

Head and Black Assistant Coaches
in the National Football League:
A Comparison of Sociological Profiles

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The study attempted to determine empirically if Black assistant coaches in the National Football League (NFL) possessed the "necessary" credentials to be a head coach in the NFL. The problem was investigated by developing profiles of head White and assistant Black coaches and then comparing the credentials of the assistant Black coaches to those of the head White coaches. If the Black assistants did not possess the same credentials as the head White coaches, then the absence of head Black coaches in the NFL could be justified by that fact. However, if the Black assistant's credentials were equal to or better than those of the head coaches then the all-too-familiar explanation, "Blacks lack the necessities," could no longer justify the lack of head Black coaches in the NFL. All 28 head and 45 Black assistant coaches in the NFL during the 1988-89 season were subjects in the study. Data about each coach were collected, and modal coach profiles were constructed. When the profiles were compared, it was found that NFL Black assistant coaches generally possessed the same achieved occupational credentials as White NFL head coaches and therefore, there is reason to believe that race may have been a factor in the hiring of head coaches in the NFL.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the Spring of 1987, the Los Angeles Dodgers fired Al Campanis, Vice President for Player Personnel, because of statements he made on a late night television news program. Ted Koppel, host of ABC's "Nightline," questioned Mr. Campanis in regards to why there is a scarcity of Black managers, general managers and owners in Major League Baseball. Campanis responded in the following way.

CAMPANIS: "No, I don't believe it's prejudice. I truly believe that they (Blacks) may not have some of the necessities to be, let's say, a field manager or perhaps a general manager".

KOPPEL: "Do you really believe that?"

CAMPANIS: "Well, I don't say that all of them (Blacks), but they certainly are short. How many quarterbacks do you have, how many pitchers do you have, that are Black?... They are gifted with great musculature and various other things. They're fleet of foot. And this is why there are a lot of Black major league ballplayers. Now as far as having the background to become club presidents, or presidents of a bank, I don't know" (The New York Times, April 8, 1987 pp. B 10).

In the Winter of 1988, Sports commentator Jimmy "The Greek" Snyder was dismissed by the CBS television network when, during the course of an impromptu interview, he was quoted as having said the following.

"If they (Blacks) take over coaching jobs like everybody wants them to there's not going to be anything left for the White people. I mean all the players are black. The only thing that the whites control is the coaching jobs. Now I'm not being derogatory about it, but that's all that's left for them (whites)... (Democrat and Chronicle, Rochester, New York, January 17, 1988, p. A7)

Even though the two statements were uttered in different contexts, both imply that Blacks lack the capability to manage, serve as head coaches, or work in front office positions. Basically, what Campanis and Snyder are saying is that Blacks are better suited for playing than leading and making organizational decisions. Remarks such as these suggest racial bigotry or, at the very least, inexcusable ignorance. Unfortunately, there is reason to believe that such notions are pervasive throughout professional sports, but especially in professional football.

Up until 1989 there had never been a Black head coach in professional football. However, there is one arguable exception. In 1921, a professional football team, the Hammond Pros (Hammond, Indiana), participated in the American Professional Football Association. In 1922 the APFA changed its name to the National Football League. The following year a young Black man named Fredrick "Fritz" Pollard became player-coach of the team, a role he filled until 1925. Gary Mihoces (1989) noted this historical first when he wrote... he (Fredrick "Fritz" Pollard) won distinction as the first - and only - Black head coach in NFL history (USA Today, February 17, 1987, p. C1.). However, It is probably stretching history a bit to claim Pollard as the first Black head coach in the NFL since he was probably more a player than a coach.

It needs to be pointed out that the early 1920's served as the developmental years for the NFL. It also was a time in which Blacks were generally not allowed to participate with Whites, let alone coach them. When questioned about Fritz Pollard being the first Black head coach in the NFL, Gene Upshaw, head of the National Football League Player's Association, stated..."But that's not the NFL as we know it" (USA Today February 17, 1987 p. C1).

Since 1920, the National Football League has grown tremendously. Presently, there are over 1,400 players under contract, 62 percent of whom are Black. On October 3, 1989, the league made history when a Black man, Art Shell, was named head coach of the Los Angeles Raiders. Thus, Shell became the first Black Head Coach in the National Football League in the modern era. More recently, Dennis Green became the second Black head coach in the National Football League when he was chosen to lead the Minnesota Vikings.

Amazingly, it took nearly seventy years before the "good ol' boy" system in the NFL recognized that the same athletes who scored touchdowns and won Superbowl games could also lead teams to victory. Why has it taken so long? Is it because of the belief that Blacks lack the "necessities" to be effective coaches? And if so, what are the "necessities" for becoming a head coach in the NFL? Are there any Black assistant coaches in the NFL who have these so-called "necessities" to be head coaches?

Statement of the problem

The purposes of this study were threefold. The first research objective was to develop an occupational profile of head coaches in the NFL. The second objective was to develop an occupational profile of Black assistant coaches in the NFL. The third objective was to compare the Black assistant coach's profile to the White head coach's profile to determine whether there are any Black assistant coaches who possess the occupational credentials to be a NFL head coach.

This three part study represents an initial attempt at determining, in an empirical way, what the necessities are for becoming a head coach in the NFL, e.g., formal education, playing experience, coaching experience. If, in fact, there are assistants who possess the appropriate credentials or necessities, then the virtual absence of Black head coaches in the NFL must be due to factors other than the objective ones herein identified and described.

Delimitations

It is obvious that no one gains employment in any field based strictly on what his or her resume says. One's persona, personality, motivation, knowledge, leadership skills and organizational acumen are also important considerations in the hiring process.

However, the personal criteria considered and analyzed in this study were delimited to putatively achieved characteristics such as, (1) formal educational background, (2) playing experience, and (3) coaching experience.

Limitations

Such factors as personality, character, and leadership style are all probably related to occupational mobility within the coaching ranks. However, such information is unfortunately scarce, incomplete or just not available. Other potentially relevant personal data such as father's and mother's educational and occupational status, family size, birth order, size of hometown were also unavailable to the researcher. Although a great deal of potentially useful information was unavailable, information about educational background, playing experience and coaching experience were available and it is upon these data that the occupational profiles were constructed.

Definitions

Academic background. Refers to the coach's (1) terminal degree, (2) field of study, and (3) institution where the terminal degree was obtained.

Assistant coach. Refers to those coaches who are employed by the head coach to perform specified duties.

Athletic Background. Refers to the coach's (1) intercollegiate football playing position(s), and (2) level of college football competition, e.g., Division I, II, III, (3) centrality of college playing position, (4) number of seasons as a professional player and (5) centrality of professional playing position.

Black. The term Black as used in this study refers to Americans of African descent.

Career Background. Refers to (1) division or level of competition of subject's first intercollegiate coaching assignment, (2) number of seasons as an assistant college coach, (3) division or level of competition of subject's last college as an assistant coach, (4) division or level of competition of subject's first college head coaching position, (5) division or level of competition of subject's last college where he head coached, (6) number of seasons as a college head coach, (7) subject's last college coaching assignment, (8) subject's first professional coaching assignment, (9) number of seasons as a professional assistant coach and (10) number of seasons as a professional head coach.

Centrality of Playing Position Refers to how (1) close a team member is to the center of the group's interaction network, (2) frequency with which a member interacts with

other members, (3) number or range of other members with whom he interacts, and (4) degree to which he must coordinate his task and activities with those of other team members. For the purpose of this study, "central" playing positions in football are, offensively, quarterback, center, and guard and defensively, linebacker. "Non-central" playing positions are all playing positions not designated as "central".

Head coach. Refers to the person who is employed by the owner(s) and solely responsible for the management, operation and organizational aspects of the team.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

To date, few researchers have examined the occupational credentials of head coaches and Black assistant coaches in the National Football League. However, several researchers have looked at racism in the NFL and the occupational mobility of intercollegiate coaches.

The hiring of Black football coaches

Braddock (1981) examined the NFL from a structural discrimination perspective. Specifically, he focused on the impact of race on the selection of head coaches. He was interested in how such factors as educational attainment, leadership, coaching and playing experiences impacted on the selection process of head coaches. He found that since 1960, Blacks were chosen for fewer than one out of every ten assistant coaching positions despite the fact that they made up approximately 25 percent of the total player population. He also discovered that 82 percent of the former players who were NFL head coaches between the years 1960 and 1979 were former assistant coaches in the NFL. Also of interest was the fact that not a single Black was chosen for one of the 68 head coaching positions that were filled by former players between the years 1960 and 1980.

Braddock found that more than one half of the impact of race on recruitment to head coaching positions in the NFL was mediated by number of years as a NFL assistant coach. He concluded that the absence of Black head coaches was a function of the absence of Black assistant coaches in the NFL. Braddock's research clearly established the fact that head coaches in the NFL are, with few exceptions, former players in the League who also served as assistant coaches after their playing days were over. It appears that becoming an assistant coach in the NFL is a major stepping stone in the process of attaining a head coaching position. Since becoming an assistant coach appears to serve as the major springboard to becoming a head coach and since Blacks are less likely to become assistant coaches, the impact of race operates indirectly to prevent Black players from entering the assistant coaches pool from which head coaches are selected.

Career mobility of college coaches

Loy and Sage's (1973) research is germane because they sought to determine the degree to which universities with high athletic prestige recruited coaches from other schools with similar high status. They hypothesized that:

1. Coaches who participated as varsity athletes at high prestige institutions are more likely to have served as assistant coaches at high

prestige institutions than coaches who participated at low prestige institutions.

2. Coaches who served as assistant coaches at high prestige institutions are more likely to have obtained their first head coaching position at high prestige institutions than coaches who served as assistant coaches at low prestige institutions.
3. Coaches who held their first head job at high prestige institutions are more likely to presently hold head jobs at high prestige institutions than coaches whose first head jobs were at low prestige institutions.

In essence, Loy and Sage were interested in comparing the effects of achieved versus ascribed attributes on the career mobility of college coaches. Achieved and ascribed attributes were analyzed in terms of Turner's (1960) two ideal modes of social ascent, namely, contest mobility and sponsored mobility. Contest mobility is a system in which elite status is the prize in an open contest and is acquired by the aspirant's own efforts. Since the "prize" of successful upward mobility is not in the hands of an established elite to give out, the latter cannot determine who shall and who shall not attain it.

In contrast, sponsored mobility is a system whereby elite recruits are chosen by the established elites or their agents. Elite status is "given" to recruits on the basis of some criterion of supposed merit which "cannot be acquired" by any amount of effort or strategy.

The researchers mailed questionnaires to all National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) head basketball and football coaches employed in 1971. The variables studied included academic record, athletic career and social background. All three hypotheses supported collegiate coaches who participated as varsity athletes, served as assistant coaches, and/or held their first head coaching job at "high" prestige institutions. They were much more likely to be recruited by high prestigious schools for head coaching positions. Thus, the career mobility of college coaches was found to be more a function of sponsored rather than contest mobility.

Racial segregation by playing position

Loy and Elvogue (1970) employed theoretical concepts by Grusky (1963) and Blalock (1962) to formulate the empirical hypothesis that "discrimination is positively related to centrality." Centrality refers to how close a team member is to the center of a group's interaction network; it refers simultaneously to the frequency with which a member interacts with other members, the number or range of other members with whom he interacts, and the degree to which he must coordinate his tasks and activities with other team members.

To test their hypothesis, they compared the number of Blacks and whites occupying central playing positions in the NFL and Major League Baseball. The central playing positions in baseball were defined as catcher, shortstop, pitcher, first base, second base and third base. Non-central positions, that is, those more peripheral and socially isolated, were identified as center field, left field and right field.

Loy and Elvogue hypothesized that Black players, in comparison to white players, were more likely to occupy outfield positions and less likely to occupy infield positions. Based on an analysis of the data collected for the 1967 season, Blacks were found to be overrepresented in the outfield (non-central playing positions) and underrepresented in the infield (central playing positions). For the National Football League analysis, the researchers identified the offensive central positions as quarterback, center, and guard. Defensively, linebacker was deemed the most central position. Data collected for the 1967 season showed an overrepresentation of Blacks in non-central playing positions, e.g., running back, wide receiver, and underrepresentation in the central playing positions, e.g., Quarterback, offensive guard. Since this seminal study, several other researchers have similarly documented racial segregation by playing position in college and professional football (Brower, 1972; Dougherty, 1976; Eitzen, 1977;

Heltman, 1981; Hoose, 1989; Jones et.al. 1987; Schnelder, 1986; Williams, 1975).

Playing position centrality and leadership recruitment

Massengale and Farrington (1977) investigated the extent to which playing position centrality was related to achievement of a head college football coaching position. Secondly, they were also interested in whether playing position was related to upward career (coaching) mobility. All head and assistant football coaches employed on a regular, full-time basis at NCAA Division I institutions during the 1975 football season served as subjects in their study. The collegiate playing position of each coach was determined and classified as being central or non-central.

Massengale and Farrington found that the majority of head coaches had played central positions in college. Similarly, defensive and offensive coordinators were also more likely to have played central positions than assistant coaches.

Occupation profiles of football coaches

Latimer and Mathes (1988) examined the social background and educational, athletic and career characteristics of a sample of Division I college football coaches. Specifically, they gathered data from 80 (one head coach and 79 assistants), Division I Black coaches.

Based on a 66 percent return rate, they found that the social and educational backgrounds of Black assistant coaches were similar to those of White head coaches. However, Black assistant coaches differed from white head coaches in that they were much more likely to have played peripheral positions in college and apprenticed as an assistant coach of a non-central playing position.

Also instructive was the socioeconomic backgrounds of the Black assistant coaches. They generally came from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and lived in smaller hometowns than white head coaches. As athletes, they attended Division I colleges and played peripheral (non-central) positions. As college athletes, they were the recipients of many honors and awards. All of the Black coaches completed bachelor's degrees and 47 percent completed master's degrees; 57 percent majored in physical education. In terms of career characteristics, they were more likely to have initiated their coaching careers at the college rather than the high school level. They mainly coached non-central playing positions; not a single one coached the central positions of quarterback or center. However, 13 percent coached the defensive central position of linebacker. The majority of Black assistants coached running backs. They aspired to become head coaches of major college programs or assistant coaches at the professional level.

Summary

To summarize, a review of the related literature was undertaken in order to obtain information that would be helpful in the development, construction and implementation of the study. Braddock's work proved helpful in identifying the variables needed to create a coaches' occupational profile, e.g., coaching experience, former playing position and formal education. Loy and Sage's research was helpful in terms of explicating the phenomenon of organizational mobility. Although it is important to have solid occupational credentials, e.g., an outstanding coaching record, their findings underscore the popular maxim, "it's not always what you know but who you know that counts." Their data clearly showed that selection for a head coaching position at the college level is largely the result of "who you know" or, sponsored mobility. Although the college a former player attended, the position he played and the playing positions he coached all have a bearing on obtaining a future head coaching appointment, the reality is, the "good' ol boy network" is alive and well in the hiring of head coaches in college football. The research literature suggests that Blacks are competitive with respect to college coaching credentials. However, the majority of Black college coaches are assigned to coach non-central playing positions which are less likely to lead to a head coaching opportunity.

Thus, it appears that Black intercollegiate assistant football coaches are competent enough, based upon achieved occupational credentials, to qualify for the applicant pool for college head coaching jobs. Why so few ever obtain the position remains unexplained. At this time, not a single NCAA Division I-A football team (N=106) has an african-American as it's head coach. However, Ron Dickerson of Clemson is currently the forerunner for the vacant head coaching position at Temple.

As for the professional level, little if any, research is available concerning the recruitment of assistant coaches to head coaching positions. In order to shed some light on the situation the present investigation was undertaken.

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

One objective of the present study was to answer the question, Do Black assistant coaches have the necessities or credentials to be head coaches in the NFL? Because this question raises a myriad of related questions, a point of clarification is in order. This study does not question if Blacks can effectively perform the duties of a NFL head coach, rather, it questions whether they have the achieved credentials to be head coaches in the NFL.

In order to determine if Black assistant coaches in the NFL have the necessary credentials, the achieved characteristics associated with being a head coach in the NFL were identified. The review of literature helped identify the achieved credentials thought to be essential for an appointment to the position of head coach. National Football League team media guides, NFL Registers, NFL Record and Fact Handbooks, and NCAA Directories were carefully examined in order to obtain the necessary information for each of the coaches included in the head and assistant coaches samples. All team media guides were obtained from the public relations department of the Buffalo Bills. These guides were very helpful for obtaining information about management, coaching staffs, and players.

Handbooks and registers provided useful information about players, coaches, and teams. NCAA directories provided useful information about each coach's previous playing and coaching experiences.

Data about each coach's academic, athletic and coaching backgrounds were entered onto a spread sheet (see Appendix A). Where important information about a coach was unavailable through published sources, a letter was sent to the coach requesting the missing data (see Appendix B). A total of 24 such requests were made, of which 11 or 45.8 percent were answered. All head white coaches and Black assistant coaches employed in the NFL either at the end of the 1988 season or at the beginning of the 1989 season were the targeted populations. Data were collected for all 28 head coaches and all 45 Black assistant coaches in the NFL. Tables were created for each variable and percentages calculated where appropriate.

Once the credential information was collected for each coach and placed on a spreadsheet, a modal coach profile was then constructed (see Appendix C). The most frequently occurring characteristic or response, for each of the variables helped create the modal profile. For example, if the most frequently recorded response for the head coaches on the academic credential, post-secondary education, was "Bachelor's degree", then "Bachelor's degree" was entered into the modal profile for the head coaches, even though

some head coaches did not earn a Bachelor's, while still others went on to earn a Master's degree. It is the modal credential response that determined the modal coach profile.

However, if the most frequently recorded response for a particular variable was, "No", "Zero", or a percentage which indicated that the modal coach would not have had such a credential, it was so noted. The coaches who did possess that credential were then incorporated into the modal coach profile. For example, if the modal response for the athletic credential, "played professional football", was "No", it was so noted and then those who did play professional football were incorporated into the profile.

This procedure was followed because the credential variables are interdependent. If the modal coach did not play professional football, then other related variables would be rendered irrelevant, e.g. number of years as a professional player. The same procedure was followed for the Black assistant coaches in the construction of their modal coach profile (see Appendices D). The two completed profiles were then compared and contrasted in order to answer the question, Do Blacks have the achieved credentials to be head coaches in the NFL?

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The relevant data and findings will be presented in four sections, namely, (1) social background, (2) academic background, (3) athletic background, and (4) coaching career background. Each section will highlight the key research findings uncovered. See appendix C for a complete listing of the coaches included in the study.

Social Background

The social background data for each subject included information pertaining to race and age.

In 1986, approximately 13 percent of the United States population was Black. Approximately 70 percent of all National Basketball Association (NBA) players, over 50 percent of all National Football League (NFL) players, and 70 percent of all professional boxers were Black (Rudman, 1986). In 1987, over 55 percent of the NFL players and 11 percent of the assistant coaches were Black. There were no Black head coaches. Table 1 presents the racial composition of NFL coaches for the year 1988.

Table 1

Racial Composition of Coaches in the NFL (1988)

Race	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches	
	N	%	N	%
Black	0	0.00	45	15.30
White	28	100.00	249	84.69
Total	28	100.00	294	99.99

Table 1 reveals a slight increase in the number of Black assistant coaches when compared to 1987 data (11.0 vs. 15.3). In 1987, the average age of white head coaches was 54 while the average age of Black assistant coaches was 44.

Interestingly, when the white head coaches were appointed to their first NFL head coaching position, their average age was 44, the average age of Black assistants currently coaching in the NFL.

Academic Background Data

The academic background data includes terminal degree, major field of study, and athletic division of school where terminal degree was obtained.

Table 2
Terminal College Degree

Degree	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches	
	N	%	N	%
Ph.D,	1	3.57	0	0.00
Masters degree	10	35.71	8	17.77
Bachelor's degree	15	53.57	27	60.00
No Degree	2	7.14	0	0.00
Unknown	0	0.00	10	22.22
Total	28	99.99	Total 45	99.99

Table 2 shows that approximately 53.6 percent of the head coaches and 60 percent of the Black assistant coaches earned a Baccalaureate degree. A greater percentage of Head white coaches earned Master's degrees (35.7%) than Black assistants (17.7%). Note the high percentage (22.2%) for "Unknown" for the Black assistants. Despite the researcher's efforts, information pertaining to college attendance for these Black assistants could not be obtained. Thus, the missing data were recorded as unknown. However, what is of special interest is the fact that approximately the same percentage of head white coaches and Black assistant coaches earned Bachelor's degrees.

Table 3
Major field of study

Major	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches			
	N	%	N	%		
Architecture	0	00.00	1	2.22		
Art	1	3.57	0	0.00		
Athletic Administration	1	3.57	0	0.00		
Business Administration	1	3.57	4	8.88		
Education *	9	32.14	4	8.88		
Education Administration *	0	0.00	2	4.44		
Elementary Education *	0	0.00	1	2.22		
English	1	3.57	0	0.00		
History	3	10.71	0	0.00		
Industrial Arts	0	0.00	2	4.44		
Industrial Engineering	1	3.57	0	0.00		
Journalism	0	0.00	1	2.22		
Liberal Arts	1	3.57	5	11.11		
Military Science	1	3.57	0	0.00		
Physical Education *	5	17.86	9	20.00		
Public Administration	0	0.00	1	2.22		
Social Science	0	0.00	1	2.22		
Sociology	1	3.57	1	2.22		
Secondary Education *	1	3.57	3	6.66		
Unknown	0	0.00	10	22.22		
No Degree	2	7.14	0	0.00		
	Total	28	99.98	Total	45	99.95

* An Education-related field

Table 3 shows that approximately 54 percent of the white head coaches and 42.2 percent of the Black assistant coaches majored in some field of education. These percentages confirm similar findings obtained by Latimer and Mathes (1988), Loy and Sage (1972) and Sage (1975). Note that two of the 28 head coaches (7.1%) failed to earn a four year undergraduate degree. Also of interest is the fact that just 9 or 20 percent of the Black assistant coaches sampled

earned their degree in physical education. This statistic is probably much lower than what the "conventional wisdom" suggests.

Table 4
Athletic Division of School Granting Terminal Degree

Division	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches	
	N	%	N	%
NCAA I	23	82.14	30	66.66
NCAA II	0	0.00	2	4.44
NCAA III	3	10.71	2	4.44
Unknown	2	7.14	11	24.44
Total	28	99.99	Total 45	99.98

Table 4 reveals that most of the white head and Black assistant coaches earned undergraduate degrees from Division I schools (82.1 percent of the head coaches and 67.2 percent of the Black assistant coaches). Divisional ranking of a NCAA member school is based on many criteria, e.g., total student population, financial support for school sport programs, number of sport programs, number of contests, scheduling, and number of athletic scholarships granted. However, the major difference among Divisions I, II, and III schools are the number of athletic scholarships awarded. Whereas Division I schools can award up to 150 scholarships in football, basketball, and baseball, Division II schools can only award scholarships in football and basketball. Division III schools cannot award any athletic scholarships.

Athletic Background Data

The collegiate and professional playing background data for each of the subjects included the following: (1) athletic division of undergraduate school, (2) collegiate playing position, (3) centrality of college playing position, (4) number of seasons as a professional football player, (5) professional playing position, and (6) centrality of professional playing position.

Table 5
Athletic Division of Undergraduate School

Division	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches	
	N	%	N	%
NCAA I	22	78.57	37	82.22
NCAA II	1	3.57	3	6.66
NCAA III	5	17.86	2	4.44
Unknown	0	0.00	2	4.44
No participation	0	0.00	1	2.22
Total	28	100.00	Total 45	99.98

Table 5 shows that 78.6 percent of the white head coaches and 82.2 percent of the Black assistant coaches played at NCAA Division I schools. Only one of the Black assistant coaches did not play college football.

Table 6
College playing position

Position	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches			
	N	%	N	%		
Center *	0	0.00	1	2.22		
Defensive back	3	10.71	10	22.22		
Defensive line	1	3.57	8	17.77		
Linebacker *	4	14.28	3	6.66		
Offensive line	1	3.57	1	2.22		
Offensive Guard *	2	7.14	0	0.00		
Quarterback *	4	14.28	4	8.88		
Running back	3	10.71	14	31.11		
Tight end	5	17.85	0	0.00		
Wide Receiver	5	17.85	3	6.66		
No Participation	0	0.00	1	2.22		
	Total	28	99.96	Total	45	99.96

* Central playing position

Table 6 shows the distribution of college playing positions among the head and assistant coaches. Whereas Black assistants were clearly overrepresented at the running back (31.1%) and defensive back (22.2%) positions, the head coaches were evenly distributed among all playing positions. The head coaches played three of the four central playing positions, the one exception being offensive center. The Black assistants also played three of the four central positions, the one exception being offensive guard. General speaking, Black assistants were underrepresented in central positions (17.4%) and overrepresented in non-central positions (78.2%).

However, white head coaches were also underrepresented at central playing positions (35.7%) and overrepresented at non-central positions (64.3%). See Table 7.

Table 7
Centrality of College Playing Position

College Playing Position	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches	
	N	%	N	%
Central	10	35.71	8	18.18
Non-central	18	64.28	36	81.81
Total	28	99.99	Total 44	99.99

Note that Table seven shows 44 assistant coaches, the total Black assistant coach population was reduced by one, because Table six showed that one Black assistant did not play college football.

Table 8
Number of Coaches that Played Professional Football

Professional Football	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches	
	N	%	N	%
No	16	57.14	13	28.88
Yes	12	42.85	32	71.11
Total	28	99.99	Total 45	99.99

Table 8 shows the number of coaches who played professional football. Note that 16 of the 28 (57.14%) head Coaches did not play professional football compared to 13 of the 45 (28.8%) Black assistant coaches. Whereas all of the head coaches played college football, more than half did not play in the professional ranks. While, all but one Black assistants did not play college football, 71 percent played professionally.

Table 9

Number of Seasons as a Professional Football Player

	Head Coaches	Assistant Coaches
	N=12	N=32
Number of Seasons	86	263
Average	7.16	8.21

Table 9 shows that the 12 head coaches who played professional football, averaged seven seasons each. The 32 Black assistants who played professionally averaged approximately eight seasons each.

Table 10

Professional playing position

Position	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches			
	N	%	N	%		
Center *	0	0.00	1	3.12		
Defensive back	2	16.66	11	34.37		
Defensive line	1	8.33	7	21.87		
Linebacker *	2	16.66	2	6.25		
Offensive line	0	0.00	1	3.12		
Offensive Guard *	0	0.00	0	0.00		
Quarterback *	1	8.33	0	0.00		
Running back	2	16.66	8	25.00		
Tight end	2	16.66	0	0.00		
Wide Receiver	2	16.66	2	6.25		
	Total	12	99.96	Total	32	99.98

* Central playing position

Table 10 shows the distribution of playing positions among the head and assistant coaches who played

professionally. These findings are consistent with those reported by Curtis and Loy (1978), with regard to stacking. We see that Black assistant coaches were underrepresented (12.1%) at central playing positions and overrepresented (78.2%) at non-central positions. However, the white head coaches were also underrepresented (25%) at the central playing positions and overrepresented (75%) at the non-central positions. See Table 11.

Table 11
Centrality of Professional Playing Position

Centrality	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches			
	N	%	N	%		
Central	3	25.00	3	9.37		
Non-central	9	75.00	29	90.62		
	Total	12	99.99	Total	32	99.99

Coaching Career Data

Coaching career data refer to: (1) athletic division of first collegiate coaching assignment, (2) number of seasons as an assistant college coach, (3) athletic division of last college as an assistant coach, (4) last position coaching assignment at college level, (5) division of first college head coaching position, (6) division of last college head coaching position, (7) number of seasons as a college head coach, (8) first position coaching assignment at professional level, (9) number of seasons as professional assistant coach, (10) number of seasons as a professional head coach.

Table 12
Coaching Experience at the College Level

Experience	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches	
	N	%	N	%
No	7	25.00	18	40.00
Yes	21	75.00	27	60.00
	Total	28 100.00	Total	45 100.00

Table 12 shows that 21 of the 28 (75%) head coaches coached at the college level compared to 27 of the 45 (60%) Black assistants. These data show that approximately 15 percent more of the White head coaches coached in college.

Table 13

Athletic Division of First Collegiate Coaching Assignment

Division	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches	
	N	%	N	%
NCAA I	16	76.19	22	81.48
NCAA II	0	0.00	3	11.11
NCAA III	5	23.80	2	7.40
Total	21	99.99	27	99.99

Table 13 shows that 16 of the 21 (76.1%) head coaches and 22 of the 27 (81.4%) Black assistant coaches began their college coaching careers at the Division I level. The other five head coaches began their college coaching career in Division III. Among the Black assistants, three began their coaching careers at Division II and two started at Division III.

Table 14

Number of Seasons as a College Assistant Coach

	Head Coaches	Assistant Coaches
	N=21	N=27
Number of seasons	169	232
Average	8.0	8.59

Table 14 shows that head coaches coached an average of eight seasons at the college level versus 8.6 seasons for the Black assistants.

Table 15

Athletic Division of Last Collegiate Coaching Assignment

Division	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches	
	N	%	N	%
NCAA I	20	95.23	25	92.59
NCAA II	0	0.00	1	3.70
NCAA III	0	0.00	1	3.70
Junior College	1	4.76	0	0.00
Total	21	99.99	27	99.99

Table 15 shows that 20 of the 21 White head coaches finished their collegiate coaching careers in Division I compared to 25 of the 27 Black assistants coaches. It is noteworthy that over 90 percent of the coaches ended their college coaching career at the Division I level.

Table 16

Last Position Coaching Assignment at the College Level

Assignment	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches	
	N	%	N	%
Assistants	5	23.80	3	11.11
Defensive backs	0	0.00	4	14.81
Defensive coordinator	2	9.52	3	11.11
Defensive line	0	0.00	2	7.40
Head Coach	10	47.61	2	7.40
Linebackers *	0	0.00	2	7.40
Offensive coordinator	3	14.28	1	3.70
Offensive line	0	0.00	0	0.00
Quarterbacks *	0	0.00	0	0.00
Running backs	0	0.00	7	25.92
Wide Receivers	1	4.76	3	11.11
Total	21	99.97	27	99.96

* Central playing positions

Table 16 shows that 10 of the 21 (47.61%) head coaches ended their college coaching careers as head coaches compared to just two of the 27 (7.40%) Black assistants. This is probably the biggest difference between White head coaches and Black assistant coaches, among all the variables studied. Interestingly, none of the head coaches coached the central playing positions of quarterback or linebacker in their last coaching assignments. On the other hand, two Black assistants coached linebackers in their last collegiate season. Five head coaches were coordinators; four Black assistants held similar positions.

Table 17
Head Coaching Experience at the College Level

Experienced	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches			
	N	%	N	%		
No	18	64.28	43	95.55		
Yes	10	35.71	2	4.44		
	Total	28	99.99	Total	45	99.99

Table 17 shows that just two (4.44%) Black assistant coaches served as head coaches at the college level compared to 10 of the 28 (35.7%) White NFL head coaches. Although 43 of the 45 (95.5%) Black assistant coaches had no head college coaching experience, the same can be said for 64.2 percent of the White head coaches.

Table 18

Athletic Division of First College Head Coaching Assignment

Division	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches	
	N	%	N	%
NCAA I	9	90.00	2	100.00
NCAA II	1	10.00	0	0.00
Total	10	100.00	Total 2	100.00

Table 18 shows that 9 of the 10 NFL head coaches who served as head coaches in college, did so at the Division I level in their first college head coaching assignment; this was also true for the two Black assistants.

Table 19

Athletic Division of Last College Head Assignment

Division	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches	
	N	%	N	%
NCAA I	10	100.00	2	100.00
NCAA II	0	0.00	0	00.00
Total	11	100.00	Total 2	100.00

Table 19 shows that all 10 of the white head coaches ended their college head coaching career at a Division I school; the two Black assistant that head coached, also finished at a Division I school.

Table 20
Number of Seasons as a College Head Coach

	Head Coaches N=10	Assistant Coaches N=2
Seasons	67	11
Average	6.7 seasons	5.5 seasons

Table 20 shows that the 10 NFL head coaches averaged 6.7 seasons as college head coaches compared to 5.5 seasons for the two Black assistants.

Table 21
First NFL Coaching Assignment

Assignment	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches			
	N	%	N	%		
Head coach	2	7.14	0	0.00		
Assistant coach	7	25.00	10	22.22		
Linebackers *	2	7.14	1	2.22		
Quarterbacks *	1	3.57	0	0.00		
Running backs	4	14.29	13	28.88		
Special Teams	3	10.71	1	2.22		
Wide Receivers	5	17.86	7	15.55		
Defensive line	2	7.14	4	8.88		
Offensive line	1	3.57	1	2.22		
Defensive backs	1	3.57	8	17.77		
	Total	28	99.99	Total	45	99.96

* Central playing positions

Table 21 reveals that 25 percent of the NFL head coaches came into the professional ranks as assistant coaches. In several cases, the data did not specify the coach's coaching

assignment; some coaches were simply identified as "assistant". Interestingly, 28.8 percent of the Black assistant coaches entered the NFL as running back coaches compared to 14.2 percent for the head coaches. Three of the head coaches entered the league as central playing position coaches; just one of the 45 Black assistants did the same.

Table 22
Number of Seasons as a NFL Assistant Coach

	Head Coaches N=28	Assistant Coaches N=46
Seasons	231	260
Average	8.8	5.6

As shown by Table 22, each white head coach served, on average, 8.8 seasons as assistants compared to 5.6 seasons for each Black assistant coach. Thus, the head coaches served, on an average, three full seasons longer than did the Black assistants. Whether the Black assistants have served, on average a long enough coaching apprenticeship to qualify for a head coaching job is open to debate. Data also showed that the Black assistants were more likely to play professional football and play longer than the White head coaches. Therefore, by opting to play professional football as oppose to entering the coaching ranks, could it be that the Black assistant is creating his own career coaching barrier?

Chapter V

SUMMARY and DISCUSSION

In order to achieve greater manageability of the data, the major research question investigated in the study was divided into three separate tasks. Task one consisted of identifying the social, academic, athletic and coaching credentials of National Football League head coaches. The second task identified the same credentials among Black assistant coaches. The third and final task of the study involved comparing the two sets of credentials for similarities and differences.

NFL HEAD COACH MODAL PROFILE

The modal head coach in the NFL is a White male who was 44 years of age when chosen for his first head coaching position in the League. He is presently 54 years old. He earned a bachelor's degree in an educational field from a NCAA Division I school. He played collegiate football at a Division I school in a non-central, offensive playing position (e.g., receiver, tight end).

His first college coaching assignment was at a Division I school. He served as an assistant coach for eight seasons at several Division I schools. The modal head coach was not

a head coach at the college level. However, those who served as head coaches, did so for approximately six and a half seasons and ended their college coaching careers at Division I schools.

While the modal head coach did not play professional football, those who did averaged seven seasons at a non-central, offensive playing position. When the modal coach entered the professional coaching ranks, he did so as an offensive assistant or receiver coach. He served as an assistant coach for 8 1/2 seasons before obtaining his first head coaching position in the National Football League. See Table 23.

NFL BLACK ASSISTANT COACH MODAL PROFILE

The modal Black assistant coach in the NFL is 44 years old and holds a bachelor's degree in an educational field from a NCAA Division I school. He played collegiate football at a NCAA Division I school and was either a running back on offense or a defensive back on defense. In both cases, he played a non-central position.

His first college coaching assignment was at a Division I school. He served as an assistant coach at several schools for 8 1/2 seasons. The Modal Black Assistant has no head coaching experience at the college level. Those who were head coaches, averaged 5 1/2 seasons and ended their college coaching careers at NCAA Division I schools. His last

college coaching assignment was at a NCAA Division I school where he coached running backs on offense or defensive backs on defense.

The modal Black assistant played professionally for eight seasons, either as a running back or defensive back. He entered the NFL coaching ranks as a running back coach, defensive backfield coach or special assignment assistant. He has served 5 1/2 seasons as an assistant coach (See Table 23).

Table 23

Modal Profiles of White Head and Black Assistant Coaches in
the National Football League (1989)

CREDENTIALS/CHARACTERISTIC	Head Coaches	Assistant Coac
RACE	White	Black
AGE	54	44
ACADEMIC BACKGROUND		
Terminal degree received	Bachelor's	Bachelor's
Major field of study	Education	Educaton
Division of school granting terminal degree	NCAA Division I	NCAA Division
ATHLETIC BACKGROUND		
Division of college football participation	NCAA Division I	NCAA Division
College playing position	Tight end, Wide Receiver	Running back
Centrality of college playing position	Non-central	Non-central
Number of seasons as a professional player	7.1	8.4
Professional playing position	Defensive Back, Linebacker Running back, Tight end and Wide Receiver	Defensive back
Centrality of professional playing position	Non-central	Non-central
CAREER BACKGROUND		
Division of first college coaching assignment	NCAA Division I	NCAA Division
Number of seasons as a college assistant	8.0	8.5
Last college coaching assignment	Head coach	Running back c
Division of last college coaching assignment	NCAA Division I	NCAA Division
Division of first college head coaching assignment	NCAA Division I	NCAA Division
Number of seasons as a college head coach	6.7	5.5
Division of last college coaching assignment	NCAA Division I	NCAA Division
First professional coaching assignment	Assistant coach	Running back c
Number of seasons as a professional assistant	8.8	5.4

DISCUSSION

Blacks have made an indelible imprint on the history of American sport. Black athletes have excelled in every sport in which they have participated. They have set countless records in baseball, basketball, football, track and boxing many of which figure to remain unbroken for years to come. Unfortunately, their herculean efforts as athletes have not been matched by similar accomplishments in other sport-related roles, e.g., athletic directors, league commissioners, managers, head coaches, etc.

For example, why are there so few Blacks head coaches in the NFL, a League in which 51 per cent of the players are Black? Is it because they (Blacks) lack the necessary "credentials?" Is it because of racial bigotry? Could it be that they do not aspire to head coaching careers? In order to address the question, "Do Blacks have the occupational credentials or "necessities" to be head coaches in the National Football League?", the present study was undertaken. Specifically, the social, academic, athletic and coaching credentials of Black assistant coaches and White head coaches in the NFL was compared and contrasted.

There is no doubt that the position of head coach in the NFL demands a variety of experiences, abilities and talents. Many factors are probably considered by team owners before they hire a head coach. The study sought to identify,

describe, compare and contrast selected characteristics thought to be directly related to procurement of a head coaching position in the NFL.

Analysis of these data show that, with one or two exceptions, the Black assistant coach's profile compares favorably with the White head coach's profile. Similar to head coaches, Black assistant coaches earned Bachelor's degrees in education-related fields. Both received their degrees and played their college football at NCAA Division I schools. During their intercollegiate and professional football careers, both played non-central positions. With such similarities in credentials, why is there such a short fall of Black head coaches?

There are three possible explanations for the absence of Black head coaches in professional football, namely,

- (1) The existence of racial barriers.
- (2) Blacks lack the necessary academic, athletic and/or coaching credentials
- (3) Blacks do not aspire to be head coaches.

Braddock (1981) and Edwards (1982) contend that there are, indeed, racial barriers that severely restrict Blacks access to head coaching positions in the NFL. Racial bias can be hidden in many different ways. For example, Loy and Sage (1973) have shown that sponsorship is a powerful force in the recruitment and selection process of head coaches. It

may well be that Black assistants are denied access to the networking and communications structures available to whites. It appears that "who you know and how well you know them" is crucial in gaining a head coaching position. Without "sponsored mobility," the best credentials may not be sufficient to get one's name on the "short list" of candidates for a head coaching job. Throughout its long history, the NFL has been characterized by a white power structure. That is to say, Blacks are all but invisible among the League general managers, player personnel directors, owners and high ranking administrators. Given these realities, it is easy to speculate about racial barriers, a good ol' boy's network and the like. However, these considerations were not a focus of the present investigation and thus cannot be verified.

With respect to the question of credentials, generally speaking, it was difficult to distinguish those of the white head coaches from those of the Black assistants. However, there was one outstanding difference between the two groups-- "head coaching experience at the college level". Only two of the forty-six Black assistants possessed head coaching experience at the college level. On the other hand, 64.2 percent of the white head coaches also lacked head coaching experience at the collegiate level. So, it is clear that having such experience is not a necessary condition for becoming a head coach in the NFL.

With respect to the third explanation, namely, that Black assistants lack the desire or motivation to become head coaches, such a contention was clearly beyond the scope of the present study. However, Latimer and Mathes (1985) did find that few Black college assistant coaches desired to be head coaches at the professional level. What manifested this lack of interest was not determined.

Therefore, the researcher suggest two possible explanations for this lack of interest in head coaching jobs at the professional level: (1) the Black assistant accepted the reality of racial barriers (better known as "The Glass Ceiling Effect" in the business world) and opted to believe that professional head coaching jobs were really not attainable by them. (2) They did not desire the additional coaching burdens and responsibilities that are associated with being a head coach.

In light of these explanations, the researcher spoke with one NFL Black assistant, via telephone, and was told that there are many Black assistant coaches who desire the position of head coach in the NFL. Thus, it is difficult for this researcher to believe that among the forty-five Black assistant coaches included in the present study, that none aspire to be head coaches in the NFL.

The NFL cracked the door to minority hiring in 1989 when a Black man, Art Shell, was appointed head coach of the Los Angeles Raiders. Three years later on January 10, 1992 a second Black man, Dennis Green, was hired as head coach of the Minnesota Vikings. Green is the archetype head coach: he has a Bachelor's degree in education from a NCAA Division I school where he played the non-central position of running back with distinction. However, the credential that distinguishes him from other Black NFL assistants is his head coaching experience at the college level. He is one of only two NFL Black assistant coaches with head coaching experience.

There are other Black assistant coaches who also appear to be qualified for a head coaching job in the NFL and they are revealed in the following biographical sketches. The first is Tony Dungy of the Kansas City Chiefs. He holds a Bachelor's degree in Business Administration. Although he played the central position of quarterback at the University of Minnesota, he was drafted as a defensive back by the Pittsburgh Steelers. His coaching credentials include the position of defensive coordinator (Pittsburgh Steelers) which he assumed at the relatively young age of 34. He has coached in the NFL for ten years. Currently, he is the defensive coordinator of the Minnesota Vikings

Chick Harris of the Seattle Seahawks also appears to be a well qualified candidate. Harris coached at the Division I level for over ten years before joining the professional ranks. He began his NFL coaching career with the Buffalo Bills in 1981 and has called the offensive plays for the Seattle Seahawks for the past nine years. He is one of the most highly respected offensive coordinators in the League.

Maurice "Mo" Forte, an assistant with the Denver Broncos, was a running back at the University of Minnesota where he received a Bachelor's degree in education. Although he has no professional playing experience, he has 10 years of coaching experience at the Division I level. In 1982, he was appointed head coach at North Carolina A & T where he served in that capacity for five years. His career coaching credentials appear to be far superior to some NFL head coaches, especially those who have no college head coaching experience.

The selection of a head coach, whether it be for a professional, college, or even high school team is no easy task. The candidate's management style, personality, motivation, leadership and organizational skills are presumed to be important considerations in the hiring process. Both ascribed attributes as well as achieved credentials, not to mention financial considerations, all play a role in the hiring process. But what about racial considerations? Do they play a role in the hiring of a head coach?

While the present study did not seek to prove whether the NFL is racist in the hiring of head coaches, at the very least, these findings clearly suggest that there a number of Black assistant coaches who have the academic, athletic and coaching "credentials" to be head coaches in the NFL. Thus, after carefully comparing and contrasting the modal coach profiles, the researcher is forced to conclude that the modal Black assistant coach does appear to have the "necessities" to be a NFL head coach. The modal credentials of the two modal coaches are so strikingly similar, that the absence of Black head coaches cannot be readily explained away by the all too familiar argument that Black assistant coaches "lack the necessities." Why they continue to be passed over does raises some very serious questions about the League and its hiring policies.

Hopefully, future researchers will be able to shed light on this important and complex issue.

Conclusions

In light of the study's findings, the following conclusions appear to be justified:

- (1) Black NFL assistant coaches generally possess the same achieved occupational credentials as White NFL head coaches.
- (2) College head coaching experience does not appear to be a necessary requirement for becoming a head coach in the NFL.
- (3) Playing a central football playing position, either at the college or professional level, does not appear to be an important criterion for becoming a head coach in the NFL.
- (4) There is reason to believe that race may be a factor in the hiring of head coaches in the NFL.

Recommendations

(1) Since the hiring and firing of NFL head coaches ultimately rests in the hands of team owners, it would be valuable to examine their racial perceptions and racial stereotypes.

(2) A study of coaching styles in the NFL would provide additional insights into the hiring process. Are some leadership styles more popular in the NFL than others? How do Black assistant coaches compare with White head coaches on preferred coaching styles?

(3) A formal, systematic study that asked Black assistants about their career goals or aspirations, vis-a-vis head coaching in the NFL would be extremely valuable.

(4) Compare the credentials of White and Black assistant coaches in the NFL.

(5) Examine the perceptions of the players as to why there are so few Black head coaches in the NFL.

(6) Compare the personality profiles of White head and Black assistant coaches in the NFL.

Appendix A



Date

Address

Dear Mr. ,

I am a graduate student at the State University of New York College at Brockport and I am in the last phase of writing and completing my Master's thesis. I am studying the coaches of the National Football League. I have received the majority of my information through NFL press media guilds, record books and football registries.

However, the information I found for you is incomplete and it's very important to my study that I have complete, factual and current information. If you could provide me with the information listed below I would be very grateful. Enclosed is a token of my appreciation and a self-addressed stamped envelope to expedite the correspondence. I thank you for your participation.

Sincerely yours,

J. Livingston

Full name: _____

Last Degree: None___ Bachelors___ Masters___ Phd___

Field of study for last degree: _____

College of last degree: _____

Last college coaching assignment: _____

College name and division of last college coached: _____

First Pro coaching assignment: _____

Last Pro coaching assignment: _____

What division was HAYWARD STATE when you coached: _____

What division was HAYWARD STATE when you played: _____

Appendix B

Key to the Coach's Information Sheet

- A. Name.
- B. Team.

- 1. Race.
- 2. Date of birth.
- 3. Last degree attained and field of study.
- 4. Division of institution where last degree was attained.
- 5. Division of college football participation.
- 6. Collegiate playing position(s).
- 7. Centrality of college playing position.
- 8. Professional playing position.
- 9. Centrality of professional playing position.
- 10. Number of seasons as a professional player.
- 11. Division of first collegiate coaching assignment.
- 12. Division of last institution as an assistant coach.
- 13. Number of seasons as an assistant college coach.
- 14. Division of first institution head coached.
- 15. Division of last institution head coached.
- 16. Number of seasons as a college head coach.
- 17. Last college coaching assignment.
- 18. First professional coaching assignment.
- 19. Number of seasons as professional assistant coach.
- 20. Number of seasons as a professional head coach.

Name	Team	1	2	3	4
Raymond Berry	New England Patriots	White	Feb 27 33	Bachelors of Arts	NCAA I
Jerry Burns	Minnesota Vikings	White	Jan 24 27	BS Physical Education	NCAA I
Marion Campbell	Atlanta Falcons	White	May 25 29	BS Education	NCAA I
Mike Ditka	Chicago Bears	White	Oct 18 39	Non-degreed	UNKNOW
Frank Gansz	Kanas City Chiefs	White	Nov 22 38	Military Science	NCAA I
Joe Gibbs	Washington Redskins	White	Nov 25 40	MS Physical Education	NCAA I
Jerry Glanville	Houston Oilers	White	Oct 14 41	MS Art	NCAA I
Lindy Infante	Green Bay Packers	White	May 27 40	BS Education	NCAA I
Chuck Knox Sr.	Seattle Seahawks	White	Apr 27 32	BA History	NCAA I
Tom Landry	Dallas Cowboys	White	Sep 11 24	BS Industrial Engineering	NCAA I
Marv Levy	Buffalo Bills	White	Aug 3 28	MS History	NCAA I
Ron Meyer	Indianapolis Colts	White	Feb 17 41	MS Physical Education	NCAA I
Jim Mora	New Orleans Saints	White	May 24 35	MS Education	NCAA I
Chuck Noll	Pittsburgh Steelers	White	Jan 5 32	BS Education	NCAA I
Bill Parcells	New York Giants	White	Aug 22 41	BA Education	NCAA I
Ray Perkins	Tampa Bay Buccaneers	White	Dec 6 41	BS Secondary Education	NCAA I
Dan Reeves	Denver Broncos	White	Jan 19 44	Non-degreed	UNKNOW
John Robinson	Los Angeles Rams	White	Jul 25 35	BS Education	NCAA I
Darryl Rogers	Detroit Lions	White	May 18 35	MS Physical Education	NCAA I
Buddy Ryan	Philadelphia Eagles	White	Feb 17 34	MS Education	NCAA I
Al Saunders	San Diego Chargers	White	Feb 1 47	Phd. Athletic Administration	NCAA I
Marty Schottenheimer	Cleveland Browns	White	Sep 23 43	BA English	NCAA I
Mike Shanahan	Los Angeles Raiders	White	Aug 24 52	MS Education	NCAA I
Don Shula	Miami Dolphins	White	Jan 4 30	BA Sociology	NCAA I

5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
NCAA I-A	Tight end	Non-Central	Wide receiver	Non-Central	13	NCAA I-A	NCAA I
NCAA I-A	Quarterback	Central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA I
NCAA I-A	Defensive tackle	Non-central	Defensive tackle	Non-central	6	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Tight end	Non-Central	Tight end	Non-Central	12	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Offensive guard	Central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA I
NCAA I-A	Tight end	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA I
NCAA II	Linebacker	Central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA I
NCAA I-A	Running back	Non-central	Running back	Non-central	1	NCAA I-A	NCAA I-A
NCAA III	Offensive tackle	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA III	NCAA I-A
NCAA I-A	Defensive back	Non-central	Defensive back	Non-central	7	N/A	N/A
NCAA III	Running back	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA III	NCAA I
NCAA I-A	Defensive back	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA I
NCAA III	Tight end	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA III	NCAA I
NCAA III	Linebacker	Central	Linebacker	Central	7	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Linebacker	Central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA III	NCAA I-A
NCAA I-A	Wide receiver	Non-central	Wide receiver	Non-central	5	NCAA I-A	NCAA I-A
NCAA I-A	Quarterback	Central	Running back	Non-central	8	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Wide receiver	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA I
NCAA I-A	Wide receiver	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	Junior Colleg
NCAA I-A	Offensive guard	Central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA III	NCAA I-A
NCAA I-A	Defensive back	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA I-A
NCAA I-A	Linebacker	Central	Linebacker	Central	6	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Quarterback	Central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA I-A
NCAA III	Running back	Non-central	Defensive back	Non-central	7	NCAA I-A	NCAA I-A

13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
3	N/A	N/A	0	Receivers	Receivers	12	5
9	NCAR I-A	NCAR I-A	5	Head	Running backs	20	3
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Defensive line	26	8
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Receivers & Special teams	9	7
14	N/A	N/A	0	Offensive assistant	Special teams	12	2
9	N/A	N/A	0	Offensive assistant	Running backs	8	8
8	N/A	N/A	0	Offensive assistant	Special teams & Defensive	12	4
13	N/A	N/A	0	Offensive coordinator	Offensive assistant	7	3
5	N/A	N/A	0	Assistant	Offensive line	10	16
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Defensive assistant	6	29
5	NCAR I-A	NCAR I-AA	11	Head	kicking teams	4	13
7	NCAR I-A	NCAR I-A	9	Head	Head	0	6
15	NCAR III	NCAR III	0	Defensive coordinator	Defensive line	5	6
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Defensive assistant	9	20
14	NCAR I	NCAR I	1	Head	Linebackers	3	6
1	NCAR I	NCAR I	4	Head	Receivers	5	6
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Running backs	10	8
12	NCAR I	NCAR I	7	Head	Offensive assistant	1	6
4	HAYWARD ST	NCAR I-A	20	Head	Head	0	4
7	N/A	N/A	0	Defensive coordinator	Defensive assistant	18	3
13	N/A	N/A	0	Offensive coordinator	Receivers	4	3
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Linebackers	11	5
11	N/A	N/A	0	Offensive Coordinator	Offensive assistant	4	1
2	N/A	N/A	0	Assistant	Defensive assistant	3	26

Name	Team	1	2	3	4
Claude Humphrey	Atlanta Falcons	Black	Nov 19 47	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
Jimmy Raye	Atlanta Falcons	Black	Mar 26 46	BA Education	NCAA I-
Ted Cottrell	Buffalo Bills	Black	Jun 13 47	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
Elijah Pitts	Buffalo Bills	Black	Feb 3 38	BS Physical Education	UNKNOWN
Johnny Roland	Chicago Bears	Black	May 21 43	BA Business Administration	NCAA I-
Jim Anderson	Cincinnati Bengals	Black	Mar 27 48	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
Richard Mann	Cleveland Browns	Black	Apr 20 47	BS Elementary Education	NCAA I-
Al Lavan	Dallas Cowboys	Black	Sep 13 46	Bachelor of Arts	NCAA I-
Rubin Carter	Denver Broncos	Black	Dec 12 52	BA Business Administration	NCAA I-
No Forte	Denver Broncos	Black	Mar 1 47	BA Education	NCAA I-
Willie Shaw	Detroit Lions	Black	Jan 11 44	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
Willie Peete	Green Bay Packers	Black	Jul 14 37	MS Secondary Education	NCAA I-
Greg Blache	Green Bay Packers	Black	Mar 9 49	MS Secondary Education	NCAA I-
Ray Sherman	Houston Oilers	Black	Nov 27 51	Bachelor of Arts	NCAA I-
Milt Jackson	Houston Oilers	Black	Oct 16 43	MS Education	NCAA I-
Billie Matthews	Kansas City Chiefs	Black	Mar 15 30	BS Architectural	NCAA I-
Jimmy Warren	Los Angles Raiders	Black	Jul 20 39	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
Willie Brown	Los Angles Raiders	Black	Dec 2 40	BS Physical Education	NCAA I-
Art Shell	Los Angles Raiders	Black	Nov 26 46	BS Industrial Arts	NCAA I-
Terry Robiskie	Los Angles Raiders	Black	Nov 12 54	BS Physical Education	NCAA I-
Larry Brooks	Los Angles Rams	Blacks	Jun 10 50	BS Industrial Arts	NCAA II
Mel Phillips	Miami Dolphins	Black	Jan 6 42	BS Physical Education	NCAA I-
Jerry Brown	Minnesota Vikings	Black	Sep 28 49	BA Social Studies	NCAA I-
Harold Jackson	New England Patriots	Black	Jan 6 46	BS Secondary Education	NCAA I-
Ray Hamilton	New England Patriots	Black	Jan 20 51	MS Public Administration	NCAA II
Bobby Grier	New England Patriots	Black	Nov 10 42	Bachelor of Arts	NCAA I-
Don Blackmon	New England Patriots	Black	Mar 14 58	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
Jim Skipper	New Orleans Saints	Black	Jan 23 49	Bachelor of Arts	NCAA II
Romeo Chennel	New York Giants	Black	Jun 18 47	MS Physical Education	NCAA I-
Bobby Hammond	New York Jets	Black	Feb 20 52	BS Physical Education	NCAA I-
Wally Chambers	New York Jets	Black	May 15 51	MS Sociology	NCAA I-
Dave Atkins	Philadelphia Eagles	Black	May 18 49	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
Al Roberts	Philadelphia Eagles	Black	Jan 6 44	Bachelor of Arts	NCAA II
Dennis Thurman	Phoenix Cardinals	Black	Apr 14 56	BA Journalism	NCAA I-
Joe Green	Pittsburgh Steelers	Black	Sep 24 46	BS Physical Education	NCAA I-
Tony Dungy	Pittsburgh Steelers	Black	Oct 6 55	BA Business Administration	NCAA I-
Charlie Joiner	San Diego Chargers	Black	Oct 14 47	BA Business Administration	NCAA I-
Tommy Hart	San Francisco 49ers	Black	Nov 11 44	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
Ray Rhodes	San Francisco 49ers	Black	Oct 20 50	BS Physical Education	NCAA I-
Dennis Green	San Francisco 49ers	Black	Feb 17 49	BS Education	NCAA I-
Sherman Lewis	San Francisco 49ers	Black	Jun 29 42	MS Education Administration	NCAA I-
Chick Harris	Seattle Seahawks	Black	Sep 21 45	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
Sylvester Croom	Tampa Bay Buccaneers	Black	Sep 25 54	MS Education Administration	NCAA I-
Charley Taylor	Washington Redskins	Black	Sep 28 42	BS Physical Education	NCAA I-
Emmitt Thomas	Washington Redskins	Black	Jun 4 43	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN

	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
NCAA I-AA	Defensive end	Non-central	Defensive end	Non-central	14	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Quarterback	Central	Defensive back	Non-central	4	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA III	Linebacker	Central	Linebacker	Central	3	NCAA III	NCAA	NCAA
PHIL SMITH	Running back	Non-central	Running Back	Non-central	11	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Running back	Non-central	Running back	Non-central	8	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Linebacker	Central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Wide receiver	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Defensive back	Non-central	Defensive back	Non-central	3	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Nose tackle	Non-central	Nose tackle	Non-central	12	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Running back	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Defensive back	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA III	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Running back	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Defensive back	Non-central	Defensive back	Non-central	1	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Defensive back	Non-central	Defensive back	Non-central	1	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-AA	Quarterback	Central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Defensive back	Non-central	Defensive back	N/A	12	NCAA I-AA	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-AA	Defensive back	Non-central	Defensive back	N/A	16	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Offensive tackle	Non-central	Offensive tackle	Non-central	15	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Running backs	Non-central	Running back	Non-central	5	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA II	Defensive tackle	Non-central	Defensive tackle	Non-central	11	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-AA	Defensive back	Non-central	Defensive back	Non-central	6	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Defensive back	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA II	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Wide receiver	Non-central	Wide receiver	Non-central	17	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Defensive tackle	Non-central	Nose tackle	Non-central	9	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Running back	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Linebacker	Central	Linebacker	Central	7	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA III	Defensive back	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA II	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-AA	Defensive tackle	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-AA	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-AA	Running back	Non-central	Running backs	Non-central	5	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-AA	Defensive tackle	Non-central	Defensive tackle	Non-central	7	NCAA I-AA	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Running back	Non-central	Running back	Non-central	3	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA II	Running back	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Defensive back	Non-central	Defensive back	Non-central	9	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Defensive tackle	Non-central	Defensive tackle	Non-central	13	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-AA	Quarterback	Central	Defensive back	Non-central	3	NCAA I-AA	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-AA	Wide receiver	Non-central	Wide receiver	Non-central	18	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA II	Defensive end	Non-central	Defensive end	Non-central	13	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Running back	Non-central	Defensive back	Non-central	6	N/A	N/A	N/A
NCAA I-A	Running back	Non-central	Running back	Non-central	1	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Running back	Non-central	Running back	Non-central	3	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-AA	Running back	Non-central	N/A	N/A	0	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Center	Central	Center	Central	1	NCAA I-A	NCAA	NCAA
NCAA I-A	Running back	Non-central	Running back	Non-central	13	N/A	N/A	N/A
Bishop Coll	Quarterback	Central	Defensive back	Non-central	13	NCAA II	NCAA	NCAA

Appendix D3
1989 Black Assistant Coaches Informational Spread Sheet

13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Defensive assistant	3	0
6	N/A	N/A	0	Offensive coordinator	Receivers	12	0
9	N/A	N/A	0	Defensive coordinator	Linebackers	6	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Running backs	15	0
1	N/A	N/A	0	Receivers	Special assignments	6	0
12	N/A	N/A	0	Running backs	Running backs	4	0
8	N/A	N/A	0	Receivers	Receivers	7	0
6	N/A	N/A	0	Running backs	Defensive backs	11	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Defensive line	2	0
10	NCAA I-AA	NCAA I-AA	5	Head	Running backs	1	0
15	N/A	N/A	0	Defensive backs	Defensive backs	4	0
15	N/A	N/A	0	UNK	Running backs	6	0
13	N/A	N/A	0	Assisant	Defensive line	3	0
14	N/A	N/A	0	Receivers	Receivers	1	0
7	N/A	N/A	0	Linebackers	Receivers	9	0
9	N/A	N/A	0	Running backs	Running backs	10	0
2	N/A	N/A	0	Defensive assistant	Defensive backs	3	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Defensive backs	10	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Offensive line	6	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Assistant	10	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Assistant defensive line	6	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Defensive backs	9	0
11	N/A	N/A	0	Defensive coordinator	Offensive assistant	1	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Assistant receiver	4	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Assistant Defensive line	4	0
7	N/A	N/A	0	Running backs	Running backs	5	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Assistant	1	0
9	N/A	N/A	0	Running backs	Running backs	6	0
11	N/A	N/A	0	Defensive line	Special Teams	8	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Running backs	6	0
5	N/A	N/A	0	Defensive line	Defensive line	1	0
7	N/A	N/A	0	Running backs	Running backs	3	0
8	N/A	N/A	0	Running backs	Running backs	5	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Defensive backs	1	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Defensive line	2	0
1	N/A	N/A	0	Defensive backs	Defensive backs	8	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Receivers	2	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Assistant defensive line	6	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Defensive backs	8	0
8	NCAA I-A	NCAA I-A	5	Head	Receivers	4	0
14	N/A	N/A	0	Defensive coordinator	Running back	6	0
11	N/A	N/A	0	Defensive backs	Running backs	8	0
11	N/A	N/A	0	Linebacker	Running backs	2	0
0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	Receivers	8	0
2	N/A	N/A	0	Defensive backs	Offensive assistant	3	0

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