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## **Lived Experiences of Stress and the Coping Mechanisms of Assistant Coaches in the National Basketball Association (NBA)**

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**Abstract**

25 This study investigated the stress, stressors, coping strategies, and support interventions  
26 experienced by NBA assistant coaches. Twenty male NBA assistant coaches participated in  
27 semi-structured interviews regarding stress and burnout. Data analysis revealed three core  
28 themes: Experienced Stressors and Burnout, Personal Coping Strategies, and Organizational  
29 Support. Participants reported high stress levels, sometimes moderated by family, organizational  
30 support systems, and religious faith. Unanticipated findings included stressors related to being a  
31 minority coach and the fear of failure. The findings indicate a need for enhanced stress reduction,  
32 coping strategy training, and systematic organizational support to help assistant coaches manage  
33 stress and avoid burnout.

34

35 *Key Words: Transactional Model of Stress and Coping, Stressors, Coping Strategies, Burnout,*  
36 *Coach, Coaching*

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## 47 **Lived Experiences of Stress and the Coping Mechanisms of Assistant Coaches in the**

## 48 **National Basketball Association (NBA)**

Expectations placed upon coaches, particularly at the elite level, create stressors. Stress exists when an individual perceives that the demands of a job or situation exceed their perceived capabilities and resources necessary to be successful (Hjälm et al., 2007). It is the consequence of a physical, chemical, or emotional challenge (a stressor) that requires the organism to adapt or suffer physical or mental strain or tension. Burnout may occur when an individual cannot mitigate or reduce repeated stressors or experience an extreme stress event (Kelley & Baghurst, 2019; Pearson & Baghurst, 2020a). Olusoga and colleagues (2019) comprehensively review the literature on stress and burnout in coaching, noting that while a variety of theoretical models and methodological designs have been used in the literature, stress and burnout are prevalent across many coaching levels, coach demographics, and sports.

60 Stress in any vocation leads to many adverse outcomes (Baghurst, 2023; Frey, 2007;  
61 Olusoga et al., 2009; Mazerolle et al., 2020; Tekano et al., 2011). In general, these can be  
62 grouped into those associated with psychological (e.g., emotional exhaustion, frustration,  
63 anxiety), physical (e.g., substance abuse, heart-related conditions, ulcers, weight gain),  
64 societal/personal (e.g., time management, difficulty with personal relationships, work-life  
65 balance), and work-related (e.g., pressure to perform, travel, staff turnover, funding). With such  
66 adverse outcomes, it is important that coaches are self-aware of the stressors in their lives and  
67 engage in stress-reducing processes.

70 **Mechanisms for Coping with Stress**

71 Coping is the process by which an individual manages the demands of the person-  
72 environment relationship that is appraised as stressful, as well as the emotions they generate.

73 Coping refers to “cognitive and behavioral efforts to master, reduce, or tolerate the internal  
74 and/or external demands that are created by the stressful transaction” (Folkman, 1984, p. 843).

75 For example, if a coach is losing an important game, it may be perceived as stressful.

76 Consequently, negative thoughts and emotions may arise, such as feelings of anxiety and fear of  
77 what might happen in the future. Coping is the process necessary to address and resolve these  
78 thoughts and feelings, and it can be accomplished through learned coping mechanisms.

79 Coping mechanisms can be developed and implemented by both the individual and  
80 employer/organization. Sports organizations may be interested in assisting a stressed coach, as  
81 their replacement can be costly and time-consuming (Dohrmann, 2011). Examples might include  
82 formal mentoring programs, which have been reported to help with personal and professional  
83 success, breaking through barriers, and aiding in developing leadership skills (Christie Jr. &  
84 Baghurst, 2017). Organizations should also create opportunities for the coach to spend time with  
85 family to improve their work-life balance, which has been reported as one of the most significant  
86 stressors for collegiate coaches (Joncheray et al., 2019; Pearson et al., 2020a). Continuing  
87 education and professional development also mitigate stress; the more competent an individual  
88 feels about their job, the less stress they will experience (Aldrup et al., 2017).

89 Pearson and Baghurst (2020a, 2020b) provided a variety of personal methods that can be  
90 used to cope with stress, particularly for coaches. These include working with a mentor;  
91 incorporating family/friends into the work environment; exercising, meditating, and getting  
92 enough sleep; continuing to learn and engaging in professional development; prioritizing, setting

93 limits, and saying “no” to opportunities; engaging in a hobby; and developing personalized  
94 coping strategies (e.g., crocheting, watching a comedy, visiting a favorite place).

95 Judge et al. (2015) explored the sources of occupational stress for NCAA Division I and  
96 Division III track and field coaches during their championship seasons. They reported that  
97 coaches with more social support and positive experiences could better deal with occupational  
98 stress. Furthermore, Altfeld and Kellmann’s (2015) study on stress associated with German  
99 coaches from various sports and levels found that those with lower anxiety attributes and  
100 exhaustion had a superior support system compared to coaches without these support structures.  
101 Time management, proper sleep, diet and conditioning, the absence of alcohol, regulated  
102 downtime, and family support have all been reported to help reduce stress (Denton, 2018;  
103 Woike, 2019).

#### 104 **Stress in Elite Coaching**

105 Coaches within high-visibility professional sports are noticeable members of the larger  
106 community and face job performance demands that differ from most professions (Overton, 2005;  
107 Schroeder, 2010). Combined with the many roles and responsibilities associated with being a  
108 coach, coaches must work within a framework emphasizing winning, which is often a critical  
109 evaluation method of a coach’s performance (Van Mullem, 2015). Coaches are similar to  
110 athletes in that they are required to coach in a pressurized environment, make critical coaching  
111 decisions, adjust to adversity, and are held to high expectations both by the executive levels of  
112 the organization, the media, and the fans (Hodgson et al., 2017; Pereira, 2015; Zillgitt, 2018).

113 Unfortunately, perhaps due to accessibility, evaluation of stress and the coping strategies  
114 coaches use at the highest echelons of sport are poorly understood (Thatcher & Day, 2008).  
115 Nevertheless, these coaches may be the most scrutinized and evaluated in the profession, as their

116 job performance (i.e., winning or losing) faces a very public evaluation (Altfeld et al., 2015; Coy  
117 & Masterson, 2007; Fletcher & Scott, 2010; Van Mullem, 2015). An emphasis on winning  
118 combined with the varied but many roles and responsibilities of an elite-level coach can be  
119 stress-inducing (Rundle-Thiele & Auld, 2009). Too much stress leads to burnout, and the coach  
120 is replaced by being fired or quitting (Pearson & Baghurst, 2020c).

121 Studies on stress and well-being among sports coaches have gained momentum in the  
122 past decade. However, this research is generally dominated by a quantitative research  
123 methodology, which can be more convenient and time-efficient when evaluating high-level  
124 coaches. For example, such studies have investigated strategies for maintaining confidence under  
125 pressure among South African soccer coaches (Surujlal & Nguyen, 2011), stress and burnout in  
126 Greek track and field coaches (Georgios & Nikolaos, 2012), burnout and perceived stress among  
127 Lithuania university coaches (Malinauskas et al., 2010), and stressors of elite cricket captains in  
128 England (Smith et al., 2017). Thatcher and Day's (2008) qualitative research investigated the  
129 properties of 16 national-level trampolinists' stressful appraisals. Their work is underpinned by  
130 Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) Transactional Model of Stress and Coping. They confirmed the  
131 necessary underlying properties in the model but also reported two additional properties: "Self  
132 and Other Comparison," in which there was a comparison to another individual through a  
133 physiological, psychological, or social aspect of performance, and "Inadequate Preparation"  
134 whereby the individual felt unprepared for competition (p.332).

### 135 **Assistant Coaches and the National Basketball Association (NBA)**

136 In many ways, coaching in the NBA is unique. With just 30 teams, only a limited number  
137 of assistant coaching jobs are available; those named assistant coaches are immediately pressured  
138 to retain their positions. The weight of coaching responsibilities includes establishing and

139 maintaining a positive team culture, reviewing and assessing metrics associated with each game  
140 plan, allocating time for media events, participating in front-office executive meetings, juggling  
141 demands from players as to playing time and positions, and negotiating with a player's agent  
142 (Young, 2020).

143 Basketball coaching typically encompasses improving individual and team offensive and  
144 defensive skills and overall physical conditioning. Coaches are also responsible for improving  
145 their teams through player development, strategy, and in-game management. However, there is a  
146 clear dissemination between a head and assistant coach. The assistant coach must be given  
147 meaningful responsibilities that develop their coaching skills, motivate them, and positively  
148 impact their sense of fulfillment. However, during highly competitive events, the power dynamic  
149 between the head coach and the assistant coaches creates a perceived sense of feeling thwarted,  
150 incompetent, and having less autonomy (Zakrajsek et al., 2019). Therefore, while an assistant  
151 coach in the NBA may enjoy the rewards such a position offers, many stressors remain  
152 associated with the role. These stressors and how assistant coaches in professional sports cope  
153 with such stressors are largely unknown.

#### 154 **Transactional Model of Stress and Coping**

155 This research study was conducted within Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) Transactional  
156 Model of Stress and Coping. This model established that stress is characterized as an imbalance  
157 between demands and resources experienced as an appraisal or evaluation of the circumstances  
158 in which an individual finds themselves. According to this model, individuals continuously  
159 evaluate (i.e., appraise) these stressors to assess their significance. Cognitive appraisal is an  
160 evaluative process determining why and to what extent a particular transaction or series of  
161 transactions between the person and the environment is stressful.

162 The core of this model is the concept of appraisal, whereby emotions occur from the  
163 evaluation of what is happening to the person (primary appraisal) and what might be done about  
164 the stressful person-environment situation (secondary appraisal). These appraisals are vital for  
165 how the person will cope with the situation (Chroni et al., 2019; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984;  
166 Norris et al., 2017). For example, suppose an assistant basketball coach in the NBA perceives  
167 that one of the players they are responsible for is underperforming. In that case, they appraise the  
168 situation as a possible threat (placing their job at risk), a challenge (an opportunity to rally the  
169 player), or benign (part of the long-term development of the player). After identifying the  
170 stressor, the coach conducts a secondary appraisal by evaluating their resources and options.  
171 They judge whether anything can be changed, such as speaking with the player or making a  
172 strategic change. From this, coping strategies can be employed.

173 An individual's primary appraisal evaluates whether an event or situation is either  
174 insignificant, an encouraged encounter, or a threat. A secondary appraisal results from an  
175 individual's assessment of whether the environmental situation is harmful. If it is, a decision  
176 must be made on how to remedy or cope with the challenging situation or threat through coping  
177 strategies. The Transactional Model of Stress and Coping asserts that an individual either adopts  
178 a problem-focused or an emotion-focused coping style to change individual thoughts and  
179 emotions to reduce these stressors.

## 180 **Purpose Statement and Research Questions**

181 Coaches, particularly those at the elite level, are placed in environments with extreme  
182 pressure that create repeated and sometimes extreme stressors. Underperformance and burnout  
183 are likely to occur without coping skills and support mechanisms. Given the limited qualitative  
184 research on stress and burnout within elite-level coaching, this study aimed to examine the

185 stressors that National Basketball Association (NBA) assistant coaches experience and their  
186 coping strategies. Three research questions were proposed:  
187 R1: What stressors do NBA assistant coaches experience?  
188 R2: What personal strategies do NBA assistant coaches employ to cope with stressors?  
189 R3: What organizational support systems do NBA assistant coaches view as mechanisms to  
190 manage short-term and long-term stressors?

191

## Method

### Participants

194 Participants were selected by purposeful sampling from the assistant coaches currently  
195 under contract in the NBA for at least one entire season at the time of data collection (October  
196 2021 – April 2022). Participants were selected through personal contacts; the primary researcher  
197 had been affiliated with the NBA since 1999 as a player and coach. Thus, participants were  
198 recruited directly or through their agents. In total, 21 out of approximately 90 assistant coaches  
199 in the NBA were contacted, and all but one agreed to participate.

200 Participants represented 10 of the 30 teams in the NBA. The geographical areas  
201 represented included the Midwest, South, North, East, and West Coasts. Participants were, on  
202 average, 43.85 years of age, with an average of 8.6 years of experience coaching professionally.  
203 All participants were male and identified themselves as African-American ( $n = 11$ ; 55%),  
204 Caucasian ( $n = 8$ ; 40%), or Hispanic ( $n = 1$ ; 5%). Concerning education, 11 coaches had  
205 completed a bachelor's degree, 8 had a master's degree, and 1 was a high school graduate.

206

207

208 **Instruments**

209 The one-on-one semi-structured interviews used open-ended questions to gather detailed  
210 replies reflecting participants' unique experiences and perceptions (Charmaz, 2014). These  
211 questions were developed using previous literature on stress, response to stressors, coping, and  
212 interventions. A series of questions were developed and administered as a pilot study with one  
213 former assistant NBA coach. Aside from grammatical wording, no questions were altered.

214 In total, 14 open-ended questions focused on specific situations or events across four  
215 broad research categories: perceived effects of stress, responses to stressors, coping strategies,  
216 and interventions. These were developed from the exigent literature, and examples included the  
217 following: "What kind of stresses have you experienced as a coach? Have they affected any part  
218 of your professional or personal life? If so, how?" "You have mentioned that \_\_\_\_\_ is a source  
219 of stress for you. How do you cope or deal with this stress? Has anyone or anything specifically  
220 helped you develop the coping skill?" "Does the organization you work for provide any specific  
221 methods for helping you deal with stressors that occur as part of your job?"

222 The primary researcher made every effort to maintain a non-judgmental and active  
223 listening voice throughout the interactive dialog with participants, which is critical, given that the  
224 interviewer had a personal connection to several of the study participants and had personal  
225 experiences as an assistant coach. The overall intent of questioning was not to lead but to ask  
226 probing or follow-up questions that added to the participant's responses to the pre-determined  
227 questions (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Mertler & Charles, 2011; Plano et al., 2015). Probing  
228 questions were used to gain clarity or to follow a new thought. (Charmaz, 2014; Creswell &  
229 Poth, 2017).

230

231 **Procedure**

232 Following institutional review board approval, a pilot study was conducted to test the  
233 efficacy of interview questions, after which 21 eligible participants or their agents were  
234 contacted via email or phone requesting participation. Participants were informed of the study's  
235 purpose, the benefits and risks of participation, and how data would be stored and presented  
236 anonymously. Only one emailed participant failed to respond and agree. An informed consent  
237 form was completed before any data collection.

238 Once consent had been provided, the primary researcher electronically sent the list of  
239 questions to be asked before the interview and arranged a convenient time for the interview.  
240 Because data collection occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic, and the NBA had strict  
241 isolation protocols, each interview was conducted virtually and audio-recorded to allow for  
242 professional transcription. Participants were allowed to decline to record their interviews, but all  
243 gave permission.

244 Interviews ranged between 45 minutes ( $n = 6$ ) to 120 minutes ( $n = 14$ ) in duration, and  
245 data collection took approximately five months. When all interviews were conducted, audio files  
246 were transcribed by a professional transcription service before analysis.

247 **Data Analysis**

248 Positionality is based upon the interpretive/constructivist approach, as the researcher  
249 ascribes to the notion that subjective perspectives describe and interpret what is understood  
250 through multiple realities (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Therefore, it was appropriate to explore  
251 participants' perspectives to understand how stressors, coping strategies, and support systems  
252 among NBA assistant coaches are perceived and acknowledged through their experiential lens  
253 (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

254 Sound qualitative research results from a research design, data collection, and a data  
255 analysis approach that relies on methods that ensure transparency and trustworthiness (Merriam  
256 & Tisdell, 2016). Trustworthiness, as acknowledged by Glesne (2016), stems from the  
257 researcher's attention to the quality and rigor of the study and the variety of criteria employed to  
258 determine how well the research was completed. With lengthy interview sessions of up to 120  
259 minutes, this prolonged interaction provided a framework of familiarity between the researcher  
260 and the coaches. Since the researcher was an insider to the NBA coaching life, it permitted a  
261 unique opportunity to have a shared identity with the study sample and provide a level of  
262 legitimacy and trust in conducting the research.

263 Member checking was done by contacting each participant and offering them the  
264 opportunity to review their interview transcript for accuracy and verification. All participants  
265 declined a review, presumably because of the personal dynamic of trust between the NBA  
266 assistant coaches and the primary researcher. Peer debriefing was also conducted, in which three  
267 additional qualified peer researchers reviewed and assessed the transcripts, from which emerging  
268 themes were discussed and agreed upon.

269 Reflexivity is another tool for critical reflection not only on behalf of the researcher but  
270 also on how the participants, the setting, and the research process interact and influence each  
271 other. Reflexivity reminds the researcher to consider and be aware of their influence on what is  
272 being studied and how the research process affects them (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In the  
273 current study, the primary researcher considered and was acutely aware of how the research  
274 process affected him, especially regarding his position and biases as a current assistant coach.

275 Data analysis was conducted inductively using Merriam and Tisdell's (2015) four-step  
276 approach: data preparation, open coding, axial coding, and theme development/refinement. Once

277 a professional service had transcribed data, transcripts were read several times by the lead  
278 researcher to promote familiarization with the data. Second, the data were analyzed in  
279 chronological order, and open coding was done first, where descriptive labels were assigned to  
280 salient extracts of the data. Next, axial coding was performed. This was an important phase in the  
281 data analysis as it facilitated the researcher in making connections between the open codes. Upon  
282 completion of the axial coding, categorization was performed, which resulted in emergent  
283 themes. The analysis's final phase consisted of peer debriefing, whereby themes were developed  
284 and refined through critical and reflexive conversations between the research team.

285

## 286 **Results**

287 We identified three themes from the data: Experienced Stressors and Burnout, Personal  
288 Coping Strategies, and Organizational Support. Names and locations are altered for anonymity.

### 289 **Theme 1: Experienced Stressors and Burnout**

290 This first-order theme represents the findings on how stressors in professional sports  
291 coaching were illustrated using three subthemes: direct stressors, contextual factors, and  
292 interpersonal dynamics. These subthemes encompass other small categories, which will be  
293 discussed next. The data presented in this fashion provides a valuable framework to group  
294 themes according to their shared characteristics.

#### 295 ***Subtheme 1: Direct Stressors***

296 **Family.** The inherent pressures of coaching in the NBA and its effect on families were  
297 significant factors noted in the findings. “You’re away from your family. You’re traveling. Sure,  
298 you get lots of money, but does that really matter? Or sure, we get lots of fame, or you’re on TV,

299 but does that really matter?" said Coach S. "The family is probably the hardest one for me to  
300 deal with because it's the most important one to me," stated (Coach A)

301 For those married, assistant coaches described their spouses' fear of the unknown, what  
302 the future held for the family, and what sacrifices would have to be made. "Being on the road 10,  
303 11, 12 days at a time; the responsibility of a wife, especially with young kids, increased the stress  
304 since she tires of being the superwoman," said Coach P. Interaction with one's spouse was often  
305 limited, which became stressful. According to Coach T:

306 You do your best to try to maximize the level of investment, time, interaction, and  
307 presence, but it never seems to suffice, so I think that's where the stress commences. It's the  
308 frustration of working as hard as you can to close that gap but knowing it's a gap that will never  
309 fully be closed.

310 **Physical Health.** High workloads created physical stressors associated with sleep  
311 deprivation, fatigue, and poor nutrition. For example, Coach M stated, "It's not only a lack of  
312 sleep and feeling tired or sore because your back hurts from the plane ride. Or there's something  
313 going on in your family. You just have to learn how to manage the physical downside the best  
314 that you can." Coach P reported that "the physical stress affected my stomach and digestion,"  
315 and Coach G, "I think the number one physical thing for me is fatigue. Like, on a road trip, going  
316 to bed at 2-3 AM every day in different time zones. More than anything, the lack of sleep leads  
317 to fatigue."

318 **Finances and Job Security.** Thoughts on financial realities and job security were mixed.  
319 It became more stressful for those assistant coaches nearing the end of their contract year or early  
320 in their careers. For example, Coach B stated, "If it were just me by myself, I'd probably be able  
321 to handle it pretty well. But being the sole provider of our household, the financial part became

322 stressful.” An overarching sentiment was that during the beginning of their career, participants  
323 were in a survival mode. One coach equated how his future was never as secure as it was for his  
324 friends who were teachers, bankers, or lawyers. “The next change is always coming in the NBA,  
325 so you’re always wondering how that change is going to impact you in your family.” (Coach Q)

326 The reality of job security was a clearly identified stressor. “I think I’m really thankful  
327 that I’ve had a unique career and that I’ve been with one organization my entire coaching career.  
328 But I know that that doesn’t mean anything in the NBA, and that could change in a snap of the  
329 fingers,” said Coach R. The real impact of job security was expressed by one interviewee who  
330 was terminated:

331 Getting fired clearly shows that there are no friends in the NBA. They did it with no kind  
332 of hesitation or anything. They called me one day and said, “You’re fired.” Human  
333 Resources sent me an email and said that my phone was going to be cut off at the end of  
334 the day and that benefits were over on Monday. That was it. I never heard from them  
335 again. You pour your heart and soul into a team, and you give them everything you’ve  
336 got, and then one day, they say your email is going to be shut off, your phone is going to  
337 be gone, and we expect the computer. And if we don’t get the computer back, we’re  
338 going to sue you. You’re done, no remorse, no nothing. It’s very eye-opening to learn  
339 what the league and the NBA are all about. (Coach E)

340 **Pressure to Win.** Participants reported the constant evaluation and expectation to win as  
341 a stressor. “You have to be on your game from a preparation standpoint, from a mental  
342 standpoint, from a physical standpoint, seven days a week for seven straight months where you  
343 are continually being judged on the performance of the players,” said Coach B. Coach H  
344 reinforced this: “Obviously, the stress of winning and losing is probably the biggest one; the

345 pressure to win and that one is pretty ongoing and comes with the territory of working in  
346 professional sports." Coach J felt the pressure from fans and management: "Nobody ever wants  
347 to be wrong, especially when you have your bosses watching, you're on TV, you got fans in the  
348 stands."

349         **Burnout.** This theme is more aligned with the consequences of stressors; however, it is  
350 an important feature of the data and a consequence of the stressors. Most participants did not  
351 report having experienced burnout, but Coach F admitted to having experienced it without  
352 knowing it at the time:

353         My first burnout was when I was coaching in the "X" league. I didn't know. I had anxiety  
354 because it affected my sleep, and I had no coping mechanism because I didn't even know  
355 what it was. I think burnout is a mental health issue. Yeah. I feel like I've experienced  
356 burnout three different times; now, this third time, with the "Y" team.

357         Although burnout may not have been experienced by the participants in this study who were still  
358 coaching, thoughts of quitting were prevalent. Coach S rationalized how he continued from  
359 season to season:

360         There were times during the season when there were thoughts of quitting, but then you  
361 step back and say that perhaps I can wait until the end of the year. But summer comes,  
362 and you rationalize that maybe one more year is the goal. This is a continual mindset for  
363 me.

364         ***Subtheme 2: Wider Environmental Factors***

365         **Coaching as a Minority.** The majority (60%) of participants described themselves as a  
366 minority, and there was consensus that coaching as a minority created additional stress through  
367 inequity of the hiring process for both assistant and head coach. For example,

368                   ... when you see the disparity in the profession across all sports, of how few coaches of  
369                   color are in a position of leadership. If I'm in a league that's 70% black, I think that  
370                   figure should be somehow approached in terms of coaches, head coaches, whatever.

371                   Now, that's never going to happen because you don't have black ownership." (Coach N)

372                   A perception was shared that all assistant coaches, regardless of race, were held to the  
373                   same standard as their colleagues. However, this did not hold true regarding organizational  
374                   decision-making, such as advancement. "They [non-minorities] have an unfair advantage in the  
375                   color of their skin a lot of times. And what a head coach perceptively looks like." (Coach G)

376                   Coach O supported this:

377                   Absolutely. That's no secret in this league. Black coaches get treated differently, and  
378                   that's more of a life stressor. It's just that it may be a little more amplified within the  
379                   NBA just because of the sheer numbers, but that's definitely a stressor. I mean, you see it  
380                   every day: guys who should be head coaches in this league and don't get a sniff. (Coach  
381                   P)

382                   Coach M took on a more candid position on opportunities for advancement.

383                   So, you know it's interesting. We've always had to understand how white men, how to operate in  
384                   their space, and a black college-educated graduate, even with a master's degree or a doctorate,  
385                   will always need to know and understand how to navigate in a white man's space. I mean, we're  
386                   trying to get those positions and get those opportunities as well. And it gets tougher and tougher.

387                   **Advancement and Promotion Opportunities.** Participants recognized that advancement  
388                   and promotion were inevitably part of the stress of being in a competitive professional sport.  
389                   However, stress was highlighted when assistant coaches were not advancing or even felt they

390 were moving backward. "It's a stressor. Because if you're not advancing, it's a problem in our  
391 profession. You're probably replaceable," said Coach F.

392 Another concern by Coach H was the worry of being pigeonholed into a specific assistant  
393 coach role.

394 If you are the video coordinator, you don't want to be labeled as a video guy. If your role  
395 is that of a player development coach, colleagues then view you as just the workout guy.

396 No, I'm more than just a workout guy. I'm an assistant coach.

397 Coach O stated the stressor succinctly:

398 I think the stress is knowing that there are only 30 NBA teams and there are only so many  
399 assistant coaches on every team. It's very competitive, especially for those who are  
400 unwilling to do some of the maybe not immoral but unethical things to move. There's  
401 certainly some disappointment in not getting different opportunities.

402 ***Subtheme 3: Interpersonal Dynamics***

403 **Head Coach Expectations.** The stressor of meeting the head coach's expectations was  
404 mentioned throughout the interviews. Participants described working with a head coach as a  
405 considerable pressure point. "Stress comes from the head coach, the person that I am responsible  
406 for answering to. You feel the pressure that they want instant results from a player." (Coach I)

407 Coaches F and K also shared this view:

408 Dealing with a head coach definitely adds stress 100 times over. I'd say it's  
409 maybe at the top of the list because I want to do well for him. I hate team  
410 meetings. Although I know the coach is talking about the players, I feel like he's  
411 talking to me because when he says so and so... well, I take it as I'm not doing  
412 my job right. (Coach F)

413 I think, at times, our coaches feel that we are not valued. Because one misstep or  
414 miscue can set you back, and you may never ever get that opportunity again. You  
415 get undervalued as a coach on a losing team. (Coach K)

416 **Other Assistant Coaches.** Working with other assistant coaches was described as a  
417 stressor. "I've had some stress working with colleagues and other coaches, especially since not  
418 every person that you work with shares the same values, morals, or ethics that you may believe  
419 in." (Coach P) Coach R described how difficult it can be working with coaches who are all  
420 protective of their roles and players:

421 One day, an assistant coach pulled me aside and got red in the face. He was so  
422 angry. He thought I was trying to make them [his players] look bad in front of the  
423 head coach. He was kind of ripping into me... I sat on that for a bit before  
424 figuring out the best way to apologize and to mend the relationship. But I always  
425 felt you never really fully go back from when someone is screaming and red-in-  
426 the-face angry, and you realize you kind of messed up. So, that would be the most  
427 stressful part I've had with other coaches.

428 **Coach-Player Communication.** Some participants reported being comfortable  
429 developing and sustaining positive player relationships, while others expressed that player  
430 communication was an uncomfortable stressor. For example, Coach A reported, "There are  
431 moments when the pressure mounts when a player that you're working with isn't performing to  
432 the best of their ability over a number of games. You begin to put yourself under the microscope  
433 and ask why you can't get through to him."

434 Conflict arises when the head coach expects a certain level of performance that the player  
435 does not affirm; the assistant coach must then intervene between the head coach and the player.

436 Coach E found that differences in opinion between the player and head coach could be stressful  
437 because the player could not understand that “What a player thinks is beneficial to him may not  
438 be beneficial to the team.” This was supported by Coach H, who stated that “... dealing,  
439 especially with a lot of young players, guys don’t always want to hear or see what they aren’t  
440 doing well.”

441 I have to deal with players who view themselves as their own man, and it’s my  
442 responsibility to point out their weaknesses and help them develop their skill sets. Young  
443 players don’t always want to hear my instructions, and that results in stress for me.  
444 (Coach Q)

#### 445 **Theme 2: Personal Coping Strategies**

446 Coaches reported using a variety of coping and support systems to enable them to  
447 moderate and reduce experienced stressors. These are presented in subthemes of Proactive  
448 Strategies, Relational Support, and Personal Beliefs.

##### 449 ***Subtheme 1: Proactive Strategies***

450 **Organization and Preparation.** An emphasis on being organized and prepared was  
451 based upon a coach’s time management for processing game floor defenses/offenses and  
452 analytics. “I tried to be organized, thorough, and detailed, so that helps me eliminate stress,”  
453 stated Coach B. For others, it was a matter of coming to terms with what an assistant coach could  
454 control. Coach H elaborated, “I try to cope with my preparedness. I always want to feel like I’m  
455 prepared going in so that I won’t regret anything coming out. The losses suck, but you try to  
456 celebrate the wins to help maintain your balance.”

457 **Physical and Mental Health.** Taking care of oneself was an important stress-coping  
458 strategy. Coach T’s coping strategy was journaling because it “took the stress away” and “helped

459 me tremendously." Coach P used multiple methods, "I use exercise and breathing techniques to  
460 reduce the stressors around me. The more you can put yourself in the state of "Let me relax," I  
461 can reduce the physical stress that I feel through competition." Coach F used a variety of  
462 methods, from medication to meditation, noting the dangers of alcohol as a negative form of  
463 coping with stress:

464 I use prescription medication that is working for me now. I also meditate for 30 or 40  
465 minutes a day because it's very important to me. Once you learn how to do it, it washes  
466 all the negative thoughts, the anxiety, the self-doubt and makes you calm. It makes you  
467 think more clearly. I turned to alcohol to cope with some of my stress. It was a form of  
468 self-medicating that resulted from my anxiety. Exercise also was an important way for  
469 me to cope with my anxiety. Drugs and alcohol put me in so many dangerous situations. I  
470 meditate every day, and the meditation absolutely helps me, but it's a lot more work.

471 (Coach F)

472 Of note, the interview process made some aware of the need to incorporate physical and  
473 mental coping mechanisms into their daily life. Coaches J and H elaborated:

474 I really don't cope well, to be honest with you. When we get on the plane, I eat a lot, and  
475 I think that's a bad one. I don't have an answer for you, to be honest. I don't have a  
476 release that I know of. I know that eating is probably a release. My diet is right on point,  
477 and when I'm working, it's great. I think probably after doing this interview, what I'm  
478 realizing is that I don't have one, and I think that's a problem. It's something that I'm  
479 realizing now more and more as we're talking.

480

481

482 ***Subtheme 2: Relational Support***

483       **Family Dynamics.** The time and energy commitment to coaching in the NBA and its  
484 inherent pressures upon families was a clear factor noted in the findings. However, the sample  
485 acknowledged that finding the appropriate coping strategies to work through family dynamics  
486 depended upon the connection between themselves and their spouses via communication,  
487 whether in person, by telephone, or electronically.

488       In terms of coping, I think it's communication. That's what I'm learning. I think I need to  
489 be really honest with my wife in terms of what the expectations are of work, and she  
490 appears to be becoming better at just saying, "Okay, well, that is what you have to do for  
491 work." She says that I'm very present when I'm home with my kids, and that makes a big  
492 difference as a coping mechanism. (Coach I)

493

494       It's my wife and family; in regard to our relationships and the challenges around my wife,  
495 I am wondering if this is a good occupation for me. This job is not conducive to marriage  
496 or being a father. It just isn't. My coping mechanism is a continual focus on family needs  
497 and expectations that I can fulfill. (Coach E)

498       The most frequent source of support was a coach's spouse and family. The commentary  
499 affirmed that their spouses were the people who best knew their struggles, pressure, and  
500 stressors. "But I will say, first and foremost, my wife and my family. Because even though they  
501 may not have the complete understanding of who it is I'm around every day, they are the ones  
502 that know me the best," said Coach A. "Certainly, my wife is the primary source of support, and  
503 my son is a great source of support also. I also think my extended family, who I really enjoy  
504 spending time with but seldom get to," stated Coach T.

505                   **Head Coach and Colleagues.** Having the head coach's support was a key finding.  
506                   Participants reported them as crucial in being someone they could confide in, trust in, and  
507                   receive candid, constructive feedback. These relationships between the head coach and assistant  
508                   coach were built upon the commonality of the game's pressures, how to adjust to these pressures,  
509                   and how to cope with the emotions of winning and losing. "I think having a head coach that  
510                   believes in you, to me, was my biggest support," said Coach R. "Well, I've been blessed to have  
511                   the most influential men in my life being head coaches. I try to talk to them as much as possible  
512                   and just try to be as transparent as I can with them," stated Coach L.

513                   Although head coaches could be perceived as a stressor, participants also  
514                   recognized that the right coach could be a supporting mechanism.

515                   I've leaned on with any questions I had or how to handle this situation, that situation. So,  
516                   I've been very fortunate to be able to reach out to him and share a special relationship  
517                   with him. I would say basketball-wise, him. I would say he is the number one go-to guy if  
518                   I have some questions. (Coach Q)

519                   Participants also relied upon their fellow assistant coaching mentors and colleagues in the  
520                   league. It resulted from the advice and counsel of these mentors who are or have previously  
521                   coped with the pressures of the competition in the NBA. "A few veteran coaches like yourself  
522                   [primary researcher] who have been in the industry for a long time and will provide good advice  
523                   in all things. Guys with wisdom and guys that have been through it before." (Coach S) Coach M  
524                   also emphasized the importance of talking to other veteran coaches:

525                   I have a few people that really helped me, I guess, with a lot of it [stress]. One is actually  
526                   another coach with whom we share different stories, and we talk about different things.  
527                   We laugh and joke about all types of stuff, but there's a level of understanding to begin

528 with. So, a lot of things don't have to be explained, and it probably makes it a little bit  
529 easier to communicate freely because it's not foreign. You talk to somebody else who has  
530 to deal with the same exact thing.

531 **Relationships with Other Minority Assistant Coaches.** Among the findings gleaned  
532 from the interviews with the minority assistant coaches was how communication with other  
533 minority colleagues who have experienced similar issues served as a coping mechanism. For  
534 example, Coach G stated that:

535 If you'd reach out and talk to some other people. So that's definitely a help for me in  
536 terms of a coping mechanism. And I think our industry is interesting because there's so  
537 many black athletes and it's so predominantly black in terms of the athletes that I think  
538 there's actually some strength in that too and some comfort in that as well, for me  
539 anyway.

540  
541 Some participants were cognizant of being mentors to younger coaches and players of color.  
542 Coach O explained:

543 Although it may not be favorable in terms of how we're treated, you try to help the next  
544 brother. I try to cope with it in that way; paying it forward, I think, is the first way. The  
545 second way, like I started with, you've just got to try to be better.

546 ***Subtheme 3: Personal Beliefs***

547 **Spiritual and Faith-Based.** An unexpected set of findings regarding coping strategies  
548 stated by almost half of the assistant coaches was their spiritual faith. This finding did not  
549 emerge from a specific interview question focusing on a coping strategy aligned with religion or  
550 faith but arose serendipitously. "For me, one thing is trying to lean more on your spiritual side. I

551 know that's not the same for everyone, but I try to lean more on spiritual values and upbringing.  
552 It provides some relief during difficult games," said Coach T. This was reiterated by Coach E,  
553 "Faith. Just believing... I mean, it's not blind optimism. It really is faith. So, I think my faith is  
554 my first coping mechanism." In Coach J's words:

555 I'll start with my faith. Whenever I feel the stresses of work, I always try to reflect on my  
556 faith and say, "Well, what could the alternative be?" Then, I tend to appreciate the  
557 blessings that I have. It's a blessing to be under pressure, to be relied upon, to have  
558 responsibilities. So, I think my faith is my first coping mechanism.

### 559 **Theme 3: Organizational Support Systems**

560 No clear set of results identified the team's executive organization as a stressor or source  
561 of coping. Winning or losing was primarily placed upon the shoulders of the head coach by the  
562 executive organization and not necessarily the assistant coach. Although the team's executives  
563 were the final arbiters in drafting players, it became primarily an assistant coach's responsibility  
564 for their development. Participants questioned whether or not the team executive's expectations  
565 were realistic with this player. There was an underlying belief that because top management had  
566 drafted this player, and he did not perform to their level of expectation, the blame fell mainly on  
567 the assistant coach for their failure to develop.

#### 568 ***Subtheme 1: Team Executive's Expectations of Assistant Coaches***

569 Team executives decide on an assistant coach's job security, which can be stressful. One  
570 seasoned assistant coach (Coach A) expressed that his long-standing relationship with team  
571 executives was never a stressful experience for him. "I remember when Coach X got fired. That  
572 was the first time during my time that a head coach was terminated. But the front office was  
573 great in communicating to me about my future."

574        Others found that front office personnel could be stressful. For example, Coach O had  
575        worked with seven different NBA teams, commented that:

576        When the front office is not aligned with the coaching staff, there certainly is stress  
577        because you don't feel like everybody's pulling in the same direction. So, I've been  
578        fortunate to be in a situation here in city "X" where I feel like everybody's pulling in the  
579        same direction, and that's definitely a positive. But, when everybody's not, there's  
580        definitely some stress with that because you feel like people don't have your back.

581        Assistant coaches emphasized the importance of communication and transparency  
582        between themselves and the team executives.

583        I just try to open up the lines of communication as much as possible with management.  
584        And sometimes, if the head coach and management are really butting heads, it's difficult  
585        because if the head coach sees you talking to management, sometimes they get paranoid  
586        and things like that, too. There's always a fine line, but I think communication is the best.

587        (Coach B)

#### 588        ***Subtheme 2: Team Psychologists***

589        The data collected from this discussion on team organizational support varied across the  
590        interviews. However, the role of a team psychologist or sports psychologist was one that many  
591        participants had mixed feelings about. Coach A recognized the support in his organization, but it  
592        was not always accessible.

593        I think they [organization] have psychologists onboard that we can talk to. I know they  
594        have seminars every week that we get the invites for, that usually we're traveling, that  
595        we're not able to make necessarily. But they do provide those types of outlets. They have

596 a bunch of round table discussions and different things on various topics that are going  
597 on. So, I think they do a really good job of having that stuff accessible to us.  
598 Others were ambivalent about the resource or did not view the organization as supportive  
599 of coaches' mental well-being. According to Coach G, "I don't think the organization is very  
600 effective in helping me deal with stressors, to be honest with you." Coach S reinforced the desire  
601 to have regular access to mental health support services:

602 One thing that I really think our organization needs, which I've even talked about with  
603 people, is someone who is onsite every day. That can be a mental health and mental  
604 wellness coach. We have a person in that role, but they don't travel and are basically  
605 remote. They pop up once every two months, which I feel is just backward, especially in  
606 today's time and given COVID-19 and all the stresses that can happen with social  
607 injustices at this point. But I really think that needs to be a standard across the league and  
608 mandatory, as someone in that role travels with every team.

609 ***Subtheme 3: Team Psychologists as a Minority Coach***

610 Many minority coaches expressed a distrust of organizational psychologists. This was  
611 framed from their perspective of the organization's mental health experts not understanding the  
612 unique stressors that minority coaches experienced. The data collected from this discussion  
613 varied significantly across the interviews, but the dominant finding centered upon a team  
614 psychologist's availability or lack thereof. Consider the following excerpts from minority  
615 coaches:

616 I don't think that they are aware of the stressors that we go through. There are people  
617 there, in theory. But I'm not sure they necessarily fit the mold of people who could bring  
618 that relief to us. Especially when they can't relate to what we're going through. Well, for

619 the simple fact that, first of all, their background. They might have the education; they  
620 might have the answers in theory. But I don't know that they have the pulse of what it  
621 feels like to be a, I will just be candid, a black coach whose role is basically, at times, to  
622 be the watchman or watchdog for black players and having to stay within those lines and  
623 don't venture out too far. When you are ambitious and have big dreams, you feel like, at  
624 times, you are just suffocating, and you're not quite sure that a white team psychologist  
625 would understand what you go through or what your fight is. And it's not their fault.

626 (Coach D)

627

628 I think this may be off-subject, but I think that question alludes to another topic: there are  
629 more people of color in positions where they can provide that support. Because I think  
630 that those who are unable to relate it's not their fault. They just don't know how to  
631 provide support for that. And having people in place who have a better understanding of  
632 that could be beneficial. (Coach R)

633

634

### Discussion

635 This study sought to describe and better understand the experienced factors of stress,  
636 stressors, coping strategies, and support interventions of elite assistant coaches in the National  
637 Basketball Association (NBA). The original three research questions guide this discussion:

638 R1: What stressors do NBA assistant coaches experience?

639 R2: What personal strategies do NBA assistant coaches employ to cope with stressors?

640 R3: What organizational support systems do NBA assistant coaches view as mechanisms  
641 to manage short-term and long-term stressors?

642

643       First, stressors, specifically in sports, can be categorized into competitive and  
644       organizational stressors, including “conflicts, pressure, and expectations, managing the  
645       competition environments, organizational management, sacrificing personal time, and isolation”  
646       (Schaffran et al., 2016, p.121). The NBA assistant coaches in this study reported experiencing  
647       high levels of stress that were sometimes moderated by utilizing personal and organizational  
648       support systems. Findings support much of the exigent literature, specifically elite-level coaches’  
649       experience of significant stress (Olusoga et al., 2019). Various coping strategies mitigate that  
650       stress, but the organization was found to be either a stress contributor or a reducer. Given the  
651       scope of our results, we discuss the findings using the four features of the model (Lazarus &  
652       Folkman, 1984) that are new to the stress and burnout literature and provide recommendations  
653       for coaches and sports organizations.

654       In terms of stressors, participants reported that the demands of their jobs negatively  
655       affected their physical health and well-being. A lack of sleep, exercise, and poor eating habits  
656       were all reported as a stress response to the job. While the finding is not necessarily surprising,  
657       little research shows that coaches eat and sleep well or exercise regularly. Stokanoski et al.  
658       (2019) noted that even a single night of sleep deprivation may result in poor decision-making,  
659       impacting vigilance and motor skills. Lastella and colleagues (2017) measured a coach's sleep  
660       quantity and quality compared to his athletes, finding that the coach obtained less sleep with  
661       poorer quality than his athletes, markedly so before significant games.

662       In the stress and coping literature, strategies are typically viewed as either problem- or  
663       emotion-focused (Nicholls & Polman, 2007). Problem-focused coping strategies are designed to  
664       change the situation itself. In contrast, emotion-focused coping strategies are intended to try and

665 address the emotional distress that is associated with the situation (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).  
666 Coaches in the present study reported employing emotion-focused coping strategies to counter  
667 these health challenges through various methods, such as exercising, meditation, and relaxation  
668 techniques. These strategies were intentional and intended to alleviate the inherent stress of being  
669 an assistant NBA coach. Interestingly, some participants recognized the need for better self-care  
670 by participating in the study. This suggests that coaches may need to be prompted or educated on  
671 the importance of maintaining proper physical and mental well-being. This suggests that some  
672 coaches will envitably have more robust emotion-focused strategies. Therefore, for some coaches,  
673 undertaking more training provisions (e.g., mental health and self-care) may improve the overall  
674 impact of the effectiveness of their emotion-focused strategies. Equally importantly,  
675 organizations could provide opportunities for professional development or support personnel to  
676 aid in these areas. For example, while professional athletes may have access to mental health  
677 professionals, coaches could also be provided with such services.

678 The pressure to perform well was a continual stressor for all coaches. Although  
679 participants enjoyed the financial benefits of being an assistant coach in a professional sport, the  
680 shadow of potentially being fired at any point and the fear of never making the step to head  
681 coach was stressful. The financial compensation for coaches can be viewed as a positive  
682 opportunity that, to some degree, offsets the stress of the job. However, the uncertainty of job  
683 security combined with club owners' or executive management's expectations clearly threatens  
684 their position (i.e., a primary appraisal). One assistant coach who worked with seven different  
685 NBA teams commented that when the front office is not aligned with the outcomes of the  
686 coaching staff, stress is significant and is personalized to the feeling that team executives did not  
687 back them. The misalignment between coaches and front offices can be viewed as a primary

688 appraisal and potential threat for coaches as the power of who is hired and fired often sits with  
689 management.

690 It is unlikely that any strategy (problem or emotion-focused) will completely alleviate the  
691 fear of losing a job or never getting that promotion. However, head coaches and organizations  
692 could instill processes to help. For example, regular performance reviews would provide  
693 feedback to the assistant coach on job performance. Organizations may offer educational  
694 opportunities, such as coaching retreats, monthly training, or formal mentorship programs, that  
695 not only improve the assistant coach in their current situation but train and prepare them for the  
696 next step in their career.

697 Second, several coaches mentioned that their spiritual faith served as a personal means of  
698 coping with the rigors of their job (i.e., an emotion-focused coping strategy). This was  
699 unanticipated, as it was not a pre-determined question and arose organically in the discussion.  
700 There is plenty of literature to support coaches' inclusion of their faith within their coaching  
701 practices (e.g., Duncan, 2012). For example, Carver et al. (1989) included religion in a survey  
702 under the heading of emotion-focused coping; in practical terms, organizations and head coaches  
703 should consider how they can support their assistant coaches' spiritual needs, from setting time  
704 apart to providing a quiet location. This could be viewed as a problem-focused coping strategy  
705 implemented by an organization rather than an individual. For example, while sometimes  
706 marginalized in professional sports (Whitmore, 2021), sports chaplaincy programs may serve  
707 this role.

708 Perhaps the most illuminating finding within this study was the reported stress and  
709 coping mechanisms derived from being a minority assistant coach. Minority participants  
710 comprised 60% of the sample, and the general agreement was that being hired and promoted was

711 more difficult and unlikely. Participants referenced the inequity between a professional sport that  
712 is predominantly black, where the leadership of the league and head coaches are primarily white.  
713 Grenardo (2022) suggested that people typically hire people like them; a white owner is most  
714 likely to hire a white coach. Schroffel and Magee (2012) reported that NBA players who were  
715 the same race as the coach played more minutes per game. Thus, there is research that suggests  
716 bias within professional sports.

717 There was also a reservation among minority participants about sharing or working with  
718 team psychologists. This was an unexpected finding; participants suggested that there was a  
719 disconnect between their experiences as minorities and professional coaches and the experiences  
720 of organizational psychologists. Previous research indicates that self-identified minorities are  
721 generally less willing to engage with mental health professionals compared to non-minority  
722 groups. Several factors contribute to this, including stigma, lack of culturally competent care,  
723 and systemic barriers. For example, a systematic review found that stigma plays a significant role  
724 in hindering minorities from seeking mental health services. This includes both public stigma  
725 and internalized stigma, where individuals perceive mental health care negatively within their  
726 community or internalize negative stereotypes about mental illness (Corrigan, 2004).  
727 Additionally, cultural norms and preferences, such as seeking help from family or friends instead  
728 of professionals, are common in collectivistic cultures, further decreasing engagement with  
729 mental health services (Bruns et al., 2015). This finding is significant because by being less  
730 willing to engage with team psychologists, some minority coaches are, in essence, reducing their  
731 available emotion-focused strategies.  
732 Third, and from a broader organizational standpoint, as it pertains to professional  
733 basketball, the National Basketball Association (NBA) and National Basketball Coaches

734 Association (NBCA) should consider the development of minority-based support organizations  
735 or mentorship programs that aid in addressing the concerns expressed by this sample of coaches.  
736 This would be a valuable organizational supportive system that could help coaches to manage  
737 stressors. In particular, Black or women coaches might benefit from formal programs. Although  
738 some efforts have been made in this area, such as the Coaches Equality Initiative between the  
739 NBA and NBCA (NBA, n.d.), clearly, there is more work to be done.

#### 740 **Limitations & Future Research**

741 Findings should be considered in light of the study's limitations, which provide  
742 opportunities for future research. First, although every attempt was made to conduct this study  
743 without personal or knowledge biases, the primary researcher was an assistant coach in the NBA  
744 at the time of data collection. This provided opportunities for unique access to participants but  
745 may have influenced responses somehow. For example, a participant may have been reticent to  
746 share something personal, knowing that a colleague at the same professional level would have  
747 this knowledge. Second, participants were assistant coaches in the NBA. Findings may not  
748 translate to assistant coaches in other sports or levels. Third, interviews were collected through  
749 video technology. Although this was necessary during COVID-19 restrictions, face-to-face or  
750 even focus group data collection may have yielded richer responses.

751

#### 752 **Summary**

753 This study sought to describe and better understand the factors of stress, stressors, coping  
754 strategies, and support interventions experienced by elite assistant coaches in the NBA. This  
755 unique group of professional coaches highlighted the very real stressors of their position that  
756 were sometimes buffered by coping strategies that they, not the organization, developed.

757 Findings indicate a clear need for greater stress reduction and coping training for coaches at the  
758 professional level. Head coaches and organizations need to intentionally build support systems,  
759 whether formal or informal, that better support the assistant coaches within their program. This is  
760 particularly salient for minority assistant coaches. Failure to do so will likely result in continued  
761 data such as presented here: assistant coaches experiencing significant stressors, struggling to  
762 mitigate them, and fearing burnout. Future research should consider measuring the effects of  
763 support systems for assistant coaches and comparing the experiences of stress and burnout of  
764 assistant coaches to head coaches.

765

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