in relation to education.

Figure 1. The five subareas of knowledge for special sports, according to syllabi.