'Race', Ethnicity and Racism in Sports Coaching

Edited by Steven Bradbury, Jim Lusted and Jacco van Sterkenburg

Chapter 1

The under-representation of racial minorities in coaching and leadership positions in the United States

George B. Cunningham

Chapter 1

The under-representation of racial minorities in coaching and leadership positions in the United States

George B. Cunningham

Introduction

Racial minorities[1] in the US have a history of facing stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination—a pattern that continues today. The result is differential access to quality education (Carter et al., 2017), health disparities (Edberg et al., 2017), limited housing opportunities (Sadler & Lafreniere, 2017), and high rates of incarceration (Peffley et al., 2017), among other ills. Add to this list limited opportunities for meaningful work or the chance to assume leadership positions. The following statistic perhaps best illustrates the pervasiveness of bias in the American workplace: there have only been 15 African American chief executive officers in the entire history of the Fortune 500 (McGirt, 2016). Thus, even though racial minorities make up about 39 percent of the US population—a figure demographers expect to grow to 55.7 percent by 2060 (Vespa et al., 2018)—their access and opportunities to work pale in comparison to those of Whites. This is the case for leadership positions and access to work in general, where unemployment rates for racial minorities is higher than for Whites.

The sport world tells a different story, though the ending is the same. In Figure 1.1, I show the representation of players, assistant coaches, and head coaches across various North American leagues. With the exception of Major League Baseball, the proportion of racial minorities players far outpaces that of racial minority assistant coaches or head coaches. Among National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) women's basketball programs, racial minorities are nearly 4 times more likely to be players than they are to serve as a head coach. This pattern, which is evident among most professional and collegiate sport leagues, signals that racial minorities have opportunities on the court or field, but not in leadership roles. The trend persists despite the fact that most coaches were former players (Cunningham & Sagas, 2002), and players represent the most viable pool of potential assistant coaches (Everhart & Chelladurai, 1998).
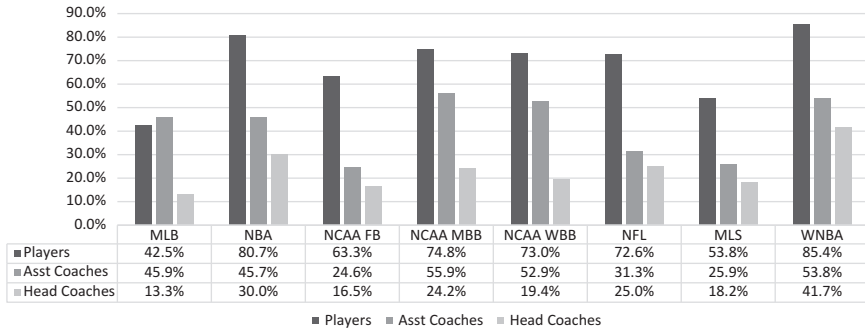
	MLB	NBA	NCAA FB	NCAA MBB	NCAA WBB	NFL	MLS	WNBA
■ Players	42.5%	80.7%	63.3%	74.8%	73.0%	72.6%	53.8%	85.4%
■ Asst Coaches	45.9%	45.7%	24.6%	55.9%	52.9%	31.3%	25.9%	53.8%
■ Head Coaches	13.3%	30.0%	16.5%	24.2%	19.4%	25.0%	18.2%	41.7%

■ Players ■ Asst Coaches ■ Head Coaches

Figure 1.1 Representation of Racial Minority Coaches and Players in US Sport Organizations

Notes. Data for professional leagues from 2017 season. Data from NCAA for 2016–2017 season. Data gathered from The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport (www.tidesport. org) and NCAA Sport Sponsorship, Participation, and Demographics Research (http:// web1.ncaa.org/rgdSearch/exec/main). MLB = Major League Baseball. NBA = National Basketball Association. NCAA = National Collegiate Athletic Association. FB = American football. MBB = Men's basketball. WBB = Women's basketball. NFL = National Football League. MLS = Major League Soccer. WNBA = Women's National Basketball Association.

As shown in Figure 1.1, as the prestige and power of the coaching position increases, the proportion of racial minorities decreases. In Major League Baseball, for example, racial minorities are 3.5 times more likely to hold an assistant coach position, relative to serving as manager (head coach). This pattern is the same for every sport league considered in Figure 1.1. Even among NCAA men's basketball teams, which has the highest proportion of racial minority assistant coaches (55.9 percent), racial minorities are only half as likely to be a head coach (24.2 percent). Other researchers have shown that, among assistant coaches of American football teams, Whites are most likely to hold the highest paying and more powerful roles (coordinators), while racial minorities are more likely to hold more peripheral roles (Cunningham & Bopp, 2010).

Coaching is not the only occupation where racial minorities face access discrimination. In Figure 1.2, I show the proportion of racial minorities in administrative roles across North American sport leagues. Unlike coaching, where former players are the most viable potential pool of applicants, sport organization leaders need not have previous playing experience to secure a position. As such, the proportion of racial minorities in the US population (39.1 percent; Vespa et al., 2018) serves as an apt point of comparison. The data show that in every league, Whites occupy a greater proportion of top administrative roles than their proportion in the US population would predict. With Major League Baseball, racial minorities are about a third less likely to hold an administrative position than would their proportion in the US population predict.

The aforementioned data point to evidence of what Greenhaus et al. (1990) refer to as access discrimination, or the limited access to positions, careers, or
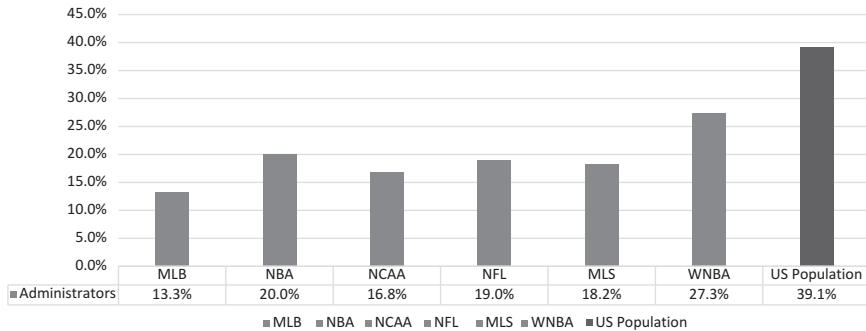
	MLB	NBA	NCAA	NFL	MLS	WNBA	US Population
Administrators	13.3%	20.0%	16.8%	19.0%	18.2%	27.3%	39.1%

■MLB ■NBA ■NCAA ■NFL ■MLS ■WNBA ■US Population

Figure 1.2 Representation of Racial Minorities in Administrative Roles in US Sport Organizations

Notes. Data for professional leagues from 2017 season. Data from NCAA for 2016–2017 season. Data gathered from The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport (www.tidesport. org) and NCAA Sport Sponsorship, Participation, and Demographics Research (http://web1. ncaa.org/rgdSearch/exec/main). MLB = Major League Baseball. NBA = National Basketball Association. NCAA = National Collegiate Athletic Association. NFL = National Football League. MLS = Major League Soccer. WNBA = Women's National Basketball Association.

academic tracks among members of a social group. Discrimination can also take the form of treatment discrimination, whereby members of a social group receive fewer opportunities and are treated poorer than they would otherwise deserve based on their work performance (Greenhaus et al., 1990). Treatment discrimination can take many forms, including differences in pay, quality of work, opportunities for promotion, professional development, and the like. For instance, data from the US Census Bureau show that most racial minorities earn but a fraction of what Whites do, and the differences are particularly striking among racial minority women (Kochhar & Cilluffo, 2018). Asians earn, on average, more than Whites, but this group also has the within-group income inequality (Kochhar & Cilluffo, 2018).

A number of researchers have pointed to evidence of treatment discrimination in the sport world. For instance, Bradbury et al. (2018) conducted a qualitative study of 40 racial minority soccer coaches in England, the Netherlands, and France. The coaches relayed a number of instances of treatment discrimination, including (a) poor experiences in coaching education, incidences of ostracism and racism, and (b) feelings of exclusion from important social networks. In other cases, decision makers hold African Americans to a higher standard than Whites, and these expectations affect dismissal rates (Madden, 2004; Madden & Ruther, 2009). Coaches and people working in sport are not the only ones affected by treatment discrimination: racial minority athletes expect to encounter discrimination if they become coaches (Kamphoff & Gill, 2008)—something ostensibly due to their observation of those working in sport now.

Collectively, the research evidence suggests racial minorities face discrimination in the US, in general, and in sport, specifically. The resultant

question is: why? In the following space, I draw from my previous work (Cunningham, 2010, 2012, 2019) to offer a multilevel explanation. Multilevel models make explicit the societal (macro-level), organizational and group influences (meso-level), and individual factors (micro-level) that can shape access to and experiences in sport. When scholars and practitioners fail to consider factors at multiple levels of analysis, they necessarily take for granted elements that could influence the phenomenon of interest (Dixon & Cunningham, 2006).

Multilevel model explaining the under-representation of racial minorities in sport

Macro-level factors

Macro-level factors are those operating at the societal level of analysis. In the current model, I focus on institutional racism, political climate, and stakeholder expectations.

Institutional racism

From a critical race theory perspective, racism is embedded deeply in society—it is endemic (Hylton, 2009). Theorists argue that racism is enmeshed within the cultural fabric of society, intertwined with prevailing norms and values (see Cobb & Russell, 2015). From this perspective, major societal institutions, including educational systems, religious institutions, the legal system, and sport, among others, are tinged with racist ideals. As a result, Whites enjoy privilege, power, and status within these institutions, and the cultural arrangements are such that the ideals and norms perpetuate the status quo—that is, racial minorities' subjugation.

These principles are applicable to the business sector (Feagin, 2006) and people who work in sport and physical activity (Hylton, 2012). Feagin for instance, critiqued capitalism in the US, suggesting that it *"has been, from the beginning, a white-crafted and white oriented economic system imbedded in white-made business laws"* (Feagin 2006: 198). Similar critiques are applicable for sport organizations in the US—entities steeped in the capitalistic model. That is, sport organizations are largely White owned and operated, are situated within a capitalist economic model, and frequently operate in ways that privilege those in power (i.e., Whites) while subjugating others (i.e., racial minorities). Further, when activities and practices are institutionalized, they become solidified and resistant to change. New members into that system are socialized to consider the practices as legitimate (Washington & Patterson, 2011); consequently, the activities, beliefs, and policies that privilege some groups over others become perpetuated. When it comes to institutional racism, systems and arrangements of oppression remain, hurting racial minorities' opportunities and experiences in the sport context.

Political climate

The political climate can also affect access and opportunities. Political attitudes and policies can affect a number of sport and physical activity outcomes, including funding for people to be active (Harris & Adams, 2016; Nassif & Amara, 2015) and resources to reduce the incidence of health disparities (Bourgois et al., 2017). The political climate can also influence diversity-related activities and people's attitudes toward them. Examples include attitudes toward affirmative action (Sidanius et al., 1996), efforts aimed to promote social justice (Leath & Chavous, 2017), and educational opportunities (Hess & McAvoy, 2014), among others.

   The political climate can influence sport organizations and employment decisions through the enactment of employment laws. A number of major laws aimed at enhancing opportunities and ending employment discrimination in the US (e.g., Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act of 1965) were passed in the 1960s under the Democratic leadership of Lyndon Johnson. The president worked closely with civil rights leaders, including Martin Luther King, Jr., to craft the laws. In addition to influencing the type of laws passed, the political climate influences the enforcement of diversity laws. Marshall (2005), for example, showed that liberal political leadership more stringently administers diversity-related laws and fair labor practices, relative to when conservatives are in office (see also Cunningham & Benavides-Espinoza, 2008). This scholarship provides evidence for the notion that racial minorities' access to jobs and their experiences in those roles can be influenced by the political climate in the region or country.

Stakeholder expectations

According to Clarkson (1995), stakeholders are constituents who have an interest or stake in the organization. They can be internal to the sport organization, such as players, coaches, and administrators, or external to it, including donors, fans, former students, and so on. Depending on the stakeholder management approach decision makers adopt, stakeholder input has the potential to shape organizational processes and outcomes.

   In intercollegiate athletic departments in the US, alumni and donors—the majority of whom are White—provide financial support to the institutions. The support is considerable, to the tune of 14 percent of the budget for major athletic programs (Fulks, 2014), resulting in an average of $8.7 million annually. Given their considerable financial support, these stakeholders have tremendous influence on the operations of the athletic department, including who is hired and who is not. In many cases, the hiring decisions focus, at least in part, on coaches with whom the financial stakeholders can identify. Michael Rosenberg (2004) of the *Detroit Free Press* noted:

> It is largely about money. It is about a face to show the alumni, especially the ones with big wallets. College coaches don't just coach; they

are, in many ways, the public faces of their schools. And if the big donors don't like a coach because of his weight/accent/skin color, schools will stay away.

Noted racial activist Richard Lapchick drew similar conclusions:

> I have had discussions with people in searches for coaches and athletic directors that the final decision was made to hire a White male because they were afraid their alumni, who also happen to be strong boosters of the football program, would not contribute nearly as much or as readily to an African American athletic director or football coach.
>
> (as cited in Wong, 2002: 1)

The quotations illustrate that financial supporters of athletic departments, most of whom are White men, want to identify with key decision makers and athletic coaches. Further, racial similarity among the coach, alumni, and boosters can help spur perceptions of fit and identification among the parties involved (Stewart & Garcia-Prieto Sol, 2008). On the other hand, the lack of fit among athletic administrators and coaches, and the financial stakeholders, can affect hiring decisions. The end result is a preference for Whites and men (see also Cunningham & Sagas, 2005; Sartore & Cunningham, 2006).

Meso-level factors

Meso-level factors are those operating at the organizational or intergroup levels. These include bias in decision making, organizational culture, and diversity policies.

Bias in decision making

Bias takes three forms (Cuddy et al., 2008). First are stereotypes, which are in the cognitive domain and represent "*the traits that we view as characteristic of social groups, or individual members of those groups, and particularly those that differentiate groups from each other*" (Stangor, 2009: 2). Prejudice, which is in the attitudinal or affective domain, is the second form of bias and reflects a differential evaluation of a person or social group based on group member-ship (Brewer, 2007; Crandall et al., 2002). Finally, discrimination is in the behavioral domain and "*comes about only when we deny to individuals or groups equality of treatment*" (Allport, 1954: 51). Each can influence the under-representation of racial minorities in coaching and leadership positions. As I discussed access and treatment discrimination in previous sections, I focus the current discussion on stereotypes and prejudice.

Social psychologists have shown that people frequently develop stereotypes about typical leaders and who should hold these roles (Lord & Maher, 1991).

These cognitions help to shape who decision makers consider a good fit for the position. In some cases, the leadership stereotypes are racialized (Rosette et al., 2008), and in the US, this means that Whites are privileged in the decision-making process. Consider, for example, that people consistently see Whites in key leadership roles. This pattern holds for chief executives, presidents, athletic directors, and other leaders. As a result, people are socialized to link cognitively leadership with being White. Consistent with this perspective, Rosette et al. (2008) found that people considered being White as a prototype for business leaders, though they did not hold the same associations for employees holding other roles in the organization. The conditioning also meant that study participants considered Whites as more effective leaders than racial minorities. This linkage was especially strong when organizational success was attributed to the leader.

Borland & Bruening (2010) observed as much in sport, too. They conducted interviews with African American women who coached in the NCAA. The interviewees noted that stereotypes limited their career advancement, as decision makers saw the coaches as best suited for recruiting roles instead of leading a team. Sartore & Cunningham (2006) zconducted an experimental study and observed that people relied on sport-related and racial stereotypes when making coaching hiring recommendations. Welty Peachey et al. (2015) also noted the prevalence of stereotypes in their review of the leadership literature. The authors wrote, "*as a result of the dominant influence of White, able-bodied, heterosexual men in sport leadership, women and other minority groups are negatively affected by stereotypes of what is deemed acceptable sport leadership at all levels of the leadership process*" (Welty Peachey, 2015: 581). The data in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 offer strong support for these contentions.

Prejudice represents the second dimension of bias, and researchers have shown that it can negatively influence the quality of work people experience. For example, Jones et al. (2017) conducted a large-scale study to understand the influence of racism on people's work. The authors found that this form of prejudice was associated with felt discrimination and bias in performance appraisals, among other outcomes. More implicit forms of racism can also impact people's work; implicit racism is associated with help provided to others (Pearson et al., 2009).

The sport world is not immune from racism's effects. Cunningham et al. (2006) conducted a study of NCAA assistant football and men's basketball coaches, asking about their experiences in the sport and career expectations. Racial minorities in the study indicated that racism limited their opportunities in the field. The pattern was especially strong among football coaches. Football is also a sport where Whites hold most of the powerful assistant positions (Cunningham & Bopp, 2010) and head coaching roles (see Figure 1.1).

Organizational culture

Another meso-level factor that can affect racial minorities' opportunities and experiences is the culture of the workplace. According to Schein (2004),

organizational culture represents "*a pattern of shared basic assumptions … that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct ways to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems*" (Schein, 2004: 17). The culture of a sport organization sends a signal as to what is important, who has power, and who can be successful. Organizational cultures of inclusion are those where all employees have the chance to thrive, irrespective of their personal demographics (Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999; Fink & Pastore, 1999). In these cultures, people can express identities important to them, including their racial identity, and they also feel a sense of connection to the organization (Shore et al., 2011).

Illustrative of organizational culture's importance, McKay et al. (2007) conducted a study of thousands of managers in the US. They asked the participants about the diversity culture at their work and their workplace attitudes. As expected, a pro-diversity workplace culture was associated with stronger commitment and lower turnover intentions, and the patterns were especially strong for African Americans. Importantly though, the significant patterns held for all employees, signaling that an inclusive environment benefits all in the workplace. In a similar analysis, McKay et al. (2008) found that a pro-diversity culture also helped employee performance. As with the previous study, the findings were significant for all races but were especially strong among African Americans.

If pro-diversity workplace cultures are beneficial for employees and especially racial minorities, the opposite is also the case: cultures of similarity hurt employee workplace connection and performance. Bradbury (2013) argued as much in his analysis of the under-representation of soccer coaches in Europe. He argued that "*the 'invisible centrality of whiteness' embedded within the senior organizational tiers of the game*" (Bradbury, 2013: 299) served to restrict the progression of racial minorities in the sport (see also Rankin-Wright et al., 2016). Other researchers have shown that the detriments of exclusive cultures hurt those outside the organization, too, including potential job applicants (Lee & Cunningham, 2015) and racial minority consumers (Santucci et al., 2014).

As a final note on organizational culture, there is evidence that an inclusive culture can enhance organizational performance, especially when coupled with a diverse workforce. Cunningham (2009a) collected data from US athletic departments, asking them about their organizational culture, characteristics of the workforce, and other workplace characteristics. He found that an inclusive culture interacted with racial diversity of the staff to predict objective measures of performance (wins and losses of athletic teams). These findings are consistent with other studies showing that inclusiveness, when coupled with employee diversity, is associated with a variety of desired work outcomes (Cunningham, 2011a, 2011b, 2015; Cunningham & Melton, 2014; Singer & Cunningham, 2012).

Organizational policies

In some respects, organizational policies are subsumed under the larger umbrella of organizational culture. However, there is also evidence that inclusive-focused policies can have a unique effect on the attraction and retention of racial minorities in coaching and leadership positions. Examples include when sport organizations enact policies related to hiring, promotions, performance appraisals, and professional development that potentially influence the experiences and opportunities of racial minorities.

One of the more famous diversity-related policies in the US is the National Football League's (NFL) Rooney Rule. The league had a history of poor representation of racial minorities in coaching positions, so in 2003, enacted the Rooney Rule. The policy requires teams to interview at least one racial minority when it is hiring a new head coach. The NFL recently expanded the policy to also include senior-level administrative positions. DuBois (2015) empirically analyzed the effects of the policy to examine whether it impacted racial diversity in the league. She identified naturally occurring control conditions in the way of college football teams, as the NCAA does not have such policies in place. In doing so, she was able to rule out potential societal or industry changes that could have influenced the hiring rates; that is, if societal changes alone explained the changes in hiring, their influence would occur in both settings. On the other hand, if the Rooney Rule was the key driver of change, then greater diversity gains would occur in the NFL than in the NCAA. DuBois' analyses showed that the Rooney Rule did, in fact, positively influence the proportion of racial minority coaches. Relative to the comparisons, racial minorities were 19–21 percent more likely to fill a head coaching position in the NFL after the Rooney Rule went into effect. Recognizing the potential of hiring-focused diversity policies and the effectiveness of the Rooney Rule, in 2018, the English Football Association started using a similar approach for the selection of national team coaches and administrators (English Soccer, 2018).

Micro-level factors

Finally, micro-level factors are those specific to the individual. Importantly, a focus on the individual does not equate to a "blame the victim" approach, as some diversity scholars have suggested in other contexts (Knoppers, 1987). Rather, the micro-level examination is consistent with multilevel modeling (see also McLeroy et al., 1988; Kozlowski & Klein, 2000) and recognizes that meso- and macro-level factors can influence the individual. As an example, Assari et al. (2017) found that experiences with discrimination (a meso-level factor) negatively affected African Americans' health (a micro-level factor) even a decade later, and the pattern was

especially strong for men. In the sports world, researchers have shown that intercollegiate athletes are aware of the racism deeply rooted in coaching (a macro-level factor) and adjust their expectations for the coaching profession accordingly (a micro-level factor; Cunningham, 2003; Cunningham & Singer, 2010; Kamphoff & Gill, 2008). Thus, differences between (say) racial minorities and Whites in their attitudes or behaviors is not due to innate differences between the social groups but, instead, the result of varying organizational, intergroup, and societal-level influences. In the current chapter, I focus on three micro-level factors: capital investments, personal identity, and self-limiting behaviors.

Capital investments

People make investments in their career, beyond those of the monetary nature. Researchers have generally classified them in two categories: human capital and social capital (Becker, 1993; Coleman, 1986). Human capital investments are related to people's education, experience, the different roles they have held, and so on. Social capital investments include people's social networks. Scholars consider how many people are in the social network, where those connections are, the quality of the connections—all of which can influence access to information, support from others, and career advocacy. In general, as human and social capital investments increase, so too does one's career outcomes.

   Capital investments are relevant to the discussion of racial minorities in leadership and coaching positions. One perspective is that racial minorities do not have the capital investments that Whites do, so they do not see valued career returns. However, empirical evidence does not support this position. Cunningham et al. (2001) collected data from a racially diverse sample of assistant coaches of NCAA men's basketball teams. Whites were more likely to have a graduate degree than were African Americans; however, African Americans were more likely to have played the sport they coached at the collegiate level and earned honors for doing so. In fact, African Americans were 68 percent more likely to have playing experience—a human capital investment seen as required for quality assistant coaches (Everhart & Chelladurai, 1998).

   In other cases, racial differences in career success might be due to differential returns on capital investments—a position consistent with the notion of treatment discrimination (Ibarra, 1995; Sagas & Cunningham, 2005). A number of researchers have offered empirical support for this position, such that Whites and racial minorities are differentially rewarded for similar investments (Day, 2015, 2018; Day & McDonald, 2010). What's more, there are racial differences in the types of social networks needed to be successful. Same-race networks benefit Whites and the promotions they have in their careers, but racial minorities benefit from mixed-race networks to realize

similar career success. These differences might be a function of who is charged with hiring in many US sport organizations: White men. Consequently, racial minorities might benefit from having Whites in their network more than Whites would benefit from having racial minorities in theirs. In addition, there are racial differences in the type of relationships that are more beneficial, as Whites profit from close network ties, while racial minorities benefit from more informal networks. Finally, the location of the contacts matters: African Americans enjoy more career success when they have high-status contacts, while for Whites, the status of the network is immaterial to their career success. The research collectively demonstrates the presence of racial differences in human and social capital returns, as well as different forms of social capital needed to ensure career success.

Personal identity

One's personal identity reflects the "*individuated self—those characteristics that differentiate one individual from others in a social context*" (Brewer, 1991: 476). It represents how people see themselves and is a central part of their core identity (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). For example, two Latinas might share a common racial background but differ substantially in the degree to which their race is a part of their personal identity. For one, her race might be a core part of her self-image, shaping her experiences and how she sees the world. For another, her racial identity might be of little importance.

Researchers have shown that personal identities can impact people in many ways. From an individual perspective, when people differ from others in a group on a characteristic that is an important part of their identity, they are likely to have poor work performance (Randel & Jaussi, 2003) and low satisfaction (Cunningham et al., 2008). People with high racial identity are also more likely to report experiences of racism and discrimination (Major et al., 2002).

Recently, researchers have shown that people use various cues to develop impressions of others' racial identity (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). These dynamics are important when Whites are evaluating racial minority job applicants. Cunningham and colleagues have shown that Whites rate racial minorities who they believe strongly identify with their race more poorly than they do their counterparts with a presumed weak racial identity (Steward & Cunningham, 2015; Vick & Cunningham, in press). The differences are meaningful. In a study of fitness professionals, the ratings differences affected salary recommendations, and over time, these differences would result in a difference of over $39,000. The findings are also applicable to the current discussion of racial minorities in sport, as those who have a strong racial identity—or who are presumed to have one—are likely to face more barriers in securing a coaching or leadership role.

Self-limiting behaviors

Finally, self-limiting behaviors can negatively affect opportunities and experiences of racial minority coaches and leaders. From this perspective, racial minorities are likely to experience stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination, all of which negatively impact them. Possible outcomes include missed opportunities, negative work feedback, and few opportunities for advancement. Over time, they can come to internalize the bias and negative feedback. When this occurs, they might withdraw from sport as a profession, come to believe that their performance is inferior, or pass on chances for advancement because they believe they do not have a chance to be successful. These are all examples of what researchers call self-limiting behaviors (Ilgen & Youtz, 1986; Sartore, 2006).

   A number of researchers have offered evidence of self-limiting behaviors. For example, Wells and Kerwin (2017) collected data from athletic administrators working in the US. The study participants did not vary in their confidence of their abilities, nor did they differ in the career supports they enjoyed. Nevertheless, women and racial minorities anticipated more barriers for advancement than did White men, and consistent with theory, they also expressed fewer intentions to pursue an athletic director position. In other studies, racial minority coaches have consistently reported more barriers to advancement than have Whites (Cunningham & Singer, 2010; Cunningham et al., 2006; Kamphoff & Gill, 2008). Despite these roadblocks, there is little empirical evidence that racial minority assistant coaches are less willing than Whites to pursue a head coaching position.

   Though there is equivocal evidence related to pursuing advancement opportunities, researchers have consistently shown racial differences for another form of self-limiting behavior: occupational turnover. Racial differences in occupational turnover are important for a number of reasons, including a lack of racial minority coaches in the profession, relative to Whites. Cunningham et al. (2017) conducted a meta-analysis of empirical research in the area and found that racial minorities were likely to leave coaching sooner than were Whites. The magnitude of the effects was moderate. The authors pointed to a number of contributing factors, including health concerns, family constraints, limited opportunities for advancement, low career satisfaction, and bias experienced.

Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the under-representation of racial minorities in coaching and leadership positions in the US. In doing so, I offered evidence that racial minorities largely have access to playing positions, but when it comes to leading the teams or sport organizations, they face access and treatment discrimination. In seeking to explain why this pattern occurs, I

drew from multilevel theory to suggest that societal, organizational, inter-personal, and individual factors all contribute to the trend.

The chapter offers theoretical implications. First, theory offers an understanding of how, when, why, and under what conditions phenom-ena take place (Cunningham, 2013; Cunningham, et al., 2016). The model offered here provides such insights, illustrating how societal-, organiza-tional-, group-, and individual-level factors all influence the under-repre-sentation of racial minorities in coaching. I also showed how factors at different levels of analysis can influence one another (Klein et al., 1994; Kozlowski & Klein, 2000).

The model offers practical implications, too. Frequently, managers will attempt to create diversity-related change by targeting a single element in a system (Cunningham, 2009b). However, as the multilevel model presented in this chapter shows, such efforts are likely to lack the success sport managers might desire. Instead, they must tend to the multiple factors under their purview, while also seeking to influence those outside the workplaces. As I have outlined elsewhere (Cunningham, 2019), at the micro level of analysis, inclusive sport organizations (a) seek to increase intergroup contact among players, coaches, and administrators from different backgrounds; and (b) encourage difficult dialogues among people within their sport organization, thereby engaging in discussions that are frequently challenging to have but are nonetheless productive. At the meso level of analysis, sport organizations have (a) leaders that advocate and model inclusion; (b) diversity allies, or people who are not leaders but nevertheless champion inclusion efforts; (c) a strong commitment to diversity and inclusion; (d) educational and profes-sional development activities focused on inclusion; and (e) integration of diversity and inclusion principles throughout the organizational system. Finally, at the macro level of analysis, inclusive sport organizations (a) are frequently set within a broader community that emphasizes inclusion; and (b) are adaptive and responsive to the social-, political-, effectiveness-based pressures calling for more diverse and inclusive workplaces. It is through concerted, systemic efforts that organizational change becomes possible. Given the importance of diversity and inclusion in sport organizations, such efforts are sorely needed.

Note

1 Throughout the chapter, I use the term "racial minority," terminology that is consistent with my previous work in the area (Cunningham, 2019) and with much of the scholarship in the US. The term "minority" refers to "a collection of indi-viduals who share a common characteristic and face discrimination in society because of their membership in that group" (Cunningham 2019: 91). In the US, persons Whites represent the numerical majority and socially privileged group; thus, those individuals who are not White, including African Americans, Asians, Hispanics, Native Americans, and so on, all represent racial minorities.

References

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Assari, S., Moazen-Zadeh, E., Caldwell, C. H., & Zimmerman, M. A. (2017). Racial discrimination during adolescence predicts mental health deterioration in adulthood: Gender differences among Blacks. *Frontiers in Public Health*, 5, 104.

Becker, G. S. (1993). *Human capital*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Borland, J. F., & Bruening, J. E. (2010). Navigating barriers: A qualitative examination of the under-representation of Black females as head coaches in collegiate basketball. *Sport Management Review*, 13(4), 407–420.

Bourgois, P., Holmes, S. M., Sue, K., & Quesada, J. (2017). Structural vulnerability: Operationalizing the concept to address health disparities in clinical care. *Academic Medicine: Journal of the Association of American Medical Colleges*, 92(3), 299–307.

Bradbury, S. (2013). Institutional racism, whiteness and the under-representation of minorities in leadership positions in football in Europe. *Soccer & Society*, 14(3), 296–314.

Bradbury, S., Van Sterkenburg, J., & Mignon, P. (2018). The under-representation and experiences of elite level minority coaches in professional football in England, France and the Netherlands. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 53(3), 313–334.

Brewer, M. B. (1991). The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 17, 475–482.

Brewer, M. B. (2007). The importance of being we: Human nature and intergroup relations. *The American Psychologist*, 62(8), 726–738.

Carter, P. L., Skiba, R., Arredondo, M. I., & Pollock, M. (2017). You can't fix what you don't look at: Acknowledging race in addressing racial discipline disparities. *Urban Education*, 52(2), 207–235.

Clarkson, M. E. (1995). A stakeholder framework for analyzing and evaluating corporate social performance. *Academy of Management Review*, 20(1), 92–117.

Cobb, F., & Russell, N. M. (2015). Meritocracy or complexity: Problematizing racial disparities in mathematics assessment within the context of curricular structures, practices, and discourse. *Journal of Education Policy*, 30(5), 631–649.

Coleman, J. S. (1986). Social theory, social research, and a theory of action. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91, 1309–1335.

Crandall, C. S., Eshleman, A., & O'Brien, L. (2002). Social norms and the expression of prejudice: The struggle for internalization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 359–378.

Cuddy, A. J., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2008). Warmth and competence as universal dimensions of social perception: The stereotype content model and the BIAS map. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 40, 61–149.

Cunningham, G. B. (2003). Already aware of the glass ceiling: Race-related effects of perceived opportunity on the career choices of college athletes. *Journal of African American Studies*, 7(1), 57–71.

Cunningham, G. B. (2009a). The moderating effect of diversity strategy on the relationship between racial diversity and organizational performance. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 36, 1445–1460.

Cunningham, G. B. (2009b). Understanding the diversity-related change process: A field study. *Journal of Sport Management*, 23, 407–428.

Cunningham, G. B. (2010). Understanding the under-representation of African American coaches: A multilevel perspective. *Sport Management Review*, 13(4), 395–406.

Cunningham, G. B. (2011a). Creative work environments in sport organizations: The influence of sexual orientation diversity and commitment to diversity. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 58, 1041–1057.

Cunningham, G. B. (2011b). The LGBT advantage: Examining the relationship among sexual orientation diversity, diversity strategy, and performance. *Sport Management Review*, 14, 453–461.

Cunningham, G. B. (2012). Occupational segregation of African Americans in inter-collegiate athletics administration. *Wake Forest Journal of Law & Policy*, 2, 165–178.

Cunningham, G. B. (2013). Theory and theory development in sport management. *Sport Management Review*, 16, 1–4.

Cunningham, G. B. (2015). Creating and sustaining workplace cultures supportive of LGBT employees in college athletics. *Journal of Sport Management*, 29, 426–442.

Cunningham, G. B. (2019). *Diversity and inclusion in sport organizations: A multilevel perspective* (4th ed.). New York: Routledge.

Cunningham, G. B., & Benavides-Espinoza, C. (2008). A trend analysis of sexual harassment claims: 1992–2006. *Psychological Reports*, 103(3), 779–782.

Cunningham, G. B., & Bopp, T. D. (2010). Race ideology perpetuated: Media representations of newly hired football coaches. *Journal of Sports Media*, 5(1), 1–19.

Cunningham, G. B., & Melton, E. N. (2014). Signals and cues: LGBT inclusive advertising and consumer attraction. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, 23, 37–46.

Cunningham, G. B., & Sagas, M. (2002). The differential effects of human capital for male and female Division I basketball coaches. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 73(4), 489–495.

Cunningham, G. B., & Sagas, M. (2005). Access discrimination in intercollegiate athletics. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 29(2), 148–163.

Cunningham, G. B., & Singer, J. N. (2010). "You'll face discrimination wherever you go": Student athletes' intentions to enter the coaching profession. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 40(7), 1708–1727.

Cunningham, G. B., Bruening, J. E., & Straub, T. (2006). The underrepresentation of African Americans in NCAA Division IA head coaching positions. *Journal of Sport Management*, 20(3), 387–413.

Cunningham, G. B., Choi, J. H., & Sagas, M. (2008). Personal identity and perceived racial dissimilarity among college athletes. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 12, 167–177.

Cunningham, G. B., Dixon, M. A., Ahn, N. Y., & Anderson, A. J. (2017, September). *Leaving sport: A meta-analysis of racial differences in occupational turnover*. Paper presented at the annual conference for the European Sport Management Association, Bern, Switzerland.

Cunningham, G. B., Fink, J. S., & Doherty, A. J. (2016). Developing theory in sport management. In G. B. Cunningham, J. S. Fink, & A. J. Doherty (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of theory in sport management* (pp. 3–8). London, UK: Routledge.

Cunningham, G. B., Sagas, M., & Ashley, F. B. (2001). Occupational commitment and intent to leave the coaching profession: Differences according to race. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 36(2), 131–148.

Day, J. C. (2015). Transitions to the top: Race, segregation, and promotions to executive positions in the college football coaching profession. *Work and Occupations*, 42(4), 408–446.

Day, J. C. (2018). Climbing the ladder or getting stuck: An optimal matching analysis of racial differences in college football coaches' job-level career patterns. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 53, 1–15.

Day, J. C., & McDonald, S. (2010). Not so fast, my friend: Social capital and the race disparity in promotions among college football coaches. *Sociological Spectrum*, 30, 138–158.

Dixon, M. A., & Cunningham, G. B. (2006). Data aggregation in multilevel analysis: A review of conceptual and statistical issues. *Measurement in Physical Education and Exercise Science*, 10(2), 85–107.

Doherty, A. J., & Chelladurai, P. (1999). Managing cultural diversity in sport organizations: A theoretical perspective. *Journal of Sport Management*, 13, 280–297.

DuBois, C. (2015). The impact of "soft" affirmative action policies on minority hiring in executive leadership: The case of the NFL's Rooney rule. *American Law and Economics Review*, 18(1), 208–233.

Edberg, M. C., Cleary, S. D., Andrade, E. L., Evans, W. D., Simmons, L. K., & Cubilla-Batista, I. (2017). Applying ecological positive youth development theory to address co-occurring health disparities among immigrant Latino youth. *Health Promotion Practice*, 18(4), 488–496.

English soccer adopts 'Rooney Rule' for national team jobs. (2018, January). *USA Today*. Retrieved online: https://www.usatoday.com/story/sports/soccer/2018/01/09/english-soccer-adopts-rooney-rule-for-national-team-jobs/109290066/.

Everhart, C. B., & Chelladurai, P. (1998). Gender differences in preferences for coaching as an occupation: The role of self-efficacy, valence, and perceived barriers. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 69(2), 188–200.

Feagin, J. R. (2006). *Systemic racism: A theory of oppression*. New York: Routledge.

Fink, J. S., & Pastore, D. L. (1999). Diversity in sport? Utilizing the business literature to devise a comprehensive framework of diversity initiatives. *Quest*, 51, 310–327.

Fulks, D. L. (2014). *Revenues/expenses: 2004–13 NCAA Division I intercollegiate athletics programs report*. Indianapolis, IN: National Collegiate Athletic Association.

Greenhaus, J. H., Parasuraman, S., & Wormley, W. M. (1990). Effects of race on organizational experiences, job performance, evaluations, and career outcomes. *Academy of Management Journal*, 33, 64–86.

Harris, K., & Adams, A. (2016). Power and discourse in the politics of evidence in sport for development. *Sport Management Review*, 19(2), 97–106.

Hess, D. E., & McAvoy, P. (2014). *The political classroom: Evidence and ethics in democratic education*. New York: Routledge.

Hylton, K. (2009). *"Race" and sport: Critical race theory*. New York: Routledge.

Hylton, K. (2012). Talk the talk, walk the walk: Defining critical race theory in research. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 15(1), 23–41.

Ibarra, H. (1995). Race, opportunity, and diversity of social circles in managerial networks. *Academy of Management Journal*, 38(3), 673–703.

Ilgen, D. R., & Youtz, M. A. (1986). Factors affecting the evaluation and development of minorities in organizations. In K. Bowland & G. Ferris (Eds.), *Research in personnel and human resource management: A research annual* (pp. 307–337). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Jones, K. P., Sabat, I. E., King, E. B., Ahmad, A., McCausland, T. C., & Chen, T. (2017). Isms and schisms: A meta-analysis of the prejudice-discrimination relationship across racism, sexism, and ageism. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 38(7), 1076–1110.

Kaiser, C. R., & Pratt-Hyatt, J. S. (2009). Distributing prejudice unequally: Do Whites direct their prejudice toward strongly identified minorities? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(2), 432–445.

Kamphoff, C., & Gill, D. (2008). Collegiate athletes' perceptions of the coaching profession. *International Journal of Sports Science & Coaching*, 3(1), 55–72.

Klein, K. J., Dansereau, F., & Hall, R. J. (1994). Levels issues in theory development, data collection, and analysis. *Academy of Management Review*, 19, 195–229.

Knoppers, A. (1987). Gender and the coaching profession. *Quest*, 39(1), 9–22.

Kochhar, R., & Cilluffo, A. (2018, July). Key findings on the rise in income inequality within America's racial and ethnic groups. *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved online: http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/07/12/key-findings-on-the-rise-in-income-inequality-within-americas-racial-and-ethnic-groups/.

Kozlowski, S. W. J., & Klein, K. J. (2000). A multilevel approach to theory and research in organizations: Contextual, temporal, and emergent processes. In K. J. Klein and S. W. J. Kozlowski (Eds.), *Multilevel theory, research, and methods in organizations: Foundations, extensions, and new directions* (pp. 3–90). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Leath, S., & Chavous, T. (2017). "We really protested": The influence of socio-political beliefs, political self-efficacy, and campus racial climate on civic engagement among Black college students attending Predominantly White Institutions. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 86(3), 220–237.

Lee, W., & Cunningham, G. B. (2015). A picture is worth a thousand words: The influence of signaling, organizational reputation, and applicant race on attraction to sport organizations. *International Journal of Sport Management*, 16, 492–506.

Lord, R., & Maher, K. (1991). *Leadership and information processing*. New York: Unwin Hyman.

Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 18, 302–318.

Madden, J. F. (2004). Differences in the success of NFL coaches by race, 1990–2002. *Journal of Sports Economics*, 5, 6–19.

Madden, J. F., & Ruther, M. (2009). Reply to: Differences in the success of NFL coaches by race: A different perspective. *Journal of Sports Economics*, 10(5), 543–550.

Major, B., Quinton, W. J., & McCoy, S. K. (2002). Antecedents and consequences of attributions to discrimination: Theoretical and empirical advances. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 34, 251–330.

Marshall, A. M. (2005). *Confronting sexual harassment: The law and politics of everyday life*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

McGirt, E. (2016, January). Why race and culture matter in the c-suite. *Fortune*. Retrieved online: http://fortune.com/black-executives-men-c-suite/.

McKay, P. F., Avery, D. R., & Morris, M. A. (2008). Mean racial-ethnic differences in employee sales performance: The moderating role of diversity climate. *Personnel Psychology*, 61(2), 349–374.

McKay, P. F., Avery, D. R., Tonidandel, S., Morris, M. A., Hernandez, M., & Hebl, M. R. (2007). Racial differences in employee retention: Are diversity climate perceptions the key? *Personnel Psychology*, 60(1), 35–62.

McLeroy, K. R., Bibeau, D., Steckler, A., & Glanz, K. (1988). An ecological perspective on health promotion programs. *Health Education Quarterly*, 15(4), 351–377.

Nassif, N., & Amara, M. (2015). Sport, policy and politics in Lebanon. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 7(3), 443–455.

Pearson, A. R., Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2009). The nature of contemporary racism: Insights from aversive racism. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 3, 314–338.

Peffley, M., Hurwitz, J., & Mondak, J. (2017). Racial attributions in the justice system and support for punitive crime policies. *American Politics Research*, 45(6), 1032–1058.

Randel, A. E., & Jaussi, K. S. (2003). Functional background identity, diversity, and individual performance in cross-functional teams. *Academy of Management Journal*, 46(6) 763–774.

Rankin-Wright, A. J., Hylton, K., & Norman, L. (2016). Off-colour landscape: Framing race equality in sport coaching. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 33(4), 357–368.

Rosenberg, M. (2004). Two few: Of 117 football coaches, two are black; it's called institutional racism. *Detroit Free Press*. Accessed November 14, 2005, from http://www.freep.com/cgi-bin/forms/printerfriendly.pl.

Rosette, A. S., Leonardelli, G. J., & Phillips, K. W. (2008). The White standard: Racial bias in leader categorization. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93, 758–777.

Sadler, R. C., & Lafreniere, D. J. (2017). Racist housing practices as a precursor to uneven neighborhood change in a post-industrial city. *Housing Studies*, 32(2), 186–208.

Sagas, M., & Cunningham, G. B. (2005). Racial differences in the career success of assistant football coaches: The role of discrimination, human capital, and social capital. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35(4), 773–797.

Santucci, D. C., Floyd, M. F., Bocarro, J. N., & Henderson, K. A. (2014). Visitor services staff perceptions of strategies to encourage diversity at two urban national parks. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 32(3), 15–28.

Sartore, M. L. (2006). Categorization, performance appraisals, and self-limiting behavior: The impact on current and future performance. *Journal of Sport Management*, 20(4), 535–553.

Sartore, M. L., & Cunningham, G. B. (2006). Stereotypes, race, and coaching. *Journal of African American Studies*, 10(2), 69–83.

Schein, E. H. (2004). *Organizational culture and leadership* (3rd ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Shore, L. M., Randel, A. E., Chung, B. G., Dean, M. A., Holcombe Ehrhart, K., & Singh, G. (2011). Inclusion and diversity in work groups: A review and model for future research. *Journal of Management*, 37(4), 1262–1289.

Sidanius, J., Pratto, F., & Bobo, L. (1996). Racism, conservatism, affirmative action, and intellectual sophistication: A matter of principled conservatism or group dominance? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70(3), 476–490.

Singer, J. N., & Cunningham, G. B. (2012). A case study of the diversity culture of an American university athletic department: Implications for educational stakeholders. *Sport, Education & Society*, 17, 647–669.

Stangor, C. (2009). The study of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination within social psychology: A quick history of theory and research. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 1–23). New York: Psychology Press.

Steward, A. D., & Cunningham, G. B. (2015). Racial identity and its impact on job applicants. *Journal of Sport Management*, 29, 245–256.

Stewart, M., & Garcia-Prieto Sol, P. (2008). A relational demography model of workgroup identification: Testing the effects of race, race dissimilarity, racial identification, and communication behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 29(5), 657–680.

Vespa, J., Armstrong, D. M., & Medina, L. (2018). *Demographic turning points for the United States: Population projections for 2020 to 2060. Current Population Reports, P25–1144.* Washington, DC: US Census Bureau.

Vick, A., & Cunningham, G. B. (in press). Bias against Latina and African American women job applicants: A field experiment. *Sport, Business, Management: An International Journal*.

Washington, M., & Patterson, K. D. W. (2011). Hostile takeover or joint venture: Connections between institutional theory and sport management research. *Sport Management Review*, 14, 1–12.

Welty Peachey, J., Zhou, Y., Damon, Z. J., & Burton, L. J. (2015). Forty years of leadership research in sport management: A review, synthesis, and conceptual framework. *Journal of Sport Management*, 29(5), 570–587.

Wells, J. E., & Kerwin, S. (2017). Intentions to be an athletic director: Racial and gender perspectives. *Journal of Career Development*, 44(2), 127–143.

Wong, E. (2002). The mystery of the missing minority coaches. *New York Times Online*. Retrieved January 15, 2002, from https://www.patrick.af.mil/deomi/Library/ EOReadFile/ Affirmative%20Action/Spring02/The%20Mystery