AN EXAMINATION OF COMMUNITY DIVERSITY, PERCEPTIONS OF THE PROFESSION, AND TEAM BEHAVIOR FROM THE DIVERSITY OF BASKETBALL COACHES

by

STEPHEN MARIO IMPERIALE-HAGERMAN

(Under the Direction of Rose Chepyator-Thomson)

ABSTRACT

The society of the United States is becoming increasingly diverse, with the institution of higher learning following this trend, albeit slowly. Diversity encompasses differences and similarities in human population. According to the 2010 United States Census, drastic shifts in population diversity are occurring especially with Hispanics and African-Americans who make up growing proportions of the population (Lichter, 2012). Yet, even in the face of growing racial diversity, many institutions of higher education still firmly cling to antiquated hiring practices, where the outcome appears to be based more on race and gender attributes and less on ability. Two of the most visible institutions still entrenched in these practices are professional and collegiate sports. The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate coaching diversity in the form of three studies that focus on community diversity, perceptions of the coaching profession, and on team behavior based on race and gender of basketball coaches. In the first study, the diversity of the community housing a college or university was examined through Meyer and McIntosh's Diversity Index and this was compared to the racial and gender diversity
found on the coaching staff of National Collegiate Athletic Association's (NCAA) Division I women's basketball team. The major finding of this first study was that more diverse communities were associated with greater diversity on the coaching staffs. In the second study, 91 coaches from NCAA Division II women's basketball teams completed a survey to elucidate their perceptions of the coaching profession. Division II coaches were used because they represent a coaching sample that has been ignored in the research. The results showed the following: a) white coaches had lower turnover intentions, b) white assistant coaches had the greatest perceptions of support and c) diversity in the athletic department was significantly related to positive perceptions of the profession. In the third study, team behavior for National Basketball Association (NBA) teams were compared to the race of the head coach. Teams making the play-offs, coached by an African-American head coaches, were found to have the highest levels of persistence confirming the notion that a team is a reflection of the head coach.

INDEX WORDS: Diversity, Race, Gender, Athletics, Coaching, Basketball, Collegiate, Professional
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DEDICATION

To my family
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I would like to thank everyone who helped me complete this dissertation study. The completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without the support from members of the Cultural Studies in Physical Education laboratory, suggestions from my committee and encouragement from my wife, Laila. A special thanks goes to my advisor, Dr. Rose Chepyator-Thomson, for her support and guidance in life and academics.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Research into the diversity of higher education has been well documented (Gurin et al., 2002). In terms of college sport, there is a consensus that student-athlete diversity has expanded while diversity amongst coaches has not followed suit (Lapchick, Hoff, Kaiser, 2011). Scholars completed studies on race and gender inequalities in the realm of athletic coaching across the United States' sporting landscape revealing non-white, non-male coaches face increased discrimination when attempting to coach as a career (Cunningham & Sagas, 2004a; DeHass, 2007; Lapchick, Hoff, & Kaiser, 2011; Lapchick, Lecky, & Trigg, 2012; Sagas & Cunningham, 2005). Discrimination is even more pronounced when minority coaches try to advance their current position from assistant coach to head coach (Cunningham & Sagas, 2004a; Lapchick, Lecky, & Trigg, 2012;). Additionally problematic is the social acceptance for men to coach both men's and women's sports while women are only permitted to coach women's sports (DeHass, 2007; Hasbrook, 1988; McDowell, Cunningham, & Singer, 2009). In the area of men's sports, specifically professional basketball and football, non-white head coaches perform at levels equal to or superior to their white counterparts once given the chance (Branham, 2008; Fort, Lee, & Berri, 2008; Madden, 2004).

Hence, what needs to be further explored are a) the impacts of the environment on hiring practices, b) the perceptions of coaches in college not affiliated with National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I programs and c) the behaviors of
teams based on the race of the head coach. Each athletic department is part of a large college or university and that academic institution is part of a greater community. Also, a great deal of attention has been paid to coaches in professional and NCAA Division I ranks largely ignoring coaches in the lower ranks of collegiate athletics. Finally, the psychological impact of a team based on the head coach's race has yet to be addressed.

This dissertation consists of three studies investigating coaching diversity. The first study was designed to examine the relationship between the community of a university and the diversity found on the coaching staff of its NCAA Division I women's basketball team. The second study was designed to examine the correlations between job support and perceptions of discrimination, turnover intentions and perceptions of diversity within one's athletic department, as well as their general community within NCAA Division II women's basketball teams. Finally, the third study was designed to examine the psychological characteristics of teams coached by African-American and white coaches.

Hypotheses

Study 1. The hypothesis for Study 1 was:

As a college or university's community diversity, as seen through race, increases so too will the diversity, as seen through gender and race, of the institution's coaching staff for the women's basketball team.

Study 2. The hypotheses for Study 2 were:

1) perceptions of diversity will be directly related to perceptions of acceptance and support while being indirectly related to turnover intentions.

2) white coaches will have lower turnover intentions.
3) white head coaches will have the greatest amount of support.

Study 3. The hypothesis for Study 3 was:

Teams in the National Basketball Association (NBA) with an African-American head coach and making the play-offs would have displayed the greatest amount of persistence throughout the regular-season.

Significance of the Studies

These three studies contribute additional information to the existing body of literature pertaining to diversity in coaching. Previous studies have examined diversity in the vacuum of a college, university of professional team. Those entities, however, are not isolated. Colleges and universities are an integral piece of a greater surrounding community. To ignore that dynamic is to fail to account for aspects of a work environment.

Previous studies primarily focused on the highest level of athletics in the United States, namely professional sports and NCAA Division I collegiate athletics. While NCAA Division I sports represent the most high profile amateur athletics it does not account for the majority of athletes. As of the 2011-2012 academic year, 37% of NCAA student-athletes participated at the Division I level while the remaining 63% participated at the Division II and Division III level (Brown, 2012). Based on this distribution, in order to make an impact in the lives of the greatest number of athletes, more research needs to focus on the lower divisions of collegiate sport, particularly critical is coaching diversity.

Finally, when assessing the success or aptitude of coaches by race the standard metric is to utilize wins and losses (Branham, 2008; Madden, 2004). Other studies have
attempted to assess coaching aptitude by examining the ability of the coach to improve his players (Fort, Lee, & Berri, 2008). However, the actual behavior of the team, as seen through psychological variables, has not been addressed. Understanding a coach's ability to create and foster emotionally intelligent teams need to be examined especially due to its applicability beyond the field of play.

**Definition of Terms**

In this dissertation, “diversity” will be used in the context described by Joplin and Daus' (1997). They define diversity as “any characteristic used to differentiate one person from others (Joplin & Daus, 1997, p. 32).” For coaching situations involving both men and women, such as women's basketball, diversity will only refer to both race and gender. In coaching contexts pertaining to only one gender then diversity will encompass only race. Furthermore, “community” will refer to the town or city housing a particular university or college.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

A growing body of research has examined the impact of race and gender on all facets of the sport coaching experience. This review of literature presents research from three key times of a potential coach's life course, where discrimination for a non-white coach is faced. The first time is when a potential coach is still an athlete. The second time within a coach's life course is when he or she has made the decision to enter the coaching profession, and they are striving for advancement to a head coaching position. Once a head coach, it has been reported that different standards exist, so the third time is maintaining the position of head coach. Finally, an exploration of discrimination faced by female coaches will be presented.

Athletes Face Discrimination

Today's athletes are tomorrow's coaches (Everhart & Chelladurai, 1998). However, not all athletic experiences motivate student-athletes to continue their careers into the coaching realm. Research examining the perceptions of African-American athletes shows several disturbing factors that have the potential to push these athletes away from the coaching profession (Cunningham, 2003). This section of the literature review focuses on research into differential expectations based on race, the athletic practice of stacking and on coaches who purposefully ignore mental abilities of athletes.

Differential Expectations. In the classroom, Feldman in 1985 discovered that teachers would treat students who were of similar race more positively than students who
were of different races (Feldman, 1985). These results held true for both white teachers as well as African-American teachers (Feldman, 1985). Pigott and Cowen in 2000 found that some white teachers perceived their African-American students to have less potential and more negative qualities than their white counterparts (Pigott & Cowen, 2000).

In sport, differential expectations based solely on skin color exists as well. Studies examining the perceptions of soccer players found that black players believed their coaches to think less of them when it came to intelligence, fortitude and ability to work within a team framework (Burley & Fleming, 1997; Cashmore, 1982; Maguire, 1988). A later study in soccer showed black players felt like they had less of a personal relationship with their white coaches than white players did (Jowett & Frost, 2007). Additionally, these differing expectations can manifest themselves in the behavior displayed by a coach to their respective athletes. Solomon and colleagues found African-American athletes to receive more instruction from their coaches while white athletes received more praise (Solomon et al., 1996). Ultimately, this creates a situation where African-American athletes trust their coaches less and like their coaches less than white athletes (Anshel & Sailes, 1990; Evans, 1978).

**Stacking.** Since the desegregation of major professional and collegiate sports in the United States the practice of stacking has occurred. Stacking occurs when a player is selected to play a certain position not by skill or aptitude but simply by race (Coakley, 2004; Curtis & Loy, 1978a & 1978b; Lavoie & Leonard, 1994; Leonard, 1987; Margolis & Pilivian, 1999). Specifically, white athletes are placed in positions of leadership such as quarterback in football (Lapchick, Costa, et al., 2012). Consequently, African-American athletes are placed in peripheral roles such as outfield in baseball or wide
receiver in football (Lavoie & Leonard, 1994; Margolis & Pilivin, 1999). The practice of stacking implicitly tells African-American athletes that they are not capable of handling leadership positions or positions requiring decision-making.

The practice of stacking is not limited to just players; it also takes place within the coaching staffs. According to Anderson (1993), African-American coaches often find themselves on the periphery of coaching staffs. They are responsible for positional responsibilities such as, in football, running backs coach or wide receivers coach and are less likely to occupy a central role as a offensive coordinator, defensive coordinator or head coach (Anderson, 1993). It has also been found that African-American coaches will be added to a collegiate coaching staff for the primary purpose of recruiting African-American student-athletes with little prospect of advancing to a central position (Brown, 2002).

Ignoring Mental Abilities. Modern racism can trace its roots back to the Age of Reason. Prior to that point, treating other groups of people as inferior was based primarily upon religious affiliation (Popkin, 1999). As European countries ventured out to explore other continents they were introduced to people of different color, beliefs and traditions. European explorers used these differences to justify treating the indigenous people as inferior by conquering them and using them as slaves (Popkin, 1999).

These ideas of inferiority based on race were later supported through the notion of Social Darwinism. Social Darwinism, or “survival of the fittest” amongst races, provided the scientific support to justify European and western domination of other countries (Hofstadter, 1992). Later, in the early 1900's, these ideas were quantified through tests designed to capture the intelligent quotient (IQ) (Dennis, 1995). The results of the IQ
tests “proved” white superiority and seemingly provided evidence that African-Americans should be left on the periphery of American society (Dennis, 1995). Yet, even as these methods and results have been refuted, the underlying beliefs remain in many circles of American culture.

Within athletics, research has shown that African-American athletes are recognized for only their physical abilities and not their mental abilities or academic goals. For example, coaches and athletic departments have been found to push certain athletes towards “easier” majors that require less course work and preparation (Singer, 2005). This kind of behavior is most commonly done with African-American student-athletes (Singer, 2005). As a result, these student-athletes feel as though they are only valued for their athletic contributions and that their academic options are limited (Sailes, 2000; Spigner, 1993). This leads African-American student-athletes to have less interest in coaching than white student-athletes have because only their physical talents are lauded (Cunningham, 2003).

**Entry and Advancement to a Head Coaching Position**

Once one has decided to enter the coaching profession barriers are present to becoming a head coach. For African-Americans, the greatest barriers to entry and advancement, holding everything else equal, lie in the form of discrimination (Anshel, 1990; Cunningham, Bruening, & Straub, 2006; Cunningham & Singer, 2010; Lapchick, Lecky, & Trigg, 2012; Lapchick et al., 2012; Sagas & Cunningham, 2005; Sagas & Cunningham, 2007). According to Greenhaus and colleagues (1990), there are two types of discrimination that can be found in the workplace: access and treatment.
Access Discrimination. Access discrimination refers to a company's or institution's hiring practices. It is the discrimination that one faces when attempting to enter into a certain job (James, 2000). Seeing that during the 2008-2009 season, 60.9% of male Division I basketball players were African-American and only 21% of their coaches were African-American, it is evident access discrimination is present (Lapchick, Hoff, & Kaiser, 2011). Additionally, Cunningham and Sagas (2005) found that white head coaches had significantly less African-American assistant coaches on their coaching staffs (30%) than coaching staffs with African-American head coaches (45%). Taken together, it is very difficult to become a head coach if one cannot even gain access to the job market in the form of an assistant coaching position.

Treatment Discrimination. Once access has been obtained into the coaching profession, in the form of an assistant coaching position, the next form of discrimination that African-American coaches face is treatment discrimination. Treatment discrimination refers to the differing treatment of individuals in a workplace based upon certain characteristics such as race and gender (Greenhaus et al. 1990). This type of discrimination can be seen in both tangible outcomes, such as raises and promotions, and intangible outcomes, such as support and recognition (Button, 2001).

Much like African-American athletes are assigned to peripheral roles on the field of play, it has been found African-American coaches are also marginalized on coaching staffs (Anderson, 1993; Brown, 2002). This marginalization creates a situation where the coach will feel they have less opportunities for advancement, which creates in them a greater desire to leave the profession (Cunningham & Sagas, 2004b; Cunningham, Sagas,
& Ashley, 2001). Overall, treatment discrimination further perpetuates the racial inequality of head coaches of professional and collegiate teams.

Maintaining the Head Coach Position

While discrimination among coaches entering into the profession and discriminatory behaviors towards athletes has been well documented, less is known about what happens when an African-American coach becomes a head coach. Perhaps this is due to the small sample size of African-American head coaches. Regardless, the studies have produced mixed, if not counterintuitive, results.

Examining the results of African-American head coaches compared to their white counterparts creates a potential for inaccuracies if one fails to account for numerous confounding factors. However, researchers have attempted to mitigate team variances in their search for coach efficacy. Shropshire (1996) found the first three African-American managers in major league baseball had a combined winning percentage of 47% while their subsequent white replacements achieved a winning percentage of 43%.

In terms of professional football, as seen through the National Football League (NFL), Madden (2004) found that from 1990 to 2002 African-American coached teams had significantly better regular-season records than their white counterparts. In the playoffs, however, the African-American coached teams did worse than teams coached by white head coaches but the difference was not statistically significant (Madden, 2004). Madden's results were later confirmed by Branham (2008) as he extended the analysis through the 2007 season and, again, found that African-American coached teams had superior regular-season records. Interestingly enough, through the 2007 season, there was
no longer a difference in post-season success as Madden's (2004) study indicated (Branham, 2008).

Within the National Basketball Association (NBA), Fort, Lee, and Berri (2008) examined the race of the head coach compared to their technical efficiency and retention. Technical efficiency refers to a measure created to account for the varying levels of talent on each professional basketball team. Essentially, a coach, even with a losing team, can be very good and help his team over-perform (Fort, Lee, & Berri, 2008). Results of the study show no difference of technical efficiency by race and, perhaps more importantly, no difference in retention by race (Fort, Lee, & Berri, 2008).

The finding that race did not impact retention was also found by Mixon and Trevino (2004) when examining the firings of collegiate football coaches. In fact, Mixon and Trevino (2004) actually found that African-American head coaches were less likely to be fired when compared to their white counterparts. The authors of the paper mention that African-American head coaches may benefit from favorable treatment by university administrators in terms of retaining their jobs. This conclusion seems to greatly contradict the levels of discrimination found by researchers examining experiences of African-American athletes and coaches. Yet, perhaps this may indicate that university administration want to retain the notion of diversity, given meager numbers of diverse coaches, and also that the administrators do not see the position held by African-American coaches as threatening the status quo or the establishment.

**Females in the Coaching Profession**

While the majority of the research on coaching diversity and equality in coaching has been focused on the men's side, a growing attention has been paid to women in
coaching as well. This can be attributed, in part, to the growing participation of women in athletics due to Title IX and to the success of women's national programs (such as women's soccer and basketball) (Boxill, 2003). Today, women have greater access to athletics than ever before (Acosta & Carpenter, 2000; Acosta & Carpenter, 2006).

However, while athletic options continue to increase positions of leadership within the athletic departments remain largely white and male (DeHass, 2007; Hasbrook, 1988; McDowell, Cunningham, & Singer, 2009; Lapchick, Hoff, & Kaiser, 2011). Male dominated leadership has presented women wishing to coach at the highest levels with four key barriers: 1) assumption of lower competence in coaching compared to men, 2) hiring done based on homologous reproduction, 3) homophobia, and 4) dearth of female mentors (Kilty, 2006). Additionally, in 2004, the US Census Bureau found that male educators made over 31% more than their female counterparts. Finally, women that do become coaches feel as though they have less of a chance to be promoted to a head coaching role, and are therefore less interested in becoming head coaches (Armstrong, 2006; Armstrong & O'Bryant, 2007; Cunningham & Sagas, 2002; Everhart & Chelladurai, 1998; Reade, Rodgers, & Norman, 2009). Taken together, females that do enter the coaching profession feel they must work harder, will receive less respect and receive lower payment than male coaches (Cunningham & Sagas, 2002; Cunningham, Doherty, & Gregg, 2007; Sagas et al. 2000; West et al. 2001).

Summary

The racial discrepancies in the ranks of collegiate and professional teams are due to several hindrances that occur on one's journey from athlete to coach. As an athlete, African-Americans can expect to be valued primarily for their physical prowess rather
than their sport-specific acumen. Athletes that choose to persevere and continue their sporting careers into coaching face further marginalization on the coaching staff, assuming they can even obtain a coaching job in the first place. However, for African-Americans that do make it to a head coaching position, research shows their teams perform equal to or better than their white counterparts. Additionally, counter to every other stage of the athletic career for African-Americans, once they become head coaches it has been suggested they have greater job security.

Women attempting to enter the coaching profession face similar barriers. While their options for participating in sports continues to grow at the high school, collegiate and professional levels, the roles in leadership remain limited. Those running athletic conferences and athletic department are predominantly white males and, based on the research, prefer to hire similar coaches. Additionally, women that are able to break through into coaching often lack strong female mentors to guide them into the next stages of their careers.
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Hasbrook, C. (1988). Female coaches-why the declining numbers and percentages?


CHAPTER 3

COMMUNITY DIVERSITY AS A CORRELATE OF COACHING DIVERSITY

1 Imperiale-Hagerman, S. To be submitted to the Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics.
Abstract

Previous research has shown the link between the racial composition of a team's community and the racial composition of the professional team. The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between the community of a university and the diversity found on the coaching staff of its women's basketball team. Data used for this study came from two sources. First, the racial composition of the 2010-2011 coaching staffs from the “big six” National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I conferences were recorded. Second, the diversity of each college's surrounding community was calculated based on Myer and McIntosh's (1992) Diversity Index. Results for the study show diversity and being the head coach, as opposed to the assistant coach, to be significant predictors of race for college basketball coaches. The paper concludes with a brief remark regarding conference realignment and directions for future research.

Keywords: College, Athletics, Coaching, Diversity, Discrimination
Introduction

Diversity in the United States has been increasing and will continue to increase for the foreseeable future (Wright et al., 2013). While many aspects of education (Chang, 1999; Gurin, 1999; Gurin et al., 2002) and business (Herring, 2009) have embraced diversity with positive outcomes, the world of collegiate coaching has remained predominantly white (Lapchick, Hoff, & Kaiser 2011). This racial dominance within the coaching ranks becomes even more apparent when compared to the racial proportions of student-athletes within the most popular sports (Lapchick, Hoff, & Kaiser, 2011).

The benchmark for tracking racial and gender equality is The Racial and Gender Report Card (RGRC). Richard Lapchick and The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport (TIDES) at the University of Central Florida produce RGRC's every year. These reports examine hiring practices for major American sporting institutions. These institutions include the National Football League (NFL), Major League Baseball (MLB), the National Basketball Association (NBA) and college sports. In 2011, Lapchick and his associates examined the hiring practices of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and college sports. This report examined every aspect of college sport from the players to the coaches and administers, as well as those who work for the NCAA itself. The results show equality is present in some aspects of the game but terribly lacking in positions of power.

The flagship college sport is football. NCAA football has the greatest viewship and generates the most revenue out of all collegiate sports (Dosh, 2012). According to the 2011 RGRC, among Division I Bowl Championship Subdivision (BCS) football programs 45.1% of players are white and 45.8% of players are African-American. This
represents a very even distribution. However, the head coaches of these programs are far and away white. Ninety-three percent of head coaches are white while only 5.1% are African-American. The percentages for assistant coaches of Division I football teams are slightly less skewed but still far from equal. As of 2009, according to the RGRC, 78.3% of assistant coaches were white while 17.6% of assistant coaches were African-American. These numbers by themselves present an alarming picture but examining the trends causes even more concern. For example, in 2000-2001, 74.6% of assistant coaches were white while 22.7% of assistant coaches were African-American. At that same time, 49.4% of players were white and 42.1% of players were African-American. So for the past ten years, the races of the players on the field has become more equal while the coaching staffs have become more skewed.

The second largest collegiate sport, in terms of revenue and viewership, is men's basketball. According to the 2011 RGRC, 30.5% of Division I basketball players were white while 60.9% were African-American. For the racial breakdown of head coaches it is slightly better than for football but still heavily skewed towards white coaches. As of the 2008-2009 season, 77.3% of head Division I men's basketball coaches were white while 21% were African-American. For the assistant coaches, the numbers are even better. Fifty-nine percent of assistant coaches are white while 39.5% of assistant coaches are African-American. Additionally, the trend of equality among assistant coaches is moving in the right direction, as during the 1999-2000 season 32.9% of assistant coaches were African-American. This shows progress towards equality, albeit rather slow.

The largest women's collegiate sport, in terms of revenue and viewership, is basketball. Women's college basketball presents another variable in the coach
categorization because it is not uncommon for men to coach, as both head coaches and assistant coaches. For collegiate women's basketball players at the Division I level 40.2% are white while 51% are African-American. Among the head coaches of these programs 53.9% are white women, 29.9% are white men, 11.4% are African-American women and 3.9% are African-American men. Or, broken down by race, 83.8% of head coaches are white and 15.3% are African-American. For assistant coaches the numbers become slightly more equal. 40.7% of assistant Division I basketball coaches are white women, 26.8% are African-American women, 18.8% are white men and 10.7% are African-American men.

While Lapchick's work examines each collegiate sport at every personnel level, from athletic director to student-athlete, it treats each university as its own isolated entity. Each university, however, is not an isolated entity unto itself as it is part of a greater community. Therefore, the purposes of this study were to examine the relationship between the community of a university and the diversity found on the coaching staff of its women's basketball team. This research is guided by a categorical demographic approach and social-psychological framework, namely the similarity-attraction paradigm (Byrne, 1971; Tsui & Gutek, 1999). Women's basketball was chosen because it represents the most high profile collegiate sport to have not only multiple races coaching but also males and females. The following sections will provide a survey of research into women's leadership roles in sport and the athletic impact of community diversity.

**Women's Basketball**

The sport of women's basketball provides a valuable backdrop to examine both gender and race due to the prevalence of both men and women coaching. For male
dominated sports, such as football and baseball, the norm is for only males to coach. However, for female dominated sports it is socially acceptable for both males and females to coach (Acosta & Carpenter, 2006; Pastore, 1991; Sartore & Cunningham, 2007; Stangl & Kane, 1991).

Due to Title IX and the growing success of high-profile women's athletic teams (US National teams of soccer and basketball) women have greater access to athletics than ever before (Acosta & Carpenter, 2006). However, those in position of leadership within the athletic departments remain largely white and male (DeHass, 2007; Hasbrook, 1988; McDowell, Cunningham, & Singer, 2009; Lapchick, Hoff, & Kaiser, 2011). Male dominated leadership has presented women wishing to coach at the highest levels with four key barriers: 1) assumption of lower competence in coaching compared to men, 2) hiring done based on homologous reproduction, 3) homophobia, and 4) dearth of female mentors (Kilty, 2006). Additionally, in 2004, the US Census Bureau found that male educators made over 31% more than their female counterparts. Finally, women that do become coaches feel as though they have less of a chance to be promoted to a head coaching role and are therefore less interested in becoming head coaches (Armstrong, 2006; Armstrong & O'Bryant, 2007; Cunningham & Sagas, 2002; Everhart & Chelladurai, 1998; Reade, Rodgers, & Norman, 2009). Taken together, females that do enter the coaching profession feel they must work harder, will receive less respect and receive lower payment than male coaches (Cunningham & Sagas, 2002; Cunningham et al. 2007; Sagas et al. 2000; West et al. 2001).
Community Bias

For the purpose of this study, diversity will be based upon Joplin and Daus' (1997) definition. They define diversity as “any characteristic used to differentiate one person from others (Joplin & Daus, 1997, p.32).” For coaches, diversity will include both race and gender while for communities only race will be used. A community's diversity will be quantified using an adapted version of Myer and McIntosh's (1992) Diversity Index (DI) framework. It is adapted to mirror the racial distribution of women's basketball coaches and will therefore use three classifications for race: white, African-American, and other. It will take the form of:

\[
\text{Diversity Index} = 1 - \left(\frac{\text{pop. white}}{100}\right)^2 - \left(\frac{\text{pop. African-American}}{100}\right)^2 - \left(\frac{\text{pop. Other}}{100}\right)^2
\]

The greater the DI score then the greater the chance of encountering people of different races in a particular community (Myer & Mcintosh, 1992). This is an important factor to observe due to the fact that greater diversity in one's community can lead to social solidarity and “more encompassing identities (Putnam, 2007, p.139).” The largest possible DI score is approximately .67 while the lowest score possible, for a completely homogeneous population, would be 0.

In the realm of sports, several studies have examined the relationship between diversity and the biases of the community surrounding a particular team. Fan attendance was found to be higher if an NBA team had more white players (Hamilton, 1997; Kahn & Sherer, 1988). Additionally, it has been found that fan attendance is also related to a community's sociodemographic backgrounds (Armstrong & Stratta, 2004; Bilyeau &
Wann, 2002; Clark & Mannion, 2006; McCarthy & Stillman, 1998; Pons et al., 2001; Zhang et al., 1995). On television, it was found that teams with more white players participating had higher Nielsen ratings (Kanazawa & Funk, 2001). Within the team's community itself, it has been found that a community with a greater white population is positively correlated with a greater portion of their NBA team being white (Hoang & Rascher, 1999; Burdekin, Hossfeld, & Smith, 2005).

Method

To accomplish this study, data was gathered in two forms. First, race and gender information was gathered for the coaching staffs of the 2010-2011 women's basketball teams. The teams were limited to those originating from the six “power conferences.” These six conferences were chosen because they represent the highest level of competition in collegiate sports and also geographically organize the schools. These conferences are the Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC), the Big 12, the Big East, the Big Ten, the Pacific Athletic Conference (PAC), and the Southeastern Conference (SEC). Within these teams the race and gender of the head coach as well as all assistant coaches were gathered. Due to the vast majority of coaches being either white or African-American, coaches from other races were omitted from the study. Their inclusion would have simply produced statistically insignificant results due to their paucity. A further explanation of the scope of the race variable is presented below. For the analysis there were a total of 278 coaches.

The second piece of information gathered was a modified version of the DI for each city the respective college resides. The reason for grouping all races into only three groups is due to the breakdown of coaches within women's basketball. As stated above,
in the previous section, white and African-American coaches account for 99.1% of women's basketball head coaches and 97% of assistant coaches (Lapchick, Hoff, & Kaiser, 2011). With such a great domination of position by two races it is logical to reflect that within the DI. So, the diversity of the community increases as the percent of each race moves closer to a third of the population. For example, a community that consists of 100% of one race lacks diversity and the Diversity Index, therefore, will equal 0. If, on the other hand, a community has one-third for each racial category then that community will receive a maximum Diversity Index of approximately .67.

With the DI calculated for each college community it can then be used as a predictor in determining the race and gender of the coach. To accomplish this first the means will be examined, accounting for both gender and race. Then, a generalized linear model will be used to examine significant predictors in the race and gender of the coaches.

Results

The first step was to simply see what the DI means were for the gender and race of each coach. Below, in Figure 3.1, presents a boxplot comparing the DI means for each combination of race and gender for both head coaches as well as assistant coaches. Within the boxplot several interesting relationships are presented. As can be seen by the boxplot and confirmed by the descriptive statistics above, the mean DI values for white coaches is less than the DI values for African-American coaches. This suggests that African-American coaches have a lower probability of being hired in non-diverse areas of the country. Additionally, out of all the race and gender combinations, it is white males
### Table 3.1: Counts for Each Coaching Combination with DI in Parentheses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>African-American</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>114 (.45)</td>
<td>173 (.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coaching Position</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head Coach</td>
<td>16 (.47)</td>
<td>57 (.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Coach</td>
<td>98 (.44)</td>
<td>116 (.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>79 (.44)</td>
<td>104 (.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35 (.46)</td>
<td>69 (.40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conference</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>20 (.44)</td>
<td>28 (.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big 12</td>
<td>11 (.35)</td>
<td>36 (.30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big East</td>
<td>28 (.51)</td>
<td>35 (.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Ten</td>
<td>15 (.36)</td>
<td>27 (.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pac-10</td>
<td>17 (.46)</td>
<td>22 (.40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEC</td>
<td>23 (.46)</td>
<td>25 (.45)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3.2: Descriptive Summary Information for DI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Full Sample</th>
<th>African-American</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean (SD)</td>
<td>.42 (.13)</td>
<td>.45 (.12)</td>
<td>.41 (.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>.2, .65</td>
<td>.2, .65</td>
<td>.2, .65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI for Female Coaches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean (SD)</td>
<td>.42 (.13)</td>
<td>.44 (.13)</td>
<td>.41 (.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>.2, .65</td>
<td>.2, .65</td>
<td>.2, .65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI for Male Coaches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean (SD)</td>
<td>.42 (.12)</td>
<td>.46 (.11)</td>
<td>.40 (.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>.2, .65</td>
<td>.22, .85</td>
<td>.2, .65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI by Conference</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC – Mean (SD)</td>
<td>.46 (.12)</td>
<td>.44 (.13)</td>
<td>.46 (.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big 12 – Mean (SD)</td>
<td>.31 (.09)</td>
<td>.35 (.10)</td>
<td>.30 (.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big East – Mean (SD)</td>
<td>.50 (.13)</td>
<td>.51 (.12)</td>
<td>.49 (.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Ten – Mean (SD)</td>
<td>.37 (.10)</td>
<td>.36 (.10)</td>
<td>.38 (.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pac-10 – Mean (SD)</td>
<td>.42 (.11)</td>
<td>.46 (.11)</td>
<td>.40 (.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEC – Mean (SD)</td>
<td>.44 (.09)</td>
<td>.46 (.09)</td>
<td>.43 (.09)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.2:** Descriptive summary information for Diversity Index based on the race of the coaches.
that have the lowest DI, indicating that non-diverse areas of the country may feel more comfortable hiring a white male to represent their basketball team. Conversely, black males have the highest DI. Also of interest is that, when comparing race holding gender constant both the white females and males had a lower DI than their black counterparts. Again, this suggests that no-diverse areas of the country may be averse to departing from the status quo when it comes to hiring. Statistically, from running an analysis of variance (ANOVA) test, the null hypothesis of equal DI means across race can be rejected at the $\alpha = .05$ level, $F_{(1,285)} = 6.92, p < .01, \omega^2 = .03$. No statistically significant result was found for mean differences between DI and gender.

![Boxplot of diversity index based on the race and gender of the sample of coaches. This boxplot holds coaching position constant and does not take into account head coach or assistant coach.](image)

*Figure 3.1: Boxplot of diversity index based on the race and gender of the sample of coaches. This boxplot holds coaching position constant and does not take into account head coach or assistant coach.*
Coaching and Race

Approaching the analysis from the athletic conference level discrepancies between the DI of conferences exist. Seen below, in Figure 3.2, several interesting relationships are shown. First, the conferences predominantly on the coasts (Pacific or Atlantic) have a greater diversity in their campus communities indicating cities closer to the coast have greater levels of diversity. This dynamic can be seen when comparing the boxplot of the Big Ten Conference and the Pac-10 Conference. The Big Ten's DI distribution is skewed heavily towards the lower DI range where the PAC-10's median and mean DI values are greater. The two midwestern-based conferences, the Big 12 and the Big 10 are the two lowest conferences in terms of DI demonstrating a lack of diversity in cities located in the interior of the United States. Interestingly, the Big East conference has two outliers. This accounts for two schools within the Big East that actually are positioned closer to more Big Ten schools than schools in their own conference. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was then conducted to compare the DI of each conference. There was a significant difference between conferences at the α = .05 level, $F(5,281)=18.00, p < .01, \omega^2 = .23$.

With evidence of a difference between DI among conferences, the next step was to see if differences between the race of coaches between the conferences exist. To test for the similarity of proportions within coaches by race and conference a Pearson's Chi-Squared test was used. Across all six conferences a significant difference in the race of coaches did not exist as the null hypothesis was not rejected at the $\alpha = .05$ level, $X^2(5)=7.76, p=.17$. However, if the conferences are grouped together, based on midwestern
conferences versus coastal conferences, then the null hypothesis of equal proportions can be rejected at the $\alpha = .05$ significance level as $X^2_{(1)} = 5.95, p = .02$. This result mirrors what was seen above as the DI of the Big 12 and the Big Ten were the two lowest out of all the conferences.

Taking all of the previous information into account, a generalized binary logit model was created to calculate the probability of a coach being either black or white. The results are presented below in Table 3.3. In the model, race is coded as binary with a 0 for

Figure 3.2: Boxplot of diversity index based on the communities housing universities affiliated with each athletic conference.
black and a 1 for white. Therefore, according to the model, as the DI of a community increases, so does the probability that a coach will be black. The coefficient estimate for head coach equals 1.16 and means there is a higher probability if the coach in question is the head coach that he or she will be white. Finally, if the coach in question is male then there is a higher probability that coach will be white. Of interest, all of the variables used in the model are significant at the .05 level except for gender. However, a p-value of .08 is deemed close enough for inclusion into the model.

**Coaching and Gender**

Ignoring race, the difference between the gender of coaches is far less. There was no significant difference between gender and DI, as illustrated in Figure 3.3. Also, there was no significant gender difference between athletic conferences ($X^2=3.20, p=.67$). Finally, there was no significant gender difference between head coaches and assistant coaches ($X^2=.48, p=.49$). While gender on its own does not produce significance, the next and final step is to examine the combination of race and gender.

**Logit Model with Race as Dependent Variable**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity Index</td>
<td>-2.67</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head Coach</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender(Male)</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.3: Logit model with race, either black or white, as the dependent variable.*
Race and Gender on Coaching

Accounting for both race and gender creates a response variable with four different levels: black female, black male, white female, and white male. Therefore, a multinomial model will be used (Agresti, 2007). This section of the paper describes the variable selection process, and presents the final model.

Presented in Table 3.4, are a series of multinomial models from an empty model, with no explanatory variables, to two model combinations with three explanatory variables. As seen by the AIC (Akaike's Information Criterion), model #3 has the lowest value therefore will be used for the remainder of the analysis (Venables & Ripley, 2002). Due to the complex nature of the multinomial model, a graphical representation will be

![Boxplot of diversity index based on the gender of the coach, not accounting for the position of the coach.](image)

Figure 3.3: Boxplot of diversity index based on the gender of the coach, not accounting for the position of the coach.
used to show the relationships. As seen in Figure 3.4, are a series of plots corresponding to the results found from multinomial model #3. The y-axis for each plot is the probability of employment as a head coach or assistant coach. The x-axis represents the DI. Also of interest, each plot contains two lines, the red lines represents the probability for an assistant coach while the blue line represents the head coach. From the plots several phenomena are visible. First, across race we see that there is a higher probability for white coaches to be head coaches while black coaches are more likely to be assistant coaches. Second, as the DI increases so too does the probability that the team will have a black coach and less likely a white coach. Finally, for female coaches we see almost parallel lines in their plots while the males have diverging plots. This means that for females the difference between the probability of being the head coach and assistant coach remains almost constant. For males, on the other hand, we see the probability of black coaches being assistant coaches increasing with an increasing rate with respect to DI and conversely for white, male coaches.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model Number</th>
<th>Variable(s)</th>
<th>AIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>EMPTY MODEL</td>
<td>764.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Diversity Index</td>
<td>763.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Diversity Index</td>
<td>Head Coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Diversity Index</td>
<td>Head Coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Diversity Index</td>
<td>Head Coach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4: Multinomial model selection on the basis of lowest AIC. Based on the results, model #3 will be used.
Figure 3.4: Multinomial results from model #3 illustrating the probability of employment as a coach based on gender, race and community diversity.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between the community of a university and the diversity found on the coaching staff of its women's basketball team. The results from the study show a significant relationship exists between a coach's race and the DI of the community. Additionally, there is a significant difference between the DI of the “big six,” or power, athletic conferences.

The results of the present study illustrate a connection between race, gender and the diversity found in a college's community. According to Lapchick (2010) and the RGRC, in 2010 racial hiring practices across college athletics received a “solid B.” Within collegiate sports, for race assistant women's coaches received an A-/B+ and head
women's coaches received a B+/B. For gender hiring practices both head and assistant coaches for women's basketball received an A+. While the grades Lapchick assigned can instill optimism and a perception of equality they must be accepted with caution. As shown above, not all areas of the country behave in the same manner. Clearly, different regions of the country have differing approaches to hiring. Additionally, these results appear to support, at the coaching level, the findings by Hoang and Rascher (1999) and Burdekin, Hossfeld, and Smith (2005). As described previously, the two articles examined the race of NBA players in comparison to the racial breakdown of the community.

Of particular interest is the new organization of the power conferences since this data was collected. Starting during the 2011-2012 academic year several major moves broke what was once considered geographically logical conferences. For example, the University of Colorado and Utah University joined what was the PAC-10. A year later, the University of West Virginia moved from the Big East, a very geographically logical affiliation, to the Big 12, a midwestern conference, and the University of Missouri and Texas A&M University moved to the SEC just to name a few. The importance of these moves is that geography is no longer an organizing factor in the collegiate conferences. It will be very interesting to see if the midwestern schools that have transitioned to coastal conferences adapt to their new conference's behavior and vice versa.

While differences have been found in the hiring practices based on the regions of the country and the DI of a college's community further steps are necessary to truly understand the dynamics at work. The next step is to ask the coaches, from college communities with differing DI values, about their experiences, satisfaction and desire to
remain in the coaching profession. From this line of inquiry we can better understand the challenges a coach may face beyond the field of play.
References


330-366.


American Community Survey.


CHAPTER 4

DIVERSITY, ACCEPTANCE, SUPPORT AND TURNOVER INTENTIONS OF
NCAA DIVISION II WOMEN'S BASKETBALL COACHES²

² Imperiale-Hagerman, S. and Chepyator-Thomson, R. To be submitted to the Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics
Abstract

A great discrepancy exists in race and gender in the world of coaching collegiate athletics. While great attention has been paid to the National Collegiate Athletic Association's (NCAA) Division I coaches, fewer studies have examined coaches' perceptions of workplace experiences and hiring practices in other divisions, specifically Division II. The purpose of this study is to examine the correlations between job support, perceptions of discrimination, turnover intentions, and perceptions of diversity within one's athletic department as well as their general community. Data were collected via a survey of 91 Division II head and assistant coaches of women's collegiate basketball. Results of the study show positive, significant relationships between diversity and acceptance and support. Significant differences, by race, for turnover intentions were also found. Finally, although statistically insignificant, white assistant coaches perceived the greatest amount of support. The paper concludes with a discussion of results and directions for future research.

Keywords: NCAA, Division II, Women's Basketball, Coaching, Athletics, Race, Gender
Introduction

In college athletics today, there is a major discrepancy between players and coaches. Present at the highest levels of the most viewed sports are considerable differences between the racial distributions of coaches and players (Will to Act, 2002), particularly in the area of football, and men's and women's basketball. Extant literature review indicates racial and gender discrepancies in the sports listed above, needing explanations of why these discrepancies are concerning for players and future coaches, and also calling of an examination of why those discrepancies occur.

The theoretical framework that guides this study is social dominance theory. The key focus of social dominance theory is on the individual and institutional contributors to the oppression of a group (Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar & Levin, 2004). Additionally, social dominance theory posits that the group oppression observed is systematic, consistently allocating certain resources to specific groups (Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar, & Levin, 2004; Mitchell & Sidanius, 1995). This dynamic is clearly evident in collegiate coaching as central leadership roles are dominated by white coaches and administrators, while African-American coaches occupy the periphery (Lapchick & Brenden, 2011).

Review of Related Literature

Every year Richard Lapchick and The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport (TIDES) at the University of Central Florida compose reports that focus on hiring practices for major American sporting institutions. These institutions include the National Football League (NFL), Major League Baseball (MLB), the National Basketball Association (NBA) and college sports. In 2010, Lapchick and his associates examined the hiring practices of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and college
sports. This report, The Racial and Gender Report Card for College Sports (RGRC), provide information on every aspect of college sport from the players to the coaches to the administers, as well as information on those who work for the NCAA itself. The results show equality is present in some aspects of the game but terribly lacking in positions of power.

The flagship college sport is football. NCAA football has the greatest viewership and generates the most revenue out of all collegiate sports (Dosh, 2012). According to the 2010 RGRC, among Division I football programs 45.1% of players are white and 45.8% of players are African-American. This represents a very even distribution. However, the head coaches of these programs are far and away white. Ninety-three of head coaches are white while only 5.1% are African-American. The percentages for assistant coaches of Division I football teams are slightly less skewed but still far from equal. As of 2009, according to the RGRC, 78.3% of assistant coaches were white while 17.6% of assistant coaches were African-American. These numbers by themselves present an alarming picture but examining the trends causes even more concern. For example, in 2000-2001, 74.6% of assistant coaches were white while 22.7% of assistant coaches were African-American. At that same time, 49.4% of players were white and 42.1% of players were African-American. So for the past ten years, the races of the players on the field has become more equal while the coaching staffs have become more skewed.

The second largest collegiate sport, in terms of revenue and viewership, is men's basketball. According to the 2010 RGRC, 30.5% of Division I basketball players were white while 60.9% were African-American. For the racial breakdown of head coaches it is slightly better than that of football but still heavily skewed towards white coaches. As
of the 2008-2009 season, 77.3% of head Division I men's basketball coaches were white while 21% were African-American. For the assistant coaches, the numbers are even better because 59.1% of assistant coaches were white while 39.5% of assistant coaches are African-American. Additionally, the trend of equality among assistant coaches is moving in the right direction, as during the 1999-2000 season 32.9% of assistant coaches were African-American. This shows progress towards equality, albeit rather slow (Lapchick & Brenden, 2011).

The largest women's collegiate sport, in terms of revenue and viewership, is basketball. Women's college basketball presents another variable in the coach categorization because it is not uncommon for men to coach, as both head coaches and assistant coaches. For collegiate women's basketball players at the Division I level 40.2% were white while 51% were African-American. Among the head coaches of these programs, 53.9% are white women, 29.9% are white men, 11.4% are African-American women and 3.9% are African-American men. When broken down by race, 83.8% of head coaches are white and 15.3% are African-American. For assistant coaches the numbers become slightly more equal as 40.7% of assistant Division I basketball coaches were white women, 26.8% were African-American women, 18.8% were white men and 10.7% were African-American men (Lapchick & Brenden, 2011).

In all, the demographics of these three collegiate sports show the lack of congruency between the student-athletes and the coaches. The percentages themselves are just the tip of the iceberg. What becomes more important were the perceptions revealed from the discrepancy in racial representation between coaches and student-
athletes. The next section of the paper examines how race and gender can influence the relationship between a coach and student-athlete.

The Relationship Between Coaches and Student-Athletes

For a coach to be successful he or she must be a teacher, tactician, confidant, friend, or a disciplinarian. The coach must take on multiple roles to insure the success of the team. However, even though these roles may differ from one day to the next the underlying coach-athlete relationship must have three things. According to Jowett (2005), in order for a coach and athlete to have a strong and productive relationship they must have interconnected feelings, thoughts and behaviors. In other words, the coach and the athlete must be able to relate to each other's emotions, expectations and actions. The coach needs to understand the athlete and the athlete needs to understand the coach.

A great part of the understanding between an athlete and coach is the sensitivity to another culture. Hunter and Elias call this “multicultural sensitivity” and it means the ability to appreciate the differences of another person while working with them (Hunter & Elias, 2000). People that are able to respect the differences of those around them benefit from stronger relationships. On the other hand, if one does not take the time to understand another person from a different race or cultural background then they often rely on stereotypes to fill in the missing information. Several studies in the realms of athletics as well as education have examined these multicultural relationships.

For instance, in the classroom, several studies have shown teachers of a certain race treat students of different races differently. Feldman in 1985 discovered that teachers would treat students who were of similar race more positively than students who were of different races (Feldman, 1985). These results held true for both white teachers as well as
African-American teachers (Feldman, 1985). Pigott and Cowen in 2000 found that some white teachers perceived their African-American students to have less potential and more negative qualities than their white counterparts (Pigott & Cowen, 2000). Bahr and colleagues found teachers perceived their African-American students to be more problematic than their white students (Bahr, Fuchs, & Fuchs, 1991). These expectations also come to light with student achievements as the expectancy effects appear to impact minority students and students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds the most (Gill & Reynolds, 1999; Jussim, Eccles & Madon, 1996). While these studies are certainly not representative of the whole teaching profession they do introduce a self-fulfilling type of relationship if the authority figure does not take the time to understand those around him or her.

Studies that examine the perceptions of coaches support what was found in the classroom. In soccer, white coaches were seen to think less of their black players when it came to intelligence, fortitude, and the ability to work within a team framework (Burley & Fleming, 1997; Cashmore, 1982; Maguire, 1988). A later study in soccer showed black players felt like they had less of a personal relationship with their white coaches than white players did (Jowett & Frost, 2007).

Also present in the sport literature is the focus on stacking. Stacking is the practice of placing certain players, based on race, in certain positions (Curtis & Loy, 1978). In some instances players are assigned to a position with the perception that the white coach did not even consider their skillset (Smith & Henderson, 2000). This kind of behavior by coaches lead athletes to believe they are not valued as people and as a result the athletes feel used (Anshel, 1990).
The lack of understanding between coaches and players of differing races leads to strained relationships or a complete lack of relationship. Unfortunately, the perception of being undervalued or not valued as a person can extend beyond the field of play. The next section will present research that has looked at how interracial perceptions lead African-American athletes to have less motivation to pursue a coaching career when they are done playing.

The Relationship Between Coaches and Potential Future Coaches

A strained or non-existent relationship between a coach and student-athlete can also influence the student-athlete's future career goals (Cunningham & Singer, 2010). As stated above, it is not uncommon for an African-American student-athlete to feel as though they are only valued for their athletic ability and to be ignored as a person. This kind of perception, perpetuated largely by white coaches, can lead African-American athletes to undervalue coaching and pursue other professions (Cunningham & Singer, 2010).

Research has shown two key coaching behaviors that potentially decrease the motivation of African-American athletes to pursue careers in coaching. The first is stacking. As described above stacking is the practice of playing athletes from certain races into specific positions. This usually involves placing African-American athletes on the periphery and away from leadership positions (Smith & Henderson, 2000). For example, in the game of football, African-Americans more often play on the outskirts of the game in positions such as wide receiver and defensive back. The white athletes largely occupy the central leadership position, the quarterback (Smith & Henderson, 2000). By steering African-American athletes away from leadership positions this can
decrease their self-efficacy in their ability to lead which, based on Social Cognitive Theory, would make them less likely to pursue a leadership role in the form of coaching (Bandura, 1986). Social cognitive theory examines a person's behavior based on the factors of environment, other people and one's own behaviors (Bandura, 1986). These three factors ultimately decide how a person will behave in certain situations (Bandura, 1986).

The second key coaching behavior that potentially limits motivation for African-Americans to pursue coaching careers is the attitude towards academics. It has been found in the research that coaches and athletic programs can push certain athletes towards “easier” majors and courses so the main focus can be on athletics (Singer, 2005). This kind of behavior is most commonly done when dealing with African-American student-athletes (Singer, 2005). These athletes can also be solely recognized for their athletic achievements and have their academic achievements ignored (Sailes, 2000). Finally, minority student-athletes as a whole feel as though they have limited academic options when attending college and playing sports (Spigner, 1993). This leads African-American student-athletes to have less interest in coaching than white student-athletes have because only their physical talents are lauded (Cunningham, 2003).

From the Female Perspective

While the majority of the research on coaching diversity and equality in coaching has been focused on the men's side, a growing attention has been paid to women in coaching. This can be attributed, in part, to the growing participation of women in athletics due to Title IX and the success of women's national programs (such as women's
soccer) (Boxill, 2003). Today, women have greater access to athletics than ever before (Acosta & Carpenter, 2006).

Even though women are participating in sports in greater numbers men still dominate the athletic landscape in the form of administrators, presidents of colleges and conferences, and coaches (RGRC, 2010; DeHass, 2007; Hasbrook, 1988). This creates several interesting phenomenon. First, it is socially acceptable for men to coach women's sports but it is very rare for a woman to coach a men's team (Acosta & Carpenter, 2006). This inequality opens up far more coaching jobs for men and can present a bleak outlook for women interested in pursuing a coaching career. Second, in education women are paid significantly less than men to do the same job. In 2004 the US Census Bureau found male educators to make over 31% more than female educators.

These three factors greatly decrease the desire in females to pursue coaching careers. It is perceived that a female coach has to work harder, get paid less and get less support than a male coach (Cunningham et al. 2007). This leads current female players to question whether a coaching career is worth the time and experience (Cunningham et al. 2007). For those females that do pursue coaching they have a greater likelihood to leave the profession at an earlier stage than a male coach (Sagas et al. 2000). In all, present in women's athletics is a structural deficiency that marginalizes female coaches and celebrates male coaches. In order for a sustained and significant change to occur a shift towards gender equality within those with the most power is necessary. However, very rarely do people give up power to support the development of subordinates voluntarily.
Coaching and Discrimination

For those African-American student-athletes who do decide to pursue a career in coaching they must then face additional hurdles in the form of discrimination (Sagas & Cunningham, 2005; Cunningham & Sagas, 2007). According to Greenhaus et al. (1990), there are two types of discrimination that can be found in a workplace. The first is access discrimination. Access discrimination refers to the discrimination one faces when attempting to enter into a certain job (James, 2000), which is shaped by a company's hiring practices. The second type of discrimination is treatment discrimination (Cunningham & Sagas, 2007; Greehaus et al., 1990). Treatment discrimination refers to the difficulty one faces when they have been hired by a certain organization such as fewer promotions, lower wages and being assigned less critical tasks just to name a few.

The academic literature pertaining to collegiate coaching shows both forms of discrimination to be present. Lapchick and the RGRC show clearly that access discrimination is present in athletic departments nationwide. Fink, Pastore and Riemer (2001) found that those in collegiate athletic departments who were not white males were generally treated with less respect. Female coaches have been found to receive less support and respect (Acosta & Carpenter, 2000; Acosta & Carpenter, 2006). For African-American coaches, it has been found that they are marginalized on coaching staffs and also less respected than their white counterparts (Anderson, 1993; Brown, 2002). Additionally, African-American coaches and female coaches had fewer chances for advancement and greater turnover rates than white, male coaches at similar colleges (Cunningham & Sagas, 2004).
A potential precursor to both access discrimination and treatment discrimination is called taste discrimination. Taste discrimination is the perception by an authority figure of how access or treatment discrimination will be viewed by those around him or her (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990). In essence, if the people around you do not care if you discriminate or prefer that you do discriminate then you will carry out that course of action. If, on the other hand, people around do not approve of discriminatory behavior then it would not be in your best interest to act that way.

The purpose of this study was to examine the correlations between perceptions of support, perceptions of discrimination, turnover intentions and perceptions of diversity within one's athletic department as well as their general community. Unlike previous studies, focusing primarily on Division I programs, this study focused on Division II coaches for women's basketball teams. Within this study three main hypotheses will be examined.

Hypothesis 1: perceptions of diversity will be directly related to perceptions of acceptance and support while being indirectly related to turnover intentions.

Hypothesis 2: white coaches will have lower turnover intentions.

Hypothesis 3: white head coaches will have the greatest amount of support.

Method

Participants

NCAA Division II women's basketball coaches (N=91) consented and participated completely in the survey. The sample contained 30 head coaches and 61 assistant coaches. Sixty-seven female coaches and 24 male coaches completed the survey. By race, 65 coaches were white, 21 were African-American and 5 were Hispanic.
The average age of the sample was 35.3 years (SD = 9.2) and the average tenure at their current position was 6.1 years (SD = 6.0).

Measures

Within the survey, questions divided into five sections. The sections were organized based on demographics, perceptions of diversity, perceptions of discrimination, perceived support and turnover intentions. The following will present the question sections in greater detail.

Demographics. While all participants were coaches of NCAA Division II women's basketball teams, further information was necessary. Participants were asked to report their coaching level, whether head coach or assistant coach, as well as their tenure with their current institution in years. Personal information, such as age, in years, gender, and race were also reported.

Perceptions of Diversity. Three questions were asked to measure the racial and gender diversity surrounding each coach based on questions derived from Harrison and colleagues (2002) and Cunningham (2006 & 2009). The questions began with “How similar to one another are the members of your...” The first question examined the similarity of race in the athletic department. The second question examined gender within the athletic department. The third, and final, question examined race in the community that housed the university. Each question was answered based on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (very dissimilar) to 7 (very similar).

Perceptions of Discrimination. Respondents completed six items from Levin and colleagues (2002) to gauge the perceptions of discrimination found in the coaching profession. Levels of discrimination the items focused on were race and gender. Each
question was based on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree). A sample item is “Women experience discrimination because of their gender.”

Perceived Support. Perceived support questions were used from Greenhaus and colleagues' study (1990). This measure consists of 14 items scored with a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree). The goal of these items was to assess the connection each coach had to their athletic department, superiors, and how they felt overall about their decision to pursue a career in the coaching profession. Sample items include “I am satisfied with the success I have achieved in my career” and “I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward meeting my goals for advancement.”

Turnover Intentions. The final section of the questionnaire consists of 24 questions based on Meyer, Allen, and Smith (1993) to assess turnover intentions. Once again, these items were based on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree). The questions assess how important being a coach is to each of the respondents and their desire to continue on in the profession. Sample items include “I am enthusiastic about coaching” and “Changing professions now would require considerable personal sacrifice.”

Results

The survey results were coded and grouped into six variables. The first variables account for the racial diversity found in one's athletic department, the gender diversity found in one's athletic department and the racial diversity found in one's community. The next variable is a reverse-coded mean of the discrimination variable, which will be
referred to as acceptance. The fifth variable is the mean of the support measure. Finally, the sixth variable is a mean of the turnover intentions measure. Below, in Table 4.1 is a Pearson correlation matrix of all variables along with means and standard deviations.

![Table 4.1: Descriptive statistics of the survey results.](image)

### Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis is that the three diversity measures will be directly related to acceptance and support and indirectly related to turnover intentions. To accomplish this, three linear models were used as seen below in Table 4.2. In the first model, with acceptance as the dependent variable, it is seen that there is a direct, significant relationship with gender diversity found in one's athletic department and the null hypothesis for the omnibus test was rejected $\alpha = .05$ level, $F_{(1,89)} = 4.77, p = .03$. The second model regresses gender diversity and community diversity on the support one feels in their job. As can be seen, both gender diversity and community diversity had positive relationships with community diversity possessing a significant relationship. Additionally, the omnibus test for the complete model rejected the null hypothesis at $\alpha =$
.05 level, $F_{(1,89)} = 8.56, p < .01$. Finally, for turnover intentions, no variables possessed a significant relationship but the closest to significance was community diversity and it possessed a negative relationship. Within this model, the omnibus test was unable to be rejected at the $\alpha = .05$ level, $F_{(1,89)} = 2.71, p = .10$.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Acceptance</th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Turnover Intentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial Diversity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Diversity</td>
<td>.17(.08)*</td>
<td>.11(.07)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Diversity</td>
<td>.19(.08)*</td>
<td>-.05(.03)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Standard errors in parentheses, * = significant at .05

Table 4.2: Linear relationships between perceptions of diversity and the dependent variables of acceptance, support, and turnover intentions.

**Hypothesis 2**

Hypothesis 2 looks to understand the racial relationship of turnover intentions. To accomplish this, coach race was recoded into a binary variable. Each coach was coded from their responses, as either a white coach ($n = 65$) or a non-white coach ($n = 26$). Then a t-test was run to see if a significant difference was found between coaching groups' turnover intentions. A visual representation, via a boxplot, can be seen below in figure 4.1. The t-test results show a mean value of turnover intentions for white coaches of 3.43, and a mean value of 3.79 for non-white coaches. There was a significant effect for race, rejecting the null hypothesis at the $\alpha = .05$ level, $F_{(1,89)} = 6.1, p = .02, \omega^2 = .06$. From this it can be seen that white coaches do experience lower turnover intentions compared to their non-white counterparts.
Hypothesis 3

The final hypothesis is that white head coaches will receive the greatest amount of support. Conducting a two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) shows there are no significant effects present to support the hypothesis. The main effect for coaching position, either head coach or assistant coach, was insignificant at the $\alpha = .05$ level, $F_{(1,88)} = .11, p = .74$. Additionally, the main effect for race was insignificant as well at the $\alpha = .05$ level, $F_{(1,88)} = 1.01, p = .32$. Upon further examination, through the use of a t-test examining just coaching position in relation to perceived support, it is actually seen that assistant coaches perceived greater support (4.69) than head coaches (4.61). The t-test

Figure 4.1: A boxplot comparing turnover intentions by the race of the coach.
results are also insignificant at the $\alpha = .05$ level, $t_{(67.27)} = .35$, $p = .73$. As for the examination of perceived support by race, it can be seen that white coaches perceive greater support (4.74) than coaches of other races (4.49). However that t-test result is insignificant as well at the $\alpha = .05$ level, $t_{(40.84)} = -.87$, $p = .39$.

Additional Analysis

In addition to the Likert-scored questions, the final question on the survey asked an open-ended question to allow coaches to add any further information regarding their coaching experience. Within the responses two main themes emerged. The first theme was age discrimination. Several of the respondents echoed the sentiment that “prejudice and discrimination is not only applicable to race and gender but also to age and gender.” As a coach ages, the probability of having a family increases and moving for a job without a family is much easier than if the whole family must relocate. The second key theme to emerge was the discrimination faced due to coaching a women's team as opposed to a men's team. Several respondents believed they lacked support as the “women's program is not treated the same as our men's program.” These two key themes will be discussed further in the next section when exploring future avenues of research.

Discussion

While differential treatment among coaches within Division I collegiate athletics has been well-documented (Cunningham, 2007; Cunningham, 2009; Cunningham & Bopp, 2010; Cunningham & Sagas, 2004; Cunningham, Sagas, & Ashley, 2001), much less attention has been paid to coaches of Division II athletic programs. The purpose of this study was to examine perceptions of diversity, support, discrimination, and turnover...
intentions among Division II coaches of women's basketball teams. The three hypotheses presented were 1) perceptions of diversity will be directly related to perceptions of acceptance and support while being indirectly related to turnover intentions, 2) white coaches will have lower turnover intentions and 3) white head coaches will have the greatest amount of support. The results of the study showed that the first two hypotheses were significantly true. The third hypothesis, however, proved to be wrong and actually showed that white assistant coaches had the greatest perceptions of support within their departments even though the results were not significant.

The results of this study contribute to past research in two ways. First, when examining one's perception of diversity the scope of diversity is usually limited to one's immediate work environment (Cunningham, 2007). This study expanded upon the scope of diversity by accounting for the perception of each respondent's community diversity. This measure of community diversity was significant, and was indirectly related to turnover intentions. In other words, as perceptions of community diversity increased then one's turnover intentions decreased. The second contribution to recent literature comes in the form of examining Division II coaches. As stated before, great attention has been paid to professional and Division I coaches. However, while these coaches have the most high-profile jobs, they account for coaching only a small number of athletes. The majority of collegiate athletes can be found in Division II and Division III. This present study helps to elucidate the previously overlooked experiences of Division II coaches.

Future research should further the exploration into Division II and Division III coaches. As stated before, Division I NCAA athletics has received the greatest attention when examining collegiate coaches. It would be interesting to see if the same dynamics
held for lower levels of competition, including departments within the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA). A more encompassing study utilizing more participants could also allow for more complex statistical procedures. One such statistical procedure is structural equation modeling, which would allow for an examination of causal relationships.

Future research also needs to expand upon the perceptions of the coaches. The athletic directors and assistant athletic directors, in theory, are responsible for the oversight and operation of the athletic department. The athletic directors are largely responsible for hiring new coaches, firing existing coaches, and setting expectations for program within the athletic department. Their perceptions of race and gender equality should be examined. Specifically, what value do athletic directors place on female athletics? With the pervasiveness of conference realignment, it would be interesting to understand how athletic officials believe these changes impact the non-revenue generating sports.

Due to the fact that athletic directors run the programs it is necessary, to further the discussion on race and gender equality in coaching, to obtain their perceptions. If coaches perceive their situations one way while the athletic directors perceive something completely different, then there is a disconnect. Increased communication and education can then help to narrow the gap in perceptions. The more alarming situation would be if both the coaches and athletic officials perceive race and gender inequalities. That would mean the people able to make changes know of the problem, yet voluntarily choose to do nothing about it. To expand the conversation on coaching equality every party in the
athletic process must be studied to gain a complete understanding of situation future coaches will face.
References


Hasbrook, C. (1988). Female coaches--why the declining numbers and percentages?


Initial Contact

Dear Coach,

As a head coach or assistant coach of a women’s collegiate basketball team you are invited to participate in a research study which I am conducting entitled “Community diversity, career satisfaction, discrimination and support among coaches of women's collegiate basketball.” The purpose of this study is to examine the correlations between job satisfaction, perceptions of discrimination, turnover intentions and community diversity.

Your participation will involve the completion of an online questionnaire covering demographic information and your experiences at your present employer. Completion of the questionnaire should only take about 20 minutes. Your involvement in the study is voluntary. It is advised that you consult your athletic department prior to completing the survey.

The findings from this project provide information on coaching equality, work environments and how a college community's diversity influence that. Not only will this investigation add new knowledge into the field, but will, most importantly, help to provide future coaches with perceptions of practitioners regarding the current state of the coaching profession.

If you have any questions regarding this research project, please feel free to call me at 650-814-6093 or contact me via email at smih@uga.edu. The consent letter and survey questions are also attached so you can review the materials before deciding whether or not to participate.

To begin the survey please click on the link below:

Thank you in advance for your participation,

Stephen Imperiale-Hagerman
Ph.D. Candidate
University of Georgia
Phone: 650-814-6093
smih@uga.edu
Dear Coach:

I am a graduate student at the University of Georgia and I’d like to invite you to participate in a research study entitled “Community diversity, career satisfaction, discrimination and support among coaches of women's collegiate basketball” which is being conducted under the direction of Rose Chepyator-Thomson, Ph.D and Stephen Imperiale-Hagerman, M.A. The purpose of this study is to examine the correlations between job satisfaction, perceptions of discrimination, turnover intentions and community diversity in both race and gender form. Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Upon choosing to withdraw from the study, all information provided will be deleted. However, once you have voluntarily submitted your results at the end of the survey, the researchers will not be able to return or destroy the information provided by you.

You were contacted for this study, from your university's website, due to your position as a head coach or assistant coach of a women's collegiate basketball team. Your participation will involve completing an online survey about your perceptions of your work environment and should only take about 20 minutes. If unsure, please ask your athletic department if you are able to participate in this study. Also, if your institution monitors your internet activity it is advised you do not complete this survey on your work computer.

The findings from this project may provide information on the coaching profession pertaining to the perceptions of race and gender equality.

There are some minimal risks associated with this research. Due to the fact that this survey will be administered via the internet there is a chance of a breach of confidentiality. As the survey asks questions about discrimination and job satisfaction in a highly publicized field, a breach of confidentiality may result in loss of reputation and/or employability. However, that risk has been reduced as much as possible by not asking participants any direct identifier questions and utilizing a secure server with 256 bit encryption to store responses.

Internet communications are insecure and there is a limit to the confidentiality that can be guaranteed due to the technology itself. However once the materials are received by the researcher, standard confidentiality procedures will be employed. The results of the research study may be published, but your name will not be used. In fact, the published results will be presented in summary form only. Your identity will not be associated with your responses in any published format.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call me, Stephen Imperiale-Hagerman at (650)814-6093 or send an e-mail to smih@uga.edu. Or, you can also contact Dr. Rose Chepyator-Thomson via phone at 706-542-4434 or email at jchepyat@uga.edu. Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant should be directed to The Chairperson, University of Georgia Institutional Review Board,
629 Boyd GSRC, Athens, Georgia 30602; telephone (706) 542-3199; email address irb@uga.edu.

By clicking the “Next” button and completing the survey you are agreeing to participate in the research.

Thank you for your consideration! Please print a copy of this letter for your records.
Sincerely,

Stephen Imperiale-Hagerman, M.A. & Rose Chepyator-Thomson, Ph.D.
Questionnaire

Demographic Questions

D1 – What is your current coaching position?
   __Head Coach
   __Assistant Coach

D2 – What division is your school affiliated with?
   __NCAA Division I
   __NCAA Division II
   __NCAA Division III
   __Other

D3 – How long have you been coaching at your present school, in years?

D4 – How would you best describe your race?
   __Arab
   __Asian
   __Black
   __Caucasian/White
   __Hispanic
   __Multiracial
   __Other

D5 – What is your gender?
   __Female
   __Male

D6 – What is your age?

Perception Questions adapted from Cunningham (2009)
(Responses based on a 7 Point Likert Scale)

P7 – How similar to one another are the members of your athletic department with respect to race?

P8 – How similar to one another are the member of your athletic department with respect to gender?

P9 – How similar to one another are the members of your community with respect to race?

Discrimination questions adapted from Levin, Sinclair, Veniegas, & Taylor (2002)
(Responses based on a 7 Point Likert Scale)

1) To what extent will prejudice and discrimination against you impose barriers to your future outcomes?
2) To what extent will prejudice and discrimination against other like you impose barriers to their future outcomes?
3) I experience discrimination because of my gender.
4) Women experience discrimination because of their gender.
5) Men experience discrimination because of their gender.
6) I experience discrimination because of my ethnicity.

Supervisory support and career satisfaction questions adapted from Greenhaus et al. (1990):
(Responses based on a 7 Point Likert Scale)
1) My supervisor takes the time to learn about my career goals and aspirations.
2) My supervisor cares about whether or not I achieve my career goals.
3) My supervisor keeps me informed about different career opportunities for me in the organization.
4) My supervisor makes sure I get the credit when I accomplish something substantial on the job.
5) My supervisor gives me helpful feedback about my performance.
6) My supervisor gives me helpful advice about improving my performance when I need it.
7) My supervisor supports my attempts to acquire additional training or education to further my career.
8) My supervisor provides assignments that give me the opportunity to develop and strengthen new skills.
9) My supervisor assigns me special projects that increase my visibility in the organization.
10) I am satisfied with the success I have achieved in my career.
11) I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward meeting my overall career goals.
12) I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward meeting my goals for income.
13) I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward meeting my goals for advancement.
14) I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward meeting my goals for the development of new skills.

Turnover intention questions adapted from Meyer, Allen & Smith (1993): (Responses based on a 7 Point Likert Scale)
1) Coaching is important to my self-image.
2) I regret having entered the coaching profession. Reverse Coded (R)
3) I am proud to be in the coaching profession.
4) I dislike being a coach. R
5) I do not identify with the coaching profession. R
6) I am enthusiastic about coaching.
7) I have put too much into the coaching profession to consider changing now.
8) Changing professions now would be difficult for me to do.
9) Too much of my life would be disrupted if I were to change my profession.
10) It would be costly for me to change my profession now.

11) There are no pressures to keep me from changing professions. R

12) Changing professions now would require considerable personal sacrifice.

13) I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this organization.

14) I really feel as if this organization's problems are my own.

15) I do not feel a strong sense of “belonging” to my organization. R

16) I do not feel “emotionally attached” to this organization. R

17) I do not feel like “part of the family” at my organization. R

18) This organization has a great deal of personal meaning for me.

19) Right now, staying with my organization is a matter of necessity as much as a desire.

20) It would be very hard for me to leave my organization right now, even if I wanted to.

21) Too much of my life would be disrupted if I decided I wanted to leave my organization now.

22) I feel that I have too few options to consider leaving this organization.

23) If I had not already put so much of myself into this organization, I might consider working elsewhere.

24) One of the few negative consequences of leaving this organization would be the scarcity of available alternatives.

Open-ended question: Please describe any aspects of your current coaching situation that has not been addressed with the previous questions.
CHAPTER 5

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NBA TEAMS BY THE RACE OF THE HEAD COACH

3 Imperiale-Hagerman, S. To be submitted to the International Review for the Sociology of Sport.
Abstract

In major, American professional sports a great incongruency exists between the racial proportions of players versus the racial proportions of head coaches. Of the three most popular leagues, the most equitable, though far from proportionate, is the National Basketball Association (NBA). The purpose of this study was to examine the psychological characteristics of teams coached by African-American and white coaches. To accomplish this, play-by-play data was collected and coded for each of the 2011-2012 NBA regular-season games focusing on a team's dominance, submissiveness and persistence. The results show that for teams making the play-offs and coached by African-Americans had greater persistence and less submissiveness when compared to their white counterparts. These results support the idea that a team is a reflection of its coach as it has been widely reported that African-American coaches face far greater barriers, thereby requiring greater persistence, to become a head coach.

Keywords: NBA, Basketball, Coaching, Race, Equality, Diversity, Persistence
Introduction

Today, racial diversity represents one of the most visible facets of high-profile athletics. According to Richard Lapchick and The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport (TIDES), responsible for producing Race and Gender Report Cards for each major professional and collegiate athletic league, the discrepancies are clear. In 2011, the National Football League (NFL) had 66% of its players being black and 31% white (Lapchick, 2012b). The head coaches in the NFL were skewed heavily towards white coaches with 75% of head coaches being white (Lapchick, 2012b). Interesting enough, having eight black head coaches, or 25% of all head coaches, in the NFL represented a record for greatest number. In the National Basketball Association (NBA), for 2011, the numbers follow the same trend. Seventy-eight percent of NBA athletes were black while there were only 47% of black head coaches (Lapchick, 2012a).

The examination into the lack of racial equality among head coaches has focused on two aspects of the process in becoming a head coach. The first is entering the coaching profession. Working off the assumption that experience in a sport would create the desire to coach then it is reasonable to believe current athletes represent the greatest potential for future coaches (Everhart & Chelladurai, 1998). Unfortunately, not all athletes have the same experience or are treated in the same manner. One such example of differential behavior towards athletes is the practice of stacking (Smith & Henderson, 2000). Stacking is a practice in which certain athletes occupy the peripheries of the game while others occupy the central position irrespective of skillset or aptitude (Coakley, 2004; Margolis & Piliavin, 1999; Smith, 2000; Smith & Harrison, 1998; Woodward, 2004). In baseball, an example of stacking would be to place the black players in the
outfield and the white players in the central infield roles (Smith, 2000; Smith & Harrison, 1998). In football, stacking usually takes the form of having a white quarterback while the wide receivers and running backs are black (Woodward, 2004).

Additionally, black players also face discrimination off the field of play. Researchers have found that black student-athletes are pushed towards particular academic options that will not interfere with time commitment of athletics (Singer, 2005; Spigner, 1993). Black student-athletes can also feel like their academic accomplishments, no matter how great, are not recognized nearly as much as what they are able to do on the field (Sailes, 2000). Finally, black student-athletes may have a more tenuous relationship with their coaches that could lessen the desire to become coaches themselves (Anshel, 1990).

Once an individual decides to pursue the coaching profession then a new set of obstacles must be overcome in order to reach the pinnacle of the job, the head coach. The greatest obstacles, for African-American coaches, come in the form of discrimination (Cunningham & Sagas, 2007; Sagas & Cunningham, 2005). Like African-American players, it has been found that African-American coaches are also assigned to peripheral roles on the coaching staffs (Anderson, 1993; Brown, 2002). There are also fewer opportunities for African-American coaches to advance to either more prestigious assistant coach roles or head coaching roles (Cunningham, Bruening, & Straub, 2006). Consequently, through facing these types of discrimination, it is more likely for African-American coaches to face burnout or leave the coaching profession all together (Cunningham, Bruening, & Straub, 2006; Cunningham, Sagas, Ashley, 2001).
For coaches that do persist and reach the highest ranks, the research shows equality in the performance of their teams. In the National Football League, Madden (2004) found that during the regular season African-American head coaches actually had teams with superior records than white head coaches from the 1990 to 2002 seasons. Interestingly, though, the post-season records of African-American head coaches were significantly worse than their white counterparts (Madden, 2004). Later, Branham (2008) extended Madden's work by examining the NFL coaches through the 2007 season. The findings showed again that teams coached by African-American head coaches performed superior during the regular season but this time they found no significant difference in post-season performance (Branham, 2008).

Within the NBA, Fort, Lee and Berri (2008) examined the technical efficiency of head coaches based on race. They accounted for the variations in talent level across NBA teams and then calculated the technical efficiency of each head coach (Fort, Lee, & Berri, 2008). In essence, their methodology realized that a losing record could still be a good coaching performance based on the personnel within the team. The study did not find a significant difference between the race of the coach and the technical efficiency of the coach (Fort, Lee & Berri, 2008).

The purpose of this study was to expand upon Fort, Lee and Berri's (2008) work by examining team behaviors compared to the race of the head coach. Specifically, the psychological characteristics of dominance, submissiveness, and persistence were examined across NBA teams accounting for the race of the coach and recent regular-season success. It is often said that a team is a reflection of the coach. Therefore, the primary hypothesis is that if an African-American head coach has had to persist in the
face of discrimination to achieve a head coaching position then their team should reflect that with their behavior on the court. Secondarily, the dominance and submissiveness will also be examined across NBA teams to see if there is a difference by race.

**Method**

To conduct this study, first, data for each team including race of the head coach, number of championships won, and regular-season record for the past three years was collected. The number of championships won and regular-season record will be used to account for the culture and expectations of each individual team. Three years was chosen due to the fact that it represented the average tenure of an NBA basketball head coach (Berri & Schmidt, 2010). Then, play-by-play data for every basketball game that was played during the 2011-2012 NBA regular season was recorded. This information was downloaded from the website www.basketballvalue.com. The data was used to empirically characterize each NBA team's tendency to exhibit dominance, submissiveness, and persistence, as defined below.

*Conceptualizing the Five Game States of Basketball*

To empirically characterize the extent to which each team engaged in dominance, submissiveness, and persistence, first five basic game states were defined: (State 1) game is tied 0-0; (State 2) home team is winning; (State 3) away team ties the game; (State 4) away team is winning; (State 5) home team ties the game. Illustrate are these five distinct game states, and the potential transition paths between these states, in Figure 5.1, below.
Next, the raw data from www.basketballvalue.com was condensed so it only included the play-by-play data resulting in the transition from one game state to another. For example, because every game begins with a score of 0-0, every game begins in State 1. When one team scores, a transition was judged to have occurred. If the home team scored first, then the game entered State 2. Conversely, if the away team scored first, then the game transitioned to State 4.

*Psychological Variables*

Our present day understanding of dominance stems from research completed more than 90 years ago. The concept did not arise from observing athletes, however, but rather by observing a totally unrelated group of subjects: chickens. Researchers began by examining which chickens frequently pecked other chickens and, in addition, how one chicken's pecking influenced the subsequent behavior of the other chickens. If a chicken...
pecked another chicken and the pecked chicken did not peck back, then the aggressor was judged to be dominant and the pecked chicken was considered submissive. Even in this simple example, it is seen that dominance appears to arise when, in the context of a dyadic interaction, one party engages in an aggressive-type behavior (i.e., pecking) and the other party does not react – hence, the term “pecking order.” To summarize the concept succinctly Schjelderup-Ebbe (1922) states,

“dominance is an attribute of the pattern of repeated, agonistic interactions between two individuals, characterized by a consistent outcome in favor of the same dyad member and a default yielding response of its opponent rather than escalation (as cited by Robbins, Robbins, Gerald-Steklis, & Steklis, 2005, p.780).”

Since Schjelderupp-Ebbe's (1922) seminal work on chickens, the psychological concept of dominance has been used to explain behavioral dynamics in a multitude of contexts. According to Drews (1993), thirteen different definitions of dominance have been proposed. These definitions have been formulated to explain a wide variety of phenomenon including the development of social rank in humans and animals, the allocation of scarce resources, reproductive opportunities, behavioral composure, and likelihood of winning competitive interactions (Baenninger, 1981; Hand, 1986; Popp & DeVore, 1979; Vessey, 1981; Wagner & Gauthreaux, 1990; West, 1967). For the present purposes, dominance is defined as the act of persistently staying ahead, or winning, during the dyadic group encounter that is the game of basketball (Hand, 1986). Submissiveness, in turn, is defined as the inability to move the game into a more favorable state by tying the game or by taking the lead.

A psychological concept that operates in basketball in addition to dominance and submissiveness is persistence. According to Cloninger and colleagues (1993), persistence is composed of four behaviors. The first behavior is eagerness of effort (i.e., as the
challenge increases, so does one's effort). The second behavior is work hardened (i.e., one does not give up when faced with punishment or lack of reward). The third behavior is ambitiousness (i.e., one is determined to succeed). Finally, the fourth behavior is perfectionism (i.e., one is only satisfied when his or her desired outcome is met). In the game of basketball, dominant teams display more persistent behaviors than submissive teams, thus leading to more wins. But, persistence is also the fuel that transforms a submissive team into a dominant team. Behaviorally speaking, then, persistence occurs when a team changes the state of the game in its favor in instances in which it is behind. For this reason, persistence, in basketball, is defined as the standardized number of times that a losing team alters the state of the game (i.e., going from losing to tying or winning).

By recording the exact time and type of each game transition that occurred, it becomes possible to quantify the extent to which each NBA team exhibited dominance, submissiveness, and persistence during each game they played during the regular season. Dominance was operationalized as the percentage of time a victorious team spent winning the game without relinquishing the lead. For example, if the Miami Heat played the Atlanta Hawks and the game was tied through three quarters, and then with ten minutes remaining in the game the Heat took the lead for good, then the Heat would have been dominant for 10 minutes out of a potential 48 minutes, or approximately 21% of total game time. Submissiveness, on the other hand, was operationalized as the percentage of time a losing team spent losing without altering the game state. In the above example, the Hawks would have displayed submissiveness for the final 10 minutes of the game or, again, approximately 21% of total game time. Games that went into
overtime were treated in the exact same manner, except for the fact that there were more minutes played per game.

Persistence, in turn, was defined as the standardized number of times that a losing team transitioned to a different game state. Higher values thus represented a greater persistence. Although losing is never ideal, the exact manner in which a team loses can provide a lot of valuable information about a team's collective psychological make-up. For example, a team can concede the first basket and never even threaten to tie the game, effectively losing “wire-to-wire,” thus showing no will to persist in the face of adversity. Or, alternatively, they can consistently fight to tie a game, even hold the lead for several possessions, but then eventually lose the game, perhaps in the closing moments. The former team demonstrates little persistence, whereas the latter team a lot of persistence.

**Results**

This section provides the results from the analyses. First, the relationship between coach's race and their team is presented. Next, the psychological variables between teams are examined. Finally, the teams, separated based on number of championships and win-loss record, are compared by coach's race.

*Relationship Between Coach's Race and the Team They Are Coaching*

To gain a better understanding of a team's culture and expectations two key pieces of information were recorded: number of franchise championships and win-loss record for the past three years. Below, in Figure 5.2, is a boxplot containing the number of championships won by a franchise compared to the race of the head coach during the 2011-2012 NBA season. Several interesting phenomena are visible in this figure. First,
the two most prolific franchises, the Boston Celtics and the Los Angeles Lakers, were both coached by African-American head coaches. This fact heavily skews the data and as a result there is no statistical significance between the groups. However, as can be seen, the median value for white coaches is greater than the median value for African-American coaches.

Figure 5.2: Boxplot comparing the number of franchise championships by the race of the coach for the 2011-2012 NBA season.
The second team factor of interest is the win-loss percentage of the past three years. This factor captures the recent performance of a team and can be seen as a proxy for current expectations. Seen in Figure 5.3, is a boxplot of the win-loss percentage compared to the race of the head coach. From this figure, it can be seen that the median values for both African-American head coaches and white head coaches are very similar. While there is no statistical significance in the difference between the two means there is a definite difference in the skewness of the distribution for each, -0.16 for African-American coaches and -.39 for white coaches.

Looking at the 2011-2012 season, it is logical to divide teams in two ways. The first way is the race of the coach. The second, more abstract way, is whether the team in question made the play-offs or not. The reason for this partitioning is because teams that do not make the play-offs have very different motivations at the end of the season compared to teams making the play-offs. Teams missing the play-offs may start playing the younger players more to give them experience or rest their key, expensive starters. Taking these groupings into account we can assess the psychological characteristics of the teams.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>African-American</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Dev.</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1: Descriptive statistics for number of championships won by a franchise coached by an African-American or white coach.
Figure 5.3: Boxplot of the win-loss percentage for regular-season games for each team by the race of the head coach.

Figure 5.4: Boxplot comparing the dominance of each team based on race of the head coach and whether the team made the play-offs.
Figure 5.5: Boxplot comparing the persistence of each team based on race of the head coach and whether the team made the play-offs.

Figure 5.6: Boxplot comparing the submissiveness of each team based on race of the head coach and whether the team made the play-offs.
From the three boxplots (Figures 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6), a comparison can be made between the median values of the psychological team characteristics based on the coach's race and whether the team made the play-offs or not. The first graph examines dominance. As can be seen, the play-off bound teams exhibited greater dominance than the non-play-off teams. The other two graphs, showing persistence and submissiveness, it can be seen that the play-off bound African-American head coaches had teams with the optimal values; they had the highest value for persistence and the lowest value for submissiveness. Two important factors should be acknowledged from these boxplots. First, each of the psychological variables averaged team performance across home and away games. Second, while dominance and submissiveness appear to take the form of a zero-sum game at the aggregate, across all teams, level for each individual team they do not balance out. Table 5.1, shows the means value for each psychological characteristics. As was displayed with the boxplots, African-American coaches leading play-off bound teams had the most persistent and least submissive teams.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Play-Offs</th>
<th>Dominance</th>
<th>Persistence</th>
<th>Submissiveness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African-American</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-0.49</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 5.2: Mean values of the psychological characteristics of the NBA teams for the 2011-2012 season based on coach's race and play-off attendance. Values highlighted in gray represent the subset with the highest value.*
The next step of the analysis is to examine a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). In this MANOVA, the dependent variables are the three psychological characteristics of each NBA team. The correlations between these characteristics can be seen below in Table 5.2.

| Correlations Between Psychological Characteristics |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
|                         | 1    | 2    | 3    |
| 1. Dominance            | -    |      |      |
| 2. Submissiveness       | -.77*| -    |      |
| 3. Persistence          | 0.11 | -.52*|      |

* p < .05

Table 5.3: Correlation matrix between the dependent variables of psychological team characteristics.

The independent variables for the MANOVA are race and play-off entrance. The MANOVA results present a significant effect for race at $\alpha = .05$ level, $F_{(1,27)} = 7.32$, $p < 0.01$ and for play-off entrance with $F_{(1,27)} = 15.19$, $p < 0.01$. Due to a significant result with the MANOVA, examination of each dependent variable by itself warrants a further study. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) to examine the impact of race with play-off entrance as a blocking factor on dominance yielded significant results with $F_{(1,27)} = 22.30$, $p < .001$. An ANOVA examining submissiveness also yielded a significant result with $F_{(3,26)} = 7.51$, $p = .01$. For persistence, however, a significant result was not obtained.

**Discussion**

The purpose of this study was to examine the team behaviors of NBA teams based on the race of the coach. Rather than simply focusing on the wins and losses, the focus of
the study was based upon psychological characteristics of game play during the regular-season. To account for differing motivations of the coaching staff and team management, teams were divided into play-off bound and non-play-off bound. The results show that the psychological characteristics between play-off bound teams were very similar regardless of race with white coaches producing more dominant teams while African-American coaches produce more persistent and less submissive teams.

This work expands the previous research by examining the old adage that a team is a reflection of the coach. As described above, African-American coaches face greater barriers to becoming a head coach (Cunningham & Sagas, 2007; Sagas & Cunningham, 2005). Therefore, in order to become a head coach, all things being equal, an African-American coach must persist and overcome more professionally than a white head coach. As a result, it is not surprising that the results show the teams with the greatest level of persistence are the play-off bound teams coached by African-American head coaches.

Several limitations of the current study should also be noted. First, factors other than dominance, submissiveness, and persistence impact team performance. Future research needs to examine these coaches over a greater period of time. Much like how Fort, Lee and Berri (2008) were able to account for the team's talent when accessing the ability of the coach, a team's baseline psychological characteristics must also be examined. Examining how a team's psychological characteristics trend over the course of several seasons can elucidate how great an impact a coach can have. Second, it should also be noted that the 2011-2012 season was very unique. Due to a labor strike, the normal 82-game season was condensed to 66 games. This created a situation with more games in a smaller period of time, less rest between games and less opportunities to
practice. It was the same situation for every team so no competitive advantage was present but additional research is needed to examine the generalizability of the present findings.

Future research has the potential to expand upon this study in several ways. First, a more longitudinal approach could be utilized when examining a coach's influence. Rather than looking at a single year, future research should consider observing trends in a three- or five-year span. Second, individual players should be examined to determine their contributions to the team's collective psychological make-up. By understanding which players exhibit the greatest dominance, most persistence and least submissiveness teams could understand player value beyond the standard metrics of production used today. Exploring these two avenues of research could help to better understand the influences of the coach and the contributions of the players towards creating a successful team environment.

In sum, the present study examined coaches as not just tacticians setting their team up for victory but also as agents of influence for their team's behavior. Examining coaches simply by wins and losses fails to account for manner in which a win or loss was achieved. Not all wins are equal as not all losses are equal. How the game arrives at the final outcome can speak volumes about the character of the head coach and the team. By understanding the psychological characteristics of a coach we gain a greater understanding of the team's behavior.
References


CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Racial and gender diversity continues to expand in many aspects of American society creating greater equality and opportunities. One area that has remained stagnant is in leadership roles in major athletics, namely professional and collegiate sports. While racial diversity increases amongst athletes and women have greater opportunities to participate in high-level sports, opportunities to coach and lead remain dominated by white males.

Research into the above mentioned issues explored each facet of the coaching life course. Differential treatment among athletes can inhibit or strengthen one's desires to pursue a profession in coaching. Discrimination can make entry into the coaching professional difficult, if not impossible for some. Those that do enter into coaching then may face discrimination as they strive toward the pinnacle of the profession, a head coach position, particularly if they do not fit the “correct” mold. However, once the position of head coach is attained, research shows performance, in the form of wins and losses, is equal to or superior to the white majority.

The primary purpose of the research presented above was to examine diversity in coaching. This was accomplished through three studies. The first study examined the correlation between the community diversity of a college or university in relation to the diversity found on the coaching staff of the women's basketball team. The second study examined acceptance, support and turnover intentions of NCAA Division II women's
basketball coaches based on their perceptions of diversity and their race and gender. Finally, the third study examined the psychological variables associated with NBA coaches of different races.

The results of the studies support many of the hypotheses presented above. Community diversity was correlated with the diversity on a collegiate women's basketball coaching staff. There were higher turnover intentions found in non-white coaches as compared to white coaches. Higher degrees of perceived diversity were found to correlate with higher perceptions of support and acceptance. In professional basketball, for teams making the play-offs, those teams coached by African-American coaches had the greatest levels of persistence. Taken together, these studies suggest that the major limiting factor to one's success in the coaching profession is the expectations carried by those around the coach.

Future research must revisit and expand on the findings presented above. First, with the seemingly annual ritual of conference realignment Midwestern schools are moving to coastal divisions and coastal schools are moving to Midwestern divisions. By reexamining community diversity and the diversity on the coaching staff of the women's basketball teams, then it can be determined if any alterations have occurred. Through this, it will be possible to see if schools maintain their hiring practices or alter them to match the hiring practices of their new conferences.

Second, future research must expand the scope of diversity in coaching by examining lower levels of competition. As stated previously, while the vast majority of media coverage goes to professional and Division I NCAA sports, they do not account for the majority of athletes. NCAA Division II and Division III account for the majority
of collegiate athletes. Therefore, greater attention should be placed on the organizations that directly impact the greatest number of athletes.

Finally, the analysis of the impact of a head coach must be examined further. Winning percentages and technical efficiency have been well documented. What has not received enough attention is the emotional intelligence created within a team. The third study must be expanded upon to examine the emotional intelligence of a team created by a coach across multiple seasons as well as over the course of a particular coach's career.

Systematic hiring practices built to favor specific race and gender attributes should not exist today. The most qualified coach should be given the opportunity to help create the most successful team possible. Through the research presented above and the lines of future inquiry we can gain a greater understanding of why hiring occurs, what motivations lie behind each hire and whether or not the hire was guided by a motivation to create the best team possible.