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An empirical examination of the presence of minority coaches in minor league baseball

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AN EMPIRICAL EXAMINATION OF THE PRESENCE OF MINORITY
COACHES IN MINOR LEAGUE BASEBALL

by

Braden E. Holcomb

Bachelor of Science
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
2003

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

**Master of Science Degree in Sport and Leisure Service Management
Department of Leisure Studies
College of Hotel Administration**

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ABSTRACT

**AN EMPIRICAL EXAMINATION OF THE PRESENCE OF MINORITY
COACHES IN MINOR LEAGUE BASEBALL**

by

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While most racial discrimination practices have faded from baseball, debate still continues over alleged subtle forms of discrimination. One major concern involves stacking, or positional segregation by race. Though baseball stacking studies have been done since 1967, no study has taken place in Minor League Baseball at the coaching staff level. This study looked at 40 teams in Minor League Baseball during the 2005 season. Players and coaches were identified by one of three racial categories – White, Black, or Latino. The coaches were also identified by one of three coaching positions – Manager, Hitting Coach, or Pitching Coach. Finally, each coach was put into a category based on their defensive position during their playing career: Central (catcher, pitcher, second base, or shortstop) or Peripheral (first base, third base, left field, center field, or right field).

Three research questions concerning race and the coaching staff were addressed. The first question was to determine the ratio between the race of coaches (White, Black, or Latino) and the race of the players (White, Black, or Latino). The

second question was to determine if a disproportionate amount of minorities would be found at any of the three coaching positions (Manager, Hitting Coach, and Pitching Coach). The final question was to determine the coaches defensive position during their playing career, whether it was a central or peripheral position, and their current coaching position (Manager or Hitting Coach) All pitching coaches were assumed to have been a pitcher during their playing career and hence a central position player.

All research questions were accepted or rejected based upon the chi-square test of independence and a $\alpha \leq .05$ rejection level.

After analysis of the data, a significant relationship between the ratio of minority coaches and minority players was found. Also, the defensive positions of coaches during their playing careers were found to be significant with their current coaching position. Finally, black coaches were found to be significant based upon their coaching position.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Sport is seen by most Americans as a positive and progressive racial force, an avenue of racial progress, and an arena of racial harmony. Some have even suggested that sport has been the great racial equalizer, and a leader in Civil Rights, if not a literal “model” for race relations in the United States (Hartmann, 2000).

Since the development of this nation minorities have been thought of and treated as an inferior being by the white population. From slavery to segregation to “new” racism minorities continue to not receive an equal opportunity.

Clearly, during the last few years amateur and professional sports have seen minorities breakdown countless walls in the fight for equality. This has occurred in professional basketball and football where minorities make up a majority of the players. In professional baseball minorities comprise 40 percent of the players. This far exceeds the minority representation among society where African-Americans make up the largest minority at 12 percent. Within the administrative hierarchy however, such progress has not been made.

Given the aforementioned information, one can see how sports are often depicted as being among the most “open” arenas in race relations. However, sports have reflected the historical racial trends in the larger American society, characterized by discrimination and efforts by minorities to overcome racism (Shropshire, 1996). This is to say that racial

inequalities and injustices are not so much challenged and overcome in and through sport as they are reproduced and reinforced within this venue (Hartmann, 2000). The racial inequalities are not merely a question of black or white. There is a tendency to force Latinos into categories of black or white reflecting the dominance of the black-and-white paradigm. In the world of professional baseball, closer examination of the careers of Latino ballplayers unveils a history of countless slights, misunderstandings, and recriminations for being different from both black and white Americans (Gonzales, 1996).

At the major league level, Arturo Moreno, Reggie Fowler, and Bob Johnson are the only minority owners. There are only five African-American team presidents, and only three women hold that position. While 17 percent of the National Basketball Association general managers were African-American last season, only six percent of the general managers in the National Football League and Major League Baseball are African-American (Lapchick, 2003). In the 2002 MLB season, 32 percent (ten) of managers were people of color. This marks the highest minority representation in managerial positions in the history of Major League Baseball (Lapchick, 2003).

Latinos account for 25 percent of major league players, but there are only 3 Latino managers in professional baseball (Lapchick, 2005). In collegiate sports about 10 percent of all Division I coaches are people of color and less than three percent of Division I athletic directors are African-American, with less than 5 percent being people of color. Since only 11 percent of all assistant and associate athletic directors are people of color, the pipeline to the Athletic Directors post is hardly full of potential change (Lapchick, 2004). Between 1975 and 1994, 140 different individuals held the position of manager of

a major league baseball team. Of those 140 individuals, 70% managed at the minor league level (Rimer, 1996). In order to completely understand the hiring practices of Major League Baseball we must first determine if minorities are receiving the same opportunities and equal rights of whites at the minor league level.

To further echo common controversy of sport and race, the 2003 Racial Report Card, a publication by the University of Central Florida, which seeks “to indicate areas of improvement, stagnation, and regression in the racial and gender composition of professional and college sports and to contribute to the improvement of integration in front office and college athletics department positions,” made the following charges against sport with regard to race (Lapchick, 2003, p.3). People of color lost ground in most of the top management positions in college and professional sport, as general managers, team vice presidents and college athletics directors (Lapchick, 2003). Even with the recent addition of the first African-American NFL owner, the majority ownership for people of color in professional sports is almost non-existent (Lapchick, 2005). Probably most frightening of these latest charges is that stacking, or the theory of segregating minorities to positions which require more physical ability and less leadership qualities, is once again an issue in Major League Baseball (Lapchick, 2003). Whether positional segregation or marginalization carries over into the coaching ranks, particularly at the minor league level, is a gap in the literature that needs to be filled.

Many race based issues and concerns within Major League Baseball are voiced on a regular basis by academics and by civil rights activists. Issues on and off the field of play, such as stacking and centrality, salary inequalities, unequal opportunity for equal

ability, selection of individuals for management positions, and sexism frequently receive debate, dialogue, and media attention (Goss, 1996).

These issues pertaining to race are important, particularly because of the visibility associated with sport at all levels. In a pluralistic nation such as the U.S, the need to understand ethnic and racial variation is evident (Duda & Allison, 1990). Some demographic experts predict that by 2050, the U.S. will be so racially diverse that no majority group will exist (Bivens, 1998). Contemporary concerns such as bilingualism, incorporation/assimilation, dual identity, ethnic politics, quotas and affirmative action, residential segregation, and the level of immigration itself are going to continue to be issues that all Americans are going to have to deal with (Brief & et. al, 2000). Improving race relations throughout this country and the world appears to be an imperative sociological issue in which much progress and understanding needs to be accomplished. Much of this progress can take place in sport, which “remains the one national plane where people of color and whites seem to have the greatest opportunity to set a national example for the rest of the country” (Lapchick, 1998, p. 2). The example that needs to be set is the presence of equal rights and equal opportunity within the administrative hierarchy of professional sport. Minor League Baseball is worthy of scholarly inquiry simply because it is a training ground for future major league managers.

Purpose of the Study

Previous studies show that minority managers have not been proportionally represented based on the number of minority players in major league baseball (Fabianic, 1984). Studies have also shown that 70% of major league baseball managers, that played

professional baseball, played at a high interactive (central) position (Leonard, Ostrosky, and Huchendorf, 1990). All of these studies focus on the hiring patterns of managers at the major league level. Of equal importance, if not more, relative to future representation are the hiring practices at the Minor League Baseball level which is often considered a prerequisite for obtaining a major league managerial job.

The purpose of this study is to examine occupational employment patterns in Minor League Baseball during the 2004 season as it relates to race. More specifically, this study will examine African-American and Latino representation among coaching staffs for any statistical evidence of stacking within the coaching structure, or segregation by position from their playing days. This is a replication and extension of work done by Fabianic (1984) and Rimer (1996) in which they used managerial and player data to determine the frequency of minority representation among managers. Fabianic (1984) also calculated that minority managers seriously lagged compared to the ratio of minority players at the Major League level and that a majority of managers came from high interactor (central) position. While these studies focused on the managers at the major league level it is equally important to study the minor league level, for it is the training ground for future Major League Baseball managers. From the general research questions surrounding employment patterns in Minor League Baseball, the following research questions guided this study:

1. Will the ratio of minority coaches to minority players be equal within 40 of the 120 teams of AAA, AA, and A?

1A. Will the ratio of minority coaches to minority players be equal within 20 of the 60 A Minor League Baseball teams?

1B. Will the ratio of minority coaches to minority players be equal within 10 of the 30 AA minor league baseball teams?

1C. Will the ratio of minority coaches to minority players be equal within 10 of the 30 AAA minor league baseball teams?

2. Will there be a disproportionate number of minorities at any of the three coaching positions in Minor League Baseball?

3. Will the race of the Minor League Baseball coaches be a predictor of their defensive position during their playing career?

4. Will the defensive position of minority coaches during their playing careers be a predictor in their coaching position in Minor League Baseball?

Definitions of Terms

The structure of an organization consists of a set of norms which define the system's official objectives and the primary responsibilities of the position occupants (Grusky, 1963). The occupants can be broken down into two positions – high interactor (central) and low interactor (peripheral). In formal organizations which utilize these characteristics as criteria for managerial selection, high interactors should be selected for executive positions more often than low interactors (Grusky, 1963). This same theory has been adopted for the hiring of coaches and managers by collegiate and professional sports organizations (Fabianic, 1984; Grusky, 1963; Rimer, 1996). Managers in professional baseball are most often recruited from among central players. Since minority athletes most often occupy peripheral positions, explained by the theory of

stacking, it is not surprising that there are few minorities in leadership roles in major league baseball (Curtis & Loy, 1978).

For the purpose of clarifying terms used in the introduction, the research question, the research questions, the hypotheses, and the following definitions are provided:

Black: A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa (Office of Management and Budget [OMB], 1998).

Central position: Centrality designates how close a member is to the “center” of the group’s interaction network (Grusky, 1963). For the purposes of this study, the central position is specifically the head coach of the minor league baseball team.

Ethnic identity: Perceived membership and/or sense of belonging to a group that is self-ascribed and/or ascribed by others (Duda & Allison, 1990).

Front office: A very general term applied to employees who do not manage, coach, instruct, or scout the players. For the purposes of this study, the term will be applied to professional employees working in administration (business operations, marketing, promotions, publications, public relations, and various other areas). It does not include employees working in top management, coaching, medical, or support staff (Lapchick, 1998).

Head Coach: The manager of a baseball team (Enlexica, 2005).

- Hispanic:** A person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South of Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race (OMB, 1998).
- Hitting coach:** A member of a baseball team that works with players to improve batting results (Enlexica, 2005). For the purposes of this study, the hitting coach will also be defined as a peripheral position.
- Instructional discrimination:** A set of social processes through which organizational decision making, either implicitly or explicitly, results in a clearly identifiable population receiving fewer psychic, social, or material rewards per quantitative and/or qualitative unit of performance than a clearly identifiable comparison population within the same organizational constraint (Alvarez & Lutterman, 1979).
- Latino:** A person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race (OMB, 1998).
- Marginalization:** The replacement of weak or marginal talent with a white of similar ability (Phillips, 1991).
- Peripheral position:** A person performing in a non-central role (Gruskey, 1963). For the positional category purposes of this study, the peripheral position is specifically the pitching coach or hitting coach.

Pitching coach:	A coach who specializes in helping pitchers (Enlexica, 2005). For the purposes of this study, the hitting coach will also be defined as a peripheral position.
Race:	A biological characteristic and not necessarily a requirement for belonging to a certain ethnic group (Duda & Allison, 1990); an inherited rather than an acquired trait (Shorris, 1992).
Racism:	Discrimination against one based on his/her belonging to a particular race or ethnic group (American Heritage Dictionary, 2001).
Stacking:	Positional segregation of minorities in noncentral positions which require more manual dexterity and less leadership qualities (Stebbins, 1993).
White:	A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa (OMB, 1998).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

It has been suggested that sport is a microcosm of society or certainly a reflection of society. Given the impact that minorities have had on all sports it is appropriate that we begin by dissecting the ideologies surrounding racism.

Race relations are the relations existing between peoples distinguished by marks of racial descent, particularly when these racial differences enter into the consciousness of the individuals and groups so distinguished, and by so doing determine in each case the individual's conception of himself or herself as well as his or her status in the community (Park, 1999). Race consciousness, therefore, is to be regarded as a phenomenon, like class consciousness, that enforces social distances. Race relations, in this context, are not so much the relations that exist between individuals of different races as between individual's conscious of these differences (Park, 1999). A widely accepted public belief is that the practice of racism has existed in some form or fashion for centuries and continues to exist throughout the world today as an enigma of the human race (Rex, 1999).

Race Discrimination Issues in America

The term racism has become a source of considerable confusion. In its limited, precise, and original sense, racism is "the doctrine that a man's behavior is determined by

stable inherited characters deriving from separate racial stocks and usually considered to stand to one another in relations of superiority and inferiority” (Goldberg, 1999, p. 363). Racism, according to this definition, is a matter of conscious belief and ideology and can be distinguished from prejudice, which is a matter of attitude or feeling, and discrimination, which is a description of behavior (Fredrickson, 1999). Racism having manifested itself in sport is without question. In its beginnings racism in sport was obvious. Racism was unveiled in the form of separation and unequal opportunity. Minorities were forced to form their own sport teams, leagues, and communities within society. In a contemporary context racism lies below the surface unveiling itself in the form of leadership patterns.

Ethnic groups are groups within a larger society that display a unique set of cultural traits (McLemore & Romo, 2005). Ethnic groups, then, are subcultures, maintaining certain behavioral characteristics that, in some degree, set them off from the society’s mainstream, or model, culture (Graves, 2004). Such unique cultural traits are not trivial but are fundamental features of social life such as language and religion (Marger, 2003).

Generally, racism is associated with discriminatory practices against minority groups. According to Eitzen (1983), a minority group is characterized by four criteria:

1. Relative powerlessness when compared to the majority group
2. Traits that make its members stand out from others
3. Systematic condemnation by negative stereotyped beliefs
4. Differential and unfair treatment, or discrimination (p. 299)

These criteria fit perfectly within the ideologies surrounding sport. Within the context of this investigation involving Minor League Baseball logical extrapolation would involve the following:

1) In professional baseball a vast majority of positions of power (leadership) – owner, president, general manager, and manager – are held by whites (Lapchick, 2003).

2) Skin color is an obvious trait that makes minorities stand out from whites.

3) The idea of genetically linked racial differences, which is perpetuated by the media and public, condemns minorities from positions of leadership. This stereotype is used to belittle minorities as being only athletically gifted, not intellectually (Coventry, 2004).

4) Because the intellectually inferior stereotype held against minorities has become a part of the professional baseball institution minorities are not receiving an equal opportunity to hold or attain positions of power or leadership (Lapchick, 2005).

Limited Opportunities for African-Americans and Latinos

The phenomenon of racism on a global scale has deep historical roots. Ever since the earliest migrations brought different ethnic groups into contact with each other, relations of power, domination, exploitation, conflict, and war have existed between them (Banton, 1999). Parallel analogies can be made in sport. For centuries there had been race and class distinctions with respect to athletic participation. These Euro-centric ideologies carried over to the new world and on some levels race and class distinctions are alive today.

Although societal racism – the treatment of blacks as if they were inherently inferior for reasons of race – date from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a rationalized racist ideology did not develop until the nineteenth century (Goldberg, 1999). This gap between practice and theory can be explained in various ways. Full-fledged racist thought required a change in the conception of man and his relation to the natural world (Rex, 1999).

The new emphasis on the physical side of human nature led to the first systematic efforts to classify the races and to provide scientific explanations of the differences among them (Mason, 1999). The description of biological racial differences is based on an understanding of physical – skeletal and muscular – variations between races (St. Louis, 2004). The attempt to identify physical differences between races continues to be a topic of discussion in sport. Many people believe there are racially linked genetic differences that give minorities an advantage over whites in sport and because of this whites appear to be threatened by black success in sport (St. Louis, 2004). The superiority of blacks from a participatory standpoint may also have an affect on the necessity of the white power structure to maintain superiority from an administrative or leadership standpoint (Brief, et. al, 1997).

By the 1840s the American theorists on race were providing a mass of material defending innate differences between races. These ideas were sweeping all before them in America and were being used in Europe by those who were challenging the long-established views on the unity of the human race (Horsman, 1999). One way of showing the differences in races was by phrenology. American phrenologists were optimistic about the possibilities of improvement for those who had a sound basic structure of the

brain. However, they also argued that nonwhite races had structures that were fundamentally deficient, and that they could not be developed to the level of the white brain (Horsman, 1999). Until the 1840s many Americans of impeccable scientific reputation thought that phrenology was a valid approach to the physical comparison of individuals and races, this analysis of the brain was eventually rejected by American scientists (McLemore & Romo, 2004).

The intellectual defense of innate racial differences received a further boost in the 1830s by the widespread southern defense of slavery (Graves, 2004). Southern apologists of the institution developed an array of arguments to demonstrate specific and permanent Negro inferiority (Genovese, 1999). This racist thinking was used to justify far more than the southern institution of slavery. It served to defend the subordination or even extermination of non-European peoples throughout the world and was believed by Europeans to explain the ever-increasing gulf in power and progress that separated them from the peoples they were overrunning. The overt intellectual argument for innate black inferiority was being developed in America before the full surge of abolitionism, it was not restricted to the South in the 1830s and 1840s, and it was not peculiar to those who wished to defend slavery (Patterson, 1999). Racist thought did not reach a crescendo until the end of the nineteenth century, when it latched on to Darwinism – a more convincing scientific idea than the earlier theory that blacks had been created separately by God before Adam and Eve had begotten ‘the superior white species’ (Fredrickson, 1999). But pseudoscientific Darwinian racism did not differ from the pre-Civil-War variety in its basic assumptions about the differences between blacks and whites. What gave the reformulated doctrine its new virulence was its association with an aggressive

southern campaign for the legal segregation and disfranchisement of the blacks who three decades earlier had been freed from slavery (Fredrickson, 1999). In essence, Darwinism or the ideologies surrounding this evolutionary construct amounted to a political campaign.

It can be said that the long story of the development of American racism, first as a way of life and then as a system of thought, suggests that social forces have played a key role. Subliminal and deeply rooted psychological factors were undoubtedly present, but they can hardly explain the extent to which racial feeling and ideology have been developing and changing, subject to situational variations in intensity and character. America was not born racist; it became so gradually as the result of a series of crimes against black humanity that stemmed primarily from selfishness, greed, and the pursuit of privilege (Fredrickson, 1999). Although sport merely reflected the ideologies of the larger social structure, sport perpetuated the same myths and stereotypes due to its visibility and social influence.

Discussion concerning the link between race and intellect continues up to the present day. The relationship between race and intellect seems to be an archaic notion but this ideology continues unveiling itself within contemporary society. In fact the aforementioned ideology surrounding race and intelligence is indirectly linked to the relationship between race and physical superiority.

In 1994, Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray discussed their ideas on race and intelligence in *The Bell Curve*. They provided the supposedly scientific rationale for genetically based tradeoffs between intellect and athletic ability. By this logic, genes that are beneficial for athletic performance are, at the same time, unfavorable to the intellect

(Graves, 2004). While this idea has been discredited (Graves, 2004), minority stereotyping continues to be a factor in the sporting world.

In 1987, Al Campanis, a then executive of the Los Angeles Dodgers, said he believes that African-Americans do not have the “necessities” to be a manager or general manager (Shropshire, 1996). The Dodger executive was simply stating what he believed the world knew as fact, at least within the timeframe, that African-Americans are great athletes but not smart enough to run an organization. These racial differences have been cited as the major underlying reasons why blacks are over represented or underrepresented in specific sports and at particular playing positions (Long, Robinson & Spracklen, 2005).

When Hunter (1998) reviewed studies related to nerve-conduction velocity, aerobic and anaerobic power, skeletal-muscle physiology, and anthropometry and morphology, he stated: “If African-American superiority in a sport such as basketball is explainable by some physical advantage possessed by African-Americans more than Caucasians, two conditions would have to be obtained. First, researchers would have to discover some physical variable, or more likely combination of variables, that are associated with basketball excellence for all performers, independent of racial background. Second, this variable or combination of variables would have to be associated with race... To date, such variables have not been established.”

Essentially, two schools of thought exist in attempts to explain racial stacking, or positional segregation of minorities to positions which require more manual dexterity and less leadership qualities, within sports through psychological explanations: (1) blacks are better at reactive tasks than at self-paced tasks, while the reverse is true of whites

(Worthy & Markle, 1970); (2) blacks and whites have three primary differences in personalities (Jones & Hochner, 1973).

In explaining the difference between black and white athletes' performance in sports, Worthy and Markle (1970) state that self-paced activities involve the individual responding to a relatively static stimulus whenever the individual chooses, while reactive activities are ones in which individuals must respond properly and at the proper time as changes in stimuli dictate. Worthy and Markle (1970) concluded that blacks show greater proficiency at reactive tasks, such as hitting and catching a baseball and field-goal shooting in basketball, while whites show greater proficiency at self-paced activities like pitching in baseball and free-throw shooting in basketball.

In explaining the difference between black and white personality differences Jones and Hochner (1973) have argued "that the manner in which an individual is socialized into sports activities will have a significant effect on his sport personality. And further, this sports personality will have a significant effect on sports preference and performance" (p. 89).

Jones and Hochner (1973) also suggested that when compared with white athletes, black athletes (a) "emphasize an individualistic rather than a team orientation," (b) "stress style or expressive performance rather than success of technical performance," and (c) "reflect a personalized power orientation associated with team winning" (p. 90).

Even as recently as the mid-1900's the general tendency was for greater and greater refinement of racial divisions, both among the white and the colored races, but some, in their zeal to debase the nonwhites, were willing to accept the Caucasians as a unified group (Fredrickson, 1999). Even after passing legislation, such as the Civil

Rights act of 1964, to end racial segregation, racial division is still very much a part of society. This racial division is most apparent in high-level corporate jobs, where blacks make up less than 5 percent of managerial job and less than 1 percent of senior executives (Brief, Buttram, et. al, 1997). The lack of minorities in managerial jobs also carries over to amateur and professional sports where in 25 years of Division I football, only 17 African-Americans have occupied any of the 2,846 head coaching positions (Lapchick, 2005). With the recent hire of Romeo Crennel, the NFL now has a record six minority coaches at the same time, still only 19 percent of a league made up of over 65% African-American (Lapchick, 2003).

Parallel analogies can be made between the Latino population and that of the African-American population. According to the 2000 census Latinos now make up a larger portion of the population than African Americans of the total U.S. population (McClemore & Romo, 2005). Latinos, however, do not constitute one homogeneous culture. Mexican-origin residents are the largest group within the Latino population at about 67 percent. Central and South Americans, who are of many national origins, are the second largest group, comprising about 15 percent. Puerto Ricans are the third largest group with about 9 percent and other Hispanics, such as those from the Dominican Republic and Spain, comprise about 6 percent (Marger, 2003).

Because of their “in-between” minority status, Latinos have not been subjected to the dogged prejudice and discrimination aimed at African-American. Although, neither have they been dealt with as European immigrant groups were (Marger, 2003). When baseball was still segregated light-skinned Latinos were able to infiltrate Major League Baseball, but darker-skinned Latinos were relegated to the Negro Leagues (Gonzales,

1996). Once the color line was broken by Jackie Robinson in 1947, major league teams began to scout the countries of Central and South America and the Caribbean for talent (Gonzales, 1996).

This “in-between”, not black or white, status is illustrated in Pinkney’s study (1963) of one community with sizable Mexican-American and black populations. General patterns of discrimination for both groups, he found, were similar but were much stronger in degree for blacks. For example, greater acceptance of Mexican-Americans was evident in public accommodations like hotels and restaurants as well as in residential areas and social clubs. Pinkney (1963) also expressed greater approval for granting equal rights in employment and residence to Mexican-Americans. Pinkney attributed these differences in part to differences in skin color: Mexican-Americans, closer to the dominant Anglo group, were more acceptable (Marger, 2003).

That racism has not been as rigid, intense, and formalized as that aimed at African-Americans should not disguise the severity of discrimination to which Latinos in some circumstances have been exposed, particularly Mexican-Americans in the Southwest (Marger, 2003). Physical violence against Mexican-Americans in the Southwest also has a long heritage. In the mining camps of the nineteenth century, any crime committed was immediately attributed to Mexicans, for whom lynching was the accepted penalty. Throughout the 1860’s the lynching of Mexicans was such a common occurrence in Los Angeles that the newspapers scarcely bothered to report the details (Marger, 2003).

Just like their black counterparts, Latino baseball players were forced to deal with racism in America. According to Roberto Clemente, one of the most notable Latino

baseball stars, “I am a ‘double-nigger’ – for my skin and for my heritage” (Munick, 1987, p.75).

Racism and the State

Since colonialism in North America, an identifiable racial order has linked the system of political rule to the racial classification of individuals and groups (Omi & Winant, 1999). The major institutions and social relationships of U.S. society – law, political organization, economic relationships, religion, cultural life, residential patterns, etc. – have been structured from the beginning by racial order (King, 1999). Sport has been described by many as an institution. Institutions, by definition, channel behaviors and perhaps more importantly thoughts, in ways deemed worthy and important by that society. In a very literal sense sport has long been a rite of passage of sorts in which boys become men under the dictatorial supervision of an individual affectionately referred to as coach. In a more subtle way sport has reinforced gender roles, stereotypical ideologies surrounding leadership patterns, and genetic superiority with intellectual limitations resulting in positional marginalization, or replacing weak or marginal talent with a white of similar ability (Stahura & Greenwood, 2001).

An oppositional racial ideology requires some political space, a certain minimal conceptual flexibility about race, upon which to fasten in order to recast racial meanings and constitute alternative racial institutions (Burleigh & Wippermann, 1999). As suggested by some of the aforementioned passages, during much of U.S. history, this political and ideological space was extremely limited.

But even at its most oppressive, the racial order was unable to arrogate to itself the entire capacity for the production of racial meanings, of racial subjects (Omi & Winant, 1999). Racial minorities were always able to counterpose their own cultural traditions, their own forms of organization and identity, to the dehumanizing and enforced 'invisibility' imposed by the majority society (Omi & Winant, 1999).

Black slaves developed cultures of resistance based on music, religion, African traditions, and family ties through which they sustained their own ideological project. (King, 1999). Even in the most uncontested periods of American racism, oppositional cultures were able, often at very great cost, to maintain themselves (King, 1999). The absence of democratic rights, of property, of political and ideological terrain upon which to challenge the monolithic character of the racial order, forced racially defined opposition both outward, to the margins of society, and inward, to the relative safety of homogeneous minority communities (Burleigh & Wiperman, 1999).

Sport has also shown how minorities have been pushed outward, to the periphery of society, by excluding them from the opportunity to play and work in professional sports leagues. While blatant racism has past, more subtle forms of being pushed to the fringes have been shown to take place (Gonzales, 1994). In essence, there has been a systematic method of marginalization employed by those in the decision making process. Similar patterns have been unveiled within sport's institutional structure involving other minority groups such as women. Martha Wilkerson (1996) utilized the uncertainty hypothesis which provides an explanation how subjective and prejudicial judgments shape the outcome of the decision making process. Historically, sport, like business, has been a bastion of white male dominance. Because of this, whites were assumed to be

more competent and superior to minorities, thus more qualified to fill leadership roles (Stangl & Kane, 1991). According to the uncertainty hypothesis, racial discrimination can be hidden under “the rubric of subjective qualities; this is particularly the case in coaching, where no quantitative formula of objective criteria are believed reliable indicators of who should fill the role” (Wilkerson, 1996, p. 423).

Institutional Racism

Institutional racism refers to the informal barriers that exist in organizations that prevent minority members from reaching higher level positions in the system (Jeanquart-Barone & Sekaran, 1996). An organization is a collectivity with a relatively identifiable boundary, a normative order (rules), ranks of authority (hierarchy), communications systems, and membership coordinating systems (procedures) (Hall & Tolbert, 2005). Professional sports teams create rules, hierarchies, and procedures that define them as an organization – a sport organization. A sport organization is a social entity involved in the sport industry; it is goal-directed, with a relatively identifiable boundary and a consciously structured hierarchal system (Slack ,1995).

A very important aspect of understanding racism at the organizational level is to look at the ranks of authority, or the organizational structure. Organizational structure is the distributions, along various lines, of people among social positions that influence the role relations among these people (Berger, 1967). Organizations contain ranks, or a hierarchy; the positions that people fill have rules and regulations that specify how incumbents are to behave in those positions (Hall & Tolbert, 2005). This is no different in baseball at the professional level. Each baseball team has a hierarchy of responsibility

and power that is distributed accordingly. This position of responsibility and power starts with the owner and works itself down to the general manager, manager and finally down to the players. Each player is also granted power by his status, on and off the field, within the team. The Minor League level is simply extension of Major League Baseball's hierarchal structure.

The presence of minorities on administrative positions, specifically at the coaching and general manager positions within the corporate structure of basketball, football, and baseball (Lapchick, 2003) at the professional level is virtually nonexistent (Stahura & Greenwood, 2001). Minorities make up 40 percent of the players at the Major League Baseball level, but only 30 percent of managers, 27 percent of the assistant coaches, and 6 percent of the general managers (Lapchick, 2003). The farther up the organizational structure the fewer minorities have employment. This is particularly important because there is a trickle down affect with respect to hiring patterns. In addition, the literature suggests that we tend to hire others like ourselves – a sociological construct called homologous reproduction (Stahura & et, al, 2003).

Studies have long suggested that minorities are underrepresented in sport management positions that are presumed to require leadership qualities such as intelligence, emotional stability and greater responsibility (Stahura & Greenwood, 2001). This myth has perpetuated from the playing field, where minorities were relegated to positions that emphasized physical rather than mental prowess (Curtis & Loy , 1978; Eitzen, 1975; Eitzen & Tessenhorf, 1978; Loy & McElvogue, 1970), to front office positions. Instead of publicly saying that minorities are not capable of completing managerial jobs, they simply are not being hired.

Blatant racism has been replaced by a more subtle form of racism that reflects an adherence to such traditional American values as individualism rather than open bigotry (Brief & et. al, 2000). According to Brief & et. al (1997),

“the principal tenets of modern racism are these; (1) Discrimination is a thing of the past because blacks now have the freedom to compete in the marketplace and to enjoy those things they can afford; (2) blacks are pushing too hard, too fast, and into places where they are not wanted; (3) These tactics and demands are unfair; (4) Therefore, recent gains are undeserved and the prestige granting institutions of society are giving blacks more attention and the concomitant status than they deserve” (p. 61).

Sport fits well within this paradigm of modern racism. Sport is seen as a place that has opened its' doors to race, at least on the field. While whites feel that minorities have been given ample opportunity in professional sport, whites are not willing to release positions of power and leadership to minorities.

Racial discrimination, now referred to as “new” racism, in the employment arena can be explained, in part, by a more “subtle, indirect, and rationalized” form of bigotry than old-fashioned racism (Brief & et. al, 1997). According to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, during the 1992-1993 fiscal year, more than 52,000 allegations of racial discrimination were filed (Brief, & et. al, 1997). According to the U.S. Census Bureau between 1979 and 1993 the real income of white families increased by 9 percent, while the real income of black families did not change. The Bureau also reported that in 1993, blacks earned less than their white counterparts in all jobs at all levels (Brief & et. al, 1997). While most employers claim to be equal opportunity employers it is easy to see

that minorities are not receiving the same benefits as their white counterparts. The mindset of discrimination within corporate structures has been perpetuated for so long that it is not easy to deviate from this cycle. Logic would suggest that, at least from an administrative standpoint, baseball is a corporate entity that follows similar occupational patterns.

Institutional logics refer to the belief systems and associated practices that prevail in an organizational field (Cousens & Slack, 2005). Berger and Luckmann (1967) explain institutionalization as an ongoing process that originates with the habitualization of ideas such that actions become predictable in efforts to deal with uncertainty and to save time and effort. When these ideas and actions are retained over time, they “become sedimented...that is, they congeal in recollection as recognizable and memorable entities” (Berger & Luckman, 1967, p.67). Sport can be viewed as a medium for racial discrimination (Jarvie, 1991), either through institutionalized racism or through a racist culture that attaches itself to that sport (Hylton, 2005).

Scott (1995) identified three stages of institutionalization. The first is a “pre-institutionalized” stage, which defines the process by which new organizational structures are developed in response to specific problems and becomes formalized in the policies and procedures of an organization. Sport clubs, as one type of voluntary association, became one of the basic means by which certain groups sought to establish subcommunities within the larger society. The rise of sport was the quest for two types of subcommunities: ethnic and status. The ethnic community usually arose from the rejection by the majority society (Pierce, 2003). This exclusion of the minority player in

Major League Baseball continued until 1947 when Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier.

The second stage of institutionalization identified by Scott (1995) is “semi-institutionalization,” which is characterized by structures or actions that are diffused across organizations and become objectified as accepted and appropriate. Jackie Robinson broke baseball’s color barrier in 1947 but it was not until 1975 that the Cleveland Indians hired Frank Robinson as the first African-American manager. People thought it would open the door in baseball for other minorities to follow in the coaching ranks. Yet when Robinson was hired by the Baltimore Orioles as manager in 1988, thirteen years later, he was still the only African-American manager (Lapchick, 2005). The third and final stage is identified by Scott (1995):

Full institutionalization involves sedimentation, a process that fundamentally rests on the historical continuity of structure, and especially on its survival across generations of organizational members. Sedimentation is characterized both by the virtually complete spread of structures across the group of actors theorized as appropriate adopters, and by the perpetuation of structures over a lengthy period of time (1995, p. 184).

Clearly, sport as a whole has yet to reach a point whereby an environment of racial acceptance, continuity and proportionality have found their way into leadership positions.

Racism in Sports

The on-the-field success enjoyed by countless black athletes over the past fifty years, the fame and financial rewards they have received, and their huge over-representation in some sports, tempt us to think that skin color stopped being an important factor in sports a long time ago (Lindsay, 2004). The white adulation of men like Joe Louis and Jackie Robinson that gave rise to these developments was still just a stepping stone toward a more racially just society (Graves, 2004). For all the rewards blacks have reaped from sports, they still today do not enjoy the same range of opportunities and rewards when they try to make a living in this field. Opening the door of sports was one thing; allowing black athletes to freely join the party has been another story for five decades (Graves, 2004).

Two factors are generally cited to explain the segregation of sports in the first half of the twentieth century. The most obvious is the desire on the part of whites not to associate with African-Americans (Shropshire, 1996). Segregation was reinforced by existing laws and the doctrine was adopted by America. Jim Crow laws were implemented with this desire for separation in mind. The other explanation that existed beneath the surface was the ideology surrounding the notion that African-Americans were inferior, a view that finds its roots in slavery and provided a common excuse for separation of the races (Shropshire, 1996).

Historically, competition between black and white males has been highlighted in the sports arena (Coakley, 1990). Minority groups are able to use sport as a means to resist (at least symbolically) the domination imposed upon them in other sociological venues. Sport must thus be viewed as an institution through which domination is not

only imposed, but also contested. Therefore, within racially inscribed societies we can see how the sociocultural, psychological, and political meanings of sporting contests come to take on specifically racial significance (Doherty & Cholladurai, 1999). Despite its puzzling nature and social shortcomings in terms of ideals and reality, sport still appears to be the one national plane where people of all races have the greatest opportunity to set a national example (Lapchick, 2004).

Sports are often assumed to be “the ultimate meritocracy,” as level a playing field as perhaps exists throughout society (Early, 1998). Though it is generally assumed that sport provides greater opportunities for upward mobility for minorities, when examined from a global perspective, results often indicate that sport only reproduces similar social circumstances of the larger society, thereby becoming merely a microcosm of society (Long & et. al, 2005). This is particularly true within the administrative hierarchy of the NFL, NBA, and MLB (Stahura & Greenwood, 2001). Whether these patterns hold true within the structure of Minor League Baseball remains to be seen and is a gap in the literature that needs to be filled.

The Genetic Myth: The Role of the Media in Perpetuating Stereotypes

One of the most pernicious of all the racial beliefs is the idea that blacks are innately superior athletes. The need to analyze African American success in sport is a racist preoccupation emanating from fear generated within the white status quo (Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2004). People cite the overwhelming dominance of African-American professional athletes in basketball and football. There is a popular belief that African American athletes are physically superior to white athletes, and that their

superior body build is genetically determined, giving them an advantage over their white counterparts (Coakley, 1990). If social barriers were removed, it has been predicted that sport performance would reveal its racial character, because some races are just better at certain athletic feats than others. Most Americans believe these ideas. But are they really true?

Unsubstantiated race-oriented sports myths have evolved as people attempt to explain the success and overrepresentation of African American athletes in certain American sports (Yetman & Eitzen, 1984). Most myths attempting to rationalize the dominance of African Americans in specific sports generally have little scientific credibility.

The idea that a certain race is better suited for certain sports or more highly evolved for the activity has taken place for decades. The 1910 heavyweight championship bout between the white challenger Jim Jeffries and the black champion Jack Johnson was supposed to be an easy victory for the undefeated Jeffries (Graves, 2004). Jeffries's superior intellect and Anglo-Saxon masculinity were supposed to vanquish the black brute. Johnson thrashed Jeffries, and race riots occurred in numerous cities (Graves, 2004). As a society we have tended to categorize athletes on a continuum of sports. Within this context traits associated with athleticism and physicality are opposite that of intelligence, understanding and ultimately leadership qualities. This idea of a 'brute' physical superiority myth indirectly contributes to the belief that the African American athlete is mentally and intellectually inferior to the white 'intellect' athlete (St. Louis, 2004). In a recent survey, most respondents indicated that African Americans were, in terms used in the survey, "better suited" for sports such as basketball, boxing,

and sprinting, whereas European Americans were considered better suited for activities such as golf and hockey (Harrison, 1999). Scholarship has even suggested that it is perhaps this prevailing ideology that has carried over to the administrative hierarchy in which there is disproportionately white representation within the hierarchal structure of management positions (i.e. General Manager, Head Coach) within the NFL, NBA & MLB.

The Role of the Media in Racism

Opinions on the role of the mass media vary; some say that the media simply reflect and describe events, while others argue that the media actually shapes public perception by selecting, defining, manipulating, and labeling certain people and events as significant, while others go largely ignored (Coventry, 2004). Mass media has emerged as a social institution, assuming many of the functions formerly served by traditional social institutions such as the church, school, government, and family (Silverblatt, 2004). Mass media is an organization that is critical to the socialization process. Individuals use the media as a support system as they become members of a larger social network.

Televised sport has a powerful role in creating and maintaining images and stereotypes, it contains the potential to shape the images we receive of people and to construct information that reproduces underlying values in a society (Coventry, 2004). Even more specifically, sports media has a great power in shaping the images we receive of people, particularly from different racial groups (Sabo & Jansen, 1994). The technology today has given the mass media the luxury to communicate with millions of people in an instantaneous and continuous way and, consequently, the ability to impose

stereotypical images on their consumers (Sabo & Jansen, 1994). The sport media are primarily white male-dominated institutions that often support the dominant (socioeconomic) position of middle to upper class white men (Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2004).

Sports events experience a change when they are presented in the media (Slack, 1997). Media sport does not just present the world as it is; it represents the world through its own interpretative framework, creating events with their own features (Lapchick, 2004). Through their consequent ability to create definitions of reality, the media help shape the individual's perceptions of the social world. The language used in mediating sport has the ability to impose ideological viewpoints on the coverage of a game, consequently suggesting the hegemony of one group over another (Silverblatt, 2004). For example, in the context of sport, white male dominant ideology may be supported by using "natural physical ability" to explain a black athlete's success. Thus, the individual thinks that he or she "hears and sees it like it is" when, in reality, television coverage gives only one of many possible sets of images and messages (McCarthy & et. al, 2003).

Although sport offers a hoard of positive images of talented black athletes succeeding, it also assists in the proliferation of instances of racial stereotyping. In explaining the success of blacks in sport, natural ability has been promoted to reinforce stereotypes in explaining as to why blacks are successful in sport (Silverblatt, 2004). The stereotyping is not so much to crush the black man as it is to console the white man, to make positive excuses as to why the white athlete is not so successful (Sabo & Jansen, 1994). Where a black athlete's achievements typically have been attributed to his or her natural ability to run fast or jump high, a white athlete's achievements typically have

been attributed to his or her intelligence (Sabo & Jansen, 1994). Since (white male) dominance in Western societies is usually based on a hierarchy in which mental qualities are valued above physical qualities, this discourse primarily supports the privileged social position of many white men (Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2004). McCarthy et al. (2003), in a study of the reactions of black and white students to televised commentary of sport, found that black men consciously rejected dominant media representations. These students resisted the hegemonic discourse of white commentary when discussing black athletes and their attributes. This was interpreted as a form of resistance for black students to challenge the logic and efficiency of racism they face daily at a symbolic and very real level (McCarthy, Jones, & Potrac, 2003).

All professional sports rely on fan interest for revenue both directly through ticket sales and indirectly through the mass media. Consequently, there may be subtle pressures to favor placing white players on rosters with whom the dominant white audience would identify. Kooistra, Mahoney, and Bridges (1993) cite a sociological issue in the professional sports discrimination debate: the question of whether unequal opportunity for equal ability is practiced, especially in the cases of players with marginal ability. The entrances, or positional assignment requirements, are more stringent for black athletes (Kooistra & et. al, 1993). The implication is that minorities must be better athletes than whites to participate.

This racist attitude leads to the discriminatory practice of channeling African Americans away from the central positions (i.e., leadership, decision making) in college and professional sport (Coakley, 1990). Numerous studies have shown how minorities have been forced into positions on the playing field based upon their color (Yetman &

Eitzen, 1984; Lewis, 1995; Woodward, 2004). This form of selective positioning is known as stacking. Positional segregation (often referred to as stacking) is prevalent among professional baseball and football teams (Gonzales, 1996). Minorities are often pushed to the peripheral – or most often athletic – positions based on stereotypical ideologies of race. Whereas the white athlete is often the beneficiary of the marginal ability central positions. Because a vast majority of managers are selected from central positions the racial breakdown of the applicant pool is predominately white.

Contemporary Theory and the Phenomenon of Stacking

One of the most documented and researched topics of sports sociology is the practice of stacking, or positional segregation of minorities in noncentral positions which require more manual dexterity and less leadership qualities (Goss, 1996).

Organizational theory posited by Grusky (1963) provides a basic framework for understanding racial discrimination in sports. Grusky (1963) identifies the formal structure of an organization through the use of organizational objectives and positions. Two types of organizational positions can be identified: central and peripheral. Blalock (1962) argues that peripheral positions, which have a lower degree of job interaction, exhibit lower degrees of discrimination. The formal structure patterns the behavior of its constituent positions along three interdependent dimensions: (1) special location, (2) nature of task, and (3) frequency of interaction (Grusky, 1963).

Rosenblatt's (1967) research launched the initial examinations of stacking, or position segregation as a function of race. As a result of studying baseball positions occupied by blacks and whites from 1953 through 1965, Rosenblatt (1967) found blacks

and whites to be distributed differently according to position; Negro outfielders were three times as numerous as Negro pitchers in the majors in 1965. Accordingly, Rosenblatt (1967) concluded that blacks are assigned to such positions as require less leadership skills and prevent possible interracial conflicts within an organization controlled by whites.

Loy and McElvoge (1970) conducted the original study which dealt with stacking from a theoretical perspective by considering positional segregation as a function of race. In doing so they combined Blalock's (1962) theoretical perspectives regarding occupational discrimination with Grusky's (1963) three principles of formal structure in baseball positions. Based upon this theoretical framework, Loy and McElvoge (1970) divided positions of baseball and football into central and peripheral positions. Baseball's infield positions and football's center, guard, quarterback, and linebacker positions were considered central, while baseball's outfield and all remaining football positions (excluding punter and kicker, which were excluded) received peripheral designation (Loy & McElvogue, 1970). In following with their hypothesis, only a very small proportion of black athletes occupied central positions in America's professional baseball and football organizations (Loy & McElvogue, 1970). Edwards (1973) stresses that the actual spatial location of a position is only one component for understanding the differential importance placed on central and peripheral positions.

Since Loy & McElvogue's (1970) pioneering examination, numerous studies have been conducted concerning stacking and centrality in efforts to provide explanations for this phenomenon. Other scholars have used psychological, sociological, and even

biological arguments to try to explain differential participation as well as leadership patterns in sports.

The basic premise of the theory of centrality is rooted in sociological research and contends that specific playing positions cultivate interactive and leadership qualities because of their locations in the scheme of team participation (Greenwood & Simpson, 1994). Grusky (1963) assumed that players' role skills were influenced by the position played, based in the levels and amount of interaction with other teammates.

Centrality designates how close a member is to the "center" of the group's interaction network and thus refers simultaneously to the frequency with which a member participates in interaction with other members and the number of range of other members with whom he reacts (Loy & McElvogue, 1970). It has been shown that there is a positive relationship between the centrality of position and the occupancy of team leadership roles such as captain and co-captain (Gonzales, 1996). Also, high interactive positions may cultivate personal traits and leadership attributes which increase the likelihood of managerial recruitment and selection in baseball (Leonard, Ostrosky, and Hutchendorf, 1990).

Stacking is a direct results of racial stereotyping by management, coaches, scouts, and owners of sports teams because of their perceptions of the varied physical, skill, and personality traits of minorities, as well as the various requirements for playing different positions (Gonzales, 1994). Williams and Yousseff (1972) found that: "characteristics which were judged dominant in a certain race were also judged by the coaches particularly important for effective performance in the position in which that race is over-represented" More specifically, "the black positions – mainly the Running Back,

Defensive Halfback and Wide Receiver – were rated by the coaches as demanding physical speed, physical quickness and high achievement motivation. These were the same characteristics which the coaches judged as dominant in blacks. Similarly the white positions - namely, the Center, Guard, and Quarterback – were rated by coaches as demanding reliability, quick mental comprehension and thinking ability. These were the same characteristics which the coaches judged as dominant in whites.” (p.5)

Blalock’s (1962) theoretical propositions concerning occupational discrimination suggested that the closer the contact between individuals of different races, the greater the likelihood of prejudice and discrimination. He also suggested that personal contact will vary directly with the amount of social interaction; and, the degree of social interaction will vary with the degree of centrality.

According to this interpretation of stacking, predominantly white management is prejudiced against blacks because of their view of interracial relationships as potentially problematic, which could negatively affect team performance. Because of this view, blacks are generally isolated from positions requiring interpersonal collaboration and decision-making (Medoff, 1986).

It has also been suggested that management and players segregate blacks from those positions which are characterized by leadership and control, i.e. central positions (Gonzales, 1994). It is believed that this type of explanation along with stereotyping of “black intellectual incompetence” explains the stacking patterns (Edwards, 1973). This intellectual incompetence theory has been put forth by other scholars (Stahura & Greenwood, 2001) as an explanation as to why there is limited representation among African Americans in leadership positions. Whether these patterns hold true for Latin

leadership roles is a substantial gap in the literature particularly when one considers the numerical representation.

Scholars have also suggested that blacks have diminished social and economic accessibility compared with whites. Because of this, blacks have less access than whites to the needed training, instruction, equipment, facilities, and coaching needed to perform in certain positions (Medoff, 1977). Because of this, blacks chose positions in which the costs of attaining the skills are least expensive (Medoff, 1977).

Another theory relative to African American position representation surrounds the notion that in their position selection process, blacks tend to gravitate toward those positions which provide the greatest opportunity for individual reward and achievement (Scully, 1974). However, this argument seems to be a little flawed. Why are blacks underrepresented among pitchers and quarterbacks (Curtis & Loy, 1978)? The second is that blacks will subconsciously avoid positions for which their opportunities are or appear to be lesser and will select positions in which they appear to be more likely to succeed (Eitzen & Yetman, 1977). “Given discrimination in the allocation of playing positions (or at least the belief of its existence), young blacks will consciously avoid those positions for which opportunities are or appear to be low (pitcher, quarterback), and will select instead those positions where they are most likely to succeed (the outfield, running and defensive back)” (Eitzen & Yetman, 1977, p. 11).

In addition, black youths seek to reenact those roles played by black athletes, especially since those athletes are among the most visible role models available to black youths (McPherson, 1974). This may in turn reinforce or perpetuate position association.

In all of the studies examining high school, college, or American professional football, Gonzales (1996) found the presence of stacking. Blacks were underrepresented in both offensive and defensive central positions and overrepresented in offensive and defensive noncentral positions (Gonzales, 1996). Whether these patterns are similar within the Latin population relative to baseball is a gap that needs to be filled. However, player representation at the minor league level lies beyond the scope of this investigation but it may lend support to leadership representation.

There have been mixed results concerning stacking in basketball. Eitzen and Tessendorf (1975) and Leonard (1987) claim that blacks were stacked in the noncentral positions of forward and center, while other studies found no significant patterns of stacking. Edwards (1973) has stated that basketball does not have any clear divisions of space, interaction, or control and therefore stacking studies may be unnecessary.

Baseball may be the best sport to investigate relative to stacking because of the clearly defined patterns of interaction among the nine positions on the playing field. Also, as Blalock (1962) suggested, “baseball provides a whole series of precise quantitative measures of performance which can be standardized across teams and players... Each player can thus easily be compared with his competitors. There is no question whatsoever as to which batters or pitchers have the best records.” (p. 94). Rosenblatt (1967) concluded that organizations controlled by whites in managerial and coaching roles are likely to be prejudiced against blacks and we would argue Latino’s, assigning them to positions requiring little leadership and lessening interracial confrontations. Loy and McElvogue (1970) determined that racial segregation in baseball is related to centrality. Pattnayak and Leonard (1991) reanalyzed the positional

segregation thesis in baseball at the major league level. They argue “that the initial two-tiered system in which African Americans were found to be overrepresented at peripheral positions has become a three-tiered system, largely due to the injection of many Latino players who are intermediate between the white center and the African-American periphery.” Pattnayak and Leonard (1991) now believe the pitcher and catcher are the most central, the infield positions are semi-peripheral, and the outfield positions are the most peripheral.

A noticeable feature of professional baseball is the absence of minority members serving in managerial positions. It has been argued that minority players did not occupy the playing positions from which managers gain leadership qualities to maintain a coaching position (Fabianic, 1984). The “leadership” aspect of central positions appears to facilitate entry into coaching or managerial positions for players who wish to continue their professional baseball opportunities after their playing career is over (Grusky, 1963; Loy and McElvogue, 1970). Underrepresentation in infield positions, because of stacking, keeps minority athletes away from the center of decision making where players develop managerial skills needed for career advancement. Managers are recruited most heavily from the high interactive positions (i.e. central), positions in which minorities predominately do not maintain (Leonard, Ostrosky, and Huchendorf, 1990). Minority managers tend to be outfielders, a position in which they are overrepresented but a position that has produced a limited number of managers (Rimer, 1996). It has also been determined that minority managers at the Major League level are underrepresented based on the ratio of minority managers to minority players (Fabianic, 1984). In addition to playing at the professional level, managing at the minor league level is often considered a

prerequisite for obtaining a major league managerial job (Rimer, 1996). Between 1975 and 1994, 140 individuals managed at the professional level, almost 70% of those managed at the minor league level (Rimer, 1996). The fewer the number of minority managers in Minor League Baseball, the fewer the number of minority managers at Major League Baseball. Thus, stacking might create a “glass ceiling” in baseball not unlike that faced by women and minorities in other work settings (Sack, Singh, & Theil, 2005).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Subjects for the study were coaches and players from 40 of the 120 total AAA (the highest level of minor league baseball), AA (the second highest level of minor league baseball), and A (the third highest level of minor league baseball) Minor League Baseball teams for the 2004 season.

Study Variables

For the purposes of the study, three racial categories were established: White, or “having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa” (Office of Management and Budget, 1998); Black, or “having origins in any of the Black racial groups or Africa” (Office of Management and Budget, 1998); and Latino, or “a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race” (Office of Management and Budget, 1998). Any subjects that did not fit into one of the three racial categories were excluded from the study due to their limited representation in the study’s overall population.

The coaching positions were also categorized into one of three different positions: head coach “the manager of a baseball team” (Enlexica, 2005); pitching coach or “a coach who specializes in helping pitchers” (Enlexica, 2005); and hitting coach, or “a

member of a baseball team that works with players to improve batting results”(Enlexica, 2005).

Hitting coaches and managers with previous playing experience in professional baseball were then categorized into one of eight defensive playing positions: catcher (C), first base (1B), second base (2B), third base (3B), shortstop (SS), left field (LF), center field (CF), and right field (RF). The pitching coach was not categorized because it was assumed that all pitching coaches were pitchers during their playing career. The eight defensive positions were categorized into one of two positional categories: Central, including catcher, second basemen, and shortstop; and Peripheral, including first basemen, third basemen, left fielder, center fielder, and right fielder.

Sample

For the purposes of this study the number of Minor League Baseball teams was limited to 40 of the total 120 teams. In order to receive a random sample of teams, each team was numbered within their respective division (AAA, AA, or A) and a random number generator was used to determine which team was selected. A random sample of 10 teams was selected from a population of 30 AAA teams. Also, a random sample of 10 teams was selected from a population of 30 AA teams. Finally, a random sample of 20 teams was selected from a population of 60 A teams. A larger number of teams were randomly selected for the A league to ensure that each league had the same percentage of team representation.

Data Collection

Teams media guides and team websites will be used for each of the 40 randomly selected teams comprising A, AA, and AAA Minor League Baseball. The team websites were initially used to identify the race of the players and coaches, identify what position the coaches played during their playing career, and to identify the position of each coach. If the team websites were unable to produce the data set the teams were contacted for a media guide for data collection. If both the website and team media guide were unable to produce the data another number was randomly generated and a new team was used in the method.

Using the name, picture, and biographical information in the team media guides and websites, each coach was sorted into a racial group, previous playing experience defensive position, and current coaching position. The team media guides and websites were also used – using the name, picture, and biographical information – to identify the race of each player at the beginning of the season on the 40 randomly selected teams.

The following research questions will be subjected to statistical testing:

1. Will the ratio of minority coaches to minority players be equal within the 40 teams of AAA, AA, and A?

All players and coaches on the 40 AAA, AA and A teams were coded for one of the three racial categories using information given in the team's media guide or website. The players were compared to the coaches to determine what the ratio between minority coaches and minority players was during the 2004 season.

1A. Will the ratio of minority coaches to minority players be equal within the 20 A Minor League Baseball teams?

All players and coaches on the 20 A teams were coded for one of the three racial categories using information given in the team's media guide or website. The players were compared to the coaches to determine what the ratio between minority coaches and minority players was during the 2004 season.

1B. Will the ratio of minority coaches to minority players be equal within the 10 AA Minor League Baseball teams?

All players and coaches on the 10 AA teams were coded for one of the three racial categories using information given in the team's media guide or website. The players were compared to the coaches to determine what the ratio between minority coaches and minority players was during the 2004 season.

1C. Will the ratio of minority coaches to minority players be equal within the 10 AAA Minor League Baseball teams?

All players and coaches on the 10 AAA teams were coded for one of the three racial categories using information given in the team's media guide or website. The players were compared to the coaches to determine what the ratio between minority coaches and minority players was during the 2004 season.

2. Will there be a disproportionate number of minorities at any of the three coaching positions in Minor League Baseball?

All of the coaches were grouped into one of the three racial categories (White, Latino, African-American) and then classified into one of the three coaching categories (Head Coach, Pitching Coach, Hitting Coach) to see if a relationship between the two exists.

3. Will the race of the Minor League Baseball coaches be a predictor of their defensive position during their playing career?

All of the coaches were grouped into one of the three racial categories (White, Latino, African-American) and then categorized into one of the nine defensive playing positions (P, 1B, 2B, 3B, SS, C, RF, CF, LF). These nine playing positions were categorized into a central position (P, C, 2B, SS) and a peripheral position (1B, 3B, RF, CF, LF) to see if a relationship between the two exists.

4. Will the defensive position of minority coaches during their playing careers be a factor in their coaching position in Minor League Baseball?

The coaches with previous, nonpitching playing experience were used and categorized into one of the eight defensive playing positions (1B, 2B, 3B, SS, C, RF, CF, LF). These eight playing positions were categorized into a central position (C, 2B, SS) and a peripheral position (1B, 3B, RF, CF, LF). Then, each of the coaches with previous playing experience were also grouped into one of two coaching positions (Head Coach and Hitting Coach) to determine if a relationship can be made between previous playing position and coaching position.

Analysis of Data

The data was analyzed using the Chi Square test, a typical, consistent data analysis practice in previous stacking studies which have attempted to detect significant patterns in the levels of differences between observed and expected levels of representation in race and/or positional categories (Gonzales, 1994). A statement of acceptance or rejection for any of the questions was based on an $\alpha \leq .05$ rejection level.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The initial sample selection of 40 teams produced a response rate of 80% (32/40). Both the AAA and AA teams initial sample produced a 90% (9/10) initial response rate and the single A teams produced a 70% (14/20) initial response rate. The first replacement sampling response rate was 75% (6/8), followed by a second replacement response rate of 100% (2/2). Of the initial 40 teams selected 28 of the 32 responses were via team websites; team media guides were used for the remaining 4 teams. Of the 8 teams randomly selected in the second replacement sampling team websites were used in all 8. The following research questions will statistically identify any misrepresentation of minority coaches in Minor League Baseball.

Testing the Research Questions

Will the ratio of minority coaches to minority players be equal within the 40 teams of AAA, AA, and A?

This question is asking if minority coaches are being equally represented based on the number of minority players at the AAA, AA, and A level. For the 120 coaches and 997 players, as shown in table 1, using two degrees of freedom, a χ^2 value of 25.74 was calculated. with a $p < .001$, thereby indicating an unequal ratio of minority coaches to minority players at the Minor League level.

The results indicate there are more black coaches than expected based on the number of black players. The results also indicate there are fewer Latino coaches than expected based on the number of Latino players.

Table 1

Chi-Square Results of All Coaches and Players by Race

	Coaches	Players
White		
Observed	91	668
Expected	83	676
Black		
Observed	20	71
Expected	10	81
Latino		
Observed	9	238
Expected	27	220

$\chi^2 (2, N=1,117) = 25.74, p < .001$

Will the ratio of minority coaches to minority players be equal within the 20 single A Minor League Baseball teams?

This question is asking if minority coaches are being equally represented based on the number of minority players at the single A level. For the 60 coaches and 501 players, as shown in table 2, using two degrees of freedom, a χ^2 value of 19.32 was calculated and statistically significant ($p < .001$), thereby indicating an unequal ratio of minority coaches to minority players at the A level. The results indicate that there are more black coaches and fewer white and Latino coaches than expected based on the number of players in each group. This is the only level where white coaches are underrepresented in Minor League Baseball.

Table 2

Chi-Square Results of Single A Coaches and Players by Race

	Coaches	Players
White		
Observed	43	337
Expected	41	339
Black		
Observed	11	31
Expected	4	38
Latino		
Observed	6	133
Expected	15	124

$$\chi^2 (2, N = 561) = 19.32, p < .001$$

Will the ratio of minority coaches to minority players be equal within the 10 AA Minor League Baseball teams?

This question is asking if minority coaches are being equally represented based on the number of minority players at the AA level. For the 30 coaches and 252 players, as shown in table 3, using two degrees of freedom, a χ^2 value of 6.32 was calculated and statistically significant ($p < .05$), thereby indicating an unequal ratio of minority coaches to minority players at the AA level. The results indicate that there are more black coaches and fewer Latino coaches than expected based on the number of players in each group.

Table 3

Chi-Square Results of AA Coaches and Players by Race

	Coaches	Players
White		
Observed	23	174
Expected	21	176
Black		
Observed	5	19
Expected	3	21
Latino		
Observed	2	59
Expected	6	54

$$\chi^2 (2, N = 282) = 6.32, p < .05$$

Will the ratio of minority coaches to minority players be equal within the 10 AAA Minor League Baseball teams?

This question is asking if minority coaches are being fairly represented based on the number of minority players at the AAA level. For the 30 coaches and 224 players, as shown in table 4, using two degrees of freedom, a χ^2 value of 5.25 was calculated and statistically significant ($p < .10$), thereby indicating no statistical difference between minority coaches and minority players at the AAA level. The results indicate no significant differences in representation observed within the ratio of minority coaches to minority players at the AAA. In essence, the ratio between minority coaches and players was not statistically significant.

The chi-square results may not have been statistically significant but the numbers do seem to show a misrepresentation, especially with the Latino coaches. An additional chi-square test was conducted using only the Whites and Latinos. For the 27 coaches and 203 players, as shown in table 5, using one degree of freedom, a χ^2 value of 5.27 was calculated and statistically significant ($p \leq .025$), thereby indicating a statistical difference between minority coaches and minority players at the AAA level.

Table 4

Chi-Square Results of AAA Coaches and Players by Race		
	Coaches	Players
White		
Observed	26	157
Expected	22	161
Black		
Observed	3	21
Expected	3	21
Latino		
Observed	1	46
Expected	6	41
$\chi^2 (2, N = 251) = 5.25, p = .10$		

Table 5

Chi-Square Results of AAA White and Latino Coaches and Players by Race

	Coaches	Players
White		
Observed	26	157
Expected	21	162
Latino		
Observed	1	46
Expected	6	41

$\chi^2 (1, N = 230) = 5.27, p \leq .025$

Will there be a disproportionate number of minorities at any of the three coaching positions in Minor League Baseball?

This question is asking if minority coaches are underrepresented or overrepresented at any of the three coaching positions (manager, pitching coach, and hitting coach) in Minor League Baseball. For the 120 coaches, as shown in table 6, using four degrees of freedom, a χ^2 value of 15.63 was calculated and statistically significant ($p < .001$), thereby indicating there is a disproportionate number of minorities at the three coaching positions in Minor League Baseball. The black coaches are the only group to be misrepresented. There were fewer black managers than expected, more black hitting coaches than expected, and fewer black pitching coaches than expected.

Table 6

Chi-Square Results of Coaches by Current Position and Race

	Manager	Hitting Coach	Pitching Coach
White			
Observed	32	24	36
Expected	31	31	31
Black			
Observed	3	13	3
Expected	6	6	6
Latino			
Observed	5	3	1
Expected	3	3	3

$\chi^2 (4, N = 120) = 15.63, p < .001$

Will the race of the Minor League Baseball coach be a predictor of their defensive position during their playing career?

This question is trying to determine if there is any indication of stacking for current Minor League Baseball coaches during their professional playing career.

For the 120 coaches, as shown in table 7, using 2 degrees of freedom, a χ^2 value of 17.06 was calculated and statistically significant ($p < .001$), thereby indicating there are a disproportionate number of coaches in defensive positions based on race. The results indicate there are more white coaches from central positions than expected and fewer white coaches than expected from peripheral positions than expected. The results also indicate there are fewer black coaches from central positions than expected and more black coaches than expected from peripheral positions than expected.

Table 7

Chi-Square Results of Coaches by Defensive Playing Position and Race

	Central	Peripheral
White		
Observed	68	23
Expected	62	29
Black		
Observed	6	14
Expected	14	6
Latino		
Observed	8	1
Expected	6	3

$\chi^2 (2, N = 120) = 17.06, p < .001$

Will the defensive position of minority coaches during their playing careers be a predictor in their coaching position in Minor League Baseball?

This question is asking if a coach's defensive position during their playing career is going to be a determinate for their coaching position in Minor League Baseball. For the 80 managers and hitting coaches, as shown in table 8, using one degree of freedom, a χ^2 value of 28.87 was calculated and statistically significant ($p < .001$), thereby indicating the defensive position of minority coaches during their playing careers was a predictor in their coaching position in Minor League Baseball. The results indicate that there are significantly more managers from central positions compared to managers from peripheral positions. Also, the results suggest that there are more hitting coaches from peripheral positions compared to coaches from central positions.

Table 8

Chi-Square Results of Coaches by Previous Playing Experience

	Central	Peripheral
Manager		
Observed	33	7
Expected	21	19
Hitting Coach		
Observed	9	31
Expected	21	19

$\chi^2 (1, N = 80) = 28.87, p < .001$

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

During the last century minorities have fought for racial equality in all facets of life. No place is this more evident than in the field of sports, a place deemed by many as a racial equalizer. While many people would argue that minority players are given equal rights and equal opportunities the same cannot be said of minority managers and coaches who continue to be underrepresented in professional sports (Gonzales, 1996; Rimer 1996).

The purpose of this study was to address three main issues 1) the ratio of minority players to minority coaches, 2) the current coaching position and the race of the coaches, 3) the defensive position of coaches during their playing career and race and 4) the defensive position of coaches during their playing career and their current coaching position.

Fabianic's (1984) work showed that minority managers were not proportionally represented based on the number of minority players at the Major League level. This study was a replication and extension of Fabianic's work performed at the Minor League level. The data collected in this study identifies the same conclusion. Minority managers, specifically Latino coaches, are not proportionally represented based on the number of Latino players at the Minor League level during the 2005 season.

While no study was directly replicated for the basis of determining the current position of Minor League coaches and their race, this study is simply a variation of numerous studies done on players in Major League Baseball, their defensive position, and their race. There are plenty of studies to draw from identifying the same conclusion. Two studies, performed by Medoff (1986) and Gonzales (1996), sampling African-Americans and Latinos, respectively, found evidence of stacking, or segregation into positions by race, at the player level. This study was an extension of Medoff and Gonzales' work at the Minor League level. While not as poignant as the previous studies the data collected did identify representation discrepancies at the coaching level on the basis of race.

A study by Leonard, Ostrosky, and Huchendorf (1990) determined that a majority of Major League managers, who played professional baseball, played at a central (high interaction) position during their playing careers. This study was a replication and extension of Leonard, Ostrosky, and Huchendorf's work performed at the Minor League level. The data collected in this study identifies the same conclusion, a majority of managers at the Minor League level played at a central position. This study extended the work of Leonard, Ostrosky, and Huchendorf to include hitting coaches at the Minor League level. The majority of hitting coaches were found to have played a peripheral (low interaction) position during their professional playing careers.

Ratio of Coaches to Players

Latino coaches were statistically underrepresented based on the number of Latino players in A, AA, AAA – when compared to white coaches. Also, black coaches were overrepresented based on the number of black players in A and AA. Based on the data

collected for this study, Minor League Baseball is not adequately represented by Latino coaches based on the number of Latino players. An explanation for this underrepresentation of Latin coaches could be because of the rapid increase in Latin players in the last decade and the pool for Latin coaches has not caught up to the large influx of Latin players.

While Latin coaches may be underrepresented in Minor League Baseball, black coaches seem to be fairly represented based on the number of black players. This data shows progress compared with previous studies done in Major League Baseball which showed an underrepresentation of black coaches based on the ratio to black players.

Current Coaching Position and Race

The data collected found there were fewer black managers than expected, more black hitting coaches than expected, and fewer black pitching coaches than expected. The data also found fewer white hitting coaches than expected. By referring to previous stacking studies done on players at the Major League level, African-American players were found to be underrepresented at central (high interaction) positions and overrepresented at peripheral (low interaction) positions (Curtis & Loy, 1978; Medoff, 1986; Phillips, 1991). Because of this it is easy to identify why African-American coaches would be underrepresented at the manager and pitching coach (predominate central orientation) positions and overrepresented at the hitting coach (predominate peripheral orientation).

Coaches with Previous Playing Experience and Race

The data collected shows there were more white coaches than expected from central positions and fewer white coaches than expected from peripheral positions than expected. The data also shows there were more black coaches than expected from peripheral positions and fewer black coaches than expected from central positions. This data is consistent with previous stacking studies done on players at the Major League level (Curtis & Loy, 1978; Gonzales, 1996). Latino coaches were about what was to be expected based on the data.

Coaches with Previous Playing Experience

The data collected shows that there were more managers than expected from central positions when compared with managers from peripheral positions. This is consistent with a study performed in Major League Baseball that confirms managers predominantly come from central positions (Rimer, 1996). The predominate sociological explanation for this result is that the central (high interaction) positions keep athletes in the center of decision making where players develop the managerial skills needed for career advancement.

The data collected in this study found there were more hitting coaches from peripheral positions than expected and fewer hitting coaches than expected from central positions. The peripheral positions have historically been the places for above average hitters, so it is easy to understand why peripheral position players would be more apt to hold the hitting coach position.

While many forms of racial discrimination have been expelled from baseball and other sports, the reported existence of more subtle discrimination practices remains in question. One concern of discrimination in baseball involves stacking, or positional segregation, by race. Although baseball stacking studies have taken place since 1967, no such studies have taken place in Minor League Baseball at the coaching level. While this study is by no means a definitive look at the racial structure of coaches at the Minor League level, it reinforces the current literature done in Major League Baseball.

The largest concern with this research seems to lie with the representation of the Latino population at the coaching position. The rise of Latino's in the United States' overall population as well as in Minor League Baseball brings questions to the representation of Latino's at the coaching position.

This study attempts to respond to a void in the research by examining the population of Minor League Baseball during the 2005 season for evidence of underrepresentation and stacking within positional categories and by addressing whites, blacks, and Latinos as distinct racial groups. The results of the present study indicate that patterns of stacking and minority underrepresentation occur in Minor League Baseball at the coaching level. The overrepresentation of managers from central positions and the underrepresentation of Latino coaches relative to Latino players confirm these allegations. While this most likely isn't the conception of these sociological tendencies, Minor League Baseball certainly seems to be a breeding ground for the final product, Major League Baseball.

The main purpose of this study was to determine the racial structure of Minor League Baseball at the coaching level. Obviously, one study does not have the power to

completely understand the complexities of the situation. This study was a snapshot of one year for the racial breakdown; this is not sufficient to make any concrete cases towards the dynamic nature of Minor League Baseball. While forty teams may be sufficient to make statistical claims an additional study of all teams with more in-depth statistics could do a better job of identifying any significant differences. Also, identification of minority players based their picture and name may have led to an error in placing them into a racial category.

As previously stated, understanding the racial structure of Minor League Baseball is important to understanding the racial structure of Major League Baseball. The coaches in Minor League Baseball are simply a large candidate pool for coaching positions in Major League Baseball. If stacking of coaches in Minor League Baseball is indeed taking place, than the opportunity for minorities to coach in Major League Baseball is severely limited.

Future research needs to take place in Minor League Baseball, especially at coaching and administrative levels, for a more precise understanding of the racial representation. In order to get a better understanding of hiring practices a longitudinal data study should be performed. Also, a study gathering more information on each coach – length of playing career, career statistics – could be helpful in understanding any differences between coaches and race.

APPENDIX

Final Sample of Minor League Teams

AAA

Albuquerque Isotopes
Buffalo Bison
Columbus Clippers
Louisville Bats
Norfolk Tides
Omaha Royals
Round Rock Express
Salt Lake Stingers
Scranton/W-B Red Barons
Toledo Mud Hens

AA

Altoona Curve
Bowie Baysox
Portland Sea Dogs
Reading Phillies
Frisco RoughRiders
Harrisburg Senators
Jacksonville Suns
Mississippi Braves
Norwich Navigators
Tennessee Smokies

A

Bakersfield Blaze
Columbus Catfish
Daytona Cubs
Frederick Keys
Hickory Crawdads
Inland Empire 66ers
Jupiter Hammerheads
Kannapolis Intimidators
Kinston Indians
Lake County Captains
Lake Elsnore Storm
Lansing Lugnuts
Lynchburg Hillcats

Palm Beach Cardinals
Potomac Nationals
Salem Avalance
Savannah Sand Gnats
Southwest Michigan Devil Rays
Stockton Ports
Wisconsin Timber Rattlers.

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in Minor League Baseball

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