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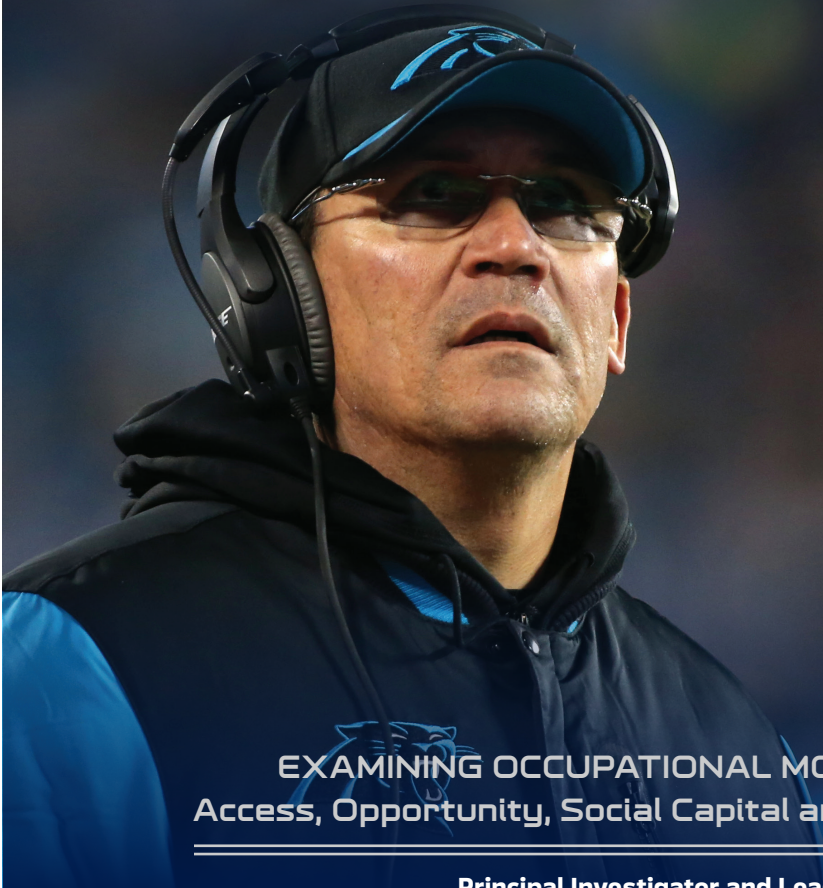
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DIVERSITY & INCLUSION

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY PATTERNS VOLUME V



EXAMINING OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY PATTERNS: Access, Opportunity, Social Capital and Leadership in the NFL

Principal Investigator and Lead Researcher:
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at University of Central Florida

A report presented by the National Football League.



UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION



Occupational Mobility Patterns of NFL General Managers, Head Coaches, Offensive Coordinators and Defensive Coordinators

Volume V

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Message from Troy Vincent, NFL Executive Vice President of Football Operations

Diversity and inclusion are not accomplished without knowledge, collaboration, faith, and action. Sometimes the road to what is just and right is a long, winding, narrow and lonely path. Change is often slow and incremental, but seeing the challenge guides us toward the solution. This report brings our needed direction into clearer focus on the path to progress.

Report Background

This report provides an overview and analysis of occupational mobility patterns of National Football League (NFL) team leaders. Volume I in the NFL Diversity & Inclusion Series, which was published in 2013, examined coaching mobility patterns within the NFL. Volumes III and IV extended the occupational mobility analysis to general managers, offensive coordinators and defensive coordinators. This Volume V report functions as an update and supplement to previous volumes in this NFL research series, as this report analyzes occupational mobility patterns of key NFL team executives from the start of the 2012 NFL season (September 5, 2012) to kickoff at Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016). This report also specifically spotlights mobility patterns of head coaches, offensive coordinators, defensive coordinators and general managers during the period from the day after Super Bowl XLIX (February 2, 2015) to Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016). In addition, this report provides a summary of occupational mobility patterns of NFL head coaches from January 1963 to February 2016 based on data provided by the NFL. This report also includes an analysis of occupational mobility patterns in other key head coach pipeline positions such as quarterbacks coach, linebackers coach and defensive backs (secondary coach). This report concludes with practical recommendations for improvements to diversity and inclusion business practices currently implemented by the NFL and individual NFL teams that will enable the league and its teams to address the reshuffling effect, unconscious/implicit bias and performance-reward bias with respect to hiring decisions for team leadership positions.

“I always think diversity is still an issue, we’re not finished, we’re not done, and so much of what we do is incomplete so we’re going to continue to make progress.”

~ NFL Commissioner Roger Goodell (February 2016)

BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1963 AND SUPER BOWL 50 (FEBRUARY 7, 2016), 101 WHITE INDIVIDUALS HAVE BEEN HIRED AS A HEAD COACH, OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR OR DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR AFTER A FIRST HEAD COACH OPPORTUNITY. ONLY 15 MEN OF COLOR HAVE BEEN HIRED AS A HEAD COACH, OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR OR DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR AFTER A FIRST HEAD COACH OPPORTUNITY DURING THIS SAME TIME PERIOD.

BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1963 AND SUPER BOWL 50 (FEBRUARY 7, 2016), 23 WHITE INDIVIDUALS HAVE BEEN HIRED AS A HEAD COACH, OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR OR DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR AFTER A SECOND HEAD COACH OPPORTUNITY. ONLY THREE MEN OF COLOR HAVE BEEN HIRED AS A HEAD COACH, OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR OR DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR AFTER A SECOND HEAD COACH OPPORTUNITY DURING THIS SAME TIME PERIOD.

BETWEEN FEBRUARY 2, 2015 (DAY FOLLOWING SUPER BOWL XLIX) AND SUPER BOWL 50 (FEBRUARY 7, 2016), NFL TEAMS HIRED A TOTAL OF 33 GENERAL MANAGERS, HEAD COACHES, OFFENSIVE COORDINATORS AND DEFENSIVE COORDINATORS. WHITE INDIVIDUALS WERE HIRED FOR 27 OF THESE POSITIONS. ONLY SIX MEN OF COLOR WERE HIRED FOR THESE 33 OPENINGS.

BETWEEN FEBRUARY 2, 2015 (DAY FOLLOWING SUPER BOWL XLIX) AND SUPER BOWL 50 (FEBRUARY 7, 2016), 27 OF THE 34 GENERAL MANAGERS, HEAD COACHES, OFFENSIVE COORDINATORS AND DEFENSIVE COORDINATORS WHO WERE FIRED, RESIGNED OR OTHERWISE "MUTUALLY PARTED WAYS" WITH AN NFL TEAM WERE WHITE INDIVIDUALS.

BETWEEN SUPER BOWL XLVIII (FEBRUARY 2, 2014) AND SUPER BOWL XLIX (FEBRUARY 1, 2015), NFL TEAMS HIRED SIX WHITE HEAD COACHES. DURING THAT SAME TIME PERIOD, NFL TEAMS HIRED ONE HEAD COACH OF COLOR. BETWEEN FEBRUARY 2, 2015 (DAY FOLLOWING SUPER BOWL XLIX) AND SUPER BOWL 50 (FEBRUARY 7, 2016), NFL TEAMS AGAIN HIRED SIX WHITE HEAD COACHES AND ONE HEAD COACH OF COLOR.

BETWEEN THE START OF THE 2012 NFL SEASON (SEPTEMBER 5, 2012) AND SUPER BOWL 50 (FEBRUARY 7, 2016), NFL TEAMS HIRED 25 WHITE HEAD COACHES. DURING THAT SAME TIME PERIOD, NFL TEAMS HIRED FOUR HEAD COACHES OF COLOR.

BETWEEN FEBRUARY 2, 2015 (DAY FOLLOWING SUPER BOWL XLIX) AND SUPER BOWL 50 (FEBRUARY 7, 2016), NFL TEAMS HIRED 12 WHITE OFFENSIVE COORDINATORS AND TWO OFFENSIVE COORDINATORS OF COLOR. DURING THIS SAME TIME PERIOD, NFL TEAMS HIRED SEVEN WHITE DEFENSIVE COORDINATORS AND TWO DEFENSIVE COORDINATORS OF COLOR.

BETWEEN THE START OF THE 2012 NFL SEASON (SEPTEMBER 5, 2012) AND SUPER BOWL 50 (FEBRUARY 7, 2016), NFL TEAMS HIRED 43 WHITE OFFENSIVE COORDINATORS AND SIX OFFENSIVE COORDINATORS OF COLOR. DURING THAT SAME TIME PERIOD, NFL TEAMS HIRED 27 WHITE DEFENSIVE COORDINATORS AND 14 DEFENSIVE COORDINATORS OF COLOR.

BETWEEN THE START OF THE 2012 NFL SEASON (SEPTEMBER 5, 2012) AND SUPER BOWL 50 (FEBRUARY 7, 2016), 25 WHITE INDIVIDUALS HAVE RECEIVED A SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH OR FIFTH OPPORTUNITY TO WORK AS AN NFL OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR. DURING THAT SAME TIME PERIOD, THREE AFRICAN AMERICAN INDIVIDUALS RECEIVED A SIMILAR "SECOND OR GREATER CHANCE" OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR OPPORTUNITY.

BETWEEN THE START OF THE 2012 NFL SEASON (SEPTEMBER 5, 2012) AND SUPER BOWL 50 (FEBRUARY 7, 2016), 19 WHITE INDIVIDUALS HAVE RECEIVED A SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH, FIFTH OR GREATER OPPORTUNITY TO WORK AS AN NFL DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR. DURING THAT SAME TIME PERIOD, EIGHT MEN OF COLOR RECEIVED A SIMILAR "SECOND OR GREATER CHANCE" DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR OPPORTUNITY.

BETWEEN SUPER BOWL XLVIII (FEBRUARY 2, 2014) AND SUPER BOWL XLIX (FEBRUARY 1, 2015), NFL TEAMS HIRED THREE WHITE GENERAL MANAGERS AND ONE GENERAL MANAGER OF COLOR. BETWEEN FEBRUARY 2, 2015 (DAY FOLLOWING SUPER BOWL XLIX) AND SUPER BOWL 50 (FEBRUARY 7, 2016), NFL TEAMS HIRED TWO WHITE GENERAL MANAGERS AND ONE GENERAL MANAGER OF COLOR.

BETWEEN THE START OF THE 2012 NFL SEASON (SEPTEMBER 5, 2012) AND SUPER BOWL 50 (FEBRUARY 7, 2016), NFL TEAMS HIRED 14 WHITE GENERAL MANAGERS AND TWO GENERAL MANAGERS OF COLOR.

Summary Overview of Key Data Points and Research Findings:

- In 1921, Fritz Pollard became the first person of color hired as a head coach of a professional football team. Pollard, an African American, coached the Akron Pros and Hammond Pros from 1921-1925. Employment opportunities in professional football for coaches of color were limited following the leadership of Pollard. From the time of Pollard's last game coaching in 1925, it would be over 40 years before another ethnic minority would serve as the head coach of a professional football team (and over 60 years before the next African American head coach). Tom Fears, who is Latino, became the first ethnic minority head coach hired in the modern NFL era in 1967. Art Shell became the first African American head coach in the modern NFL era when he was hired by the Los Angeles Raiders in 1989. From January 1963 to February 2016, there have been only 15 different African American head coaches and three Latino head coaches in the NFL.¹ At the time of publication of this Volume V report, there were six head coaches of color (18.75 percent of NFL head coaches), as compared with 26 White head coaches (81.25 percent of NFL head coaches).
- Fifteen African American individuals have been head coaches in the NFL since 1963. Six additional African American individuals have held interim head coach positions (i.e., these individuals were head coaches for a part of an NFL season) but were not offered the head coach position for the following full NFL season. In January 2015, Todd Bowles (new head coach of the New York Jets who was recognized as the 2014 AP Assistant Coach of the Year) became the first African American named to a head coach position after previously serving as an interim head coach earlier in his career; Bowles served as interim head coach for three games with the Miami Dolphins during the 2011-12 NFL season.
- Only seven NFL teams have hired two African American head coaches from 1963-2016. For example, in January 2016 Hue Jackson became the second African American head coach in the history of the Cleveland Browns; Romeo Crennel was the head coach of the Cleveland Browns from 2005-2008. Also, with the hiring of Lovie Smith in 2014, the Tampa Bay Buccaneers became the first NFL team to hire three African American head coaches (Tony Dungy, Raheem Morris and Lovie Smith). The Buccaneers fired Smith in January 2016. In addition, the Indianapolis Colts became the first (and only) NFL team to hire African American head coaches back-to-back when the Colts hired Jim Caldwell to succeed Tony Dungy in 2009.
- Seven current NFL head coaches have been hired since Super Bowl XLIX (February 1, 2015). Four of these seven head coaches are first-time NFL head coaches (Adam Gase, Ben McAdoo, Doug Pederson and Dirk Koetter). The remaining three recently hired NFL head coaches all have prior NFL head coaching experience. Two of these individuals (Hue Jackson and Chip Kelly) are now in their second head coach stint. Mike Mularkey, new head coach of the Tennessee Titans, received his third head coach opportunity after previously serving as a head coach with the Buffalo Bills and Jacksonville Jaguars. Hue Jackson is the only head coach of color hired between February 2, 2015 and kickoff at Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016).
- One of the seven recently hired head coaches served as the NFL head coach of another team immediately before being hired as the head coach of his current team (Chip Kelly). Two of the seven recently hired head coaches were promoted from an offensive coordinator position with that same team (Ben McAdoo and Dirk Koetter). Three of the seven recently hired head coaches were most recently offensive coordinators of another NFL team (Hue Jackson, Adam Gase and Doug Pederson). In addition, one of the recently hired head coaches was most recently the assistant head coach / tight ends coach of the same team to which he was named a head coach (Mike Mularkey). Overall, six of the seven recently hired head coaches have previous experience as an NFL offensive coordinator, and four of the seven recently hired head coaches have previous experience as an NFL quarterbacks coach.
- Between the beginning of the 2012 NFL regular season (September 5, 2012) and Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016), six White individuals and three African American individuals received a second head coach opportunity after separating (that is, being fired, resigning or otherwise "parting ways") from a first head coach position during this time period. John Fox and Mike Mularkey are the only two

¹ All data and statistics in this report are based on information provided by the NFL.

coaches who received a third NFL head coach opportunity during this same time period. In addition, one individual (Jim Harbaugh) received a head coach opportunity at the college level after separating from his first NFL head coach position. During this same time period, six White individuals and two African American individuals received an opportunity to be an offensive coordinator after separating from a first head coach position. Also during this same time period, three White individuals and one African American individual received an opportunity to be an NFL defensive coordinator after separating from a first head coach position. In January 2016, former NFL head coaches Rob Chudzinski, Brad Childress and Ken Whisenhunt received opportunities to be offensive coordinators. In addition, former NFL head coaches Dennis Allen, Jim Schwartz and Mike Smith recently received opportunities to be defensive coordinators.

- After separating from a first head coach position, ten different coaches of color (56 percent of the 18 total head coaches of color from 1963-2016) have received (and accepted) a second head coach opportunity in the NFL since 1963. Hue Jackson recently earned a second head coach opportunity in January 2016. After separating from a first head coach position, 52 White individuals have received (and accepted) a second head coach opportunity. Chip Kelly recently earned a second head coach opportunity in January 2016.
- After separating from a second head coach position, only one coach of color, Tom Flores, has received (and accepted) a third opportunity to be the head coach of an NFL team. Fourteen White coaches have received (and accepted) a third opportunity to be the head coach of an NFL team. For example, Mike Mularkey was recently named head coach of the Tennessee Titans in January 2016. Mularkey was previously the head coach of the Buffalo Bills (2004-2005) and the Jacksonville Jaguars (2012). Also, Wade Phillips has been a full-time NFL head coach for three teams (Denver Broncos, Buffalo Bills and Dallas Cowboys).² In January 2015, Phillips was named defensive coordinator of the Denver Broncos—this is the eighth NFL defensive coordinator opportunity for Phillips. In addition, two White coaches (Bill Parcells and Marty Schottenheimer) have had a fourth opportunity to be the head coach of an NFL team. Not a single person of color has had a fourth opportunity to be the head coach of an NFL team.
- After separating from a first head coach position, 25 White individuals have held offensive coordinator positions and 24 White individuals have held defensive coordinator positions. For example, Rob Chudzinski was recently named offensive coordinator of the Indianapolis Colts after previously serving as head coach of the Cleveland Browns (2013). In addition, Dennis Allen was recently named defensive coordinator of the New Orleans Saints after previously serving as head coach of the Oakland Raiders (2012-2014). Also, Mike Smith was recently named defensive coordinator of the Tampa Bay Buccaneers after previously serving as head coach of the Atlanta Falcons (2008-2014).³ After separating from a first head coach position, three coaches of color (Tom Fears, Jim Caldwell and Hue Jackson) have held the offensive coordinator position and two coaches of color (Romeo Crennel and Leslie Frazier) have been defensive coordinators. The findings of this Volume V report (which highlight occupational mobility patterns from 2012-2016) demonstrate significant progress as compared with the findings in Volume I, which noted that from 1963-2012 only two coaches of color (Romeo Crennel and Tom Fears) had accepted an offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator position after one stint as a head coach in the NFL. However, no coach of color was named an offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator following a stint as an NFL head coach during the time period between the day after Super Bowl XLIX (February 2, 2015) and Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016).
- Five White individuals have held defensive coordinator positions and four White individuals have held offensive coordinator positions after separating from a second head coach position. For example, Ken Whisenhunt was recently named offensive coordinator of the San Diego Chargers after previously serving as head coach with the Arizona Cardinals (2007-2012) and Tennessee Titans (2014-

² Wade Phillips was also interim head coach of the New Orleans Saints (1985), Atlanta Falcons (2003), and Houston Texans (2013).

³ Brad Childress was recently named co-offensive coordinator of the Kansas City Chiefs. Childress is currently serving as an offensive coordinator for the second time after working as head coach of the Minnesota Vikings from 2006-2010. Similarly, Jim Schwartz was recently named defensive coordinator of the Philadelphia Eagles. Schwartz is currently serving as a defensive coordinator for the second time after working as head coach of the Detroit Lions from 2009-2013

2015). Only two coaches of color (Ray Rhodes and Romeo Crennel) have held a defensive coordinator position and zero former head coaches of color have held an offensive coordinator position after separating from a second stint as a head coach in the NFL.

- Between the beginning of the 2012 NFL regular season (September 5, 2012) and Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016), NFL teams have hired 49 offensive coordinators and 41 defensive coordinators.⁴ Forty-three of these recently hired offensive coordinators are White and six of the offensive coordinators are African American. Twenty-seven of the recently hired defensive coordinators are White and 14 of the defensive coordinators are African American individuals.
- Between the day after Super Bowl XLIX (February 2, 2015) and Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016), NFL teams hired 12 White offensive coordinators and two offensive coordinators of color. During this same one-year period, NFL teams hired seven White defensive coordinators and two defensive coordinators of color.
- Between the beginning of the 2012 NFL regular season (September 5, 2012) and Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016), 21 White individuals have received a second opportunity to work as an offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator of an NFL team. During this same time period, only three men of color received a similar “second-chance” opportunity to be an offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator. In addition, during this same time period, 23 White individuals received a “third or greater chance” to work as an offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator of an NFL team, whereas only eight men of color received a similar “third or greater chance” to be an offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator.
- Five of the 14 offensive coordinators hired between the day after Super Bowl XLIX (February 2, 2015) and Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016) are currently holding an NFL offensive coordinator position for the third time (Brad Childress, Clyde Christensen, Rob Chudzinski, Terry Robiskie and Ken Whisenhunt). Another four offensive coordinators hired during this time period are serving as an NFL offensive coordinator for the second time (Dowell Loggains, Curtis Modkins, Frank Reich and Mike Sullivan). The remaining five offensive coordinators are first-time NFL offensive coordinators (Rob Boras, Jim Bob Cooter, Todd Monken, Matt Nagy and Ken Zampese).
- Three of the nine defensive coordinators hired between the day after Super Bowl XLIX (February 2, 2015) and Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016) are currently holding an NFL defensive coordinator position for the third or greater time (Ray Horton, Dick LeBeau and Jim Schwartz). Another three defensive coordinators hired during this time period are serving as an NFL defensive coordinator for the second time (Dennis Allen, Mike Smith and Jim O’Neil). The remaining three defensive coordinators are first-time NFL defensive coordinators (Vance Joseph, Ted Monachino and Todd Walsh).
- Six of the 14 offensive coordinators hired between the day after Super Bowl XLIX (February 2, 2015) and Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016) held the quarterbacks coach position with an NFL team immediately before being named offensive coordinator of their current NFL team. Three of the nine defensive coordinators hired during this same time period most recently held the defensive coordinator position with an NFL team before being named defensive coordinator of their current NFL team.
- Between the beginning of the 2012 NFL regular season (September 5, 2012) and Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016), NFL teams hired 16 new general managers. Fourteen of the 16 recently hired general managers are White individuals. Ray Farmer, who is African American, was hired as general manager of the Cleveland Browns in February 2014. In addition, Chris Grier, who is African American, was hired as general manager of the Miami Dolphins in January 2016. During the 2015-2016 NFL

⁴ The defensive coordinator position with the Seattle Seahawks became available on February 2, 2015 when Dan Quinn was named head coach of the Atlanta Falcons. This position was included in the data for the Volume IV report at the request of the NFL even though the job opening occurred shortly after Super Bowl XLIX, which took place on February 1, 2015.

season, two African American general managers (Ray Farmer and Martin Mayhew) were fired. At the time of publication of this report, there were six African American general managers in the NFL as compared with 25 White general managers.

- An analysis of the 12 NFL playoff teams for the recently completed 2015-2016 season reveals that men of color held 10 out of the 46 (22 percent) total key team leadership positions (i.e., general manager, head coach, offensive coordinator and defensive coordinator). Head coaches Marvin Lewis, Ron Rivera and Mike Tomlin all led their respective teams to the playoffs. During the 2015-2016 NFL season, six men of color were NFL head coaches. As indicated above, three of the six coaches of color led their teams to a playoff berth.
- Since 1980, approximately 30 individuals who have served as head coaches in the NFL have subsequently accepted a head coach position with a college football team in the Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS). All of these individuals, including new University of Michigan head football coach Jim Harbaugh, have been White coaches. Stated differently, zero coaches of color have successfully transitioned from a former NFL head coach position to a college football head coach position since 1980. It is important to note that there is no reliable data with respect to how many coaches of color have pursued (but were not offered and/or did not accept) these college head coach positions after at least one stint as a head coach in the NFL. In addition, three of the 29 head coaches hired since the start of the 2012 NFL regular season were head coaches at the college level immediately before being hired as the head coach of an NFL team (Doug Marrone, Bill O'Brien and Chip Kelly).

Review of Literature on Occupational Mobility Patterns

- Rider et al. (2016) researched racial disparity in NFL leadership positions and examined how “performance-reward bias (i.e., lesser rewards for equivalent performance) generates racial disparity in leadership by suppressing the rate at which minorities, relative to equally-performing whites, are promoted to positions considered prerequisite for organizational leadership” (p. 1). These scholars found that performance-reward bias was prevalent in lower level positions. As explained by Rider et al. (2016), performance-reward bias “is a specific within-job mechanism that generates differential returns to position for equivalent performance in the same position . . . performance-reward bias implies that even when racial minorities are allocated to relatively promising positions they are less likely to continue ascending the corporate hierarchy as white, equivalently-performing position-holders” (pp. 2, 9). This recent empirical research study suggests “pipeline programs designed to increase diversity in leadership by increasing diversity in lower level positions are undermined by performance-reward bias” (p. 6). For example, performance-reward bias in key lower level positions such as quarterbacks coach, linebackers coach and defensive backs (secondary) coach results in access barriers for men of color with respect to the inability of attaining key leadership positions such as offensive coordinator and defensive coordinator. Rider et al. (2016) found “clear evidence of a racial disparity in promotion prospects for NFL assistant coaches that has persisted for over two decades despite a high-profile intervention designed to advance the candidacies of minority candidates” (p. 36).
- Day (2015) investigated the effects of job-level, task-based, segregation on racial differences in college football coaching promotions. He examined the connection between occupational attainment of college coaches and the particularistic mobility thesis.⁵ As explained by Day (2015), “According to the particularistic mobility thesis, performance indicators in high-level positions are inherently vague and uncertain and the characteristics that upper management looks for when considering promotions such as loyalty, leadership potential, trustworthiness, and achievement orientation are not easily measured and quantified. This opens promotion decisions to ‘particularistic manipulation,’ or the subjective (mis)perceptions of upper level managers . . . As a result, minority workers follow a more circumscribed pathway to high-level positions where they are limited to formal channels of mobility based on their objective experience, credentials and skills. Whites, on the other hand, not only have access to formal channels of mobility but also benefit from the subjective and sometimes biased assessments of their skills and abilities. As a result, a broader range of mobility pathways, both formal and informal, are available to White workers” (pp. 3-4). Day (2015) suggested that candidates of color experience “restricted access to jobs, occupations, and economic sectors that offer the opportunity to develop requisite human capital, social network contacts, and display the particularistic criteria necessary for promotion into high-status jobs and occupations has been implicated in divergent mobility outcomes for White and Black workers” (p. 2).
- Scholars have previously explored and examined how unconscious bias and aversive racism impact occupational mobility (for example, see Bridgeman, 2008; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; and Greenwald & Krieger, 2006). Because these processes and biases are “subtle and operate largely by default” (Wang, 2006, p. 16), company decision-makers (for example, general managers of NFL teams) are prone to categorize and stereotype with respect to a candidate’s qualifications for a specific opportunity without any intent or conscious awareness on the part of the decision-maker. As explained by Bridgeman (2008), “many people who do not consider themselves to be racist or sexist and who generally may want to have a diverse working environment may still select people for participation in ways that are biased and discriminatory” (p. 267). Collins (2007) examined the impact of the Rooney Rule and the importance of “social capital.” Collins suggested that, “due in large part to unconscious bias, these networks tend to reinforce traditional power structures by limiting hiring practices and/or business transactions to other elites or acquaintances within the network . . . Since it is unconscious, this bias is neither cognitive nor intentional . . . unconscious bias influences head coaching selections through the internalization of stereotypes regarding African Americans’ intellectual inferiority and the establishment and maintenance of ‘old boy’ networks” (pp. 875, 876).
- Scholars have previously defined social capital as “the goodwill that is engendered by the fabric of social

⁵ As explained by Day (2015), “the particularistic mobility thesis is the predominant theoretical explanation for racial/ethnic differences in both authority attainment and promotions in the labor market, particularly in high-status professions” (p. 3).

relations and that can be mobilized to facilitate action” (Adler & Kwon, 2002, p. 17). Social capital influences career success (see Gabbay & Zuckerman, 1998) and creates a richer pool of recruits for companies (see Fernandez, Castilla, & Moore, 2000). Day and McDonald (2010) analyzed the “differential processes by which social capital influences occupational attainment of whites and racial minorities” with respect to collegiate football coaches and found that people of color often lack the social capital resources (i.e., resources embedded in networks) needed to facilitate occupational advancement (p. 140). Day and McDonald (2010) found that same race contacts and strong ties are positively associated with the number of promotions received by White coaches; however, those same ties were found to be the least effective for African American coaches because “a diverse set of weak-tied network resources offer the greatest opportunities for promotion among black coaches . . . access to higher status contacts also appears to be a more important predictor of mobility among black coaches than among white coaches” (p. 140). Scholars such as Maume (1999) and Wilson et al. (1999) have found that individuals of color must invest more in personal relationships, attaining advanced education degrees, and accumulating substantial relevant work experience before job advancement prospects become equivalent to the promotion opportunities of White individuals.

- Sagas and Cunningham (2005) examined social capital of college football coaches with respect to network size, strength of ties/relationships, racial similarity within network, contacts in higher levels of organization, and inter-organizational ties. Sagas and Cunningham (2005) in part found that “White coaches have more opportunities to accrue occupational experience because they are more likely to occupy positions” (p. 791). Sagas and Cunningham (2005) also highlighted past research that has indicated cross-race networking ties are typically weaker (i.e., less effective) than matching-race networking connections; however, candidates of color typically have a “much smaller set of ‘similar others’ from whom to develop professional relationships” (p. 791). This reality is significant as Sagas and Cunningham (2005) explained that the “lack of same-race ties among Black coaches thus can be detrimental to the development and success of Black coaches” (p. 791).
- Seebruck and Savage (2013) examined how an assistant coach’s race and the race of his supervisor (the head coach) interact to affect occupational mobility. Seebruck and Savage (2013) found that African American collegiate basketball assistant coaches working under African American head coaches (“black homophily”) were significantly disadvantaged with respect to the probability of earning a head coaching position; results indicated that while homophily (same race connection) is neither advantageous nor disadvantageous for Whites, it is disadvantageous for African American job candidates. As explained by Seebruck and Savage (2013), “this racially based disadvantage makes it difficult for minority job candidates to break through the glass ceiling and has real-world financial implications . . . effort should be directed at ensuring that white coaches continue to hire and sponsor capable minority assistant coaches” (pp. 75, 98).⁶

⁶ Some of the content in this review of literature section is excerpted and adapted from the following publication: Harrison, C.K. and Bukstein, S. (2013). Occupational mobility patterns: A case study of leadership and access in the National Football League. *Sociology Mind*, 3(4), 264-267.

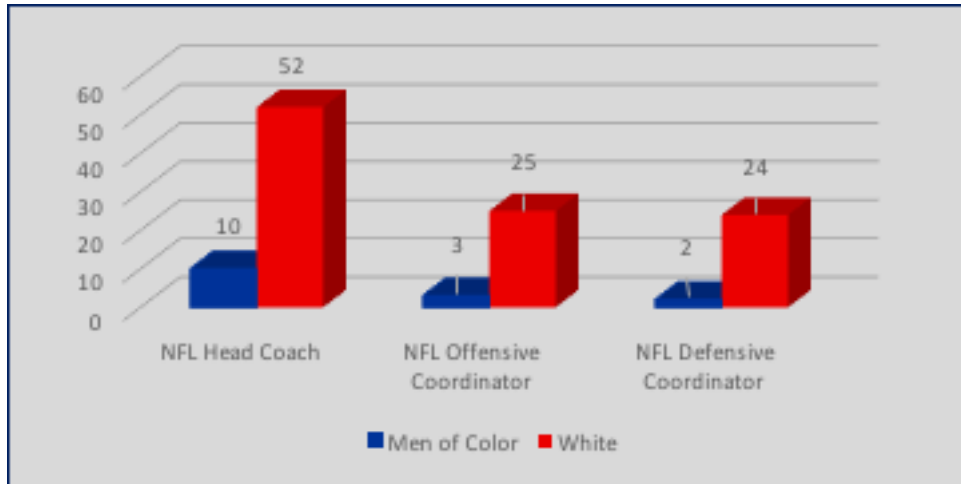
METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH

This Volume V report investigated data regarding NFL head coach demographics, stint and occupational mobility patterns from 1963-2016. This time period is used because 1963 serves as the first year that the NFL began to track relevant data on head coach mobility patterns. Based on the NFL database of human resources in terms of head coaches, these data were analyzed for mobility patterns. Interim head coaches were not included in the data set with respect to determining the total number of people who have held head coaching positions in the NFL from 1963-2016. This report also contains data regarding NFL offensive coordinator, defensive coordinator and general manager demographics, stint and mobility patterns from the start of the 2012 NFL regular season (September 5, 2012)⁷ to kickoff at Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016). This report also highlights mobility patterns of head coaches, offensive coordinators, defensive coordinators and general managers during the approximate one-year period from Super Bowl XLIX (February 1, 2015) to Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016). A specific emphasis is placed on the occupational mobility patterns of offensive coordinators and defensive coordinators because these two positions have historically functioned as the primary pipelines for NFL head coach hires. This report also spotlights additional key “pipeline positions” such as quarterbacks coach, linebackers coach and defensive backs (secondary) coach. A comprehensive database was developed to analyze the career paths and occupational mobility patterns of current NFL position coaches in conjunction with examining opportunities for these position coaches to earn promotions to coordinator or head coach positions. In addition, this report integrates recent relevant research conducted by the NFL related to occupational mobility and job success determinants of NFL head coaches.

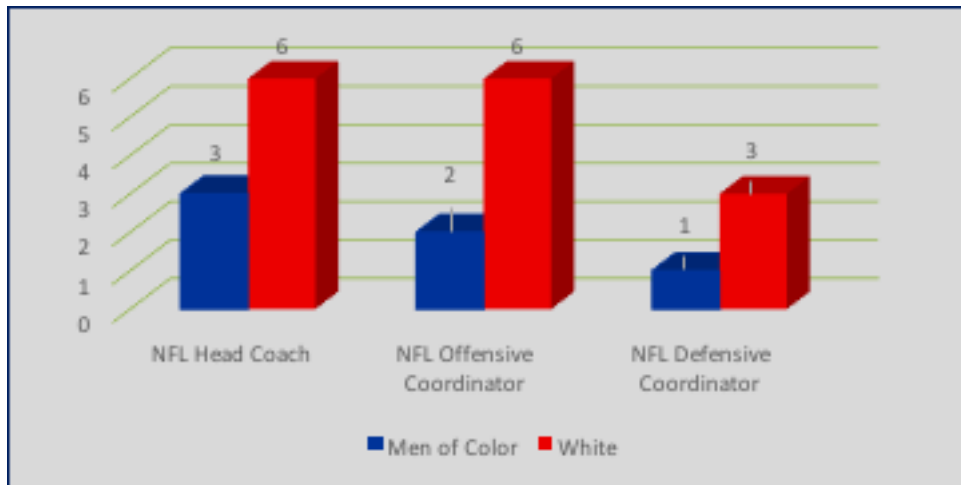
Attempts were made to verify the number of vacancies filled and individual separations, trajectories and occupational patterns of NFL head coaches, offensive coordinators, defensive coordinators and general managers based on data provided by the NFL. For example, if an individual was a head coach for multiple NFL teams, the report counts that coach one time in the data set because this report focuses on an analysis of access, opportunity and coaching mobility (i.e., the number of individuals who have held head coach positions) instead of the total number of head coach vacancies from 1963-2016. This analytical framework was also applied to the occupational mobility patterns of offensive coordinators, defensive coordinators and general managers from 2012-2016. Data was analyzed using SPSS to perform regression analysis. Descriptive statistics and cross tabulations were also performed using SPSS. The next section of this report presents the findings and results on NFL occupational mobility patterns.

⁷ This NFL Diversity & Inclusion research report series began analyzing data on occupational mobility patterns commencing at the start of the 2012 NFL regular season.

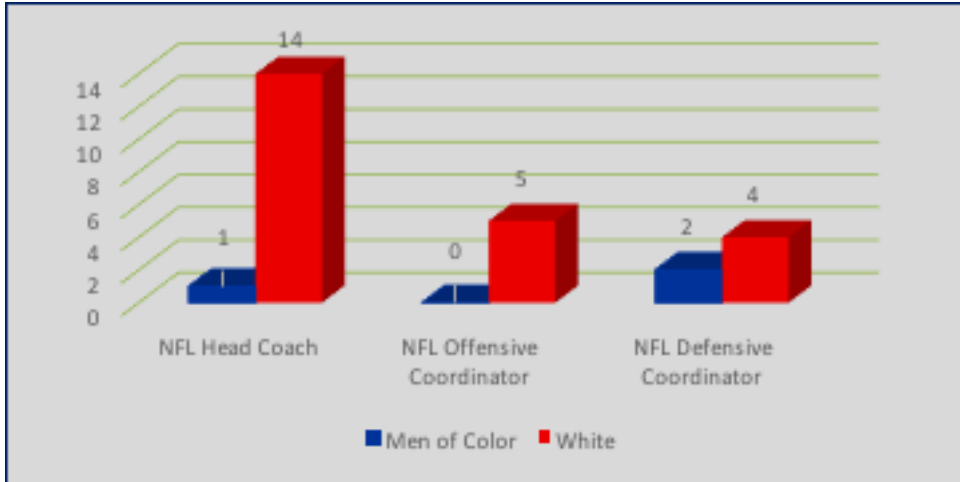
NFL OPPORTUNITY AFTER FIRST HEAD COACH POSITION (1963-2016)



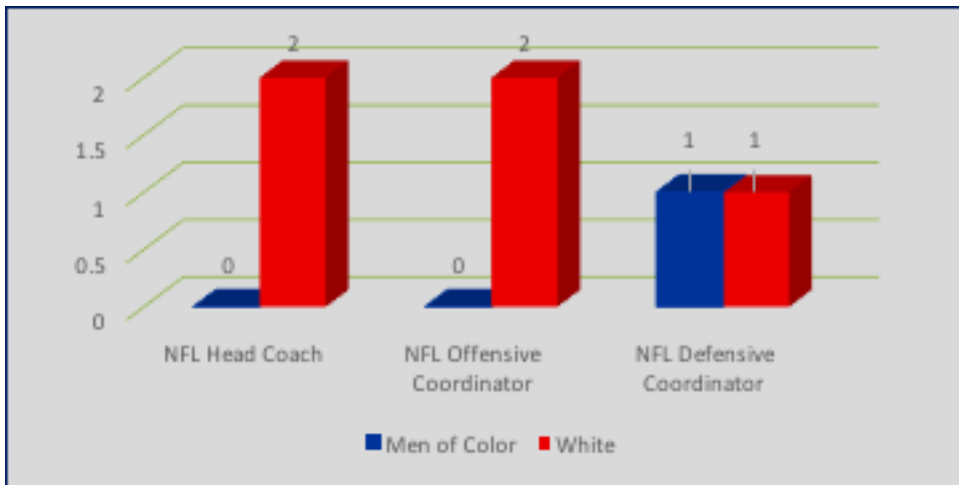
NFL OPPORTUNITY AFTER FIRST HEAD COACH POSITION (2012-2016)



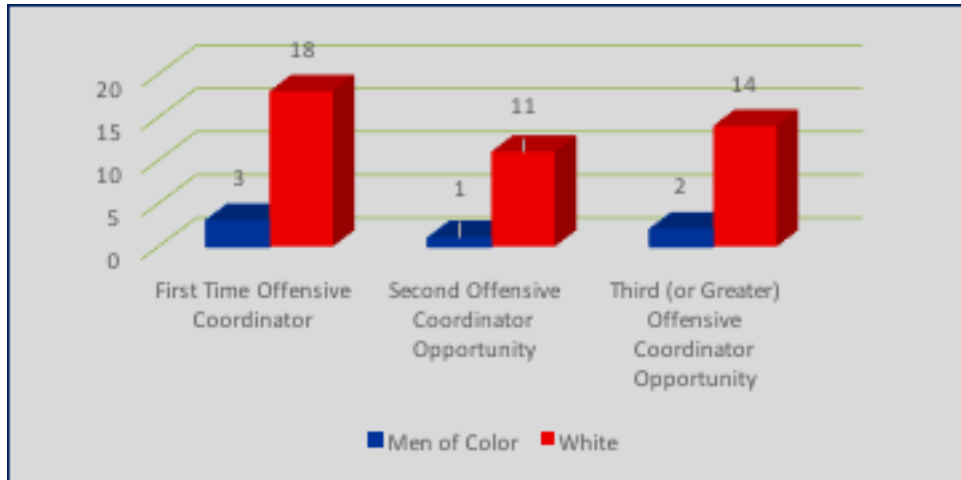
NFL OPPORTUNITY AFTER SECOND HEAD COACH POSITION (1963-2016)



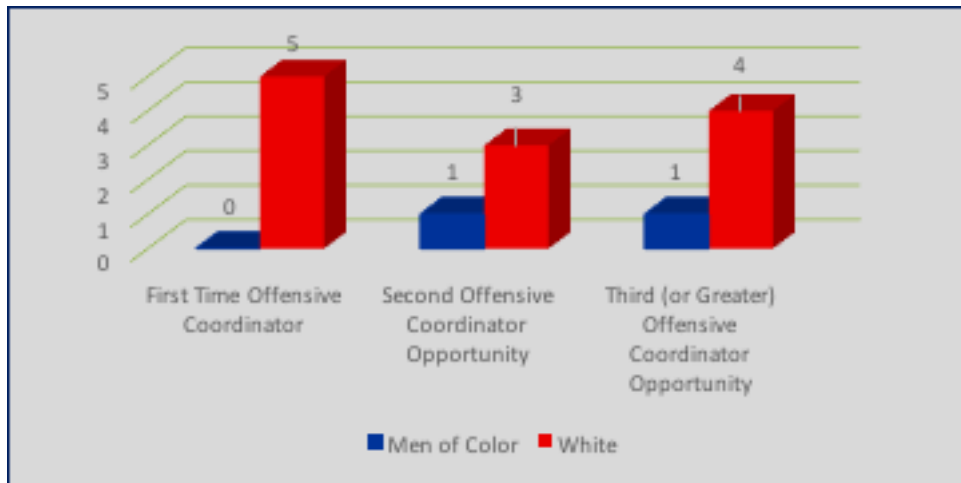
NFL OPPORTUNITY AFTER SECOND HEAD COACH POSITION (2012-2016)



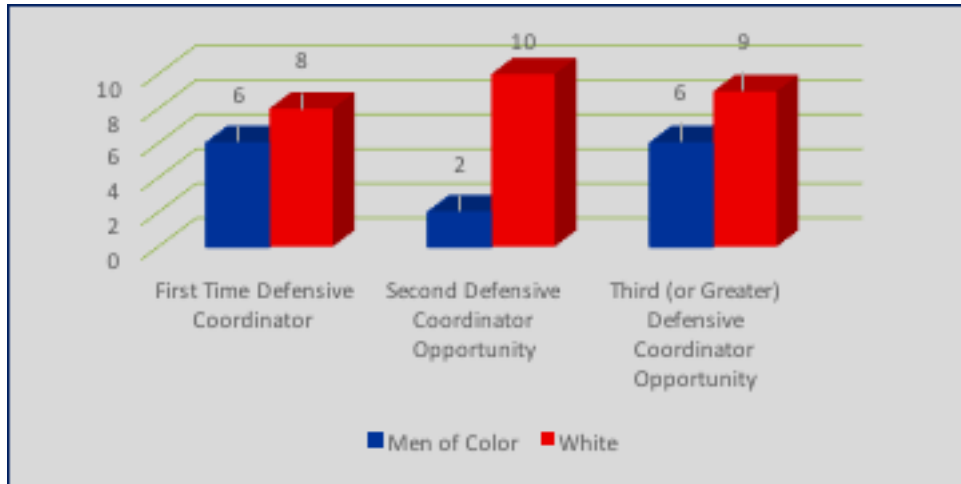
OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR MOBILITY PATTERNS (2012-2016)



OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR MOBILITY PATTERNS (2015-2016)



DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR MOBILITY PATTERNS (2012-2016)



DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR MOBILITY PATTERNS (2015-2016)

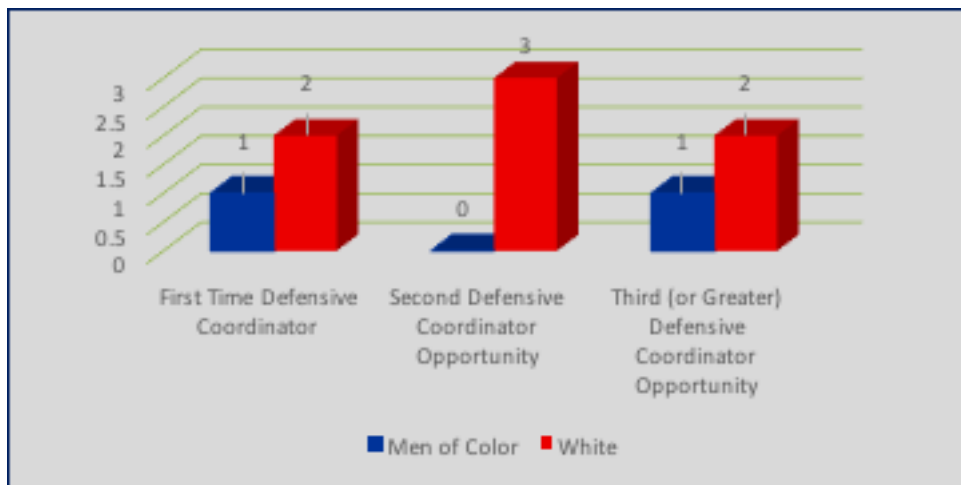


TABLE: HEAD COACH MOBILITY PATTERNS (2015-2016)*

TEAM	NAME OF FORMER HEAD COACH	RACE OF FORMER HEAD COACH	NEXT OPPORTUNITY FOR FORMER HEAD COACH	NAME OF NEW HEAD COACH	RACE OF NEW HEAD COACH
Cleveland Browns	Mike Pettine	White	[No New Position]	Hue Jackson	African American
Miami Dolphins	Joe Philbin	White	Offensive Line Coach, Indianapolis Colts	Adam Gase	White
New York Giants	Tom Coughlin	White	[No New Position]	Ben McAdoo	White
Philadelphia Eagles	Chip Kelly	White	Head Coach, San Francisco 49ers	Doug Pederson	White
San Francisco 49ers	Jim Tomsula	White	[No New Position]	Chip Kelly	White
Tampa Bay Buccaneers	Lovie Smith	African American	[No New Position]	Dirk Koetter	White
Tennessee Titans	Ken Whisenhunt	White	Offensive Coordinator, San Diego Chargers	Mike Mularkey	White

* Date range for data: February 2, 2015 (day following Super Bowl XLIX) to February 7, 2016 (date of Super Bowl 50)

TABLE: OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR MOBILITY PATTERNS (2015-2016)*

TEAM	NAME OF FORMER OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR	RACE OF FORMER OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR	NEXT OPPORTUNITY FOR OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR	NAME OF NEW OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR	RACE OF NEW OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR
Chicago Bears	Adam Gase	White	Head Coach, Miami Dolphins	Dowell Loggains	White
Cincinnati Bengals	Hue Jackson	African American	Head Coach, Cleveland Browns	Ken Zampese	White
Cleveland Browns	John DeFilippo	White	Quarterbacks Coach, Philadelphia Eagles	[No New Offensive Coordinator]*	[No New Offensive Coordinator]
Detroit Lions	Joe Lombardi	White	Quarterbacks Coach, New Orleans Saints	Jim Bob Cooter	White
Indianapolis Colts	Pep Hamilton	African American	Associate Head Coach / Offense, Cleveland Browns	Rob Chudzinski	White
Kansas City Chiefs	Doug Pederson	White	Head Coach, Philadelphia Eagles	Brad Childress Matt Nagy*	White
Miami Dolphins	Bill Lazor	White	Quarterbacks Coach, Cincinnati Bengals	Clyde Christensen	White
New York Giants	Ben McAdoo	White	Head Coach, New York Giants	Mike Sullivan	White
Philadelphia Eagles	Pat Shurmur	White	Tight Ends Coach, Minnesota Vikings	Frank Reich	White
San Diego Chargers	Frank Reich	White	Offensive Coordinator, Philadelphia Eagles	Ken Whisenhunt	White
San Francisco 49ers	Geep Chryst	White	[No New Position]	Curtis Modkins	African American
St. Louis Rams	Frank Cignetti	White	Quarterbacks Coach, New York Giants	Rob Boras	White
Tampa Bay Buccaneers	Dirk Koetter	White	Head Coach, Tampa Bay Buccaneers	Todd Monken	White
Tennessee Titans	Jason Michael	White	Quarterbacks Coach, Tennessee Titans	Terry Robiskie	African American

* Date range for data: February 2, 2015 (day following Super Bowl XLIX) to February 7, 2016 (date of Super Bowl 50)

* Note: On February 12, 2015, the Green Bay Packers promoted Tom Clements from offensive coordinator to associate head coach/offense. The Packers correspondingly promoted Edgar Bennett, an African American individual, from wide receivers coach to offensive coordinator. Clements has primary offensive play-calling responsibilities. Data for these changes were included in the Volume IV report in 2015 at the request of the NFL. In addition, Hue Jackson, new head coach of the Cleveland Browns, will not hire an offensive coordinator. Jackson will assume offensive play-calling responsibilities. Also, the Kansas City Chiefs named Brad Childress and Matt Nagy co-offensive coordinators in January 2016.

TABLE: DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR MOBILITY PATTERNS (2015-2016)*

TEAM	NAME OF FORMER DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR	RACE OF FORMER DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR	NEXT OPPORTUNITY FOR DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR	NAME OF NEW DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR	RACE OF NEW DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR
Cleveland Browns	Jim O'Neil	White	Defensive Coordinator, San Francisco 49ers	Ray Horton	African American
Jacksonville Jaguars	Bob Babich	White	Linebackers Coach, San Diego Chargers	Todd Walsh	White
Indianapolis Colts	Greg Manusky	White	Linebackers Coach, Washington Redskins	Ted Monachino	White
Miami Dolphins	Kevin Coyle	White	Defensive Backs Coach, Cincinnati Bengals	Vance Joseph	African American
New Orleans Saints	Rob Ryan	White	Assistant Head Coach / Defense, Buffalo Bills	Dennis Allen	White
Philadelphia Eagles	Billy Davis	White	[No New Position]	Jim Schwartz	White
San Francisco 49ers	Eric Mangini	White	[No New Position]	Jim O'Neil	White
Tampa Bay Buccaneers	Leslie Frazier	African American	Secondary Coach, Baltimore Ravens	Mike Smith	White
Tennessee Titans	Ray Horton	African American	Defensive Coordinator, Cleveland Browns	Dick LeBeau	White

* Date range for data: February 2, 2015 (day following Super Bowl XLIX) to February 7, 2016 (date of Super Bowl 50)

*Note: Dan Quinn resigned from his position as defensive coordinator of the Seattle Seahawks on February 2, 2015. Quinn subsequently accepted the head coach job with the Atlanta Falcons. Data for this coaching change was included in the Volume IV report in 2015 at the request of the NFL.

TABLE: GENERAL MANAGER MOBILITY PATTERNS (2015-2016)*

TEAM	NAME OF FORMER GENERAL MANAGER	RACE OF FORMER GENERAL MANAGER	NEXT OPPORTUNITY FOR GENERAL MANAGER	NAME OF NEW GENERAL MANAGER	RACE OF NEW GENERAL MANAGER
Cleveland Browns	Ray Farmer	African American	[No New Position]	[No New General Manager]*	[No New General Manager]
Detroit Lions	Martin Mayhew	African American	Director of Football Operations / Special Projects, New York Giants	Bob Quinn	White
Miami Dolphins	Dennis Hickey	White	[No New Position]	Chris Grier*	African American
Tennessee Titans	Ruston Webster	White	National Scout, Atlanta Falcons	Jon Robinson	White

* Date range for data: February 2, 2015 (day following Super Bowl XLIX) to February 7, 2016 (date of Super Bowl 50)

*Note: The data in this report does not include individuals who hold “general manager equivalent” positions (for example, individuals who are responsible for “controlling the draft board” but do not have the job title “general manager”). In January 2016, the Cleveland Browns promoted Sashi Brown, an African American executive, from general counsel to executive vice president of football operations. The Browns also named former New York Mets baseball operations executive Paul DePodesta to the newly created position of Chief Strategy Officer. The Browns subsequently hired Andrew Berry, an African American individual, as the team’s new vice president of player personnel. Berry will report to DePodesta and Brown. The Browns decided not to hire a new general manager. In addition, Mike Tannenbaum remains executive vice president of football operations for the Miami Dolphins. While Grier is responsible for leading the team’s player personnel department, Tannenbaum retains final decision-making responsibility with respect to player personnel decisions.

TABLE: ETHNICITY OF GENERAL MANAGERS, HEAD COACHES, OFFENSIVE COORDINATORS, AND DEFENSIVE COORDINATORS FOR ALL TWELVE NFL PLAYOFF TEAMS IN 2015-2016*

TEAM	GENERAL MANAGER	HEAD COACH	OFFENSIVE COORDINATOR	DEFENSIVE COORDINATOR
Arizona Cardinals	Steve Keim	Bruce Arians	Harold Goodwin (African American)	James Bettcher
Carolina Panthers	Dave Gettleman	Ron Rivera (Latino)	Mike Shula	Sean McDermott
Cincinnati Bengals	[No General Manager]	Marvin Lewis (African American)	Hue Jackson (African American)	Paul Guenther
Denver Broncos	John Elway	Gary Kubiak	Rick Dennison	Wade Phillips
Green Bay Packers	Ted Thompson	Mike McCarthy	Tom Clements	Dom Capers
Houston Texans	Rick Smith (African American)	Bill O'Brien	George Godsey	Romeo Crennel (African American)
Kansas City Chiefs	John Dorsey	Andy Reid	Doug Pederson	Bob Sutton
Minnesota Vikings	Rick Spielman	Mike Zimmer	Norv Turner	George Edwards (African American)
New England Patriots	[No General Manager]	Bill Belichick	Josh McDaniels	Matt Patricia
Pittsburgh Steelers	Kevin Colbert	Mike Tomlin (African American)	Todd Haley	Keith Butler (African American)
Seattle Seahawks	John Schneider	Pete Carroll	Darrell Bevell	Kris Richard (African American)
Washington Redskins	Scot McCloughan	Jay Gruden	Sean McVay	Joe Barry

* Note: Ethnicity of each team executive is White unless otherwise indicated in the above table. Mike Brown (owner and president of the Cincinnati Bengals) and Bill Belichick (head coach of New England Patriots) hold “general manager equivalent” positions. Hue Jackson and Doug Pederson were hired as head coaches in January 2016 after the season ended for their respective teams.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS: PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Previous studies on NFL coaches and other key team leaders have generally focused on the effectiveness of the Rooney Rule (for example, analyzing the hiring process and proposing new strategies to increase the number of head coaches of color) and comparing the win/loss records of head coaches (for example, determining whether coaches of color are provided with a true meaningful opportunity to turn around a team with a losing record). This study primarily focuses on whether Whites and persons of color face access barriers with respect to offensive coordinator, defensive coordinator and general manager positions, as well as access barriers after one or more stints as a head coach in the NFL. For example, this study attempts to address whether Whites and/or persons of color only have one opportunity to prove themselves, and therefore attention must focus on retention, career progression, continued access and “life after being a head coach” in addition to the Rooney’s Rule noteworthy focus on initial entry/access for ethnic minorities.⁸ The findings of this study indicate that, historically, NFL teams have been reluctant to hire a person of color for a head coach, offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator position after a person of color has previously separated from a head coach position in the NFL. For example, since 1963, 101 White individuals have been hired as an NFL head coach, offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator after a first NFL head coach opportunity, whereas only 15 men of color have been hired as an NFL head coach, offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator after a first head coach opportunity. However, the hiring of Lovie Smith and Jim Caldwell as “second opportunity” NFL head coaches in 2014 along with the hiring of Hue Jackson as a “second opportunity” NFL head coach in January 2016 serve as indicators of improvement and hope; as of February 2016, ten out of the 18 total head coaches of color from 1963-2016 have had a second opportunity to be the head coach of an NFL team. A primary challenge for candidates of color is breaking into the head coach pipeline, as many head coaches and key position coaches continue to get “reshuffled” thereby preventing new talent from entering the pipeline.

“The Reshuffling Effect” Revisited: Between Super Bowl XLIX (February 1, 2015) and Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016), NFL teams hired 33 general managers, head coaches, offensive coordinators and defensive coordinators. Seven new head coaches were hired, 14 new offensive coordinators were hired, nine new defensive coordinators were hired and three new general managers were hired. Six of the 33 recently hired team leaders are men of color (Hue Jackson, Curtis Modkins, Terry Robiskie, Ray Horton, Vance Joseph and Chris Grier). Vance Joseph is the only person of color to be named to a coordinator or head coach position for the first time. Hue Jackson is in his second stint as an NFL head coach, Curtis Modkins is in his second stint as an NFL offensive coordinator, Terry Robiskie is in his third stint as an NFL offensive coordinator, and Ray Horton is in his fourth stint as an NFL defensive coordinator. Chris Grier recently earned his first career opportunity to work as an NFL general manager.

Four of the seven most recently hired head coaches are first time NFL head coaches. Recent research by the NFL found that first time NFL coaches hired during the past ten years who had less than five years of coordinator experience succeeded at a rate of 22 percent (that is, seven of the 32 coaches had a career coaching record above .500 or coached in the playoffs). This NFL research study also found that first time NFL coaches hired during the past ten years who had five or more years of coordinator experience succeeded at a rate of 71 percent (that is, 10 of the 14 coaches had a career coaching record above .500 or coached in the playoffs). Three of the four recently hired first time coaches have three years or less of coordinator experience (Adam Gase, Ben McAdoo and Doug Pederson). Dirk Koetter has nine years of previous NFL coordinator experience. Based on the recent NFL study, Koetter is better prepared and positioned to succeed as a first time NFL head coach as compared with Gase, McAdoo and Pederson based on Koetter’s extensive prior experience as an NFL offensive coordinator.

Two of the seven recently hired head coaches are second time NFL head coaches (Hue Jackson and Chip Kelly). Recent research by the NFL found that, during the previous ten years, second time head coaches

⁸ In February 2016, NFL Commissioner Roger Goodell announced that the NFL would expand the Rooney Rule to require providing women candidates with a meaningful opportunity to interview for executive positions with the NFL league office and NFL teams.

who had winning records during their first stint as an NFL head coach succeeded at a rate of 50 percent. Conversely, second time head coaches who had losing records during their first stint as an NFL head coach only succeeded at a rate of 25 percent. Hue Jackson previously coached the Oakland Raiders to an 8-8 record during the 2011 NFL regular season. Chip Kelly served as head coach of the Philadelphia Eagles from 2013-2015 and coached the team to a combined record of 26-21 during his three years as head coach.

Sixteen out of the 29 head coaches hired since the start of the 2012 NFL regular season were previously an offensive coordinator in the NFL. Nine of the 29 head coaches hired since the start of the 2012 NFL regular season were previously a defensive coordinator in the NFL. These findings indicate that the offensive coordinator position is historically (but not always) the primary pipeline for NFL head coaches, whereas defensive coordinator can be viewed as the next most viable pipeline for the head coach position.⁹ For example, six out of the seven head coaches hired between February 2, 2014 and February 1, 2015 have defensive coaching backgrounds (Bowles, Del Rio, Fox, Quinn, Tomsula and Ryan) as compared with only one coach with an offensive coaching background (Kubiak). Conversely, all seven head coaches hired between February 2, 2015 and kickoff at Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016) have offensive coaching backgrounds; six of the seven recently hired head coaches have previous experience as an NFL offensive coordinator, and five of the seven recently hired head coaches were NFL offensive coordinators immediately prior to earning their current head coach opportunity.

Findings in this Volume V report reveal a “reshuffling effect” in which recently separated (i.e., fired, resigned or otherwise parted ways) head coaches, offensive coordinators and defensive coordinators immediately received a new coaching opportunity in a key “head coach pipeline position” such as quarterbacks coach, linebackers coach and defensive backs (secondary) coach. For example, five of the fourteen recently separated offensive coordinators subsequently received an opportunity to be the quarterbacks coach of an NFL team. Four of the seven recently hired head coaches have previous experience as an NFL quarterbacks coach. In addition, six of the fourteen recently hired offensive coordinators were most recently an NFL quarterbacks coach before being named to their current offensive coordinator position; five of these six former quarterbacks coaches received an internal promotion to offensive coordinator of the same team (Loggains, Zampese, Cooter, Nagy and Sullivan). Overall, seven of the fourteen recently hired offensive coordinators have prior quarterbacks coach experience at the NFL level.

On the defensive side, four of the nine recently hired defensive coordinators have prior experience as a linebackers coach in the NFL (Monachino, Schwartz, O’Neil and Smith) and five recently hired defensive coordinators have prior experience as a defensive backs (secondary) coach in the NFL (Horton, Joseph, Allen, O’Neil and LeBeau). Several of the recently separated defensive coordinators immediately received a new coaching opportunity in a key “head coach pipeline position.” For example, two of the nine recently separated defensive coordinators subsequently received an opportunity to be a linebackers coach of an NFL team (Babich and Manusky), another two of the recently separated defensive coordinators subsequently received an opportunity to be a defensive backs (secondary) coach of an NFL team (Coyle and Frazier), and two of the recently separated defensive coordinators made a lateral career move with respect to being named a defensive coordinator of a different team (Horton and O’Neil). In addition, Rob Ryan was hired by his brother Rex Ryan (head coach of the Buffalo Bills) as the team’s new assistant head coach / defense.

Several of the recently separated NFL head coaches subsequently received a new coaching opportunity in a key pipeline position. For example, Chip Kelly was hired as head coach of the San Francisco 49ers, Ken Whisenhunt was hired as offensive coordinator of the San Diego Chargers, and Joe Philbin was hired as offensive line coach of the Indianapolis Colts. Additionally, three of the seven recently hired head coaches were internally promoted from either an offensive coordinator or interim head coach position (McAdoo, Koetter and Mularkey).

Findings in this report also indicate a prevalence of the reshuffling effect with respect to the same

⁹ Rider et al. (2016) studied head coach changes from 1985-2012 and found that approximately 70 percent of all head coach promotions involved coaches who were promoted from a coordinator position.

individuals repeatedly hired for NFL team coordinator positions, which prevents new talent from entering key head coach pipelines. Between February 2, 2015 and February 7, 2016, NFL teams hired fourteen new offensive coordinators. Four of these recently hired offensive coordinators currently hold the offensive coordinator position for a second time (Loggains, Sullivan, Reich and Modkins) and five of the recently hired offensive coordinators are in their third stint as an NFL offensive coordinator (Chudzinski, Childress, Christensen, Whisenhunt and Robiskie). Curtis Modkins, an African American team leader, recently earned his second offensive coordinator opportunity when he was named new offensive coordinator of the San Francisco 49ers. Robiskie is only the second person of color since September 2012 to earn a third opportunity to work as an NFL offensive coordinator. In addition, three of the nine recently hired defensive coordinators currently hold the defensive coordinator position for a second time (Smith, O'Neil and Allen) and three of the nine recently hired defensive coordinators are in their third or greater stint as an NFL defensive coordinator (Schwartz, Horton and LeBeau). Vance Joseph, Todd Walsh and Ted Monachino are first-time NFL defensive coordinators.

In addition, between the beginning of the 2012 NFL regular season (September 5, 2012) and Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016), 44 White individuals have received at least a second opportunity to work as an offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator of an NFL team. Only 11 men of color have received a similar "second or greater" opportunity during the same time period; eight of the 11 "second or greater chances" have been for men of color hired as defensive coordinators. Twenty-one White individuals have received a second opportunity to work as an offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator of an NFL team between the beginning of the 2012 NFL regular season (September 5, 2012) and Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016). During this same time period, only three men of color received a similar "second-chance" opportunity to be an offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator. During this same time period, 23 White individuals received a "third or greater chance" to work as an offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator of an NFL team, whereas only eight men of color received a similar "third or greater chance" to be an offensive coordinator or defensive coordinator. While it is somewhat encouraging that 34 percent (14 out of 41) of the defensive coordinators hired since the start of the 2012 NFL regular season are African American individuals, only 12 percent (6 out of 49) of the offensive coordinators hired during this same time period have been coordinators of color.

Social Capital and Implicit Bias—The Importance of Trust and Perceived Competence: In addition to increasing the number of qualified candidates of color who interview for each open coordinator, head coach and general manager position, it is imperative to ensure that these qualified candidates are perceived as qualified by the individuals who make the hiring decisions. A qualified candidate's job prospects will be impacted by intangible factors such as trust and perceived competence in addition to tangible factors such as actual performance in past coaching or coordinator position(s). The findings in the current study reiterate the need to develop and implement bias-lessening processes and procedures with respect to the hiring process for head coaches, offensive coordinators, defensive coordinators and general managers. Similar to the findings in the Volume III and Volume IV reports, the findings in the current study underscore and uncover the complexity of organizational nuances that may influence the final hiring decisions and determine the opportunities for coaches of color, offensive coordinators, defensive coordinators and general managers to maneuver the hierarchies of leadership positions. Rosette et al. (2008) developed a theory-based argument that supports the current report's research findings with respect to whether variables such as "institutional inequality" (Davis & Moore, 1945, p. 243; see also Acker, 2006) and "membership in powerful coaching families" (Greene, 2012, p. 131) have more of an impact in the hiring and evaluation processes than do the substantive skill sets of individuals. For example, Buffalo Bills head coach Rex Ryan recently hired his brother Rob Ryan as assistant head coach / defense. In addition, new Tampa Bay Buccaneers head coach Dirk Koetter hired Todd Monken as the team's new offensive coordinator and wide receivers coach; Koetter and Monken worked together from 2007-2010 when Koetter was the offensive coordinator and Monken was the wide receivers coach with the Jacksonville Jaguars.

The findings of the current study support the power of social capital, as ten out of the 18 total head coaches of color from 1963-2016 have had a second opportunity to be the head coach of an NFL team. The key is to develop strategies and implement practices and processes that provide more candidates of color with a realistic opportunity to be a head coach in the NFL. As explained by scholars such as Day

and McDonald (2010) and Sagas and Cunningham (2005), it is imperative to create a systemic approach that facilitates both strong and weak networking ties amongst leadership candidates of color in addition to increasing opportunities for rising industry stars to develop meaningful connections with “higher status” African American and White leaders within NFL teams and at the NFL league office. As explained by Kay et al. (2009), NFL leadership candidates of color “will have to do more than simply overcome the obstacles inherent in how the current social system is structured; they will also have to alter how people think it should be structured” (p. 421-22).

The Rooney Rule may enable a person of color to have an opportunity to secure that initial head coach position, but intangible factors such as trust and perceived competence may have even more of an impact on future occupational mobility (second and third coaching or coordinator opportunities).¹⁰ Therefore, in addition to working to increase the number of people of color who make hiring decisions (team owners and general managers), it is imperative to work on improving “the perception of competence” of sport business professionals of color by both Whites and decision-makers of color (Shropshire, 1996, p. 129-30). Stated differently, even if there is an increase in general managers of color and team owners, negative race consciousness associated with the coaching and coordinating capabilities of candidates of color may still exist and persist (see Shropshire, 1996). For instance, Day (2015) applied the particularistic mobility thesis to examine race-based occupational mobility differences that result from “subjective aspects of work, such as upper level managers’ (mis)perceptions, stereotypes, and biased evaluations of workers’ managerial abilities” (p. 25). Day concluded that, “if coaches are hired into executive positions based on their perceived intangible traits (for example, loyalty, leadership abilities, and work effort), in addition to their real or perceived professional experience and technical expertise, the particularistic manipulation of these traits and skills will likely lead to more numerous and less constricted promotion opportunities for White coaches than for Black coaches” (p. 25).

Occupational Mobility and Job Tenure—Change as the Consistent Constant: This Volume V report also analyzed the tenure/stint (i.e., length of time in current positions) of all current NFL head coaches, offensive coordinators and defensive coordinators.¹¹ For current NFL offensive coordinators, the average length of time is 1.3 years in the current position. Twenty-six of the 32 offensive coordinators have been in their current position for two NFL seasons or fewer. Only six NFL offensive coordinators have been in their current position for three or more NFL seasons (Darrell Bevell, Pete Carmichael, Harold Goodwin, Todd Haley, Josh McDaniels and Mike Shula). The data is very similar for defensive coordinators; the average length of time is 1.6 years in the current position. Twenty-six of the 32 defensive coordinators have been in their current position for two NFL seasons or fewer. Only six NFL defensive coordinators have been in their current position for three or more NFL seasons (Dom Capers, Sean McDermott, Matt Patricia, John Pagano, Dean Pees and Bob Sutton).

As of kickoff at Super Bowl 50 (February 7, 2016), four African American men held the offensive coordinator position with an NFL team. The average tenure/stint in the current position for these four individuals is 1 year. Curtis Modkins (San Francisco 49ers) and Terry Robiskie (Tennessee Titans) were recently named offensive coordinators. Edgar Bennett has one NFL season of experience in his current offensive coordinator position with the Green Bay Packers. Harold Goodwin has three NFL seasons of experience in his current offensive coordinator position with the Arizona Cardinals. The Titans and 49ers—two NFL teams who recently hired African American offensive coordinators in January 2016—had a combined record of 8-24 during the most recently completed 2015-2016 NFL regular season. The Packers and Cardinals—teams led by one of the other two current African American offensive coordinators—had a combined record of 23-9 during the 2015-2016 NFL regular season.

The average tenure/stint in the current position for the nine current African American men in defensive coordinator positions is 1.1 years. Each of the nine current NFL defensive coordinators has two or fewer NFL seasons of experience in his current defensive coordinator position. The Browns and Dolphins—two NFL teams who recently hired African American defensive coordinators in January 2016—had a combined record of 9-23 during the most recently completed 2015-2016 NFL regular season. The combined

¹⁰ A recent empirical research study noted that, “A decade after the Rooney Rule’s implementation, within-job racial disparity clearly persists” (Rider et al., 2016, p. 40).

¹¹ Researchers have previously found that short coaching tenures/stints can lead to an adverse impact on team performance (see, for example, seminal research studies by Eitzen and Yetman, 1972 as well as Grusky, 1963).

win/loss record for teams coached by one of the other seven current African American defensive coordinators was 62-50 during the 2015-2016 NFL regular season.

The average tenure/stint in the current position for the nine men of color in NFL head coach positions is 5 years.¹² Hue Jackson was recently named head coach of the Cleveland Browns. Todd Bowles now has one NFL season of experience coaching the New York Jets. Jim Caldwell has been head coach of the Detroit Lions for two seasons. Ron Rivera has been head coach of the Carolina Panthers for five seasons. Mike Tomlin has been coach of the Pittsburgh Steelers for nine seasons. And, Marvin Lewis has been head coach of the Cincinnati Bengals for 13 seasons. Hue Jackson was recently named head coach of a team, the Cleveland Browns, which struggled to a 3-13 record during the 2015 NFL regular season. The combined win/loss record for teams coached by one of the other five current head coaches of color was 54-26 during the 2015-2016 NFL regular season.

Sorting, Stacking & Performance-Reward Bias—Access Barriers to Leadership Positions: As of February 1, 2016, all NFL quarterbacks coaches were White individuals. Twelve of the 32 current NFL offensive coordinators worked as an NFL quarterbacks coach immediately prior to earning an opportunity to work as an NFL offensive coordinator; as discussed above in this report, the quarterbacks coach position is a primary occupational mobility pipeline to work as an NFL offensive coordinator. In addition, twelve of the current NFL quarterbacks coaches have previously worked as an NFL offensive coordinator, and two current NFL quarterbacks coaches previously served as an NFL head coach.

As of February 1, 2016, 28 NFL running backs coaches were African American individuals. However, only one of the 32 current NFL offensive coordinators worked as an NFL running backs coach immediately prior to earning an opportunity to work as an NFL offensive coordinator. Ten of the 28 African American running backs coaches have held that coaching position for at least three NFL seasons; the average stint/tenure for current African American running backs coaches is 2.6 years. In addition, three of the 28 African American running backs coaches have previously worked as an NFL offensive coordinator. No current NFL running backs coach has previously worked as an NFL head coach.

As of February 1, 2016, 14 NFL wide receivers coaches were African American individuals. The average stint/tenure for current African American wide receivers coaches is 2.2 years. Moreover, only two of the 32 current NFL offensive coordinators worked as an NFL wide receivers coach immediately prior to earning an opportunity to work as an NFL offensive coordinator. In addition, only one of the 14 current African American wide receivers coaches previously served as an NFL offensive coordinator, as compared with five of the current White wide receivers coaches who have previously worked as an NFL offensive coordinator. Raheem Morris is the only current African American wide receivers coach who has previous NFL head coach experience.

As of February 1, 2016, 26 NFL linebackers coaches were White individuals as compared with eight African American linebackers coaches.¹³ Ten of the 32 current NFL defensive coordinators worked as an NFL linebackers coach immediately prior to earning an opportunity to work as an NFL defensive coordinator. In addition, eight of the 26 current White linebackers coaches have previously worked as an NFL defensive coordinator as compared with one African American linebackers coach (Frank Bush) who has previously worked as an NFL defensive coordinator.

As of February 1, 2016, 12 NFL defensive backs (secondary) coaches were White individuals as compared with 23 African American defensive backs (secondary) coaches.¹⁴ Six of the 32 current NFL defensive coordinators (three White defensive coordinators and three African American defensive coordinators) worked as an NFL defensive backs (secondary) coach immediately prior to earning an opportunity to work as an NFL defensive coordinator. In addition, three of the 12 current White defensive backs (secondary) coaches have previously worked as an NFL defensive coordinator as compared with four African American defensive backs (secondary) coaches who have previous NFL defensive coordinator experience. As discussed above in this report, the linebackers and defensive backs (secondary) coach positions function as two primary occupational mobility pipelines to work as an NFL defensive coordinator.

¹² In January 2016, Lovie Smith was dismissed from his leadership position as head coach of the Tampa Bay Buccaneers following only two seasons as head coach of the team.

¹³ Several NFL teams employ two linebackers coaches (for example, an inside linebackers coach and an outside linebackers coach).

¹⁴ Several NFL teams employ multiple defensive backs (secondary) coaches.

As of February 1, 2016, 14 NFL defensive line coaches were White individuals as compared with 17 African American defensive line coaches. Three of the 32 current NFL defensive coordinators (two White defensive coordinators and one African American defensive coordinator) worked as an NFL defensive line coach immediately prior to earning an opportunity to work as an NFL defensive coordinator. In addition, none of the 17 current African American defensive line coaches have previously held an NFL defensive coordinator position. The average stint/tenure for current African American defensive line coaches is 2.3 years.

The above data indicate that coaches of color are oftentimes “sorted” and “stacked” into position coach roles such as running backs coaches, wide receivers coaches and defensive line coaches with little prospects of ever earning an opportunity to work as an offensive or defensive coordinator of an NFL team; NFL coordinator experience is essential with respect to NFL head coach prospects. The defensive backs (secondary) coach position presently functions as one of the more viable occupational mobility paths for coaches of color in the NFL. Rider et al. (2016) hypothesized that “stacking” and “sorting” allocative mechanisms directly impact the occupational mobility of people of color and create racial disparities in leadership. As explained by Rider et al. (2016), the “entry point ‘sorting’ mechanism suggests that racial minorities are initially allocated at hiring to positions with lesser upward mobility prospects than are white employees. The post-entry ‘stacking’ mechanism implies that racial minorities are allocated to such marginalized positions after hiring” (p. 9). Race-based sorting at the time of hire implies that “racial minorities’ first jobs will typically be in positions associated with lesser chances of attaining a leadership position (i.e., leadership prospects)” (Rider et al., 2016, p. 11). Post-hire stacking in inferior positions “produce[s] racial disparity in organizational leadership by allocating minorities to positions that are peripheral to the organization’s central mission and consequently do not provide position-holders with opportunities to develop the skills or visibility necessary for career advancement... racial minorities will typically hold positions associated with lesser chances of attaining a leadership position” (Rider et al., 2016, pp. 11, 12). Rider et al. (2016) found that “performance-reward bias strongly influences promotions to coordinator positions but does not influence promotions to head coaching positions” (p. 37). In other words, a primary occupational mobility access barrier for coaches of color exists at the coordinator level. For example, the vast majority of African American offensive position coaches oversee running backs or wide receivers whereas zero African American coaches currently hold the quarterbacks coach position (i.e., a primary pipeline to become an offensive coordinator).

The following practical strategic recommendations are made based on the findings in this Volume V report:

- The NFL should work to develop innovative strategies and programs to prepare more candidates of color to coach NFL quarterbacks; the above data indicate that the quarterbacks coach position is a primary pipeline for promotion to positions such as offensive coordinator. Currently all NFL quarterbacks coaches are White individuals.
- The NFL could further spotlight and recognize teams that have demonstrated a consistent, authentic commitment to diversity and inclusion with respect to providing meaningful opportunities for coaches of color. There are many powerful stories to be told.
- Additional research should analyze similarities and differences in occupational mobility patterns with respect to former NFL players as compared with coaches who never played in the NFL. Future research should analyze key performance factors/indicators of coaches (e.g., overall performance of offense and overall performance of players at position coached such as linebackers) to further determine whether coaching performance or other variables drive “the reshuffling effect.” In addition, future research should also further examine additional potential “untapped” pipelines and “hidden” talent (for example, creating a database of exemplary coaches of color at the collegiate level) in addition to expanding the initial research in this report on occupational mobility patterns for key head coach pipeline positions such as quarterbacks coach, linebackers coach and defensive backs (secondary) coach.

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Bios of Research Team & Authors of Report

Dr. C. Keith Harrison is an Associate Professor at UCF as well as Associate Program Director of the DeVos Sport Business Management Graduate Program and founding director (2006-2014) of the Sport Business Management Undergraduate Program at UCF. In addition to his role as Faculty and Innovative Curriculum Coordinator of the Sport Business Management Programs, Dr. Harrison also served as Interim and Acting DeVos Chair in the College of Business during the Fall 2014 semester. As Senior Faculty/Associate Director of the DeVos Graduate Sport Business Management Program, Dr. Harrison has contributed in the area of academic innovation and scholarship over the last decade to one of the most prestigious graduate sport business management programs. SportBusiness International recently ranked the DeVos Graduate Program as one of the “Top 2” graduate programs in the United States and worldwide. Dr. Harrison has taught leadership, diversity and sport marketing at the graduate level, and currently teaches diversity as well as co-teaches with Reggie Saunders (Director of Global Marketing, Jordan Brand) innovation and entrepreneurship in sport and entertainment at the undergraduate level.

Dr. Harrison is also an Adjunct Associate Professor at Emory University’s Goizueta Business School. Dr. Harrison has over two decades of university research, teaching and service experience at the community college level (Cerritos, Fullerton and Cypress) and university level (Washington State University, Indiana University, University of Michigan, Arizona State University, and UCF). A former NCAA scholar-athlete that was a center on the football team and graduated from West Texas A&M University, Harrison went on to earn his graduate degrees at California State University (Dominguez Hills) and the University of Southern California. Dr. Harrison has numerous peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters that all disseminated from the Paul Robeson Research Center for Academic and Athletic Prowess established in Ann Arbor (1998). Dr. Harrison was Co-Editor of the Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics (2009-2011) housed at the University of North Carolina (Chapel-Hill). He is currently Editor of the Journal of Higher Education Athletics housed at Oklahoma University. He is also co-editing a book with Scott Bukstein on Sport Business Data Analytics published with Taylor & Francis (2016). Dr. Harrison’s career focus is in a few areas: the identity of the student-athlete and professional athlete experience; diversity and inclusion issues related to gender and race relations in education, business, sport and entertainment; and the marketing of emerging multicultural demographics in the global environment in terms of fan engagement. Dr. Harrison’s brief list of clients/partnerships past and present include the NFL, the Minnesota Vikings, Oakland Raiders, Miami Dolphins, University of Oregon, Jordan Brand, Boise State University, UCLA’s School of Education, Wharton Sports Business Academy, UC-Boulder’s Business of Sport Certificate Program, Florida Citrus Sports and numerous intercollegiate athletic departments through his co-founded non-profit Scholar-Baller. Since 2012, Dr. Harrison has been the principal investigator/researcher and co-author with Scott Bukstein for the NFL’s “Good Business” series in terms of diversity and inclusion initiatives within the NFL as well as on female spectators and influencers of the NFL brand. Harrison also serves as the lead educational consultant for the Ross Initiative in Sports for Equality (RISE), which is a not-for-profit organization founded by Miami Dolphins team owner Stephen Ross. Dr. Harrison and Scott Bukstein are also responsible for developing and implementing a comprehensive academic curriculum focused on diversity, inclusion, respect and equality in sport along with creating marketing and branding content for RISE. Harrison is a guest columnist for Sport Business Journal in the area of cultural innovation in sport business and entertainment management.

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